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Of Friends and Foes: A Corpus-Based Study of Conceptual Metaphor in the Discourse of
Contemporary Right-Wing Populism in Germany

By

Vera Kristina Felder

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Irmengard Rauch, Co-Chair

Professor Thomas Shannon Co-Chair

Professor Justin Davidson

Summer 2022

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Vera Kristina Felder

ABSTRACT

Of Friends and Foes: A Corpus-Based Study of Conceptual Metaphor in the Discourse of
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by

Vera Kristina Felder

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University of California, Berkeley

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Political discourse is inherently abundant with metaphors, which speakers use to reframe complex issues to the public in more concrete, familiar, and approachable terms. As research has shown (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005; Lakoff, 2002, 2004, 2010; Musolff, 2000), the different ways of metaphorically framing a subject can influence reasoning and decision-making. Thus, metaphors hold vast potential for manipulating the public by groups of authority. In the last twenty years, Europe has seen a rise in far-right parties entering government and securing seats in European Parliament. These parties have become powerful forces in Europe's political landscape, garnering more voter support and polarizing public debate. This study explores the metaphorical expressions used by the German right-wing populist party, *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD), to conceptualize relevant political issues before and after the 2017 federal election, in which they secured 12% of the seats, making them the third biggest party in the 19th German Bundestag. Building on two approaches, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005), this study not only identifies and analyzes the conceptual metaphors and source domains utilized in the AfD's discourse on topics such as Europe and the state of the European Union, the Bundestag, and immigration, but also examines shifts in metaphor usage over time. Consequently, this work argues that an analysis of the metaphorical depictions illuminates the underlying ideological foundations of the party and provides insights to better understand the role of such rhetoric in persuasion and manipulation in the political sphere.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Truths are illusions which we have forgotten are illusions—they are metaphors that have become worn out and have been drained of sensuous force, coins which have lost their embossing and are now considered as metal and no longer as coins.

—Nietzsche, “On Truth and Lie in a Nonmoral Sense”

Conceptual metaphor was introduced by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) and purports that metaphor is not simply a matter of rhetoric but rather a cognitive tool which structures our thought and perceptions of the world.

Metaphor is of considerable importance for the research of discourse—especially for the discourse of groups of authority—as it plays a fundamental role in how we conceptualize ideas and knowledge. It follows, then, that just as our general understanding of the world is shaped by language and cognition, our understanding of political matters, as well, is heavily influenced by the discursive constructs of political parties and their members. Accordingly, an examination of the significance and impact of metaphor and cognitive frames in political discourse which determine how we think about political issues, such as the economy, domestic and foreign affairs, and religion, have been very revealing in terms of ideological and moral presuppositions, as has been shown by the research of Ahrends (2009), Charteris-Black (2005, 2014), Gibbs (2017), Lakoff (2002, 2004), Musolff (1998, 2000, 2003, 2004), and Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011). Aside from the need to reveal ideological and moral presuppositions in political discourse, this topic is appealing because public discourse surrounding politics is inherently abundant in metaphors, often employed by politicians as a persuasive figure of speech (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 7), presenting the issues and problems of politics to the public in terms of analogy, i.e., framing the discourse from a perspective the politicians find attractive without the “hidden” underlying assumptions of the metaphor having to be discussed and justified; politicians, thus, don’t argue their point but presuppose it. During elections, for instance, it is common to hear politicians of competing parties describe each other as *opponents*, *fighting in political races*, with the election, of course, resulting in *winners* and *losers*, thereby conceptualizing political endeavors as a sporting event (Goffman, 1974), or at least a potentially violent competition.

In fact, research has shown that how issues or events are metaphorically framed influences our reasoning and judgment (Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011; Boroditsky, 2001) and, consequently, our political attitudes (Lakoff, 2002, 2004).

Inspired by this extensive earlier research, the purpose of this study is to illustrate and analyze the metaphors and ideological foundations underlying cognitive devices such

as conceptual metaphor and to create a better understanding of their role in persuasion and manipulation in the political sphere. Since politicians assume a didactic role when mediating issues to the public, and metaphors convey moral evaluation, this study is not only interested in exploring their role as educators when they convey political matters to the general public and attempt to attract voters, but also in creating awareness in the ones being instructed—a kind of critical metaphor literacy, enabling individuals to identify, decode, and evaluate the conceptual metaphors and frames they are exposed to, in order to recognize a party's ideological agenda and manipulation.

The corpus used for this study has been collected from 7,107 official press releases of the German right-wing populist AfD party, from 2016–2019, two years before and after the AfD became a member—and the biggest opposition party—of the 19th Bundestag. The data then were analyzed for several categories: Metaphor keywords, source domains, and the discourse topic addressed by the party, both before and after the party's membership in the Bundestag.

Building on two approaches, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005), this study not only identifies and analyzes the conceptual metaphors and source domains utilized in the discourse of the AfD but also examines shifts in their usage over time, across the two corpora, which encompass all press releases two years before they became a member of the Bundestag, and all press releases during the two years as the third-largest party in the parliament

Lastly, this study aims to make the cognitive theory of metaphor more accessible, not only to those studying and researching metaphor but to everyone interested in ideological, social, and cultural processes. Since metaphor has such a powerful presence in all aspects of social life, particularly in the media, it is essential that people be critically aware of the subtle influence of figurative language on our attitudes and decision-making.

1.1 Objectives and Research Questions

This study of conceptual metaphors in German political discourse addresses the following research questions:

- Which metaphorical expressions are used in the discourse of the AfD to metaphorically represent Europe/the EU, immigration, and the German government, and their own party?
- Which conceptual metaphors, source domains, and keywords can be identified in the data?
- Can a shift in metaphors be observed over time from 2016 through 2019, before and after the AfD became the third-largest party in the German Bundestag?
- What does the AfD's metaphorical language reveal about their political ideology and their characterization as right-wing populist? What are the implications of their use of metaphors?

1.2 Framework

To answer these questions, this study utilizes theoretical insights from Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005) – thus, combining both cognitive and pragmatic aspects.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; henceforth, CMT) developed within the cognitive approach of language, which proposes that linguistic abilities are not separate from cognition, but rather that language structure shapes our thinking. CMT originates in Lakoff and Johnson's work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), with the title already revealing that metaphor is ubiquitous and central to our perspective on the world and our sense of reality. Building on earlier research by scholars who regarded metaphor as more than just a rhetorical device, the theory posits that “metaphor is not just a matter of language, that is, of mere words. We shall argue that, on the contrary, human *thought processes* are largely metaphorical” (p. 6).

In fact, inquiries into metaphor and thought are not exclusive to the last several decades, but can be traced to many notable predecessors, i.e., amongst others, John Locke, Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Nietzsche, Hans Blumenberg, and Harald Weinrich, of which an overview will be presented later.

In CMT, metaphors are structured as a set of mappings from the source to the target domain, in which a typically abstract domain of experience is understood in terms of another, typically concrete domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In fact, more conventionalized metaphorical expressions such as, e.g., *our relationship has hit a dead-end, we are spinning our wheels* are explained through systematic correspondences across domains—the source domain (JOURNEY) to the target domain (LOVE/RELATIONSHIPS). These correspondences, or cross-domain mappings, structure our thought because they involve the transfer of characteristics and scenarios from the source to the target domain. The source domain and the image schema which it evokes, our mental representation, and understanding of a source domain thus frame the target domain in the same way we conceptualize the source domain. Metaphor fuses different areas of knowledge and experience, creating a new frame of reference for understanding the target domain. However, as will be discussed later, this process of cross-domain mapping is selective, and not all characteristics can readily be transferred.

Consequently, standard CMT, as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), provides the conceptual foundation for understanding metaphor. However, past criticisms of this theory have included concerns about the lack of examples from naturally occurring discourse, the lack of context in which the metaphors occur, and, by implication, their pragmatic functions in discourse, as well as a strategic and unified methodology for the identification of conceptual metaphors. Similarly, it has been argued that the theory fails to acknowledge the various cultural influences shaping our language and, therefore, our metaphorical thinking (Howe, 2007; Quinn, 1992). All criticism aside, what is essential is that CMT makes evident the connection of language and thought illustrated in

metaphorical language and therefore provides a valuable tool to illuminate the underlying ideological foundations and agenda of politicians in political discourse when analyzed in the given socio-political setting. Taking these earlier criticisms of the theory into account, the analysis of conceptual metaphor must be further informed by a more pragmatic approach, including 'real-life' discourse, context, and pragmatics, in addition to applying a metaphor identification procedure (Pragglejaz Group, 2007), to reliably identify metaphorical expressions in the data.

One approach that synthesizes the earlier CMT with Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 2001; henceforth, CDA) is Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005; henceforth, CMA). CMA lends itself to the study of conceptual metaphors in political discourse because it is interested in conceptual metaphor beyond the cognitive realm, and, unlike the early focus of CMT, is not as interested in isolated examples of metaphor, but in the pragmatic, semantic, and socio-cultural aspects of metaphor in naturally occurring discourse, while combining it with an inherently political approach. CDA's focus on the connection between discourse, power relations, and ideology originated from Van Dijk (2001). The goal is to create better awareness of how "social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p. 352). This involves making explicit the underlying political and ideological motivations that would otherwise be concealed in the meaning, form, and style of discourse, i.e., grammar, text-structure, cohesion, and word-choice.

Aside from being a more pragmatic approach, CMA further supports the combination of qualitative analysis with quantitative corpus data on metaphor frequency, providing a more robust account of metaphor's discourse role than a mere qualitative approach could provide. Moreover, it includes a three-step methodology for analyzing metaphor in discourse, consisting of identification, interpretation, and explanation, which in this study will be complemented by the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) created by the Pragglejaz Group (2007) as a tool to reliably identify metaphors.

With the aid of the twofold framework, this study identifies the metaphorical expressions found in AfD's discourse and interprets them within their socio-political settings. CMA's approach, combining cognitive and pragmatic insights, aids in comprehending metaphors as part of our thought system while, simultaneously, illuminating these powerful rhetorical devices' ideological foundations. Accordingly, this study will contribute insights to CMT and CMA fields and to political discourse studies.

1.3 Significance of the Study

Since politicians are prominent authoritative public figures, they have an undeniable role within their societies in communicating ideas, beliefs, doctrines, and ideologies through their messages and actions. Political discourse is instrumental in supporting ideological beliefs; politicians' discursive strategies, such as metaphor, can

significantly influence the perception of the political messages and beliefs. Lakoff and Johnson (1980), remarking on the connection of the cultural and cognitive, note:

Metaphors have entailments through which they highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience [...] Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action [...]. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense, metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies. (p. 156)

As a “creator of social realities,” metaphor presents itself as an important tool in political discourse and metaphoric representation. Not only can it point to differences in belief systems and invoke implications significant to creating ideological messages, but it also can advocate for political ideologies and goals, which this study aims to explore and provide insights. Within the CMT and CMA frameworks, this study deliberates how the AfD’s conceptualized metaphors are structured and presents their function in Germany’s current socio-political setting.

The remainder of the study is organized as follows: Chapter 2 presents a review of the relevant literature. It focuses on the definitions of metaphor and the various types posited by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their standard theory of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff, 1993), as well as some criticism of the theory. The chapter also provides an overview of several notable predecessors to CMT over the last centuries. It further explains the two approaches adopted in this study: Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) cognitive linguistic theory of metaphor and Charteris-Black’s (2004, 2005) Critical Metaphor Analysis. The chapter concludes by reviewing a range of studies on metaphor in political discourse and discusses their role in defining ideology.

Chapter 3 explores Germany’s current and past socio-political context, which gave rise to the AfD. It addresses the AfD from its beginnings to its advancement as the third largest and biggest opposition party in the German Bundestag, its ideological categorization, as well as the characteristics of populist discourse in order to better understand the metaphors and their possible implications in this setting.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the methodology used to collect, analyze, and interpret the data quantitatively and qualitatively.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the data analysis and presents an overview of the source domains by topic, the respective source domain mappings, and a comparison of the source domains found in the two corpora.

Chapter 6 includes a taxonomical presentation of the source domain keywords and a list of identified conceptual metaphors by discourse topic. The chapter concludes by offering a discussion and conclusion. It answers the research questions by summarizing the most relevant findings and proposing possible directions for future research in the field of critical metaphor analysis of political discourse.

CHAPTER II LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Defining Metaphor

This section will define metaphor according to the cognitive linguistic view and outline the different types of conceptual metaphors.

Charteris-Black (2004) defines metaphor as a “linguistic representation that results from the shift in the use of a word or phrase from the context or domain in which it is expected to occur to another context domain where it is not expected to occur, thereby causing semantic tension” (p. 21). This crossing or transfer of linguistic realms is intrinsic to metaphor, as etymologically, the word *metaphor* developed from the Ancient Greek *μεταφορά*, “to carry,” and *μεταφέρειν*, “to transfer”—a transfer that Lakoff and Johnson (1980) call cross-domain mapping, which in brief is comprehending and experiencing something through analogy with something else.

However, a conceptual metaphor and the linguistic instantiation it produces are not one and the same thing. Instead, a conceptual metaphor is the underlying mental structure that gives rise to a (metaphorical) linguistic expression through cross-domain mapping from the source to the target domain. As a mental representation, conceptual metaphors reflect several phenomena, such as the social and linguistic practices within a culture, as well as other beliefs and structures about everyday phenomena—all of which play a role in giving rise to a linguistic metaphor.

Since conceptual metaphors are understood through various cognitive functions, Lakoff and Johnson’s theory (1980) divides them into three categories: structural, ontological, and orientational.

2.2 Types of Conceptual Metaphor

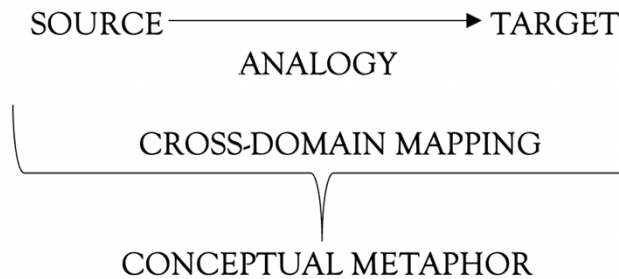
The following section outlines the different types of conceptual metaphors structuring our thought, as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

2.2.1 Structural Metaphor

Structural metaphors indicate a cross-domain mapping where detailed knowledge about an element A, the source domain, is systematically mapped onto a B, the target domain. Usually, the source domain is a more concrete entity, e.g., a physical object, while the target domain is something more abstract or non-physical. This cross-domain mapping is best illustrated by the following figures.

Figure 1

Structural Metaphor Mapping



Many linguistic expressions, such as those for our reasonings about love, arguments, and life in general, illustrate structural mappings. Consider the following conceptual metaphors and their linguistic instantiations:

LOVE IS A JOURNEY: *Our relationship hit a dead-end.*

LIFE IS A JOURNEY: *He is without direction in his life.*

ARGUMENT IS WAR: *Her criticisms were right on target.*

Figure 2

Example of Structural Metaphor Mapping

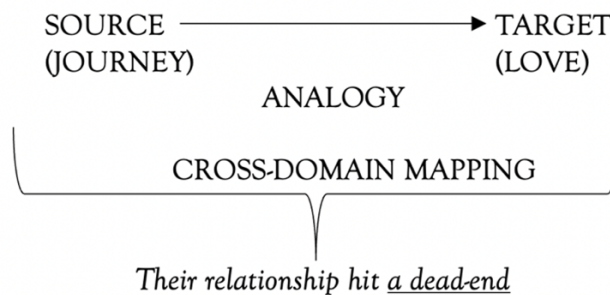


Figure 2 illustrates how the knowledge and structure we hold about the source domain, JOURNEY, is mapped onto the target domain, LOVE, by projecting specific characteristics across the two domains, such as obstacles in a relationship of life (e.g., a *dead-end*, *directions*) or simply the allusion to being in a moving vehicle, and so on.

2.2.2 Ontological Metaphor

Ontological metaphors also represent abstract concepts, such as events, activities, emotions, and thoughts (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 25). However, they provide less

elaborate structures, as we rather conceive these concepts through objects, substances, and containers. Ontological metaphors are thus further specified into substance and container metaphors and personifications. For instance, when talking about emotions, it is often in terms of substances, e.g., *He is in love*, or *She is full of anger* in which emotions, e.g., love and anger, as something abstract, are conceptualized as a fluid in a container (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Similarly, many expressions of the visual field use ontological metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Consider the following examples: *The biker rode out of sight*, or *A tree is in the way*, in which the visual field is seen as an enclosed and defined space. In addition, personification is very prevalent in everyday discourse and covers a wide range of metaphors. Consider *My phone just died on me*; *The article explains the cognitive theory of metaphor*, or *His illness finally caught up with him*—all of these cases, while certainly non-human, are prescribed and understood in terms of human qualities.

2.2.3 Orientational Metaphor

Orientational metaphors are grounded in our spatial orientation and based on our physical experience, i.e., up-down, in-out, front-back, center-periphery, and often describe more abstract concepts, such as emotions or mental and physical states (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). For instance, emotions such as happiness or sadness are generally represented through a horizontal spatial orientation resulting in the conceptual metaphor, HAPPY IS UP, e.g., *She was in high spirits today*, whereas SADNESS IS down, as in *I am feeling a little low today*. This dichotomous organization in terms of spatial orientation—GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN, LIFE IS UP; DEATH IS DOWN, MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN—can be found with many fundamental concepts. Positive evaluations are usually described with an upward spatial orientation and negative evaluations with a downward one.

These mental patterns of organizing our various experiences through spatiality or containment also are known as image-schema. In a metaphor, image-schemata are used as source domains as “a means of structuring particular experiences schematically, so as to give order and connectedness to our perceptions and conceptions” (Johnson, 1987, p. 75). This conception that linguistic structures are grounded in our own physical experience preempts another fundamental CMT notion: embodiment—the notion that our body and our physical experiences play a significant role in the creation of linguistic meaning and how we make sense of the world, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.4.

2.3 Metaphor: From Philosophical to Cognitive Linguistics Inquiry

Many researchers of metaphor today work within the framework of cognitive linguistics¹ and Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) CMT, which emerged from their seminal book *Metaphors We Live By*, in which they explicate how the abundant presence of

¹ Cognitive linguistics is concerned with the relationship of language and thought, including our everyday reasoning and world view.

metaphors in a language systematically contributes to the structuring of our thought, and the way we perceive the world and make sense of reality.

Metaphor has unceasingly attracted philosophical and rhetorical inquiry for many centuries, dating back to antiquity and Aristotle's deliberation of metaphor in his *Poetics* (c. 335 BCE). The inquiries of some of such notable forebears led the way for the cognitive theory of metaphor later (Jäkel, 1997). The relationship of language and thought, especially for the cognition of abstract concepts, is exemplified in John Locke's "Essay concerning Human Understanding," first published in 1689 in which he writes:

It may also lead us a little toward the original of all our notions and knowledge, if we remark, how great a dependence our words have in common sensible ideas; and how those, which are made use of to stand for actions and notions quite removed from sense, have their rise from thence, and from obvious sensible Ideas are transferred to more abstruse significations, and made to stand for Ideas that come not under the cognizance of our senses. (1823, p. 331)

This passage, where Locke is concerned with metaphor use in philosophical discourse, seems to have anticipated the central tenets of what would become cognitive linguistics almost 300 years later—that language shapes our thinking and is embedded in our cognitive capacities. Similarly, we discover a familiar notion to CMT in Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (1790, §59; Jäkel, 1997), when he remarks on what he called *schemata* and *symbols*:

[...] Symbolic exhibition uses an analogy (for which we use empirical intuitions as well), in which judgement performs a double function: it applies the concept to the object of a sensible intuition; and then it applies the mere rule by which it reflects on that intuition to an entirely different object, of which the former object is only the symbol. Thus, a monarchy ruled according to its own constitutional laws would be presented as an animate body, but a monarchy ruled by an individual absolute will would be presented as a mere machine (such as a hand mill); but in either case the presentation is only *symbolic*. For though there is no similarity between a despotic state and a hand mill, there certainly is one between the rules by which we reflect on the two and how they operate [*Kausalität*]. [...] Our language is replete with such indirect exhibitions according to an analogy, where the expression does not contain the actual schema for the concept but contains merely a symbol for our reflection. [...]; they [symbolic hypotyposes] express concepts not by means of a direct intuition but only according to an analogy with one, i.e., a transfer of our reflection on an object of intuition to an entirely different concept, to which perhaps no intuition can ever directly correspond. (Kant, 1987, pp. 227–228)

The analogical transfer from the knowledge of a concrete entity—the machine—to an abstract category—the nation—that Kant presents here already preempts the conceptual metaphors NATION IS A PERSON and NATION IS A MACHINE.

Another notable philosopher in the history of metaphor is Friedrich Nietzsche's conception of language in his 1873 essay, *On Truth and Lie in a Nonmoral Sense*. In this essay, Nietzsche suggests that all language is, in fact, a collection of dead metaphors—metaphors adopted by a linguistic community and used so frequently that they have lost the force of their original imagery (Nietzsche, 2010). Undoubtedly, these early philosophical inquiries contributed to the development of Lakoff and Johnson's CMT approach. However, there are other earlier and often overlooked approaches of this theory which need to be acknowledged as direct predecessors to the cognitive theory of metaphor.

In his 1997 paper, "Some Forgotten Contributions to the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor," Jäkel remarks on the German philosopher Hans Blumenberg (1920-1996) and his *Paradigms for a Metaphorology* (1960/2010) and *Beobachtungen an Metaphern* (1971), as well as the German linguist Harald Weinrich (*1927) and his theory of metaphor, which was published in a variety of essays between 1958 and 1967. Both Blumenberg and Weinrich already had defined essential ideas of the cognitive linguistic theory of metaphor. Blumenberg argues that metaphor is inherently a cognitive phenomenon when he remarks that the study of "metaphorology seeks to burrow down to the substructure of thought, the underground, the nutrient solution of systematic crystallization" (2010, p. 5). Similar to Lakoff and Johnson's notion, Blumenberg (2010) further remarks on the influence of metaphors onto our thought and our reality when he notes about what he calls "absolute metaphors" (Jäkel, 1997):

By providing a point of orientation, the content of absolute metaphors determines a particular attitude or conduct [*Verhalten*]; they give structure to a world, representing the nonexperienceable, nonapprehensible totality of the real. (p. 14)

In other words, Blumenberg proposes the ubiquity of metaphors in everyday life and their part in structuring abstract experiences in terms of more concrete and relatable ones. Yet, even more striking in similarity is his notion of *model representations*, the underlying cognitive models structuring our thought, when he writes that:

When we classify philosophical "dispositions" as optimistic or pessimistic, for example, we basically stick to the sullenness or cheerfulness of a given physiognomy, without reaching back to the *orientations* in relation to which such apparently emotional "settings" are first constituted. These settings are "read off" quite elementary model representations that push through the expressive sphere in the form of metaphors (p. 7).

Again, Blumenberg anticipates what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) would later coin as orientational metaphors: the tendency of metaphors belonging to more abstract domains, i.e., emotion and mental states are metaphorically organized and expressed in terms of spatial orientation based on our physical experiences.

Another noteworthy ancestor to the cognitive theory of metaphor is the German linguist Harald Weinrich (Jäkel, 1997). His theory, which he expanded in five essays published from 1958–1975, shares most of the central tenets of CMT (Jäkel, 1997). Among its many striking parallels, are Weinrich’s notions of the *image field*, *image donor*, and *image recipient* and their direct correspondences to our notions of *conceptual metaphor*, *source domain*, and *target domain* (p. 18). Jäkel touches on some remarkably similar examples from Weinrich’s image field to CMT’s conceptual metaphors, such as LIFE JOURNEY, MARRIAGE VEHICLE, WAR OF WORDS (p. 18). Although they are more specific, they closely resemble conceptual metaphors such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

The following table provides an overview of the correspondences in terminology between Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) CMT framework and their forebears outlined by Jäkel (1997). It illustrates concisely how Weinrich, in particular, anticipated a cognitive approach to metaphor.

Table 1

Correspondences of Key Elements of CMT by Predecessors

Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 1987, 1993)	Weinrich (1958, 1963, 1964, 1967, 1976)	Blumenberg (1960,1971)
Conceptual Metaphor	Image field	Background Metaphor/ Absolute Metaphors
Metaphor expression (linguistic instantiation)	Metaphor	Metaphor
Source Domain	Image Donor Field	∅
Target Domain	Image Recipient Field	∅

Note. Adapted from “Kant, Blumenberg, Weinrich. Some Forgotten Contributions to the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor”, O. Jäkel, 1997, p. 22.

2.4 The Discursive Functions of Metaphor

It is evident that metaphor is a powerful cognitive device that plays an important role in how we structure our thought and perceive our world, however, in addition to the cognitive dimension, metaphor also carries various discursive functions.

On a pragmatic level, Ortony (1975) proposes three communicative functions of metaphor: (1) the *inexpressibility hypothesis*, (2) the *compactness hypothesis*, and (3) the *vividness hypothesis*. The *inexpressibility hypothesis* allows us to express what would be difficult to

express literally: abstract concepts as emotions. Thus, as we saw in section 2.2.1 that it is not uncommon to resort to metaphorical expressions when describing our emotions, e.g., *a storm was brewing inside of me* (Fainsilber & Ortony, 1987, p. 249). The *compactness hypothesis* allows us to express more information succinctly, while the *vividness hypothesis* allows us to share experiences or ideas more vividly to help the listener better understand the speaker's subjective experience. In addition, several studies suggest that metaphor also creates greater intimacy between interlocutors (Cohen, 1978; Bowes & Katz, 2015; Gerrig & Gibbs, 1988). Gibbs et al. (2002), for instance, expands on this notion by suggesting that figurative language is especially beneficial for "expressing the nuances of emotion, and for evoking particular emotional reactions in others, because it tightly reflects people's figurative conceptualizations of their emotional experiences" (p. 125).

These functions of metaphor already foreshadow the answer to the question of why politicians so frequently employ metaphor in their political discourse: it is a way to convey complex topics in a succinct, relatable, and perhaps more intimate way, and it is particularly suitable for conveying issues connected to abstract ideas and emotions. Interestingly, an experiment by Gibbs et al. (2002) illustrates that emotional responses to metaphor differed widely from the responses to literal language and that different assumptions were drawn about the speakers' intention (p. 125). For example, when participants were asked to rate the following three statements on a hypothetical scenario, in which someone borrowed a car from their roommate and returned it with a large dent—(1) *I was really angry* (literal); (2) *I hit the ceiling* (conventional metaphor); and (3) *I was a live grenade* (novel metaphor)—they consistently rated the novel and conventional metaphorical expression as more intense than the literal one, with the strongest reactions evoked by the novel metaphor (2002, pp. 138–139).

These examples show that metaphor is particularly useful for expressing different nuances of emotional experiences and achieving greater emotional involvement in the interlocutor. This makes clear why politicians frequently and deliberately utilize metaphor to influence people's attitudes towards certain issues, or, as the following example shows, toward specific political figures.

A study of discourse surrounding the 1991 Senate debates about the Gulf Crisis (Voss et al., 1992) illustrates a politician's use of metaphor to describe Saddam Hussein to justify military action against Iraq:

Saddam Hussein is like a glutton—a geopolitical glutton. He is sitting down at a big banquet table, overflowing with goodies. And let me tell you—like every glutton, he is going to have them all. Kuwait is just the appetizer. He is gobbling it up—but it is not going to satisfy him. After a noisy belch or two, he is going to reach across the table for the next morsel. What is it going to be? Saudi Arabia? He is going to keep grabbing and gobbling. It is time to let the grisly glutton know the free lunch is over. It is time for him to pay the bill. (p. 205)

Cognizing the target domain (Saddam Hussein) through the source domain of food, highlights certain aspects, i.e., the insatiable hunger of the glutton devouring one country after another, and transfers to the political situation in Iraq during the gulf crisis. It is undeniable that the use of such vivid figurative language depicting Hussein as a glutton who will not stop until there is nothing left to devour has an emotional impact on the listener, and perhaps even evokes an adverse reaction in them. It is also evident that the deliberate use of the metaphor attempts to effect a change of perspective in the hearer that is in alignment with the politician's stance.

2.5 Metaphorical Framing

As illustrated by the examples above, framing complex political matters in terms of a relatable scenario or scene evokes emotional reactions and influences how they are understood and evaluated. Therefore, the notion of framing is closely connected to the analysis of conceptual metaphors.

From a sociological perspective, Goffmann (1974) was the first to utilize the concept of a frame, which he regarded as cognitive structures through which humans make sense of the world. Frames shape our experiences and social realities, yet they are culturally bound. Goffman provides examples of how we tend to speak about events in the political sphere. For instance, during election time, politicians are seen as opponents competing in the political race, which results in winners and losers, framing one event in terms of another—a political event as a sporting event.

In linguistics, the frame concept is also central and used to describe the complex net of semantic relations of words. According to Fillmore's theory of frame semantics (1982), every word evokes a frame, and a word's meaning cannot be fully understood without knowing all the parts belonging to the semantic frame to which it belongs. One popularly cited example to illustrate this is Fillmore's (1982) commercial transaction frame. Fillmore argues that we cannot grasp the meaning of the verb *to sell* if we do not have access to all the elements belonging to a commercial transaction scenario, that it involves a buyer, seller, goods, and an exchange of currency. The word *sell* thus evokes all these related parts of the concept, constructing the frame.

Similarly, Lakoff regards frames as mental structures that shape how we see the world (Lakoff, 2004), but more importantly, he notes that most of the metaphorical framing takes place on an unconscious level (Lakoff, 2002). Therefore, the notion of framing being an unconscious process also holds enormous potential for influencing our worldview and ideology. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) note:

Metaphors have entailments through which they highlight and make coherent certain aspects of our experience[...]. Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. A metaphor may thus be a guide for future action[...]. This will, in turn, reinforce the power of metaphor to make experience coherent. In this sense, metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies. (p. 156)

It is not surprising then that framing frequently occurs in political communications, both directly through politicians and through the media (Entman, 1993), since both entities act as mediators to communicate certain issues to the public. In fact, framing is “the central process by which government officials and journalists exercise political influence over each other and over the public” (Entman, 2003, p. 417).

Moreover, Langacker (1987) suggests that entrenchment is fostered by the repetition of a cognitive or linguistic unit, meaning the more we hear a metaphor used, the more entrenched it becomes in our memory, and vice versa; the less cognitive effort is needed to activate the unit, the more salient it becomes (Schmid, 2010). Highlighting certain aspects of an issue and thereby elevating them in salience frames also determines how individuals comprehend and remember an issue, influencing people’s evaluations and actions. Consequently, salience makes “a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences” (Entman, 1993, p. 53).

How repeated exposure to a particular linguistic structure, such as metaphor and its entailments, manifests more strongly in the listener’s mind the more often they hear it (Entman, 1993) is best illustrated by a recent example of framing in political discourse: Donald Trump’s speeches during the 2016 presidential election, in which he regularly referred to his opponent, Hillary Clinton, as “crooked Hillary.” Lakoff notes that repeatedly framing Clinton as a crook unconsciously led people to conceive her as such.² Lakoff further explains that even when a frame is negated, it is activated. In his famous example of President Richard Nixon’s 1973 statement, “I am not a crook,” regarding the Watergate scandal, Nixon framed himself by evoking the viewers’ knowledge of what a *crook* entails and unknowingly connected these negative characteristics to himself.³

It is evident how closely interrelated framing and metaphor are in explaining how language, especially figurative language, affects content and our perception of the world. The following quote by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), regarding the conceptual metaphor INFLATION IS AN ADVERSARY expresses how metaphor not only structures our thought, but also is a carrier for ideology. They note that:

[...] not only gives us a very specific way of thinking about inflation but also a way of acting toward it. We think of inflation as an adversary that can attach us, hurt us, steal from us, even destroy us. The INFLATION IS AN ADVERSARY metaphor therefore gives rise to and justifies political and economic actions on the part of our government: declaring war on inflation, setting targets, calling for sacrifices, installing a new chain of command, etc. (p. 34)

Lakoff (2002) has also shown how different political sides express their worldview and moral reasoning by comparing the discourse of liberals and conservatives through a

² <https://georgelakoff.com/2016/07/23/understanding-trump-2/>

³ <https://blogs.berkeley.edu/2018/06/13/trump-has-turned-words-into-weapons-and-hes-winning-the-linguistic-war/>

distinct preference for conceptual metaphors related to family models. Lakoff found that, while conservatives speak of the state in terms of a strict-father-model, in which morality is based on authority and rigid rules, in contrast, liberals view the state as a nurturing parent, in which morality is based on respect, compassion, and care.

Accordingly, metaphors utilized by politicians hold enormous potential to manipulate how an audience will interpret certain issues, and researchers have long assumed that metaphors have the power to influence reasoning, judgment, and consequently political attitudes and outcomes.

Landau and Keefer (2014) suggest that metaphor can immensely bias people's attitudes toward a particular political matter and imbue these attitudes with "subjective confidence" (p. 47), which renders them more resistant to change *ex post facto*. In other words, once a metaphor is activated and one is exposed to all the involved associations of the mappings from the source to the target domain, what was highlighted in the metaphor preserves and manifests as a belief about the issues at stake and is hard to discard later. What is more important is that metaphors "may structure understanding of the target so thoroughly that they seem instead to be literal descriptions of the target issue" (p. 470).

The impact metaphorical framing has on reasoning is further illustrated by Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2011), who remark that "even the subtlest instantiation of a metaphor (via a single word) can have a powerful influence over how people attempt to solve social problems like crime and how they gather information to make 'well-informed' decisions" (2011, p. 1). In their study, participants were divided into two groups. Each were provided with a small excerpt about a crime in a fictional town. For one group, the crime was framed as a "beast preying" on the town, whereas for the other group, it was framed as a "virus infecting" the town. The results vividly illustrate how the participants adapted their reasoning on how to best solve the problem in accordance with how the issue had been framed for them. The participants who were exposed to the beast metaphor were more likely to choose punitive measures ("capture/enforce/punish"), while the participants exposed to the virus metaphor chose reformatory measures ("diagnose/treat/inoculate") (Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011). This study reveals how conceptual metaphors unconsciously influence people's moral judgment by activating a specific metaphorical frame through which they filter their decision-making abilities. It also exemplifies how framing highlights certain characteristics over others, and, in the words of Entman (1993, p. 52), is the process of "select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and make[ing] them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (p. 52).

These findings are significant because they point to the subtlety with which metaphorical mappings can influence attitudes. Lastly, metaphoric framing is not limited to linguistic utterances, but also exists in visual discourse, such as political cartoons (Landau & Keefer, 2014, p. 463) and election posters.

In another study by Boroditsky (2001), she explores individuals' temporal judgments in English and Mandarin. Both languages use spatial terms to conceptualize time in a horizontal manner (front/back), such as in, *That relationship is behind me*, or *They have a long, happy life before them*. However, Mandarin also uses vertical spatial metaphors (up/down) to describe time, where earlier events in time are *up* and later events are *down* (p. 5). Experimental studies show that these different spatiotemporal metaphors affect how participants perceive time, which was reflected in their response time to temporal questions about being exposed to horizontal or vertical primes. English speakers were faster at establishing that "March comes *earlier* than April" (p. 12), after horizontal primes, while the opposite proved true for Mandarin speakers who were faster at verifying it after vertical primes.

The findings of all these studies support claims that frames not only determine how individuals comprehend and remember an issue, but that they also influence people's evaluations and actions. These studies suggest that conceptual metaphors indeed influence our way of thinking, and more importantly, they seem to influence thought differently depending on the language; this inevitably recalls the now jettisoned view of Whorf's (1956) linguistics determinism.

2.6 Universality of Conceptual Metaphor

While the notion that language determines all our thoughts and actions is unsupportable, it is evident that metaphor not only structures our view of the world, but arguably also primes and preconditions us toward certain choices and biases.

The discussion of linguistic determinism, in fact, also addresses the larger matter of CMT's universality, and the question of whether the same conceptual metaphor can be found in all languages has continuously occupied researchers' attention in the field of cognitive linguistic theory. Kövecses (2010), comparing conceptual metaphors in several unrelated languages, essentially purports the view that some conceptual metaphors indeed are similar, such as emotions' target domain, particularly happiness and anger, ascribing it to a correlation of universal embodied experience across languages and cultures.

As for cross-cultural variation, the source domains for a particular target domain might vary and vice versa, or the conceptual metaphors across languages are the same, but the language shows a preference for using one conceptual metaphor over another (Kövecses, 2010). Kövecses points out that in Chinese, the conceptualization of anger through a pressurized container metaphor shows a preference for the content to be gaseous and not fluid (p. 56), calling this process "differential experiential focus" (2010, p. 203), which means that although the physical reactions (i.e., the embodiment) to a particular emotion such as anger, (higher heart rate, flushing, etc.) is universal, the experiential focus, here the physical reactions that are foregrounded, can differ across culture. Overall, a putative universality of anger metaphors has been disputed by many scholars. Geeraerts and Grondelaers (1995), for instance, claim that cross-linguistic

similarities of anger metaphors have a cultural motivation that can be attributed to the history of the humoral theory (p. 176) rather than to embodiment.

In addition, while many source domains for conceptual metaphors are shared cross-culturally, languages can have other language-specific metaphors. Chinese, for example, shares all primary source domains with English, but adds another language-specific domain for happiness, HAPPINESS IS A FLOWER IN THE HEART (Kövecses, 2010, p. 57). However, Kövecses also acknowledges variation of metaphors occurring in the social, cultural, regional, and diachronic dimensions of language (2005). As for the social dimensions, metaphor use can vary between gender, age, and social class. For example, differences in subcultural metaphors can be found in the discourse of religious groups. Another critical aspect that Kövecses does not explicitly mention, but which intersects with many of his arguments, is the pragmatic dimension of metaphor included in the CMA approach adopted in this study. In addition, the diachronic dimension is particularly exciting since it can point to a “differential experiential focus” within the same language over time. One very telling example by Gevaert (2001), who investigated the conceptualization of anger in English, shows that the “differential experiential focus” is also not diachronically constant. Using several historical corpora, she showed that anger-related metaphors wildly fluctuated between the Old and Middle English period, suggesting that metaphorical conceptualizations, as with all language phenomena, undergo changes over time and are correlated to socio-historical and geopolitical changes.

As these later studies show, metaphors do shift over time depending on their socio-political context. This current study also attempts to explore such shifts in metaphor over time in the discourse of the AfD before and after they joined the German Bundestag—which is outlined in the following chapters.

CHAPTER III

GERMANY: THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

Populism remains a version of the politics of fear: It mobilizes the crowd by invoking the fear of the corrupt intruder. – Slavoj Žižek

3.1 The *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD)

3.1.1 The Development of the AfD: From Euro-Critical to the Right-Wing Populist

Populist politics have been present in Europe since the 1990s; however, in the last twenty years, Europe has seen far-right parties steadily spread across the continent, entering governments, and securing seats in the European Parliament. Now, almost half of all countries in Europe have seen an increase in nationalism and the emergence of right-wing populist parties in their parliament. In 2019, in the European Parliament, the dominant far-right parties of Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, and Italy, have formed a new group, entitled Identity and Democracy—comprised of 73 members of the 751-seat assembly.⁴ These parties have become powerful forces in Europe’s political landscape, garnering increasing voter support and polarizing the public debate, with most sharing anti-EU attitudes and strong opposition to immigration (Lemke, 2020).

This rise of populist parties and movements is mainly rooted in several crises, i.e., the financial crises of 2008, the Eurozone crisis of 2010, and the refugee crisis of 2015, in addition to a “growing urban-rural divide in western societies” and “increasing distrust of political institutions, rising euro-skepticism and feelings of alienation—‘strangers in their own land’” (Lemke, 2020 p. 2).

Emerging out of these crises, the *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) was founded in February 2013 by a group of conservatives disappointed with the *Christian Democratic Union* (CDU) and Angela Merkel’s leadership, especially regarding the Eurozone, the monetary union of the EU states (Lees, 2018, p. 299), as well as the financial politics of Europe during the financial crisis involving the member states of the EU in 2010, and since then has generated great attention and polarization of the public and political debate about Europe.⁵

In the beginning, the AfD established itself as a “Euro-critical” party, but not quite right-wing populist party—an ideology which did not emerge until 2014, when they were very successful in the state elections, particularly scoring votes in the states of former East Germany and ultimately securing themselves seats in the state parliaments of Saxony, Thuringia, and Brandenburg.⁶

⁴ <https://www.bpb.de/politik/grundfragen/parteien-in-deutschland/afd/273130/geschichte>

⁵ <https://www.bpb.de/politik/grundfragen/parteien-in-deutschland/afd/273130/geschichte>

⁶ <https://www.bpb.de/politik/grundfragen/parteien-in-deutschland/afd/273130/geschichte>

Although not founded until 2013, the party's background can be traced back much further, as far back as the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, which established the European Union and the subsequent adoption of the common currency, the Euro.⁷ What followed these events was a movement of "Euro-adversaries" who tried to pursue legal action against the Maastricht Treaty, which were unsuccessful. However, a little over 20 years later, one of the same actors who was involved in this legal complaint would become one of the founders of the AfD.⁸

Even the party's name, Alternative für Deutschland (*Alternative for Germany*), is an allusion to a comment made by the German chancellor during the European financial crisis, in which she called the monetary bailout of Greece, a country which was extensively affected by the crisis, as "alternativlos" ("having no alternative").

Although the party did not have much initial success in the 2013 parliamentary election, this drastically changed in 2014 in the European election and Germany's concurrent municipal elections, which not only enabled the AfD to send their delegates into the European parliament but also into many smaller local offices.

An ideological turning point can be seen in 2015 with the beginning of the refugee crisis in Europe. After this, the party's initial dissent to the financial politics of Europe changed increasingly to right-wing populist attitudes. The public, then already unsettled by the incoming flow of refugees, gave the AfD even more support after the 2016 Islamic terror attacks in Paris, Brussels, Nice, and Berlin, and the mass assault of women by migrant men in Cologne on New Year's Eve 2015. The AfD used these events to present itself as the mouthpiece of "the people," pressing for a more restrictive immigration policy, one of their main political demands. Aside from stricter immigration policies, the AfD also calls for the reinforcement of the police and criminal justice system and the protection of the family. The party openly criticizes climate policy measures, as well as the focus of German "Erinnerungskultur" (*culture of memory*) solely on the time of national socialism.⁹

In September 2017, the AfD was elected to the 19th German Bundestag with 12.6% of the votes, the biggest party in the opposition, following two grand coalition parties, CDU (26.8%) and SPD (20.5%).¹⁰

Since the party entered parliament, a continual shift in its discourse from its initial Euro-criticism to increasingly right-wing populism could be observed, with their rhetoric and word-choice becoming more radical and often reminiscent of National Socialism, so much so that it prompted them to be placed under observation by the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution.¹¹

⁷ <https://www.bpb.de/politik/grundfragen/parteien-in-deutschland/afd/273130/geschichte>

⁸ <https://www.bpb.de/politik/grundfragen/parteien-in-deutschland/afd/273130/geschichte>

⁹ <https://www.bpb.de/politik/grundfragen/parteien-in-deutschland/afd/273130/geschichte>

¹⁰ https://www.bundeswahlleiter.de/info/presse/mitteilungen/bundestagswahl2017/34_17_endgueltiges_ergebnis.html

¹¹ <https://www.bpb.de/politik/grundfragen/parteien-in-deutschland/afd/273130/geschichte>

3.1.2 Political Categorization and Votership

Because their leadership is based on authoritarianism, some of the party members' ties to right-wing extremist organizations and their attraction of voters from different socio-economic backgrounds (Lochoki, 2015, p. 2) makes the AfD a prime example of right-wing populism.

However, there has been much debate over whether right-wing populism can even be regarded as a political ideology (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2013), a discursive strategy (Stavarakis, 2017), or a political style (Moffitt, 2016). Mudde (2004, p. 542), for instance, argues that populism is "an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people." Aslanidis (2016), on the other hand, regards populism as a discursive strategy rather than an ideology and describes it as

The systematic dissemination of frame that diagnoses reality as problematic because "corrupt elites" have unjustly usurped the sovereign authority of the "noble people" and maintains that the solution to the problem resides in the righteous political mobilization of the latter in order to regain power. (p. 99)

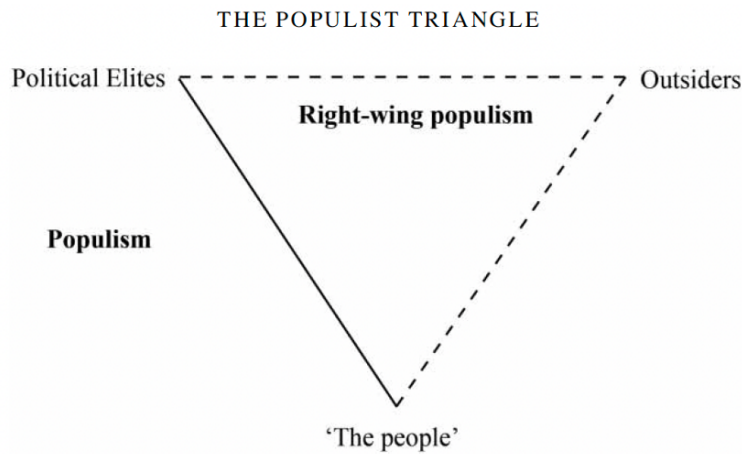
Either way, populism always creates a dichotomy between "the people" and "the elites" (Wodak, 2017) in which "the people" are seen as analogous to the nation. In addition, populists use blame and betrayal narratives, often accusing "the elites" of neglect, incompetence, and egocentrism, thus, creating "scapegoats and enemies," who are at fault for creating one's misfortune (Wodak, 2021, p. 8).

In right-wing populism, however, this binary extends to another outgroup, namely "the other" (Doyle-White, 2019; Wodak 2021), who are often epitomized by minority groups such as migrants, refugees, Muslims, and so forth. In addition, the loss of trust in the current politics or political leaders can help give rise to right-wing populist parties, who, through their rhetoric, define themselves as the "self-defined saviors of 'the people' [...] presenting themselves as authentic and trustworthy" and creating "an image of themselves as the 'true representatives of the people' in contrast to 'the untrustworthy political classes', perceived by them as having failed" (Wodak 2017, p. 551). As also seen in the discourse of the AfD, populists become the mouthpiece for "the people" who are oppressed by the elites or "threatened" by certain outgroups.

For the AfD, "the elites" are epitomized by the established parties, here the "Altparteien" (CDU and SPD), as well as Angela Merkel, while the migrant crisis of 2015 supported the creation of another, second outgroup, "the other," embodied by refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants, extending their discourse from solely anti-establishment rhetoric to include anti-migrant attitudes. This "populist triangle" is represented by Berbuir et al. (2014, p. 157) through the following diagram:

Figure 3

The Populist Triangle



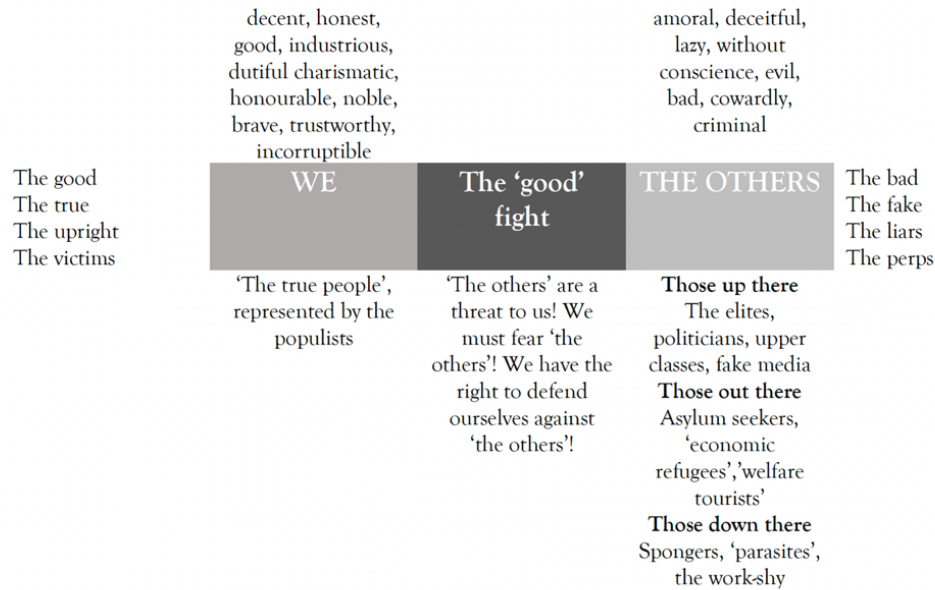
Note. From N. Berbuir et al., 2014, p. 157

Aside from establishing a binary anti-elitist and anti-other rhetoric, populist discourse can be characterized by appealing to their voters’ emotions or “gut feelings” while at the same time being very simplistic. Instead of offering concrete political solutions or proposals (Mudde, 2004, p. 542), they create a “politics of emotion” (Mudde, 2004) when it comes to the elites, and a “politics of fear” (Wodak, 2021) in regard to “the other.”

Metaphor is crucial to creating emotional impact and constructing our reality, and it is unsurprising that it is so frequently used as a rhetorical device in right-wing populist discourse. This far-right populist mindset, and the characteristics of each group, which, as will be shown in later sections and are also mirrored in the data, are outlined very aptly by Wodak (2021, p. 29).

Figure 4

The Right-Wing Populist Mindset



Note. From R. Wodak, 2021, p. 29

The question remains, who are the voters of the AfD to which this “politics of emotion” is directed, and what is the appeal to vote for the party? Statistics show that during the 2017 federal election, more men than women voted for the AfD, 16.3% and 9.2%, respectively, without any notable differences between East and West Germany.¹² The age distribution of voters shows that the AfD proved to be most successful in garnering votes from the 35 to 59 year-old’s (15%), while they only received 8% from the youngest (18–24) and oldest (over 70) voter groups, respectively.¹³ However, concerning the social structure of the AfD votership, no concrete conclusions can be drawn, as studies have shown very mixed results.¹⁴

For one thing, in West Germany, the AfD appears to attract more voters with a lower household income or who work in the industrial sectors. At the same time, in East Germany, they seem to be particularly popular in rural areas affected by a large outflux of people to more urban areas. Similarly, neither education nor profession shows a clear tendency, pointing to an average education of the voters. Although, one-fourth of the AfD

¹² <https://www.bpb.de/kurz-knapp/zahlen-und-fakten/bundestagswahlen/zufbtw-2017/279740/waehlerstimmen/>

¹³ <https://www.bpb.de/themen/parteien/parteien-in-deutschland/afd/273131/wahlergebnisse-und-waehlerschaft-der-afd/>

¹⁴ <https://www.bpb.de/themen/parteien/parteien-in-deutschland/afd/273131/wahlergebnisse-und-waehlerschaft-der-afd/>

voters are blue-collar workers or unemployed (more than voters in any other party), the other three-fourths identify as staff, civil employees, or self-employed.¹⁵

However, overall voter satisfaction and attitudes towards certain issues show a clear trend, with a more significant general dissatisfaction and a greater aversion to Germany's immigration policies.¹⁶ Right-wing populist rhetoric often thrives on instrumentalizing the already-existing resentment and dissatisfaction of the populations by taking on the role of spokesperson of “the people” and promising quick solutions and change (Wodak, 2021). This overall dissatisfaction, then, may have played a pivotal part in the party's successes in the last federal election.

¹⁵ <https://www.bpb.de/themen/parteien/parteien-in-deutschland/afd/273131/wahlergebnisse-und-waehlerschaft-der-afd/>

¹⁶ <https://www.bpb.de/themen/parteien/parteien-in-deutschland/afd/273131/wahlergebnisse-und-waehlerschaft-der-afd/>

CHAPTER IV METHODOLOGY

4. Methodology

As noted, this study follows CMT (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and CMA (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005) theories and combined with corpus linguistics to identify keywords and collocates. In this chapter, I will discuss the corpus methodology and elaborate on the corpora, the data collection, and the procedure for metaphor identification used to answer my research questions.

4.1 The Corpora

The combined corpus of this investigation consists of over 7,107 press releases published by the AfD over four years. All official press releases from 2016–2019 are accessible on the AfD’s official parliamentary website¹⁷ and the party’s website.¹⁸ This large corpus was chosen to present a thorough analysis of the metaphors used over time, thus allowing us to making a stronger claim of validity. Due to the size of the corpus, the data was compiled using the corpus analysis tool AntConc.¹⁹ The database files for the two corpora have been made accessible for further research (see Appendix).

Table 2

Total Number of Press Releases in Corpora

Corpus Name	Years	Press Releases	Words
Corpus A	2016–2017	697	145,743
Corpus B	2017–2019	6,410	621,974
Total		7,107	767,717

Since the investigation’s objective is to compare the party’s metaphorical discourse before and after they became a member of parliament, the press releases were divided into two separate corpora. The first consists of 697 press releases from January 2015 to December 2016 (145,743 word-tokens) before the AfD became a member of the Bundestag, and the second corpus consists of the 6,410 press releases published during the first two years in the Bundestag from January 2017 to December 2019 (621,974 word-tokens).

Since the right-wing populist worldview is constructed as a binary between “the people” and “the other” and express anti-EU attitudes and strong opposition towards these two outgroups—here, the elite/the establishment and migrants—this study is interested in

¹⁷ <https://www.afdbundestag.de/presse>

¹⁸ <https://www.afd.de/presse/>

¹⁹ <https://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>

how the AfD metaphorically frames Europe/the EU, immigration, and the government in opposition to themselves. In order to systematically search for these topics in the corpora, several search words and collocates (lemmas) belonging to these topics were selected and grouped. These lemmas were selected by determining all possible synonyms and subsets of a topic. For instance, for the discourse topic "immigration," all synonyms and collocates for the word "refugee" and "immigration" were included. Similarly, the discourse topic "German government" includes all search words relevant to this topic, such as the other parties in parliament, different forms of address for the chancellor, and so on.

Table 3 illustrates the discourse topics and the respective search words used to identify them in the corpora. The table indicates their distribution in connection to all word tokens pertaining to the discourse topics in each corpus (n = 1,825 in Corpus A; n = 5,512 in Corpus B).

Table 3

Discourse Topic Search Words in Press Releases by Corpus

Topics	Corpus A (2016–2017) (Words = 145,743; Tokens = 1,825)		Corpus B (2017–2019) (Words = 621,974; Tokens = 5,512)		
	Search words	Word tokens	Percent	Word tokens	Percent
EUROPE/EU (total)		240	13.2%	804	14.6%
<i>EU, Europäische Union, Europa, Deutschland</i>		240	13.2%	804	14.6%
GERMAN GOVERNMENT (total)		513	28.1%	1,772	32.1%
<i>Bundesregierung, Bundestag Bundeskanzlerin Merkel, Kanzlerin Merkel</i>		64	3.5%	832	15.1%
<i>Kanzleramt</i>		362	19.8%	775	14.1%
<i>Kanzleramt</i>		3	0.2%	19	0.3%
<i>“Altparteien”²⁰</i>		35	1.9 %	59	1.1%
<i>Etablierte Parteien, die Etablierten</i>		28	1.5%	29	0.5%
<i>SPD, CDU/CSU, FDP, Die Grünen, GroKo, Große Koalition, die Union</i>		21	1.2%	58	1.1%
IMMIGRATION (total)		842	46.1%	2,028	36.8%
<i>Immigration, Immigranten</i>		15	0.8%	6	0.1%
<i>Zuwanderung, Zuwanderer</i>		74	4.1%	151	2.7%
<i>Migration, Migranten</i>		193	10.6%	673	12.3%
<i>Einwanderung, Einwanderer</i>		47	2.6%	147	2.7%
<i>Flüchtlings, Flüchtlinge</i>		133	7.3%	404	7.3%
<i>Asyl, Asylbewerber/suchende</i>		380	20.8%	647	11.7%
THE AfD (total)		230	12.6%	908	16.5%
<i>AfD, Alternative für Deutschland</i>		230	12.6%	908	16.5%
Totals		1,825	100%	5,512	100%

Notes. All numbers are shown with one decimal place and rounded up at 0.5%

Table 3 shows the distribution of the search words for all discourse topics within both corpora in word tokens and percentages. A comparison of corpus A and B reveals a slight increase for the discourse topics Europe/the EU (13.2% in Corpus A; 14.6% in Corpus B), the Government (28.1% in Corpus A; 32.1% in Corpus B), and the AfD (12.6% in Corpus A to 16.5% in Corpus B), while Immigration as a topic decreased

²⁰ “Altparteien” is a pejoratively term used by the AfD to refer to the established parties: CDU/CSU, SPD, Bündnis 90/ Die Grünen, die Linke, FDP

from 48.1% (Corpus A) to 36.8% (Corpus B). This likely can be attributed to a greater variety of topics that the AfD had to address after they entered the Bundestag, thus mitigating their previous topics of interest. However, it certainly also indicates that the topic of Immigration has become slightly less of a focus since the AfD became a member of the Bundestag. The increase in the topics of Government by the AfD is also interesting, since, in many of the metaphors found in the corpus, the AfD positions itself in opposition to the government's actions and policies. This will be discussed in further detail in the data analysis section later.

Overall, it also must be noted that some of the lexemes constituting the different topics indicate a more obvious difference. For example, within the Government discourse topic, the lexeme *Bundesregierung* increases from 3.5% to 15.1%, coinciding with the AfD's membership in parliament, whereas the term *Bundeskanzlerin Merkel* slightly decreases from 19.8% (Corpus A) to 14.1% (Corpus B). This observation will become even more striking later, as the data also show a higher metaphoricity for *Bundeskanzlerin Merkel*, suggesting that while Merkel is less frequently a topic of concern in Corpus B, the AfD more often frames her actions metaphorically.

Similarly, the topic of Immigration also decreases by 11.3% from Corpus A to Corpus B; in fact, almost all lexemes composing this topic indicate a slight decrease in the later corpus. In Corpus A, the most common lexeme found in connection to the discourse topic of Immigration is *Asyl* ("asylum") and its various compounds with 20.8%; followed by *Migration* ("migration") and *Migranten* ("migrants"), with 10.6%; and *Flüchtlings-* ("refugee-"), *Flüchtlinge* ("refugees") with 7.3%. In contrast, Corpus B indicates a slight increase in the use of *Migration* and *Migranten* to 12.3%, and a 9.1% decrease of *Asyl*. Although this shift in terminology, from a tendency of describing refugees as *Asylsuchende* ("asylum seekers") to *Migranten*, is subtle and perhaps arbitrary, it is interesting. These two terms appear almost synonymous at first; however, *Migranten* is devoid of the pathos invoked by *Asylsuchende*, connoted by a recognized hardship such a certain danger (political or religious) which warrants protection, refuge, and a request for asylum. A migrant, on the other hand, is free of this later connotation of urgency and peril, but instead implies an act of free will in the migration taking place—a voluntary departure from one's home country in search of a better life perspective. Even this seemingly insignificant usage of words, which at first seem interchangeable, influences how the public conceptualize refugees.

4.2 Data collection & Interpretation

Due to the large sample size of 7,107 press releases, this study solely examined those relating to aspects of Europe/the EU, the Government, Immigration, and the AfD in order to ascertain if a shift in the AfD's metaphors coincided with the shift in ideology from Euro-critical to right-wing populist, and how the metaphors for these topics mirror the populist binary of the AfD as representatives of "the people" versus "the other."

Table 3's search words were used to identify each press release's subject, and each output was examined for its literal or metaphorical meaning with the help of the Metaphor Identification Procedure (Pragglejaz Group, 2007). Once the conceptual metaphors were identified for each topic, a list of source domains, keywords, and conceptual metaphors for each topic was produced.

4.3 Metaphor Identification

One of the often-noted drawbacks of CMT is that it does not have a designated procedure for identifying metaphor, and the identification of literal and metaphorical meaning is usually based on the researcher's intuition. Thus, the question arises, what is considered a metaphor, and what is not? Moreover, how do we know that a statement, e.g., *He was feeling really down about the break-up*, is indeed a metaphorical statement?

These debates on reliably identifying metaphors have been addressed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). Their *MIP: A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse* is not a theory of how individuals think of certain words as metaphorical or not, but rather was created as a tool for metaphor researchers to recognize metaphorical usage strategically. In their three-step procedure to metaphor identification, a text is first read, and all lexical units isolated. Then the lexical units' contextual and primary meaning is determined, where the primary meaning is considered their most basic dictionary definition. If the contextual meaning and the basic meaning contrast each other, a lexical unit is considered metaphorical.

The three-step procedure for the MIP application is illustrated below with the following example: *A wife who wants out of marriage is trapped by finances.*²¹

Step 1: The first step consists of isolating all lexical units of a given text:

Example 1: *Wife/ who/ wants/ **out**/ of/ marriage/ is/ trapped/ by/ finances.*

Step 2: The second step establishes the contextual and basic meaning of the lexical units, which entails checking each word's meaning in its context against the primary dictionary definition. I illustrate this through the example of the preposition *out*:

Example 2: *out*

- a) Determine the contextual meaning: In this context, the preposition *out* introduces the marital status which the wife holds at this moment, as being married.

²¹ *Dear Abby*, March 7, 2020. Accessible at: <https://www.uexpress.com/life/dearabby/2020/03/07>

- b) Determine the basic meaning (dictionary definition): The preposition *out* has the more basic meaning of introducing a physical container or bounded area that is exited via physical movement, as in *She got out of her car and drove away.*

Step 3: The third step compares the contextual meaning with the basic meaning. In the above example, the contextual meaning contrasts with the primary word-meaning of the preposition *out* and can be understood by comparison. As mentioned earlier, abstract social relationships such as marriage are often understood as containers and the process of becoming a member of a group as entering a container or a space. Thus, in this context, it would be determined that *out* is being used metaphorically, namely to exit the relationship.

The next chapter presents the data analysis, including all source domains found in the data along with their conceptual mappings and the keywords identified for each source domain.

CHAPTER V DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Data Analysis and Comparison

The following chapter presents and compares the data from both corpora and outlines all source domains by topic, frequencies, and conceptual mappings.

5.2 Total Distribution of Source Domains

Table 4 illustrates the frequency of source domains for Corpus A (2016–2017) and Corpus B (2017–2019) for all metaphors found in the corpora, not yet focusing on the discourse topics.

Table 4

Frequency of Total Conceptual Metaphors by Source Domain and Corpus

Source Domain	Corpus A		Corpus B		Totals per Row	
JOURNEY/VEHICLE	154	(27.5%)	610	(28.0%)	764	(27.9%)
BUILDING	23	(4.1%)	99	(4.5%)	122	(4.5%)
PERSON	180	(32.2%)	608	(27.9%)	788	(28.8%)
WAR	62	(11.1%)	362	(16.6%)	424	(15.4%)
GAMES	45	(8.1%)	170	(7.8%)	215	(7.9%)
SPORTS	10	(1.8%)	60	(2.8%)	70	(2.6%)
COMMERCE	20	(3.6%)	69	(3.2%)	89	(3.3%)
THEATER	26	(4.7%)	68	(3.1%)	94	(3.4%)
HEALTH & ILLNESS	12	(2.1%)	34	(1.6%)	46	(1.7%)
ANIMAL	0	(0.0%)	14	(0.6%)	14	(0.5%)
WATER	27	(4.8%)	83	(3.8%)	110	(4.0%)
Totals per Topic	559	(100%)	2,177	(100%)	2,736	(100%)
Totals across Topics	559	(20.4%)	2,177	(79.6%)	2,736	(100%)

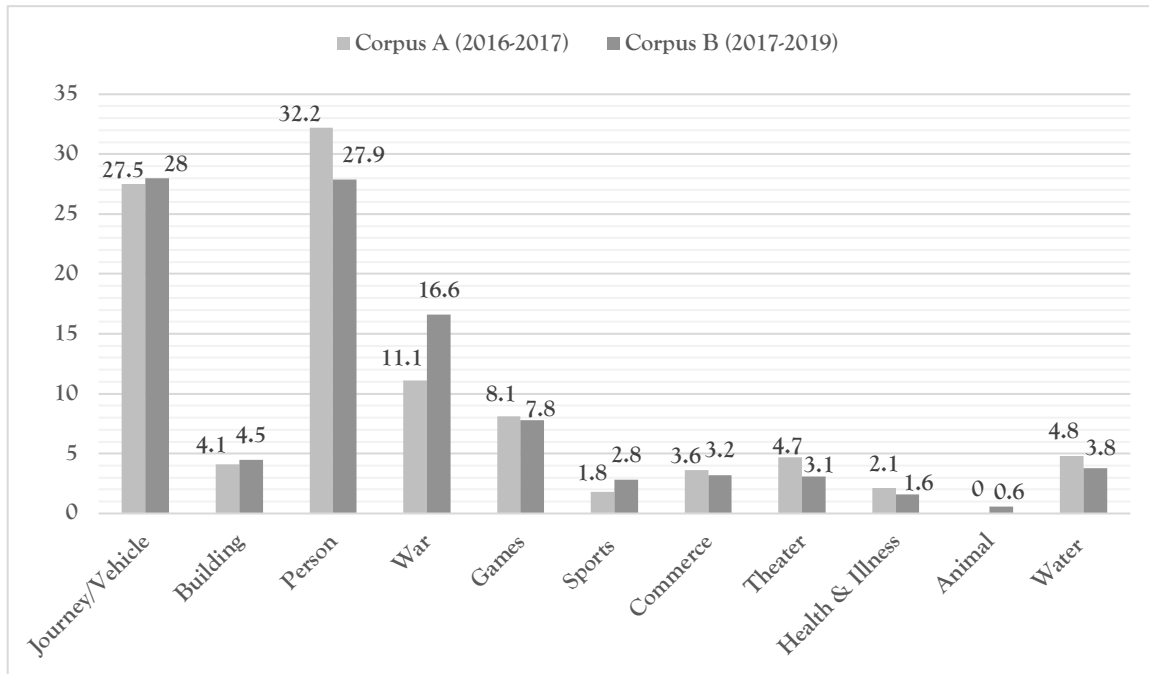
Table 4 and Figure 5 illustrate the total number of metaphors found in the two corpora overall for each source domain, not yet focusing on the discourse topics, which will be discussed in section 5.3. Upon first inspection of the data most source domains appear to be distributed similarly across both corpora; however, closer analysis reveals that they are distributed differently by corpus.²² This difference likely can be attributed to the PERSON and WAR source domains, which show the largest point difference across corpora, and are directionally opposite, i.e., PERSON decreases 4.3% from Corpus A (32.2%) to Corpus B (27.9%), whereas WAR increases 5.5% from Corpus A (11.1%) to Corpus B (16.6%). In

²² A chi-square test of independence was conducted to examine the relation between corpus and distribution of source domains, revealing a significant association between the variables, $X^2(10, N = 2736) = 22.4, p = .013$.

addition, the JOURNEY/VEHICLE and PERSON source domains, which constitute approximately two-thirds of all metaphors found in the data also reveal a slight difference in ranking. While Corpus A indicates PERSON as the top ranked source domain overall, in Corpus B, PERSON falls slightly below JOURNEY/VEHICLE metaphors.

Figure 5

Total Distribution of Source Domains Total for all Conceptual Metaphors by Corpus in %.



Note. Number of all conceptual metaphors in Corpus A = 559, number of conceptual metaphors in Corpus B = 2,177, total $N = 2,736$.

The following section examines both corpora’s metaphors for each discourse topic in question, presenting the distribution of metaphors utilized in press releases about the German Government, Immigration, Europe/the EU, and the AfD.

5.3 Total Distribution of Source Domains by Topic and Corpus

Table 5 outlines the frequency of the source domain by topic in Corpus A before the AfD became a member of the Bundestag (2016–2017).

Table 5

Frequency of Conceptual Metaphors in Press Releases by the AfD in Corpus A (2016–2017). Types of Source Domain per Discourse Topic n = 236.

Source Domain	German Government	Immigration	Europe/EU	AfD	Totals per Row
JOURNEY/VEHICLE	38 (24%)	5 (13.9%)	6 (23.1%)	3 (18.7%)	52 (22.0%)
BUILDING	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (30.8%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (3.4%)
PERSON	48 (30.4%)	0 (0.0%)	10 (38.4%)	6 (37.5%)	64 (27.1%)
WAR	12 (7.6%)	5 (13.9%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (31.3%)	22 (9.3%)
GAMES	20 (12.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	20 (8.5%)
SPORTS	5 (3.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (2.1%)
COMMERCE	9 (5.7%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	9 (3.8%)
THEATER	19 (12.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	19 (8.1%)
HEALTH & ILLNESS	7 (4.4%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (7.7%)	2 (12.5%)	11 (4.7%)
ANIMAL	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
WATER	0 (0.0%)	26 (72.2%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	26 (11.0%)
Totals per Topic	158 (100%)	36 (100%)	26 (100%)	16 (100%)	236 (100%)
Totals across Topics	158 (66.9%)	36 (16.5%)	26 (11.0%)	16 (6.8%)	236 (100%)

Table 5 presents the frequency of all metaphorical source domains by topic, i.e., a subset of all conceptual metaphors found in Corpus A of AfD’s press releases pertaining to the discourse topics. The table indicates that the most common source domains are PERSON (27.1%), JOURNEY/VEHICLE (22.0%), and WATER (11.0%). Moreover, the data show that of all topics, the most metaphorical language was used to represent the German Government (66.9%), followed by Immigration (16.5%), Europe/the EU (11.0%), and lastly, the AfD (6.8%). Overall, JOURNEY/VEHICLE metaphors most frequently depict the German Government, BUILDING metaphors Europe/the EU, and the source domain WATER is used solely to represent Immigration matters (72.2%), whereas the other source domains, aside from JOURNEY/VEHICLE (13.8%), never appear to frame Immigration. Taking a closer look at the other source domains, which commonly represent the German Government, they are evident as PERSON (30.3%), JOURNEY/VEHICLE (24.1%), and GAMES (12.7%). The PERSON source domain takes precedence in the Europe/the EU discourse topic, with over one-third (35.7%) of metaphors for this topic using the personification. In addition, BUILDING metaphors are a common source domain to conceptualize matters of states or nations, such as for Europe/the EU (28.6%), followed by JOURNEY/VEHICLE types (23.1%). Metaphors for the AfD themselves are rare in the corpus. However, when present, they often are realized through the source domain PERSON (37.5%), WAR (31.3%), and JOURNEY/VEHICLE (18.8%), as well as a few instances of HEALTH & ILLNESS metaphors (12.5%).

Table 6 outlines the source domain frequency by topic in Corpus B, after the AfD had become a member of the Bundestag.

Table 6

Frequency of Conceptual Metaphors in Press Releases by the AfD in Corpus B (2017–2019). Types of Source Domain per Discourse Topic n = 779.

Source Domain	German Government		Immigration		Europe/ EU		AfD		Totals per Row	
JOURNEY/VEHICLE	90	(15.2%)	11	(15.3%)	9	(25.0%)	7	(9.1%)	117	(15.0%)
BUILDING	36	(6.1%)	0	(0.0%)	10	(27.8%)	0	(0.0%)	46	(5.9%)
PERSON	220	(37.0%)	0	(0.0%)	10	(27.8%)	31	(40.3%)	261	(33.4%)
WAR	59	(9.9%)	0	(0.0%)	1	(2.8%)	36	(46.8%)	96	(12.3%)
GAMES	76	(12.8%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	2	(2.6%)	78	(10.0%)
SPORTS	10	(1.7%)	0	(0.0%)	3	(8.3%)	1	(1.3%)	14	(1.8%)
COMMERCE	30	(5.1%)	4	(5.6%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	34	(4.4%)
THEATER	36	(6.1%)	0	(0.0%)	1	(2.8%)	0	(0.0%)	37	(4.7%)
HEALTH & ILLNESS	26	(4.4%)	0	(0.0%)	2	(5.6%)	0	(0.0%)	28	(3.6%)
ANIMAL	11	(1.9%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	11	(1.4%)
WATER	0	(0.0%)	57	(79.2%)	0	(0.0%)	0	(0.0%)	57	(7.3%)
Totals per Topic	594	(100%)	72	(100%)	36	(100%)	77	(100%)	779	(100%)
Totals across Topic	594	(76.3%)	72	(9.2%)	36	(4.6%)	77	(9.9%)	779	(100%)

Table 6 presents an overview of the most prevalent source domains for each discourse topic—again constituting a subset of all conceptual metaphors in Corpus B. In correspondence to the trends observed in Corpus A’s data, PERSON, and JOURNEY/VEHICLE are the most common source domains overall (33.4% and 15.0%, respectively.) Corpus B also indicates the German Government as the most frequently framed metaphorically, attributing again about three quarters (76.3%) of metaphors to this topic. Immigration shows a 7.3% decrease in Corpus B (9.2%) compared with Corpus A (16.5%), while the AfD shows a slight increase of 3.1% (6.8% in Corpus A and 9.9% in Corpus B). It is noteworthy that overall, all source domains are now found with their largest frequency within the German Government topic, except WATER, which, again, is exclusively ascribed to Immigration.

Focusing on the most common source domain for the subject of German Government, again, a similar distribution to Corpus A can be noted with PERSON (37.0%), JOURNEY/VEHICLE (15.2%), and GAMES (12.8%). The subject Immigration again shows a trend predominately towards WATER metaphors (79.2%), whereas BUILDING and PERSON (both 27.8%) and JOURNEY/VEHICLE (25.0%) are most frequently used for Europe/the EU. On the other hand, the AfD topic now shows a preference for the source domain WAR over PERSON (46.8% and 40.2%, respectively).

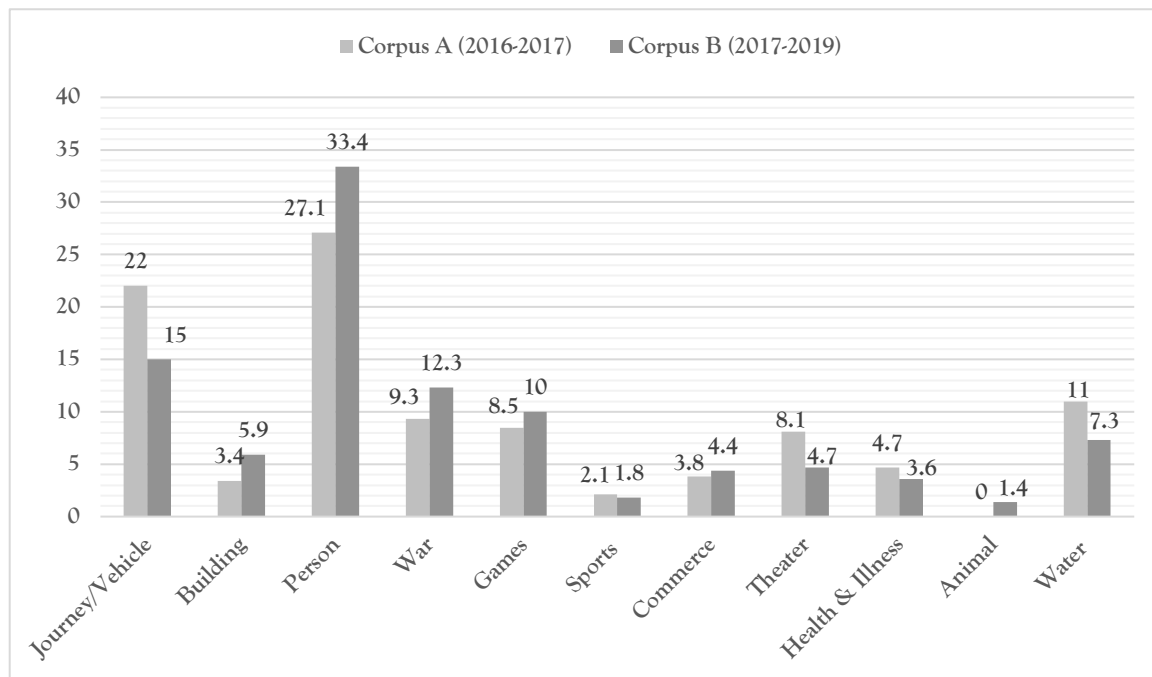
The next section compares the data from the 2016–2017 and 2017–2019 corpus. It presents, in detail, the most frequent source domains for each topic, their mappings, conceptual metaphors, and linguistics instantiations.

5.4 Diachronic Comparison of Source and Target Domains in Corpus A and B by Topic.

This section looks at both the source and target domains of Corpus A (2016–2017) and Corpus B (2107–2019) by discourse topic.

Figure 6

Frequency of Source Domains by Discourse Topics and Corpus in %.



Note. Number of all conceptual metaphors for the discourse topics in Corpus A (n = 236), number of conceptual metaphors for the discourse topics in Corpus B (n = 779), total N = 1,015.

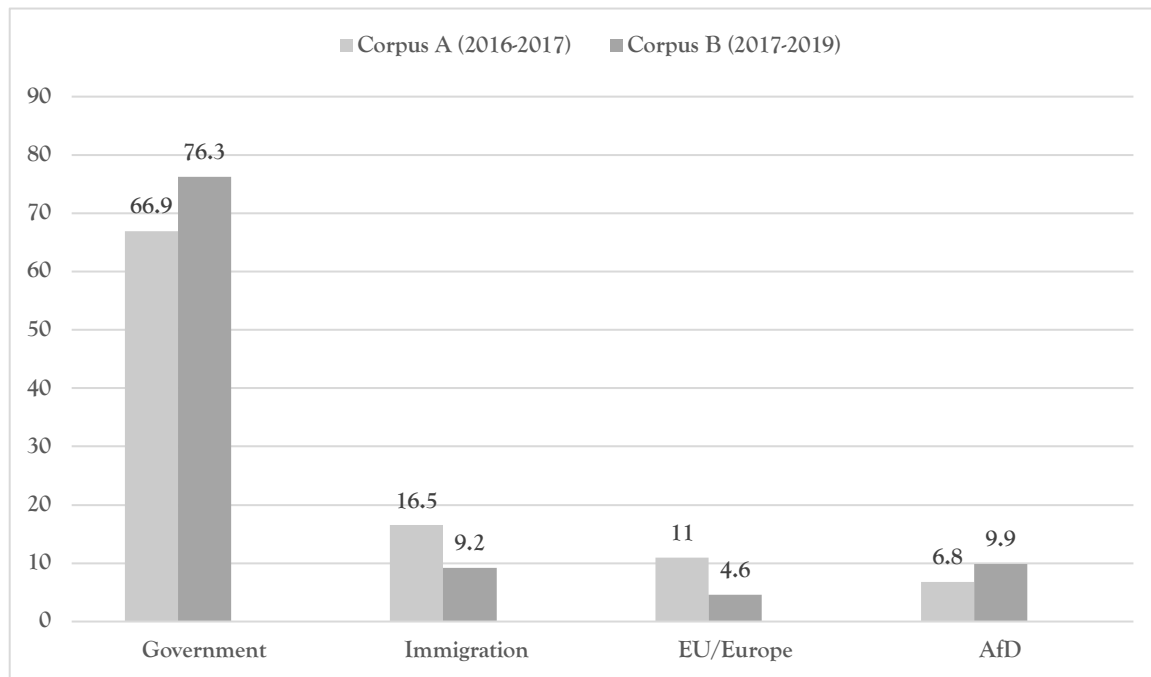
Returning to the distribution of all source domains in the overall data across corpora (Figure 4), JOURNEY/VEHICLE and PERSON source domains altogether account for two-thirds of all metaphors found in the data, with the source domains HEALTH & ILLNESS and ANIMAL the least frequent overall. WAR has an 3% increase.

Considering the distribution of source domains for our subjects in Figure 6 above, we see that JOURNEY/VEHICLE and PERSON still account for the most common source domains. Counter to the overall frequency, the distribution of other source domains differs from the overall distribution for the discourse topic data. In particular, the data indicate a 7% decrease of JOURNEY/VEHICLE metaphors, and a 6.3% increase of the PERSON source domain from Corpus A to B (Figure 6; cf. Tables 5 and 6).

Figure 7 outlines the data for AfD’s press releases in each corpus, pointing to several trends in the distributions of discourse topics across corpora.

Figure 7

Frequency of Discourse Topics in Press Releases Conceptualized Metaphorically by the AfD by Corpus in %.



Note. Number of all conceptual metaphors for the discourse topics in Corpus A = 236, number of conceptual metaphors for the discourse topics in Corpus B = 779, total N = 1,015.

As Figure 7 illustrates, there appears to be a slight shift in the frequencies of the discourse topics. The Government as a topic, shows a 9.4% increase. Again, as hypothesized earlier, this shift coincides with the AfD becoming a member of the Bundestag in the later corpus. In addition, both topics, Immigration and EU, decrease to 7.3% and 6.4%, respectively. A 3.1% increase is also found for the AfD discourse topic.

In summary, the data point to several trends across corpora: (1) Corpus A and B indicate a similar metaphoricity overall (Table 4). When comparing the use of metaphors for the discourse topics (Government, Europe/the EU, Immigration, AfD; see Figure 6) it is evident that (2) the same source domains are favored to frame the same topics with a similar frequency; (3) as a discourse topic, the Government allows the widest variety of source domains and is most frequently metaphorically represented, whereas Immigration is almost exclusively framed in terms of WATER; (4) all discourse topics are framed through a greater variety of source domains in Corpus B, than in Corpus A (cf. Figure 6 and Tables 5 and 6); (5) the source domain WAR shows the largest increase overall, especially for the AfD themselves; and (6) the AfD is the one discourse topic that is least frequently depicted metaphorically. The next section will explain in detail how these topics are metaphorically represented in the corpora.

5.5 Source Domain Mappings

The following section illustrates the cross-domain mappings for each source domain and target domain for the conceptual metaphors used by AfD politicians to represent political matters regarding the Government, Europe/the EU, Immigration, as well as how the AfD positions themselves metaphorically. As mentioned earlier, the source domain is generally a concrete and less abstract entity, such as an object, that is mapped onto the more abstract, non-physical target domain.

5.5.1 JOURNEY/VEHICLE Metaphors

The JOURNEY/VEHICLE source domain is the second most frequent source domain in both corpora overall, making up 27.9% of all metaphors (Table 4). It belongs to the category of structural metaphors and is used for all topics but is mostly to frame state leadership and policies.

The metaphors for the topics of interest framed through the JOURNEY/VEHICLE source domain decreased 7% from Corpus A to Corpus B (22.0% to 15.0%) (cf. Tables 5 and 6 above). In both corpora, JOURNEY/VEHICLE metaphors were most prevalent for the Government (24.0% and 15.2%), Europe/the EU (23.1% and 25.0%), and Immigration (13.9% and 15.3%). The following table summarizes the mappings for the source domain JOURNEY/VEHICLE (adapted from MetaNet²³):

Table 7

Source and Target Domain Mappings: JOURNEY/VEHICLE

Mappings		
Vehicle	→	Nation
Passengers	→	Citizens
Vehicle Drivers/Pilots	→	Leaders/Ideologies
Roads/Paths taken by Vehicle	→	Decisions
Road Signs	→	Laws
Destinations	→	Ideologies
Vehicle Type	→	Velocity/Force (Mode)
Functional Status of Vehicle	→	Success or Failure of Journey
Course of the Vehicle	→	Success or Failure of Journey

When JOURNEY/VEHICLE metaphors are used to talk about politics, the vehicle, which can be a locomotive, boat, or plane as seen in the data, usually corresponds to the nation as whole, with its citizens as the passenger. Furthermore, the vehicle can be steered either be the nation's leader(s) or by personifications of more abstract concepts such as ideologies. Laws and policies, or other important political decisions, serve as road-signs leading the way to a certain destination. The vehicle type often indicates the velocity or force of the vehicle; for instance, a sailboat indicates a slower and steadier movement with

²³ <https://metaphor.icsi.berkeley.edu/pub/en/>

a momentum that is dependent on other factors, such as wind, compared to a plane or locomotive, which implies greater force and speed. Similarly, depictions of the functional status of the vehicle, such as breaking-down or being on a collision course, further expands on the success or failure of its journey and thus its political endeavor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Musolff, 1998)

The following section provides examples of the JOURNEY/VEHICLE source domain and its various conceptual metaphors from the data.

5.5.1.1 JOURNEY/VEHICLE Metaphors for the Government

The AfD uses JOURNEY/VEHICLE metaphors to represent the actions and decisions of the government and Chancellor Merkel regarding their policies, evoking the conceptual metaphors: POLITICAL PARTIES ARE A VEHICLES, POLITICIANS ARE PILOTS/DRIVERS OF VEHICLES, GOVERNMENT IS A VEHICLE, and GOVERNMENT IS THE PILOT/DRIVER OF A VEHICLE. Thus, in example (1) Chancellor Merkel is represented as the driver of an unspecified vehicle adhering to her course, indicated as missed (*verfehlt*), while in example (2), the term *im Sinkflug* alludes to her as the pilot of a quickly descending plane with an inevitable crash ahead if her politics do not undergo an immediate change.

Examples:

- (1) Selbst jetzt, wo es nach den grausamen Attentaten jedem klar sein muss, dass die offenen Grenzen uns in höchste Terror-Gefahr begeben, hält *Merkel* [DRIVER] an ihrem *verfehlten Kurs* [DIRECTION] fest. (February 2017)
- (2) *Merkel* [PILOT] *im Sinkflug* [DIRECTION]! Die Asyl-Kanzlerin hat binnen Wochen fast sieben Prozent eingebüßt. (September 2017)

Similarly, the AfD represents the government as a vehicle heading into a disaster, alluded to by the collocate that defines the way as disastrous (*verhängnisvoll*) in example (3). In addition, example (4) further extends the image of the government as a vehicle. In example (4), *links überholt* conveys that the government is being passed on the left by other vehicles (i.e., governments or nations). A left passing also implies that the government is no longer the fastest vehicle on the road and, as such, has moved to a slower lane, allowing others to pass it. This imagery suggests that the federal government and its policies are outmoded and surpassed by other nation's policies.

Examples:

- (3) Wenn es noch eines Beweises bedurft hätte, dass die *Bundesregierung* [VEHICLE] im Hinblick auf die Langzeitarchivierung des deutschen Filmerbes

auf einem *verhängnisvollen Weg* [DIRECTION] ist, dann ist dieser nun erbracht. (November 2018)

- (4) Mit diesem *Antrag* [OBSTACLE] wird selbst die EU-begeisterte *Bundesregierung* [VEHICLE] noch links überholt. (October 2019)

In summary, these metaphorical expressions used by AfD politicians contributes to constructing the government's representations, decisions, policies, and governing style as futile and dangerous, while at the same time evoking a sense of urgency and danger.

5.5.1.2 JOURNEY/VEHICLE Metaphors for Europe and the European Union

The EU also is portrayed by the AfD as a vehicle, evoking the conceptual metaphor EUROPE IS A VEHICLE, THE EU IS A VEHICLE, here indicated by the keywords “course” (*Kurs*) in example (5), as well as by “wrong way” (*Irrweg*) in example (6). The notion of *Irrweg*, which is metaphorically applied to the EU's politics, suggests that their policies are wrong and futile, while in (7) the vehicle EU has already lost its way—designated as the “democratic way,” implying that the EU is no longer adhering to its democratic principles.

In example (8), the EU is depicted as having maneuvered itself into a dangerous situation, i.e., they are trapped and cannot escape because they have chosen the wrong path. In addition, the term “one-way street” (*Einbahnstraße*) refers to the EU's political decisions and policies as one-directional and highlights the AfD's disapproval and suggests that they view them as biased and inflexible.

While the previous examples evoke images of motor vehicles, especially automobiles or planes, the notion of changing switches (*falsche Weichenstellung*) in example (9) evokes imagery of Europe as a railroad train. The term *Weichen-* is interesting here, as they are used to guide trains from one track onto another and towards their correct destination. However, the metaphor of railroad switches that have been put in place incorrectly, thus forcing the train to move in the wrong direction, implicates the wrong decisions of the government, which will lead the train (here the nation) in the wrong direction and towards an unfavorable outcome.

Furthermore, in example (10), the EU is depicted as a sailboat, signaled by the verb “to tack” (*lavieren*), which connotes a sailboat moving against the wind in a zig-zag motion. This metaphor has various implications. For one, the notion that the sailboat is sailing against the wind implies a reduced speed and a greater effort to reach its destination, while the notion of moving to and fro between “promises and good intentions” further implies that there is no destination in sight. With this metaphor, the AfD suggests that the EU is not making the most advantageous decisions, but rather prolongs its political journey without following any concrete goal.

Examples:

- (5) Es ist an der Zeit, die *Bürger* [DRIVERS] über den *Kurs* [DIRECTION] der *EU* [VEHICLE] entscheiden zu lassen. (June 2016)
- (6) Ein *EU-Finanzministerium* [PATH/ROAD] ist ein absoluter *Irrweg* [DIRECTION].[...] weitere Souveränität und Befugnisse zugunsten eines EU-Finanzministeriums nach Europa abzugeben, ist für die Mitgliedstaaten *brandgefährlich* [OUTCOME] und die absolut *falsche Abbiegung* [DIRECTION] am propagierten *Scheideweg* [PATH]. Diese vorgeschlagene Variante ist ein *Irrweg* [DIRECTION]. Er führt direkt in einen *europäischen Schuldensozialismus* [DESTINATION]. (February 2016)
- (7) Das zeigt: die *EU* [VEHICLE] hat den *demokratischen Weg* [PATH/ROAD] offiziell verlassen. (October 2018)
- (8) Daher verwundert es nicht, dass die *Gespräche* [COURSE] seit Jahren den Charakter einer *Einbahnstraße* [DIRECTION] haben. [...]. In welcher gefährlichen Lage sich die *EU* [VEHICLE] bei Ihrer Einbahnstraßen-Politik *hineinmanövriert* hat, zeigt die jüngste Entwicklung in Syrien. (March 2018)
- (9) Die betrogenen Sparer, Rentner und Kleinanleger [VEHICLES] werden sich auch bei der Bundesregierung bedanken können, die die *falschen Weichenstellungen* [COURSE] tatenlos hingenommen hat. (July 2019)
- (10) Auch in Sofia zeigten sich die grundsätzlichen Probleme des Beitrittsprozesses. Die *EU* [VEHICLE] laviert zwischen Versprechungen und Absichtserklärungen [DIRECTION]. (October 2018)

5.5.1.3 JOURNEY/VEHICLE Metaphors for Immigration

Immigration is another topic that the AfD represents through the JOURNEY/VEHICLE source domain, and the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRATION IS A VEHICLE. In the following examples, the vehicle lacks a conductor or is steering in a backward direction. The collocate “uncontrolled” (*ungesteuert*) in examples (11) and (12) highlights the AfD’s view that immigration has become out of control and implies a need for regulation. The image of a vehicle which is *ungesteuert* further evokes the notion of urgency and a harmful outcome if it is not controlled. In example (13), immigration, here mainly referring to Muslim immigration, is portrayed as a vehicle forcing Germany back into the Middle-Ages. This movement backwards in time to a different era—an era often evoking the negative connotation of the dark ages—notes a regression of culture and

progress induced through the very vehicle of immigration, which exposes the AfD's negative ideology towards Muslim immigration.

Examples:

(11) Selbstverständlich hängen die Gewalttaten mit der *ungesteuerten Einwanderung* [VEHICLE] aus anderen Kulturkreisen nach Deutschland zusammen. (January 2016)

(12) Die milliardenschwere Vernichtung von Volksvermögen durch Euro-, Rettung, 'Energiewende und *ungesteuerte Einwanderung* [VEHICLE] zieht [FORCE] Deutschland [PERSON] in den internationalen Abstieg [DESTINATION]. (June 2019)

(13) Aus Angst, man könne irgendjemanden verärgern, schauen die Regierenden lieber seelenruhig zu, wie *wir* [VEHICLE] nach und nach zivilisatorische Errungenschaften aufgeben und uns dank der muslimischen Zuwanderung [FORCE] wieder *Richtung Mittelalter* [DIRECTION] bewegen. (August 2016)

5.5.1.4 JOURNEY/VEHICLE Metaphors for the AfD

The AfD itself also uses JOURNEY/VEHICLE metaphors to represent their own actions, especially the conceptual metaphors POLITICAL PARTIES ARE A VEHICLE and POLITICIANS ARE PILOTS OF VEHICLES, generally using more positive evaluations of their political journey and course. In example (14), the verb "to change" sides (*umschwenken*) in connection to "the course of the AfD" (*auf den Kurs der AfD*) suggests that the AfD is a vehicle on the desired course to which other vehicles eventually veer; which implies that others see the AfD's point of view and join them on their "path."

The metaphor in example (15) again highlights their different course and evokes an image of the AfD as captains of a boat. The phrase "to change tack" (*das Ruder herumreißen*), which is the AfD's self-proclaimed aim in this metaphor, thus implies that they hope to force a sudden course change in the well-established parties; taking charge of a rudder and yanking it in a different direction also implies their perceived urgency to avoid a catastrophic outcome. Through this metaphor, the AfD represents the current politics of well-established parties as disastrous while simultaneously creating an image of their party as rescuers. Furthermore, example (16) evokes an image of the AfD as a sailboat, but, in contrast to example (10) in which the EU was moving against the wind, the AfD here is moving with "tailwind" (*Rückenwind*). The implication of *Rückenwind* is that it is favorable for their vehicle to gain momentum and reach their destination. Lastly, example (17) does not specify a vehicle but instead highlights their journey. Here, the AfD portrays itself as a

party who will not join others on their “wrong way” (*Irrweg*), thus exclaiming their opposition to the government’s decisions.

Examples:

- (14) Vor Kurzem hatten [die *Altparteien*] [VEHICLE 1] noch weitere Erleichterungen zum Erwerb der deutschen Staatsbürgerschaft verabschiedet—jetzt schwenken sie wieder einmal auf den *Kurs* [COURSE] der *AfD* [VEHICLE 2] um! (April 2017)
- (15) Immer mehr Wähler haben erkannt, dass einzig und allein die *AfD* [VEHICLE] für einen komplett *anderen Kurs* [COURSE] steht und diese gescheiterte Politik von Angela Merkel korrigieren wird. Ziel ist es, als Oppositionsführer im Bundestag die *Altparteien* [VEHICLE] vor uns her zu treiben, um das Ruder [DIRECTION] in diesem *Land* [VEHICLE] in letzter Sekunde noch einmal herumzureißen. (September 2017)
- (16) Die *AfD* [VEHICLE] startet mit *Rückenwind* [VELOCITY] in diese Woche—die grandiose Großveranstaltung direkt vor dem Mailänder Dom auf Einladung des italienischen Innenministers Matteo Salvini hat gezeigt, dass die *Patrioten Europas* [PASSENGERS] nicht nur auf dem *richtigen Weg* [DIRECTION] sind, sondern dass sich auch immer mehr Menschen diesem *Weg* [PATH] anschließen[...]. (May 2019)
- (17) Koalitionsentwurf zur Reform des §219a StGB²⁴ ist ein *Irrweg* [PATH]! [...]. Die *AfD* [VEHICLE] wird *einen solchen Irrweg* [PATH] nicht mitgehen! (February 2019)

These examples illustrate how the *AfD* applies JOURNEY/VEHICLE metaphors to represent political decisions and actions as either negative or positive. The actions of the Government, Europe/the EU, and Immigration are generally evaluated negatively, illustrated by the vehicle’s breakdown or incorrect course, while the *AfD* depicts its course as the correct one.

²⁴ Criminal Code §219 a StGB—the so-called “advertising ban for abortions” prohibited German doctors from advertising and providing detailed information about abortion. It was overturned on July 24, 2022.

5.5.2 BUILDING

Building metaphors make up a total of 4.5% in the corpora overall (Table 4, p. 28). Comparing the data across the two corpora by discourse topics represented through this source domain, a slight 2.5% increase in building metaphors can be found from 3.4% to 5.9% respectively (Tables 5 and 6).

In Corpus A (Table 5), BUILDING metaphors are only found for Europe/the EU (30.8%), with almost one-third of all metaphors for Europe/the EU belonging to this source domain. In Corpus B (Table 6), BUILDING metaphors, too, are found to conceptualize Europe/the EU (27.8%), as well as the Government (6.1%). BUILDING metaphors are ontological metaphors, in which something abstract, such as states or nations, is conceptualized through a tangible object, such as a house or another kind of dwelling. The following table shows the mappings for the source domain BUILDING (adapted from MetaNet):²⁵

Table 8

Source and Target Domain Mappings: BUILDING

Mappings		
Building	→	Government/Nation
Building Structure	→	Authoritative Structure
Building Stability	→	Functional Status
Building's Inhabitants	→	Citizens

Metaphors belonging to the source domain BUILDING are frequently used in political discourse to depict the current state of a nation or government, which corresponds to the building type and with the authoritative structures of government coinciding with the building structures (Charteris-Black, 2006). When expressed as a crumbling, tilting, or ramshackle structure, the building's (in)stability highlights the perceived functional status of the said government as defective. The building type, when explicitly mentioned, in a metaphor adds another layer about the characteristics of the government. There, metaphorical depictions of government, e.g., as a bunker, allude to the perceptions of such a structure as being a military fortification which is supposed to protect the people inside from outside attacks, and thus, yielding a sense of impermeability.

5.5.2.1 BUILDING Metaphors for Europe and the European Union

The AfD conceptualizes Europe and the EU through the BUILDING source domain and the conceptual metaphor EUROPE IS A BUILDING/ THE EU IS A BUILDING. In examples (18) and (19), the terms “door” (*Tür*) and “key” (*Schlüssel*) represent the EU and Europe as a house evoking all the aspects that we connect to the concept of a house. For example, the idea that there is a key (*Schlüssel*) to the door shows

²⁵ <https://metaphor.icsi.berkeley.edu/pub/en/>

that access is not allowed to just anyone, but only to its lawful inhabitants (i.e., families, roommates, the owner, tenants, etc.), and so implies not only a shared background of the people but also responsibility and exclusivity. In addition, in example (20), “foundation” (*Grundstruktur*), here specified as democracy itself, alludes to the EU’s instability when represented by the AfD with the collocate “weak” (*schwach*). Example (21) conceptualizes Germany as a building and designates the foundation on which it has been built as the constitution (*Grundgesetz*).

Examples:

- (18) Selbst nach dem Verfassungsreferendum will der deutsche Außenminister Gabriel die Tür in *die EU* [BUILDING] weiter offenhalten und verhindert den Abbruch der Verhandlungen. (May 2017)
- (19) Auch aus diesen Gründen lehnte die AfD bereits im November 2015 in einer Parteitagresolution zur Außenpolitik die Einbindung Erdogans in eine Lösung der Flüchtlingskrise ab. Insbesondere dürfe ihm nicht der ‚Schlüssel zu *Europa*‘ [BUILDING] in die Hand gedrückt werden. (August 2016)
- (20) Die *EU* [BUILDING] ist von *schwacher demokratischer* [BUILDING FOUNDATION] Grundstruktur, sie wird niemals den Demokratieniveau von Nationalstaaten erreichen können. (June 2017)
- (21) *Deutschland* [BUILDING] ist auf dem *Fundament des Grundgesetzes* [BUILDING FOUNDATION] ein Rechtsstaat. Jeder, der in unserem Lande lebt, hat unsere Gesetze zu respektieren und sich nach ihnen zu richten. (May 2019)

As illustrated, many of the metaphors in the corpus represent Europe and the EU as a building. The data revealed depictions of Europe as a house and place of exclusivity to which not everyone is admitted access, while metaphors for the EU imply its instability or weak structure.

5.5.3. PERSON

Overall, personification is found with 28.8% total in the corpora (Table 4), making it the second most frequent source domain after JOURNEY/VEHICLE. The source domain PERSON, also belonging to the realm of ontological metaphors, shows a 6.3% increase from Corpus A to B (27.1% to 33.4%) when comparing usage of the domain for the discourse topics and is overwhelmingly found in metaphors for the German Government (A = 30.4% and B = 37.0%) and Europe/the EU (A = 38.4% and B = 27.8%), and the AfD (A = 37.5% and B = 40.3%) in both corpora (Tables 5 and 6).

Here, groups such as nations, governments, or institutions are personified wholes who act on something or are affected by someone else's action. In the data, this source domain frequently intersects with several others such as WAR, GAMES, SPORTS, COMMERCE, THEATER, and HEALTH & ILLNESS. The conceptual mappings for this source domain can be outlined as follows:

Table 9

Source and Target Domain Mappings: PERSON

Mappings		
Person	→	Institution/Group
Person's Actions, Decisions, and Characteristics	→	Institutions'/Groups' Actions, Decisions, and Characteristics

The PERSON source domain, of course, entails all the physical traits, ailments, and behaviors of human beings (Lakoff 2002), and thus is a very productive source domain overall to express moral evaluation. Generally, the data reveals that political groupings, such as the government, political parties, or other political institutions, are personified and attributed a person's moral and immoral behaviors, such as gambling, endangering others, or, as found in the data, being a passive bystander to a crime and sacrificing individuals.

5.5.3.1 PERSON Metaphors for Europe and the European Union

In the following examples from Corpus A, both Europe and the EU are represented as a person, with all these representations ascribing a negative moral evaluation to the EU and its behavior and evoking the conceptual metaphor EUROPE/THE EU IS A PERSON. In (22), the term “to show one's true face” (*wahres Gesicht zeigen*) suggests the EU's insincerity and deceptiveness, while “stand on the sidelines” (*tatenlos zusehen*) evokes the image of a passive bystander who is not interfering with a dangerous situation.

Examples:

(22) Die EU [PERSON] zeigt ihr wahres Gesicht. (May 2017)

(23) Die Situation in der Türkei verschlimmert sich kontinuierlich und die EU [PERSON] sieht bestenfalls tatenlos zu. (May 2017)

In Corpus B, the AfD also represents Europe and the EU as a person in need of help. For example, in (24), where Europe is depicted as a powerless person who must be empowered to defy (*gegenstellen*) new waves of immigration out of its own strength (*aus eigener Kraft*). In example (25), the EU receives a voice, indicated by the verb “screams” (*schreit*) and its outcry of “blue murder” (*Zeter und Mordio*), emphasizes the EU's

dissatisfaction with its immigration policy. Lastly, in example (26), both Europe and its suggested attacker, Islamism, are personified. Here, “chokehold” (*Würgegriff*) evokes the image of Europe as a person being choked and alluding to the image of a person being attacked and forcefully constricted of air and blood flow, consequently rendering them powerless, unconscious, or dead if prolonged too much. All these implications shape the metaphorical images while also providing insight into the AfD’s political ideology.

Examples:

(24) *Europa* [PERSON] muss endlich in die Lage versetzt werden, sich aus eigener Kraft gegen eine neue Flüchtlingswelle stellen zu können. (September 2019)

(25) *Die EU* [PERSON] schreit jetzt Zeter und Mordio, aber erhebt selber derzeit auf Autoimporte aus den USA 10 Prozent Zoll, die USA dagegen nur 2,5 Prozent. (February 2019)

(26) Massenpanik in London: *Islamismus* [PERSON 1] hat *Europa* [PERSON 2] fest im Griff! [...]. Alice Weidel, Fraktionsvorsitzende der AfD im Bundestag: „Der *Islamismus* [PERSON 1] hat *Europa* [PERSON 2] im Würgegriff—ein Sicherheitsgefühl existiert nicht mehr.“ (November 2017)

5.5.3.2 PERSON Metaphors for the Government

The German government is also frequently depicted as a person by the AfD—although exclusively as an immoral one. In (27), the government is portrayed as a trickster covering the true results and concealing dangers from them, indicated by the terms *Augenwischerei*, and *kaschieren* (“to mask”), implying deliberate deception and concealment by the government. Example (28) illustrates a widespread metaphor found in the corpora, in which the AfD represents the government as a person sacrificing something or someone on an altar (*auf dem Altar opfern*). The data show that the “sacrifice” is common goods, values, rights, or, as in the said example, the inner security of Germany. In other examples, the environment, freedom of press and speech, education, unborn life, and democracy are sacrificed. The metaphorical “idol” for which the offering is made, or which is being appeased by this metaphorical sacrifice, changes accordingly but always relate to parliamentary ideology or policies. Thus, example (28) provides insights into the AfD’s view of immigration as endangering and extinguishing Germany’s inner security. This metaphor further evokes the image of the government as engaging in archaic, cruel rituals for its own good, but also as belonging to the past and being in misalignment with current beliefs and practices. This kind of sacrifice metaphor makes up 4.2% of all PERSON metaphors for the government in corpus A and 10% in Corpus B. The following are examples of GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON in both corpora:

Examples:

- (27) Die *Bundesregierung* [PERSON] brüstet sich mit der Nachricht, einen Haushalt ohne neue Schulden vorlegen zu können. Tatsächlich betreibt sie mit ihrer ‚schwarzen Null‘ Augenwischerei und kaschiert die eigentlichen Gefahren. (January 2017)
- (28) Diejenigen Politiker, welche die *Innere Sicherheit* [SACRIFICE] auf dem Altar der *grenzenlosen Zuwanderung* [IDOL] opferten, sind nun die gleichen, die nichts gegen die Folgen ihrer katastrophalen Politik unternehmen wollen. (August 2017)
- (29) Auch scheint es Merkel nicht zu scheren, den *deutschen Parlamentsvorbehalt* [SACRIFICE] auf dem Altar der *Vergemeinschaftung* [IDOL] zu opfern. (May 2016)
- (30) Die Regierungsparteien opfern mit dem Einwanderungsgesetz den *deutschen Arbeitsmarkt* und das *Asylrecht* [SACRIFICE] auf dem Altar *blinder Willkommenskultur* [IDOL]. (November 2018)
- (31) Die *gut funktionierenden Einlagensicherungssysteme der deutschen Banken und Sparkassen* [SACRIFICE] werden auf dem Altar der *europäischen Vergemeinschaftungsideologie* [IDOL] geopfert. (November 2019)
- (32) „Regenbogenfamilien machen einen sehr kleinen Teil unsrer Gesellschaft aus. Die ersten Worte, die ein Kind spricht, sind oft ‚Mama‘ oder ‚Papa.‘ *Diese Worte* [SACRIFICE] opfert Frau Giffey auf dem Altar der *Genderideologie* [IDOL], auch das ist eine Diskriminierung der traditionellen Familie. (June 2019)
- (33) So wird die *Pressefreiheit* [SACRIFICE] auf dem Altar der *Migrationspropaganda* [IDOL] geopfert. (May 2019)
- (34) Statt dem Antrag der AfD zuzustimmen oder einen Änderungsantrag zu stellen, wurde der *europaweite Vogelschutz* [SACRIFICE] jedoch durch die Ablehnung des Antrags auf dem Altar der *Parteipolitik* [IDOL] geopfert. (March 2019)
- (35) Die *Existenz unserer kleinen und mittleren landwirtschaftlichen Familienbetriebe* [SACRIFICE] wird auf dem Altar des „*Klimaschutzes*“ [IDOL] geopfert. (March 2019)

- (36) Die CDU hat *den Schutz des ungeborenen Lebens* [SACRIFICE], auf dem Altar des *Machterhalts* [IDOL] geopfert. (February 2019)
- (37) *Die Kontrolle über die Außengrenzen* [SACRIFICE], ist eigentlich integraler Bestandteil der Staatlichkeit Deutschlands sowie zugleich Versprechen des Schengener Abkommens. Offenbar soll sie aber in vorauseilendem Gehorsam auf dem Altar des ‚*Zukunftsmodell*‘ *Schwarz-Grün* [IDOL] (CSU-Parteivize Weber) geopfert werden. (September 2019)
- (38) Mit jeder zunehmenden Einflussnahme durch die EU wurde in den folgenden Jahren *ein Stück unserer nationalen Souveränität* [SACRIFICE], auf dem Altar *einer bürokratischen, EU-weiten Vergemeinschaftung von Recht und Gesetz* [IDOL] geopfert. (May 2019)
- (39) Sport ist da, um zu verbinden—gerade über Meinungsverschiedenheiten hinweg—und nicht um den *sportlichen Geist* [SACRIFICE] auf dem Altar *parteilichtischer Spaltversuche* [IDOL] zu opfern! (January 2018)

In Corpus B, the AfD represents the government as “blind” (*blind*) (40) and “one-eyed” *Einäugig* (41) regarding their different views of left- and right-wing parties. The AfD here specifies the left eye as the impaired one, expressing their dissatisfaction with the government’s left-wing politics and implies that left-wing ideologies are allowed greater leeway than right-wing ideologies. In example (42), the AfD further personifies the government signaled by the verb *wegducken* (“to duck away”), which implicates the government as neglecting their responsibilities, while other nations act. Examples (43) and (44) strengthen the representation of idleness with the terms *tatenlos zusehen* (“to stand on the sidelines”) and *verschlafen* (“oversleep”), thus evoking the image of a passive bystander or as a sleeping person when it comes to immigration and its regulation.

In contrast, example (46) depicts the government as destructive to equal rights (*Gleichberechtigung*) indicated by the phrase *die Axt anlegen* (“applying the axe”), while example (47) evokes an image of the government as ruthless and engaging in medieval means of torture indicated by *Daumenschrauben anlegen* (“applying thumbscrews”). As illustrated by the earlier examples (28)–(39), their actions are represented as engaging in somewhat archaic and cruel behaviors that evoke imagery of medieval punishments, which belong in the past.

Examples:

- (40)[...] das Ergebnis eines weiteren völligen Politikversagens einer *Merkel-Regierung* [PERSON], die auf dem linken Auge vollkommen blind zu sein scheint. (July 2017)
- (41)Brandner macht deutlich, dass eine derartige Schiefelage bei der Bekämpfung des politischen Extremismus extrem gefährlich ist und von politischer Einäugigkeit der *Bundesregierung* [PERSON] zeugt. (February 2018)
- (42)Während Polen und die USA ihre Kampagne gegen die geplante Gastraße fast im Wochentakt verschärfen, duckt sich die *Bundesregierung* [PERSON] weg. (January 2018)
- (43)Die *Bundesregierung* [PERSON] darf der Zuwanderung aus anderen EU-Ländern nicht tatenlos zusehen. (November 2018)
- (44)Weidel weist auch auf die aktuelle Entwicklung hin, dass tausende junger Männer aus den Asylslagern in Griechenland sich über die Balkanroute auf den Weg in die EU machen. [...]. Die *Bundesregierung* [PERSON] verschläft diese Entwicklung nicht nur, sondern fördert sie im Gegenteil sogar. (October 2019)
- (45)*GroKo* [PERSON] verschläft dringend notwendige Änderung des Bundestagswahlrechts (September 2019)
- (46)Die *Bundesregierung* [PERSON] legt hier die Axt an die *Gleichberechtigung europäischer Staaten* [AFFECTED] und fordert ganz offen ein Druckmittel gegen Abtrünnige. (October 2018)
- (47)Wo bleibt hier die Gleichbehandlung der Hersteller in Europa? Die *Bundesregierung* [PERSON] legt unseren *Herstellern* [AFFECTED] die Daumenschrauben an. (June 2018)

5.5.3.3 PERSON Metaphors for the AfD

In contrast to metaphors for the government, the AfD represents itself as someone who is active, signaled by not being “tired” (*nicht müde*) in example (48). Moreover, the metaphors highlight their role as the oppositional force pushing against policies of the other parties, as in examples (49) and (50) indicated by *gegen stemmen* (“to brace oneself”) and *entgegenstellen* (“to confront”). Example (51) represents the AfD as not following the political decisions of other parties, reinforcing their resistance, which is indicated by *nie in*

dieses Boot einsteigen (“not entering this boat”)—a metaphor which also feeds the JOURNEY/VEHICLE source domain.

Examples:

(48) Die AfD [PERSON] wird nicht müde, auf die innere Widersprüchlichkeit dieses scheinbaren Humanismus hinzuweisen (November 2016)

(49) Die AfD [PERSON] stemmt sich, als einzige Partei gegen die *Abschaffung des Bargelds* [OPPOSING FORCE]. (October 2016)

(50) Die AfD [PERSON] wird sich daher allen *gesellschaftlichen Strömungen* [OPPOSING FORCE], die diese Art von politischer Plünderer-Mentalität vertreten, entschieden entgegenstellen. (November 2019)

(51) Ein Anruf bei uns wäre auch wenig sinnvoll gewesen, denn in *dieses Boot* [VEHICLE MOVING INTO OPPOSING CERTAIN DIRECTION] würde die AfD [PERSON] aus guten Gründen nie einsteigen. Das weiß auch Merkel. (August 2017)

In sum, these examples show how AfD uses the PERSON source domain to represent Europe/the EU as defenseless and unprotected regarding immigration. In contrast, the German government is almost exclusively depicted as an immoral, idle, and corrupt person, and the AfD shines in direct contrast to the government’s supposed negative actions.

5.5.4 WAR

The source domain WAR altogether makes up 15.4% of all source domains total in both corpora (Table 4). A 3% increase from 9.3% to 12.3% (cf. Tables 5 and 6) can be noted for this source domain when comparing the two corpora for frequency within the discourse topics. In Corpus A, WAR metaphorically represents the Government, Immigration, and the AfD. Corpus B indicates the use of this source domain for the Government and the AfD with a 15.5% increase of WAR metaphors for the AfD. The mapping for the WAR source domain can be laid out as follows:

Table 10

Source and Target Domain Mappings: WAR

Mappings		
Army 1	→	Party/Nation 1/Values
Army 2	→	Party/ Nation 2/Values
Generals/Soldiers	→	Party Leaders /Nation Leaders
War Strategies Party	→	Leaders/Nation Leaders Strategies
Physical Combat	→	Debates/Actions
Targets	→	Laws, Rights, Opposing Parties
Civilian Casualties	→	Nation/Citizens
Goals of War	→	Political Goals

The source domain WAR entails two opposing sides that encounter each other in combat. In the political realm, this often translates into the different political goals of two or more parties, which are fought over on the “battlefield” of politics (Lakoff, 1991; Musolff, 2016). This source domain is often evoked in elections but is certainly prevalent in most political discourse. The following section further explores examples from the data.

5.5.4.1 WAR Metaphors for the Government

The conceptual metaphors for the source domain WAR identified in the data are the more general, POLITICS IS WAR and GOVERNMENT IS AN ARMY. The data show that this source domain is often evoked through nouns such as “battle” (*Kampf*) in example (52) and “attack” (*Angriff*) in example (56), as well as the verbs “fight” (*kämpfen*) and the verb “attack” (*angreifen*) in examples (62) and (53). In (52)–(56), these terms are used by the AfD to represent the government as the attackers of values, e.g., constitutionality and democracy in (53) or freedom of speech in (54). They also depict the government as the loser of a battle in which the government had to concede, as indicated by *unterwerfen* (“subjugate”) and *kapitulieren* (“capitulate”) (56).

Examples:

(52) Das Geld dient vor allem dem ideologischen Kampf der *Allparteienkoalition* [ARMY 1] gegen *unliebsame politische Konkurrenz* [OPPOSING ARMY 1] und der Unterstützung linksradikaler Gruppen. (August 2016)

(53)[...] aber aus Sicht der AfD sind es gerade auch die Regierungsparteien *CDU/CSU und SPD* [ARMY], die die *Demokratie und die Rechtsstaatlichkeit* [TARGET] angreifen. (June 2017)

- (54) Die AfD gibt den *Altparteien* [ARMY] nun die Gelegenheit, diesen Frontalangriff auf die *Meinungsfreiheit* [TARGET] zu überdenken und das Gesetz zurückzunehmen. (November 2017)
- (55) Die Altparteien haben natürlich kein Interesse an einer Änderung des Systems von Bevormundung und Zwangsgebührenfinanzierung. Rechtlich ist die Schlacht zwar geschlagen [BATTLE OUTCOME]—Karlsruhe locuta causa finita—politisch aber geht der Kampf dagegen unvermindert weiter. (July 2018)
- (56) Die Bundesregierung [ARMY 1] hat sich nun diesem wirtschaftlichen *Angriff* [WAR MOVE—ARMY 2] *unterworfen und kapituliert* [WAR MOVE—ARMY 1]. (November 2019)

However, other terms can evoke images of warfare, not just those related to combat. The data also illustrate WAR metaphors expressed through specific wartime structures, such as a “bunker” (*Bunker*) in (57) and “trenches” (*Gräben*) in (58), although both are described as ideological, creating the conceptual metaphor IDEOLOGIES ARE BUNKERS. In addition, the verbs “barricaded” (*verbarrikadiert*) (57) and “fortify” (*verschanzen*) (58) have various implications; for one, they allude to the impermeability of the structure in which the government is situated, thus representing the government as adamant and their beliefs as impervious. At the same time, these terms undoubtedly evoke the image of a threat from which the government is trying to protect itself in which ideology serves as a defense in the war.

Examples:

- (57) Die *Bundesregierung* [ARMY 1] hat sich offenbar in einen *ideologischen Bunker* [WAR DEFENSE] verbarrikadiert. Halb Europa diskutiert mit wachsender Skepsis über den UN-Migrationspakt. Täglich steigen weitere Länder aus und wollen den Pakt nicht unterzeichnen. (November 2018)
- (58) Das zeigt mir, dass die AfD auf dem richtigen Wege ist: Wir sprechen die wichtigen und drängenden Fragen an. Die *Altparteien* [ARMY 1] ducken sich weg und verschanzen sich in *ideologischen Gräben* [WAR DEFENSE]. (February 2019)

Examples (59) and (60), further allude to battle preparations that serve as defense in an impending attack, which are evoked by depicting the government as raising their “shields” (*Schutzschilder*) in example (59) and by the verb “to gear up” (*sich rüsten*) in (60).

Examples:

(59) Statt konkrete Zahlen zu liefern, fährt die *Bundesregierung* [ARMY 1] die *Schutzschilder* [WAR DEFENSE] hoch und versucht dem Versagen in der bekannten überheblichen Art und Weise zu begegnen. (September 2018)

(60) Die Bundesregierung [ARMY 1] rüstet sich [WAR DEFENSE] also für eine selbstgemachte Katastrophe. (December 2019)

5.5.4.2 WAR Metaphors for the AfD

The AfD also uses WAR metaphors to represent its actions and values, which always create a stark contrast to the representation of the government, such as in examples (52)–(60). While metaphors for the AfD belonging to the source domain WAR are also constructed through the verb “to fight” (*kämpfen*), the connotations are always positive, highlighting their fight for a righteous cause, as in examples (61) and (62), and thus also illuminating their values and ideology as being in opposition to the government’s. In addition, the term *zur Wehr setzen* (“to take a stand”) in (63) represents the AfD as defending people from the government’s decisions, evoking the conceptual metaphors POLITICAL PARTIES ARE ARMYS and the more general POLITICS IS WAR.

Examples:

(61) Rechtsstaatlichkeit und der Schutz der eigenen Bürger scheinen einigen deutschen Eliten zunehmend lästig zu sein. Wir von der *AfD* [ARMY 1] nehmen das nicht hin und kämpfen [WAR MOVE] für *diese Werte* [TARGET OF ARMY 2]. (June 2017)

(62) *Wir* [ARMY 1] kämpfen [WAR MOVE] permanent gegen die politische Korrektheit [ARMY 2]! Deswegen sind wir auch sehr stark in der Kritik. Das wird uns aber nicht abhalten, die Dinge beim Namen zu nennen, wenn es beispielsweise um die illegale Einwanderung, die Kriminalität oder den Gender-Unsinn geht. (April 2019)

(63) In der Vermischung von Asylrecht und Kunstfreiheit sieht die *AfD* [ARMY 1] einen erneuten Beweis dafür, wie *Kultur einmal mehr unter dem Deckmantel der Kunstfreiheit für politische Zwecke instrumentalisiert wird* [WAR MOVE–ARMY 2]. Dagegen wird sich die *AfD* [ARMY 1] auch weiterhin *zur Wehr setzen* [WAR MOVE–ARMY 2]. (May 2019)

In sum, WAR metaphors are used to express the government’s actions and the AfD’s. However, moral evaluations differ. Metaphors for government often represent them as waging and preparing for war or trying to shelter their ideologies. In contrast, the AfD metaphorically depicts its party as defending the values attacked by government.

5.5.5 GAMES

The source domain GAMES makes up 7.9% of all metaphors in the corpora (Table 4). Regarding the discourse topics, it accounts for 8.5% and 10.0% of all conceptual metaphors in each corpus, respectively. In Corpus A, GAME metaphors are only found for Government (12.7%). Corpus B shows a similar tendency, with 12.8% for the topic, but here GAME metaphors can also be found for the AfD with 2.6% (cf. Table 5 and 6). The mappings are illustrated in Table 11:

Table 11

Source and Target Domain Mappings: GAMES

	Mappings	
Opposing Player 1 and 2	→	Nation Leaders/Politicians
Moves in the Game	→	Nations Leader’s/Politicians Actions
Stakes	→	Own Nation/Citizens/Laws/Rights
Playing Pieces	→	Other Nations/Politicians/Laws/Rights

The GAMES source domain takes several forms, usually games of chance, including at least two players, and a consequential loss or win as an outcome of the competition. In political discourse, the players are usually the government, political parties, or single politicians who play against opposing parties and other politicians (Lakoff, 1991; Charteris-Black, 2005). Third parties, such as a nation’s citizens, are frequently used as “the stakes” in the game, while other politicians, or more abstractly, laws and political decisions, are the playing pieces, e.g., in a chess game. The type of game used to frame a political scenario metaphorically and one’s knowledge of or partiality towards it, also includes moral evaluation. For example, a gambling game, such as a card game, where the player bets everything on one card while knowing that everything could be lost, implies a risk-taking character, and shows reckless action toward an outcome. A risky move in chess that leads to a premature and foreseeable checkmate ending functions similarly. The metaphors belonging to this source domain are illustrated in the next section.

5.5.5.1 GAMES Metaphors for the Government

The most frequent conceptual metaphor for the German government in the GAMES domain is GOVERNMENT IS A GAMBLER as indicated by *aufs Spiel setzen* (“to gamble with”) in examples (64) and (65) and by *verspielen* (“to gamble away”) in (66) or

zurückgewinnen (“to win back”) in (67), which originates from POLITICS IS A GAME. The term *aufs Spiel setzen* indicates that there are stakes in the game, which are often represented as the German nation’s well-being or its people’s. In example (64) for instance, the federal government (*Bundesregierung*) is depicted as Player 1 who uses the health system (*Gesundheitssystem*) as a stake due to poor moves in the game, here “failed asylum policies” (*verfehlte Asylpolitik*). Other stakes can be values that the government has already lost (*verspielt*), e.g., its trust in example (67). In addition to the moral bias often connected to gambling, depicting the government as wagering high-value stakes for uncertain outcomes suggests their recklessness and risk-taking character.

Examples:

(64) Die *Bundesregierung* [PLAYER 1] setzt durch ihre *verfehlte Asylpolitik* [GAME MOVE] das gesamte *Gesundheitssystem* [STAKE] aufs Spiel. (August 2016)

(65) [Die *Bundesregierung*] beruf[t] sich fälschlicherweise auf das Asylrecht. *Frau Merkel* [PLAYER 1] hat den deutschen Rechtsstaat schleichend ausgehebelt, denn sie glaubt anscheinend, mit ihrem ‚Wir schaffen das‘ mehr Sympathien in der Bevölkerung zu erheischen. Dabei missachtet sie nicht nur Recht und Gesetz, sondern setzt auf [GAME MOVE] den *sozialen Frieden in Deutschland* [STAKE] aufs Spiel. (August 2017)

(66) Der größte Unterschied zur *AfD* [PLAYER 1] ist jedoch das, was die *Altparteien* [PLAYER 2] längst *verspielt* [GAME MOVE] haben: Die *Glaubwürdigkeit* [STAKE/LOSS] (March 2017)

(67) Immer wieder betonen die Politiker der *Altparteien* [PLAYER 1], man wolle *Vertrauen* [STAKE/LOSS] zurückgewinnen [GAME MOVE]. (September 2016)

Furthermore, the data reveals representations of specific card games such as poker in example (68). Example (69) evokes the image of a prestidigitator performing “sleight of hand,” indicated by *Taschenspielertricks*. Similarly, example (70) strengthens the government’s image of not engaging in fair play when described as playing with *gezinkten Karten* (“marked cards”) used for cheating in a game of cards. Example (71) is interesting as it evokes the image of a popular German children’s card game *Schwazer Peter*. The objective of the game is for the player to dispose of all their cards; the player who holds the *Schwarzer Peter* card at the end loses the game. In connection to the verb *zuschieben* (“to push towards”), the game’s objective represents the government as avoiding responsibility and reassigning blame for its decisions to other players in the “game of politics.”

Examples:

- (68) Mit der Zustimmung zum uneingeschränkten Familiennachzug würde die *Union* [PLAYER] den *Koalitionspoker* [STAKE] uneingeschränkt *verspielen* [GAME RESULT]—allein um des reinen Machterhalts willen. (November 2017)
- (69) Und es sind nicht zuletzt solche ‚*linke Tasche–rechte Tasche*‘ *Taschenspielertricks* [GAME MOVES] der *Bundesregierung* [PLAYER], die das Vertrauen der Menschen in die sozialen Sicherungssysteme nachhaltig beschädigt haben. (November 2019)
- (70) „Die *Bundesregierung* [PLAYER], spielt mit *gezinkten Karten!*“ [GAME MOVE], so Brandner abschließend. (January 2019)
- (71) Den *schwarzen Peter* schiebt [die *Bundesregierung*] [PLAYER 1] aber der Europäischen Kommission [PLAYER 2] *zu* [GAME MOVE], denn die sei schließlich bei dieser Ausnahmeregelung federführend gewesen. (March 2019)

5.5.5.2 GAMES Metaphors for the AfD

Metaphors for this source domain representing the AfD themselves once again stand in opposition to those depicting the government. Here, allusions to a game with stakes, especially gambling, are also common, but the AfD’s wagers always stand in opposition to the government’s actions and decisions and are portrayed in a positive light, as in examples (72) and (73). In example (72), the AfD supports a *Kontrastprogramm*—an alternative to the program of the Union, the Green Party, and the FDP—while in example (73), they bet on *Entscheidungsfreiheit* (“freedom of choice”) instead of *Zwang und Verbote* (“enforcement and prohibitions”), referring to the coalition’s policies that are in opposition to AfD’s values.

Examples:

- (72) Während die Unionsparteien, Grüne und FDP zum Hype um Martin Schulz bisher nichts zu melden haben, *setzt* [GAME MOVE] die *AfD* [PLAYER] *auf* ein klares *Kontrastprogramm* [WAGER]. (February 2017)
- (73) Ebenso wie bei den Themen Ernährung, Impfung und Organspende *setzt* [GAME MOVE] die *AfD* [PLAYER 1] bei der Prävention von Krebs *auf* [GAME MOVE–PLAYER 1 *Information und Entscheidungsfreiheit*] [WAGER—

PLAYER 1] statt *auf* [GAME MOVE–PLAYER 2] *Zwang und Verbote* [WAGER–PLAYER 2]. (May 2019)

Overall, metaphors belonging to the GAMES source domain are used by the AfD to negatively evaluate the governments’ actions and policies and, consequently, to delegitimize their trustworthiness. These metaphors commonly evoke an image of the government as reckless and insincere, with the AfD as its adversary, who is characterized by opposing qualities and agendas where the metaphors are positive.

5.5.6 SPORTS

The SPORTS source domain is rarely used in the corpora, totaling only 2.6% or 70 of all metaphors (Table 4). For the discourse topics, SPORT is only used for the Government (Corpus A, 3.2%; Corpus B, 1.7%); in Corpus B, it also represents Europe/the EU (6.3%) and, in one instance, the AfD (1.3%, cf. Tables 5 and 6).

Table 12

Source and Target Domain Mappings: SPORTS

Mappings		
Opposing Athletes/Teams	→	Opposing Nation Leaders/Politicians/Parties
Athlete’s Actions/Moves	→	Nation Leaders’/Politicians’/Parties’ Actions
Rules of the Game	→	Rules of Politics/Form of Government (e.g., democracy)
Sporting Equipment	→	Policies/Laws/Rights
Playing Field	→	Political Realm
Audience	→	Citizens (i.e., potential voters)

The implications of this source domain are similar to those of the GAMES source domain, however, with a greater focus on athletic competition and skill as opposed to games of chance. SPORTS metaphors often involve at least one individual, although more often a minimum of two athletes. Depending on the type of sport, SPORTS metaphors highlight specific characteristics of the game over others. For example, if the politicians are engaged in a team sport, such as soccer, an individual sport, e.g., a runner, a wrestler, or a boxer. A metaphor depicting a soccer game with a player who supports their team as a middle-fielder, but who constantly acts as a forward, can be understood as being a poor team player or not knowing his place in the game, and perhaps as a little overeager. Therefore, good sportsmanship, or the lack of it, reveals the politicians’ moral evaluation and character of the other politicians. The following section exemplifies the data’s SPORTS domain metaphors.

5.5.6.1 SPORTS Metaphors for the Government

Metaphors belonging to the SPORTS source domain also show a similar tendency to GAMES metaphors, in that the government is represented as cheating at the game. Through the SPORTS source domain, the government is portrayed as using certain matters as “game ball” (*Spielball*) in example (74) or are represented as engaging in foul play in example (75). Here, the game’s rules (*Spielregeln*) are further defined as “democratic” (*demokratisch*), and non-compliance to these rules results in a “red-card” (*Rote Karte*) in example (76) and in ejection from the game, all of which allude to a soccer game. Example (77) depicts government as engaging in an “exhibition bout,” (*Schaukampf*) a fight that is merely a performance to attract the audience’s attention but that has no substance to it. In politics, this phrase is often used to express a party’s deflection from another topic. Lastly, example (78) evokes the image of a wrestling match, indicated by the verb *aushebeln* (“to lever out”), in which the German government has felled its metaphoric opponent (here, the regulation “Dublin III”²⁶). The following linguistic metaphors are examples of the conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS A SPORTS COMPETITION and POLITICIANS ARE PLAYERS IN A GAME.

Examples:

(74) Für die *Bundesregierung* [PLAYER/TEAM] ist die *Meinungsfreiheit* [GAME BALL] offenbar nur noch ein Spielball im *politischen Meinungsstreit* [GAME]. (January 2018)

(75) Diese *Ausgrenzung* [RULE VIOLATION] der *AfD* [TEAM 1] ist eine eklatante Verletzung der *demokratischen* [GAME RULES] Spielregeln. Es ist erschütternd, dass eine Partei wie die *SPD* [TEAM 2], die über eine stolze demokratische Tradition verfügt, sich auf dieses Niveau begibt. (January 2017)

(76) *Georg Pazderski* [REFEREE]: Rote Karte für *von der Leyen* [PLAYER]. (June 2017)

(77) Die Diskussion, ob nun Schwarz-Gelb oder Rot-Grün die Mehrheit bekommt, ist eine reine Scheindebatte. Inhaltlich bieten die unterschiedlichen Farbkombinationen keine nennenswerten Unterschiede mehr. Es ist nur ein farbenfroher Schaukampf, der den Wählern [AUDIENCE] vorgegaukelt wird. (August 2017)

²⁶ A regulation that establishes which EU member state is responsible for an asylum seeker’s application.

(78) *Dublin III* [PLAYER 1] wurde einseitig durch die *deutsche Regierung* [PLAYER 2] ausgehebelt. Damit hat die Merkel-Regierung die Asylkatastrophe in diesem Ausmaß überhaupt erst herbeigeführt. Die deutsche Kanzlerin und ihre CDU haben Europa gespalten. (June 2018)

5.5.6.2 SPORTS Metaphors for the AfD

In contrast, metaphors for the AfD that draw from the SPORTS source domain are rare. In example (79), however, the terms *Foulspiel* and *Rote Karte* evoke images where the party acts as a referee for the other players and is in charge of detecting “foul play” and reprimanding players who do not adhere to the game’s rules. Hence, the example not only evokes POLITICIANS ARE PLAYERS IN A GAME, but also POLITICIANS ARE REFEREES IN A GAME. This example also metaphorically highlights their political positioning as *nicht am rechten Rand, sondern mitten auf dem Spielfeld*, implicating that their position is not on the sidelines, i.e., out of the game and therefore not directly involved in politics and political decisions, but rather essential to the “game” of politics.

Examples:

(79) Der AfD-Fraktion, insbesondere den fünf interessierten Mitgliedern, die Teilnahme aufgrund haltloser Vorwürfe verweigern zu wollen, spricht nicht für den Sportsgeist von *Dirk Wiese* [PLAYER 1]. Damit begeht er ein grobes Foulspiel gegen *demokratische* [GAME RULES] Spielregeln und bekommt von *mir* [REFEREE] die Rote Karte.[...]Für mich ist es selbstverständlich, dass die AfD auch bei freiwilligen und repräsentativen Aktivitäten nicht fehlen darf. Wir sind ein Teil dieser Gesellschaft, und das nicht am rechten Rand, sondern mitten auf dem Spielfeld. (January 2018)

5.5.6.3. SPORTS Metaphors for Europe and the European Union

The AfD also represents the EU through the SPORTS source domain, particularly as a fellow player in a sports game, evoking the conceptual metaphor THE EU IS A PLAYER IN A GAME. Example (80) alludes to the image of a personified EU engaging in a game of tug of war with the AfD against the German government as indicated by *am gleichen Strang ziehen* (“to pull together”). Furthermore, in example (81), the EU is represented as another player on a playing field to whom the ball should be passed back (*den Ball zurückspielen*), i.e., the decision should be reverted to the EU, it should be given greater agency and power shape the outcome of the game. Lastly, the term *ausgehebelt* (“to lever out”) evokes imagery of a wrestling match, usually involving one-on-one encounters between the EU and the sovereign states, in which the EU has overpowered its opponent.

Examples:

- (80) Bei aller berechtigten Kritik an der EU, hier ziehen die *AfD-Fraktion* [PLAYER 1] und die *EU* [PLAYER 2] am gleichen Strang, und zwar in die richtige Richtung. (October 2019)
- (81) Ich fordere, die DSGVO so lange auszusetzen, bis sie sinnvoll überarbeitet ist und die Bürger und Unternehmen über alle Auswirkungen und Anforderungen umfassend informiert sind. Notfalls müssen *wir* [TEAM 1] eben den Ball an die *EU* [TEAM 2] zurückspielen. (June 2018)
- (82) Die hier vorliegende angebliche Kollision mit dem europäischen Recht zeigt wieder einmal eindrucksvoll, wie von der *EU* [PLAYER 1] die *Souveränität der einzelnen Staaten* [PLAYER 2] ausgehebelt wird und wie zentralistisch und undemokratisch durchregiert wird. (January 2019)

Like metaphors of the GAMES source domain, sports metaphors appear to follow a similar pattern in the data, especially in conjuring negative moral evaluations by depicting the government as not playing by the game's rules, as in examples (75) and (76). In contrast, the AfD situates itself as a player and takes on a referee role in examples (76) and (79), while the EU has a peripheral role as a fellow player and sometimes team-mate of the AfD.

5.5.7 COMMERCE

The source domain COMMERCE comprises 3.3% of total metaphors (Table 4). For the discourse topics, 3.8% of all metaphors in Corpus A and 4.4% in Corpus B belong to this source domain. In Corpus A, this conceptual metaphor is exclusively used for the Government (5.7%), whereas in Corpus B, it is found for the Government (5.1%) and Immigration (5.6%; cf. Tables 5 and 6); although, as will be shown through the data, the two are interrelated. The mappings in Table 13 outline this source domain.

Table 13

Source and Target Domain Mappings: COMMERCE

Mappings		
Seller/Business Owner	→	Nation Leaders/Politicians/Parties
Sales Action (e.g., discounts, packaging)	→	Nations Leader's/Politician's/Party's Actions
Buyers	→	Citizens
Valuable Goods	→	Own Nation (e.g., its culture, beliefs, laws, etc.)
Valueless/Dangerous Goods	→	Foreign People/Immigrants

The source domain COMMERCE is interesting because the data shows it is exclusively used to metaphorically describe the government, or more precisely, Chancellor Merkel's actions during the 2015 European migrant crisis and the years that followed. In this source domain, the nation's leader, here Angela Merkel, is conceptualized as either a business owner or seller, selling goods ("her nation and its citizens") for a discount/below value. Moreover, while Germany and its citizens are equated with valuable goods, immigrants are seen as valueless goods that Merkel imports at the expense of others. The following sections illustrate this.

5.5.7.1 COMMERCE Metaphors for the Government

In correspondence with the other government metaphors, in which their behavior is described as immoral, insincere, or even destructive, COMMERCE metaphors follow a similar pattern. The government, especially Chancellor Merkel, is depicted as a salesperson selling off Germany, indicated by the terms *Ausverkauf* ("liquidation sale") in examples (83) and (84). In addition, the AfD depicts her and her policies as insincere in examples (85) and (86), as signaled by the noun *Mogelpackung* ("sham package"), alluding to a government deception to its buyers (the German people), but also to a lack of substance in the product (the policies) they are "selling." The conceptual metaphors for this source domain can be summarized as follows: NATIONS ARE GOODS, POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION, and, more generally, POLITICIANS ARE SALESPEOPLE.

Examples:

(83) Die AfD wird Merkel [SELLER] den *Ausverkauf* [SALES ACTION] von *Deutschlands Zukunft* [VALUABLE GOODS] nicht durchgehen lassen. [...] (February 2018)

(84) Jetzt aber ist die AfD da. Wir werden ihr den *Ausverkauf* [SALES ACTION] *unseres Landes* [VALUABLE GOODS] nicht durchgehen lassen. Weitere vier

Jahre will sie Kanzlerin sein? Nicht, wenn wir es verhindern können.
(February 2018)

(85) *Angela Merkel* [SELLER] versucht den Bürgern [BUYERS] *faule Kompromisse, die nichts taugen* [VALUELESS GOODS], als *Zukunftslösungen für Deutschland* zu verkaufen. Doch nichts wird sich ändern, weil sich mit diesen Kompromissen nichts ändern kann. (July 2018)

(86) Die *GroKo* [SELLER] will die *Bürger* [BUYERS] offensichtlich für dumm verkaufen. Mit Hilfe der SPD hat Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel die ohnehin *dürftige Mogelpackung von CDU und CSU* [DECEPTIVE GOODS], noch einmal kräftig verwässert. (July 2018)

5.5.7.2 COMMERCE Metaphors for Immigration

Immigration is another topic represented by the AfD through the COMMERCE source domain, evoking the conceptual metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE IMPORTED GOODS, signaled by the verb “to import” (*importieren*), in examples (87) to (89). Here, the context, especially the collocates, are also important, as they provide further information of negative evaluation. Descriptions such as *Christenhasser* (“haters of Christians”) in (87) and *alimentierende Problemfälle* (“problem cases in need of support”) and *tickende Zeitbomben* (“ticking timebombs”) in (89), all highlight the AfD’s right-wing ideology.

Examples:

(87) „Wer Christenfeindlichkeit bekämpfen will, darf keine *Christenhasser* [VALUELESS GOODS] importieren,“ kommentiert Weidel. (February 2018)

(88) Zeugen berichten, der Tatverdächtige habe die mit ihm befreundete Mireille zum Kopftuchtragen gezwungen und zum Übertritt zum Islam nötigen wollen. Wir importieren *hunderttausende junge Männer* [VALUELESS GOODS], die von einer Kultur geprägt sind, die Frauen als minderwertigen Besitz des Mannes betrachten, mit dem er nach Belieben verfahren kann. (March 2018)

(89) Manchmal sind die einfachsten Lösungen die besten: sichere Grenzen, gegen illegale Zuwanderung von Personen, die durch viele sichere Länder angereist sind; sichere Grenzen, statt hier zu *alimentierende Problemfälle* [VALUELESS GOODS] der ganzen Welt zu importieren, darunter *tickende Zeitbomben* [DANGEROUS GOODS]. (October 2019)

As the examples show, the COMMERCE metaphors provide insight into the AfD's ideology towards the government's actions and their views on immigrants and immigration. The connotation for each of the subjects is entirely negative.

5.4.8 THEATER

This source domain makes up only 3.4% of all metaphors in the corpora (Table 4). For the discourse topics, in Corpus A, 8.1% of all metaphors belong to this domain (Table 5), in contrast to Corpus B, where it is 4.7% (Table 6). This source domain is used predominantly for the German Government with 12.0% and 6.1%, in Corpus A and B respectively (cf. Table 5 and 6). Table 14 presents the mappings for this domain:

Table 14

Source and Target Domain Mappings: THEATER

	Mappings	
Theater Stage	→	Parliament/ Political Stage
Actors	→	Nation Leaders
Type of Play (e.g., comedy, tragedy, farce)	→	Political Action/Decisions
Audience	→	Other Parties/Citizens

THEATER as a source domain comprises the individual knowledge of such a setting, i.e., the actors, a stage, a play being performed, and so on. In terms of politics, politicians often take the role of the actors giving a comic or tragic performance on the political stage. This source domain, through its connotation of being a performance delivered for an audience and not an authentic act, already contains a negative moral evaluation. When the government is represented through THEATER, the metaphors often frame it as disingenuous in its intentions and actions or in terms of comedy acts presenting jokes to their audiences. The following section illustrates this with examples from the data.

5.5.8.1 THEATER Metaphors for the Government

The AfD uses the theater source domain to exclusively represent the government. Generally, frequent keywords for this source domain comprise terms central to the semantic field, such as “stage” (*Bühne*), “production” (*Inszenierung*), and “to stage” (*inszenieren*), evoking the conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS A STAGE, POLITICIANS ARE ACTORS, THE GOVERNMENT IS AN ACTOR, and POLITICIANS ARE STAGE DIRECTORS.

For example, in (90), Chancellor Merkel is described as a “puppet” (*Marionette*), which, of course, also evokes the image of a puppeteer behind the scenes controlling the strings from above to make the puppet move a certain way for the audience's entertainment. Through this imagery, the AfD implies that Merkel is controlled by

someone else, i.e., her party, and lacks volition. In example (91), the term *Lachnummer* (“joke”), evokes an image of the government as comedians, acting in a farce; while example (92) alludes to a cheap, careless, second-rate theater performance with the pejorative term *Schmierentheater*. Example (93) represents the well-established parties as actors, signaled by the noun *Schauspiel* (“spectacle”) and the verb *mitspielen* (“to act in”), but here the collocate *unwürdig* (“unworthy”) that precedes the noun evokes a negative connotation of the scene and its actors, while the AfD takes on the role of a theater critic who evaluates and ridicules the political performance. Lastly, in example (94), the Union parties (CSU/CDU) are personified as an actor, indicated by the noun *Maske* (“mask”), which implies deception and concealment of their true character to their audience.

Examples:

(90) Die SPD [AUDIENCE] freut sich derweil über die zur Marionette mutierte Kanzlerin [ACTOR]. (November 2016)

(91) “Der x-te ‚Dieselgipfel‘ von Verkehrsminister Scheuer (CSU) und deutschen Autoherstellern [ACTORS] offenbart das Chaos im Handeln der Bundesregierung und lässt Verkehrspolitik [PLAY] zur *Lachnummer* [TYPE OF PLAY] verkommen,” so die scharfe Kritik von Dirk Spaniel, verkehrspolitischer Sprecher der AfD-Fraktion. (November 2018)

(92) Es ist allmählich zum Fremdschämen, wenn man sieht, wie stümperhaft sich die *Altparteien* [ACTORS] bei dem Versuch einer Regierungsbildung anstellen. Das Gezerre wirkt immer mehr wie ein *Schmierentheater* [TYPE OF PLAY]. (December 2017)

(93) Das zeigt zugleich die ganze Verlogenheit und Schamlosigkeit des derzeitigen Politikbetriebes rund um Kanzlerin Merkel auf [...]. Was für ein unwürdiges *Schauspiel* [TYPE OF PLAY]. Und *alle* [ACTORS] spielen sie mit, [...]. (September 2018)

(94) Nun hat die *Union* [ACTORS] wieder einmal die Maske fallen lassen. Bei der Union sind die Interessen der Russlanddeutschen verraten und verkauft. (March 2019)

In sum, THEATER metaphors are used by the AfD solely to represent the government in terms of a play that is observed by the AfD as theater critics who evaluate

the political performance. The characteristics highlighted by these metaphors often are ones of failure, deception, and pretend behavior by the government to trick their audience.

5.5.9 HEALTH & ILLNESS

Only 1.7% of metaphors total belong to this source domain in the data overall (Table 4). Similarly, within the discourse topics, this source domain also comprises only a small part of all metaphors. It accounts for 4.7% of all metaphors in Corpus A (Table 5) and 3.6% in Corpus B (Table 6). In both corpora, this source domain is applied to represent matters of the Government (4.4% in both, Corpus A and B) and Europe/the EU (7.7% in Corpus A and 5.6% in Corpus B), while in Corpus A, it also represents the AfD (12.5%). The table below illustrates the mappings of this source domain for political discourse.

Table 15

Source and Target Domain Mappings: HEALTH & ILLNESS

Mappings		
Doctors	→	Nation Leaders
Patients	→	Own, or foreign nations
Ailments	→	Law, Policy (e.g., crisis, political problem)
Treatments/Medications	→	Law, Policy (e.g., political solution)

The HEALTH & ILLNESS source domain evokes the knowledge we hold about medicine, doctor-patient relationships, and the curing of illnesses (Musolff, 2003). In political discourse, the national leaders as the authoritative force map onto the doctors—the ones who have the power to prescribe beneficial or detrimental treatments against an ailment or a disease for their patient (here their own, or a foreign nation). The remedies or medication prescribed coincide with the laws or policies put into effect to remedy the problem. In both corpora, this source domain is mainly found for matters related to Europe/the EU, the Government, especially the well-established parties, and chancellor Merkel—all taking on the metaphorical doctor role.

5.5.9.1 HEALTH & ILLNESS Metaphors for Europe and the European Union

Through health and illness metaphors, the AfD depicts nations such as Greece or the Europe/the EU as a person who has fallen ill, as indicated by *'krankt an* (“to suffer from”) in (95), here referring to the euro-crisis as the ailment which has befallen it. Examples (96) and (97) illuminate this further when the AfD represents Greece as anemic, signaled by the noun *am Tropf* (“to be on a drip”) and *Zwangstropf* (“forced drip”), emphasizing the unwanted treatment Greece is receiving from the EU. These metaphors evoke several conceptual metaphors, such as NATIONS ARE PATIENTS, NATIONS ARE

DOCTORS, and MONEY IS A VITAL LIQUID, more specifically a crucial one for the health of a nation.

Examples:

(95) Ganz *Europa* [PATIENT] krankt nach wie vor an der fast in Vergessenheit geratenen *Eurokrise* [ILLNESS] und diese verschärft sich von Tag zu Tag. (December 2016)

(96) Schäuble spielt ein faules Spiel mit den Wählern. Nicht nur, dass er erneut deutsche Steuermilliarden nach Griechenland pumpt und damit *Griechenland* [PATIENT] weiter zum Schaden aller Beteiligten am Tropf der *EU* [DOCTOR] hält. (June 2017)

(97) *Griechenland* [PATIENT] ist durch den Zwangstropf der *EU* [DOCTOR] nicht in der Lage, die Asylkrise an den eigenen Grenzen zu bewältigen. (April 2016)

5.5.9.2 HEALTH & ILLNESS Metaphors for the Government

The AfD also uses the Health and Illness source domain to depict the government's actions (GOVERNMENT IS A DOCTOR). In example (98), Merkel's action and policies against terrorism (i.e., the treatment) are described as a *placebo*, implying that it has no therapeutic advantages as a medication, but rather presents a false treatment for an ailment—the inference here being that Merkel's policies to counter terrorism are ineffective. Framing her policies as a placebo further indirectly represents her as knowingly deceptive and implies a recklessness in her behavior that accepts the negative outcomes connected to incorrect solutions.

Moreover, in example (99), the well-established parties are represented as doctors who “bleed” (*schröpfen*) their patient, understood as Germany. This term is interesting because it denotes an old-fashioned therapy where leeches were used to drain blood from a patient, evoking the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS A VITAL LIQUID, which is used as an allusion for monetary gain by the well-established parties.

Examples:

(98) Der *Anti-Terror-Plan* [TREATMENT] von Frau *Merkel* [DOCTOR] ist nicht mehr als ein Placebo für *Gutgläubige* [PATIENTS], eine Frechheit für Fachleute und ein Hohn für die Opfer der jüngsten Terroranschläge. (July 2016)

(99) Es ist unmoralisch und zeugt von einer unverschämten Selbstbedienungsmentalität, wenn die *Altparteien* [DOCTORS] den *Staat* [PATIENT], jedes Jahr weiter schröpfen und das nicht um gute Politik zu machen, sondern lediglich, um ihren Machterhalt zu festigen. (February 2017)

Thus, while the AfD does not evoke images of a specific illness, it often uses HEALTH & ILLNESS to conceptualize events connected to government’s financial policies. The evaluations, however, are always negative, representing the government as using inefficient or unwanted means to treat their patients and then benefiting from them.

5.5.10 ANIMAL

The ANIMAL source domain is the least frequently used source domain in the corpora, accounting for only 0.5% of all metaphors (Table 4). For the discourse topics, animal metaphors can only be found in Corpus B with 1.4%, solely for the German government. The mappings for the ANIMAL source domain are as follows:

Table 16

Source and Target Domain Mappings: ANIMAL

	Mappings	
Animal	→	Institution/Group/Party
Animal’s Typical Behavior/Attributes	→	Institution’s/Group’s/Party’s Actions

Similar to personification, the ANIMAL source domain also belongs to ontological metaphors. Here, the attributes of an animal are projected onto an institution or group of people, such as a political party or the government. The animal’s attributes or actions are then projected onto the political grouping’s behavior and characteristics, whereby the animal type and the knowledge one has of its species and prescribed behavior evokes a moral evaluation. In the data, most of this domain’s metaphors are idiomatic to German, as seen in the next section.

5.5.10.1 ANIMAL Metaphors for the Government

To highlight their views of the actions and characteristics of the government or certain politicians, the AfD uses mappings from the animal source domain, evoking the conceptual metaphor GOVERNMENT IS AN ANIMAL. In example (100), the phrase *den Kopf in den Sand stecken* creates the allusion to an ostrich’s behavior, burying its head in the sand, implying that the government is avoiding pressing political issues. Similarly, the government’s policies are represented as a *Kuckucksei* (“cuckoo’s egg”) and *Nest* in example (101), which evokes the cuckoo and its reputation as a parasite that replaces other

birds' eggs with its own to be hatched by them. Projecting the cuckoo's characteristics onto the government then implicates their actions as invasive and deliberately deceptive. However, it also implies a shift of accountability, in which the government forces the future responsibility for something onto its citizens instead of taking care of it on their own. Lastly, in example (102), the expression *blind wie ein Maulwurf* ("blind as a mole"), although idiomatic, is an example of metaphorical mapping. The highlighted characteristic of the mole's blindness is transferred onto the government and implies that the government's inactivity is because it cannot see. This suggests inherent ignorance.

Examples:

(100) So lange *steckt* die *Bundesregierung* [ANIMAL] *den Kopf in den Sand* [ATTRIBUTE] und lässt die Passagiere zahlen. (October 2018)

(101) Mit der Zustimmung zu Artikel 13 des Entwurfs einer neuen EU-Urheberrechtsrichtlinie, der Internet-Unternehmen zum Einsatz sogenannter Upload-Filter gegen unerwünschte Inhalte verpflichtete, habe die *Bundesregierung* [ANIMAL 1] den *Bürgern* [ANIMAL 2] „ein faustdickes Zensur-Kuckucksei ins Nest gelegt [ANIMAL BEHAVIOR–ANIMAL 1].“ (February 2019)

(102) „Die *Bundesregierung* ist *blind* [ANIMAL ATTRIBUTE] *wie ein Maulwurf*, wenn es um Syrien geht. (January 2018)

As the examples have shown, the AfD's choice of animals and their chosen unfavorable characteristics represent the government as avoidant, deceptive, and ignorant.

5.5.11 WATER

WATER source domain makes up 4.0% of all source domains overall (Table 4). For discourse topics, it decreases from 11.0% in Corpus A to 7.3% in Corpus B (cf. Tables 5 and 6). It is noteworthy that this source domain is only found for immigration, with 72.2% usage in Corpus A and 79.2% in Corpus B. Table 17 briefly outlines the mappings.

Table 17

Source and Target Domain Mappings: WATER

Mappings		
Water Mass	→	Immigrants
Water Force (e.g., flow)	→	Intensity of Force of Immigration Influx
Destination of Flow	→	Affected Nation
Effect of Flooding	→	Effect on Nation
Control of Water (e.g., dams)	→	Control of Immigration

Depicting matters of immigration through this source domain usually involves people, especially immigrants, being seen as a fluid force. The type of water dynamics, such as waves, floods, surges, etc., transfers to the perceived intensity or force of this immigration when entering a nation. The following section illustrates the linguistic metaphors for this source domain.

5.5.11.1 WATER Metaphors for Immigration

In the data, water metaphors are used by the AfD only to conceptualize immigration, evoking the conceptual metaphors IMMIGRATION IS A FLOOD and IMMIGRATION IS A NATURAL DISASTER (Charteris-Black, 2006). The metaphorical expressions are formed with keywords from the semantic field of flowing water, including both verbs and nouns. Some of the most common keywords for this source domain in the corpus are *schleusen* (“to channel”), *strömen* (“to stream”), and *fluten* (“to flood”), while the nouns are usually compounds constructed with *-welle* (“wave”) as seen in example (103), or *-strom* (“stream”) in examples (104)–(109). Compounds with the noun *-Welle*, as well as the verb *fluten* (110), imply the sudden force and proliferation of incoming people, framing immigration as a natural disaster. This metaphor then transfers all of the properties and disastrous effects of such events onto immigration, such as destruction, displacement, and a drastic change of the landscape. On the other hand, *-Strom* implies a more continuous, unidirectional flow from a specific source, but it is the continuity of the stream that accumulates and cannot be stopped that implies the destructive and overwhelming force of the water mass to Germany and Europe if it is not slowed, stopped, or diverted. Analogous to how water flow is typically suppressed, the AfD suggests immigration control with the verb *eindämmen* (“to dam”) in example (110), i.e., slowly stopping the flow of water.

Examples:

- (103) Die EU bezahlt der Türkei jedes Jahr 3 Milliarden Euro für den “Flüchtlingspakt,” während Recep Tayyip Erdogan tausende illegale Migranten auf die griechischen Inseln schickt und Europa mit einer *Flüchtlingswelle* [WATER FORCE] droht. (October 2019)
- (104) Gabriel schätzt 3,6 Millionen Immigranten bis 2020 in Deutschland. In dieser Zahl ist die Immigration durch den damit verbundenen Familiennachzug nicht enthalten. Wenn man pro Familie nur von drei weiteren Personen ausgeht, ergibt sich daraus ein *Menschenstrom* [WATER FORCE] von 10,8 Millionen Immigranten. (March 2016)

- (105) *Unkontrollierte Zuwanderung* [WATER FORCE] ist keine Chance für Deutschland, sie stellt eine *große Gefahr* [EFFECT] für unsere Gesellschaft dar. Wir wollen nicht, dass sich Deutschland durch einen derartigen Zustrom [WATER FORCE] aus den arabischen Ländern verändert. (January 2016)
- (106) „Hier wird versucht, gegen den Willen der Mehrheit der EU-Mitgliedsstaaten, eine Verteilungspolitik durchzudrücken, die allen schadet und weiterhin Anreize für Migranten schafft, nach Europa zu kommen, statt den *Migrantenstrom* [WATER FORCE] zu stoppen,“ sagt Gauland. (July 2019)
- (107) Wir brauchen endlich Zentren für abgelehnte Asylbewerber außerhalb der EU, um Deutschland und Europa wirkungsvoll vor den *Flüchtlingsströmen* [WATER FORCE] zu schützen. (June 2018)
- (108) Die wachsende Zahl von Flüchtlingen, die über die Türkei nach Griechenland und damit in die EU kommen, zeigt, wovor wir immer gewarnt haben: die Flüchtlingskrise ist nicht zu Ende, uns droht eine Neuauflage der *Flüchtlingsströme* [WATER FORCE] über die Balkanroute. Denn wohin die allermeisten Menschen wollen, die jetzt nach Griechenland kommen, ist klar: nach Deutschland. Die EU muss daher endlich handeln und ihre Außengrenzen effektiv sichern, damit niemand mehr unberechtigt nach Europa gelangen kann. (September 2019)
- (109) Wären nicht die übrigen Staaten des Balkans gegen Merkels Widerstand dem ungarischen Beispiel gefolgt, würden auch heute noch täglich 10.000 illegale *Migranten* [WATER MASS] über die Balkanroute nach Deutschland strömen. (September 2017)
- (110) Und zweitens, weil die illegale Grenzöffnung noch immer andauert und tagtäglich neue archaisch geprägte junge Männer [WATER MASS] *unsere Heimat* fluten [EFFECT]. (December 2017)
- (111) Hilfe für Afrika hat vor allem ein Mittel zur Selbsthilfe zu sein und beruht auf Gegenseitigkeit. So müssen die afrikanischen Länder noch viel stärker dazu beitragen, die illegale *Migration* [WATER MASS] nach Europa einzudämmen. (June 2018)

As shown in the examples above, metaphors using quickly flowing water masses are used by the AfD to represent immigration. The keywords that generally construct these metaphors describe the water force, its velocity and mass, and transfer onto the influx of immigrants. These properties depict immigrants as a destructive force to Germany and Europe, while

creating a sense of danger and an urgency for control. Framing immigration as a natural disaster (Charteris-Black, 2006), as seen in the above examples, not only depicts immigration as negative, with serious repercussions but also as something that is difficult to control, consequently playing with people's fear of disaster.

5.6 Source Domain Keywords

By analyzing the linguistic metaphors in the data, several keywords and frequent collocates can be identified that evoke the various source domains and conceptual metaphors in the corpus. They are ordered by verb class as nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Keywords for the ANIMAL source domain also include some fixed combinations, as this source domain appears to be more idiomatic. Although some of these keywords might be attributed to idiosyncrasies of the corpus and its authors and may vary in the discourse of other parties, they can certainly aid in corpus analyses of further political discourse data, especially of the AfD or German populist discourse in general. Especially when working with a large corpus such as this, keywords can significantly expedite a quantitative corpus analysis, allowing for a directed search for metaphors. Of course, this does not exclude a qualitative analysis of the results since not all the keywords will necessarily be used metaphorically, although, in the current corpus, most of the keywords in fact were used metaphorically with much greater frequency than non-metaphorically. Table 18 shows the keywords which could be identified for each source domain, ordered by word class.

Table 18

Source Domain Keywords (Lemmas) by Word Class

Source Domain	Keywords by Word Class
JOURNEY/VEHICLE	<p>Nouns: Abbiegung, Ballast, Blindflug, Boot, Bord, Einbahnstraße, Entgleisungen, Gang, Irrweg, Kurs, Kurswechsel, Reifleine, Schritt, Sinkflug, Ruder, Volldampf, Weichen, Weichenstellung, Weg(e)</p> <p>Verbs: abhängen, abwerfen, ausbremsen, sich bewegen, bremsen, einlenken, entgegensteuern, fahren, hinterherlaufen, lenken, laufen, lavieren, steuern, überholen, zusteuern,</p> <p>Adjectives: gesteuert, ungesteuert, wegweisend</p>
BUILDING	<p>Nouns: Erosion, Fundament, Grundstein, Grundstruktur, Makler, Schlüssel, Tür, Zerfall</p> <p>Verbs: (ab)bröckeln, destabilisieren, erodieren, verbarrikadieren, zerfallen</p>
PERSON	<p>Nouns: Altar, Augen, Augenhöhe, Axt, Blick, Daumenschrauben, Einäugigkeit, Gängelband, Gesicht, Griff, Hand, Hausaufgaben, aus eigener Kraft, Keule, Komplize, Rücken, Schatten, Schulter, Süppchen, Tisch, Trickkiste, Tricksereien, Nachhilfe, Zahn</p> <p>Verbs: blicken, emanzipieren, greifen, messen (mit), mittragen, opfern, rufen, sägen (an), treiben, streuen, verschlafen, vorantreiben, wegducken, wegschauen, zuschauen, zusehen</p> <p>Adjectives: blind</p>
WAR	<p>Nouns: Bunker, Graben, Kampf, Radar, Schutzschilde, Schützengraben</p>

	Verbs: angreifen, ankämpfen, kämpfen, kapitulieren, sich rüsten, vernebeln, verteidigen, zur Wehr setzen
GAMES	Nouns: Schachzug, Karten, (Koalitions)poker, Spiel, Taschenspielertricks Verbs: gewinnen, setzen (auf), spielen (mit), verspielen, zurückgewinnen
SPORTS	Nouns: Foulspiel, Schaukampf, Spiel, Spielball, Spielfeld, Spielregeln, an einem Strang ziehen, rote Karte Verbs: aushebeln, spielen
COMMERCE	Nouns: Ausverkauf, Import, Mogelpackung Verbs: importieren, verkaufen
THEATER	Nouns: Abschiedstournee, Bühne, Inszenierung, Komödie, Lachnummer, Maske, Marionette, Schauspiel, Schmierenkomödie, Schmierentheater, Theater, Weltbühne Verbs: inszenieren, mitspielen, vorspielen
HEALTH & ILLNESS	Nouns: Placebo, Symptome, Tropf, Zwangstropf Verbs: erkranken, genesen, herumdoktern, herumkurieren, kranken (an), kurieren, schröpfen
ANIMAL	Fixed combinations: sich vor den Karren spannen lassen, den Kopf in den Sand stecken, ein Kuckucksei ins Nest legen, blind wie ein Maulwurf sein
WATER	Nouns: Einflutung, Einwanderungswelle, Einwanderungsstrom, Flüchtlingsstrom, Flüchtlingswelle, Migrantenstrom, Migrantenwelle, Welle, Zustrom Verbs: eindämmen, fluten, strömen, (weiter)schleusen

5.7 List of Conceptual Metaphors by Topic

In addition, the following specific conceptual metaphors could be identified for each discourse topic.²⁷ Many of them reveal right-wing populist discourse features outlined in Chapter 3.1.2, highlighting Euro-criticism, anti-elitism, anti-other rhetoric, and representations of the AfD themselves as the saviors of the people.

Table 19

Conceptual Metaphors for Europe/the European Union

Source Domain	Conceptual Metaphor(s)
JOURNEY/VEHICLE	EUROPE/THE EU IS A VEHICLE
BUILDING	EUROPE/THE EU IS A BUILDING EUROPE/THE EU IS A HOUSE
PERSON	THE EUROPE IS A PERSON IN DISTRESS THE EU IS AN IMMORAL PERSON
GAMES	THE EU IS A GAMBLER
COMMERCE	NATIONS ARE GOODS

²⁷ The letters A and B in parentheses indicate if a conceptual metaphor was only found in one of the corpora. If not so noted, the conceptual metaphor occurs in both corpora.

HEALTH & ILLNESS	EUROPE IS A SICK PATIENT (A) GERMANY IS A PATIENT (A) THE EU IS A DOCTOR (A) GERMANY IS A DOCTOR/CURE (B) MONEY IS A VITAL LIQUID: MONEY IS A STATE'S BLOOD (A)
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Table 20

Conceptual Metaphors for the Government

Source Domain	Conceptual Metaphor(s)
JOURNEY/VEHICLE	POLITICAL PARTIES ARE A VEHICLES POLITICIANS ARE PILOTS OF VEHICLES GOVERNMENT IS A VEHICLE ON THE WRONG COURSE GOVERNMENT IS A VEHICLE ON A DANGEROUS COURSE GOVERNMENT IS STEERING A VEHICLE
BUILDING	NATIONS ARE BUILDINGS (B) GOVERNMENT IS A BUILDING DEMOCRACY/THE CONSTITUTION ARE THE BUILDINGS FOUNDATION
PERSON	GOVERNMENT IS AN IMMORAL PERSON
WAR	POLITICS IS WAR POLITICAL PARTIES ARE ARMY DEMOCRACY/VALUES ARE A TARGET IDEOLOGIES ARE BUNKERS
GAMES	POLITICS IS A GAME POLITICIANS ARE PLAYERS IN A GAME WITH HIGH STAKES GOVERNMENT IS A GAMBLER
SPORTS	POLITICS IS A SPORTS COMPETITION (A) GOVERNMENT ARE ATHLETES PLAYING AGAINST THE RULES
COMMERCE	POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS POLITICIANS ARE SALESPEOPLE (B)
THEATER	POLITICS IS A STAGE POLITICIANS ARE ACTORS POLITICIANS ARE STAGE DIRECTORS GOVERNMENT IS AN ACTOR
HEALTH & ILLNESS	POLITICIANS ARE DOCTORS (B) GOVERNMENT IS A (BAD) DOCTOR (A) NATIONS ARE DOCTORS NATIONS ARE PATIENTS

MONEY IS A VITAL LIQUID
 MONEY IS A STATE'S BLOOD (A)

ANIMAL

GOVERNMENT IS AN ANIMAL

Table 21

Conceptual Metaphors for Immigration

Source Domain	Conceptual Metaphor(s)
JOURNEY/VEHICLE	IMMIGRATION IS A VEHICLE
COMMERCE	IMMIGRANTS ARE IMPORTED GOODS (B)
WATER	IMMIGRATION IS A FLOOD IMMIGRATION IS A NATURAL DISASTER

Table 22

Conceptual Metaphors for the AfD

Source Domain	Conceptual Metaphor(s)
JOURNEY/VEHICLE	THE AfD IS A VEHICLE ON THE CORRECT COURSE
PERSON	THE AfD IS A RIGHTEOUS PERSON
WAR	POLITICS IS WAR THE AfD IS A DEFENDING ARMY
GAMES	POLITICS IS A GAME THE AfD ARE PLAYERS IN A GAME
SPORTS	POLITICS IS A SPORTS COMPETITION (A) THE AfD ARE ATHLETES THE AfD IS A REFEREE IN A GAME

CHAPTER VI DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

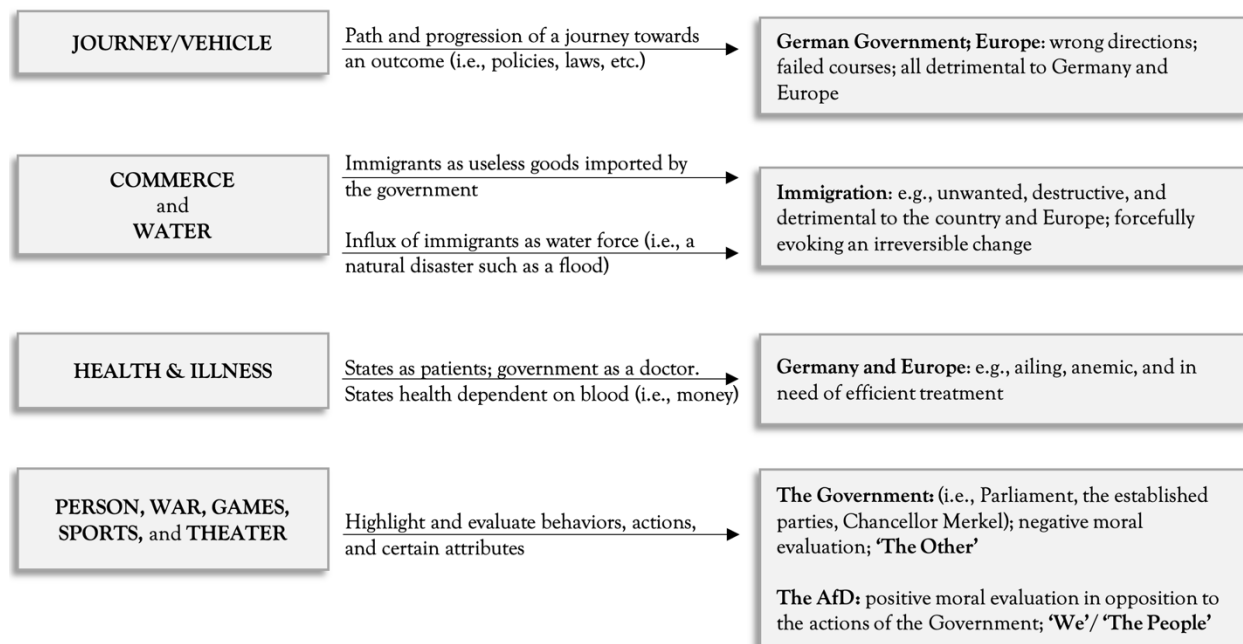
6.1 Summary of the Study

This study explored the metaphorical expressions and conceptual metaphors used by the German right-wing populist party, AfD, to conceptualize various political topics before and after the 2017 parliamentary election. Through the combined approach of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005), the study systematically identified and analyzed the source domains, conceptual metaphors, and keywords used by the AfD in discourse about the German government, Europe/the EU, immigration, and the AfD itself.

Overall, there are several trends which can be identified. In general, the same source domains tend to frame the same discourse topics with similar frequency. However, all topics are framed through a greater variety of source domains in Corpus B than in Corpus A. One explanation for this is the larger corpus size of the Corpus B (2017–2019), N = 145,743-word tokens total and 5,512 tokens for the discourse topic. This is compared to N = 621,974-word tokens total and 1,826 tokens for the discourse topics in Corpus A (2016–2017.) However, another explanation is that the AfD’s discourse has become less direct and more metaphorical since they entered parliament.

Figure 8

The AfD Mindset: Frequent Usage of Conceptual Metaphors by Discourse Topic



As illustrated in Figure 8, JOURNEY/VEHICLE metaphors are most frequently used to represent the political decisions of the German government or a particular party and their predicted outcomes, as they usually allude to a path, the progression of a journey, and its destination. BUILDING metaphors, on the other hand, are used to represent characteristics of states and nations, such as their foundation, condition, and functionality. COMMERCE and WATER metaphors were often used in connection with immigration. The metaphorical expressions connected to the COMMERCE source domain are used to negatively evaluate immigration policies by the German government, while WATER metaphors more directly represent immigration, particularly the influx of refugees. For the most part, HEALTH & ILLNESS metaphors were found to represent a nation's financial situation or policies, especially in connection to the European financial crisis of 2010. They often evoke a notion of a blood transfusion, in which blood corresponds to money, thus making it a vital part of a state's health.

In addition, all other source domains (PERSON, WAR, GAMES, SPORTS, THEATER, and ANIMAL) are used to highlight certain negative characteristics or behaviors while situating the AfD in opposition to them. From the data, it is evident that PERSON metaphors have the potential for the most moral evaluation. For instance, they are used to represent Europe and the EU as a defenseless person who needs help, while the government is frequently represented as a person involved in immoral deeds or as one characterized by passivity and a lack of initiative. WAR metaphors, which show an increase in the later corpus, also express the government's actions. The representations of WAR metaphors are multiple, from creating an image of the government as an army involved in warfare to more apprehensive depictions of them as soldiers sheltering their ideologies in bunkers. As war always involves opponents, the AfD uses this image to represent themselves as someone defending the nation against the attacks of the government.

GAMES, SPORTS, and THEATER source domains share many commonalities and often inherently include aspects of personification. These source domains are used by the AfD politicians to represent the government as irresponsible and dishonest by evoking an image of the latter as gamblers or as engaging in bad sportsmanship, while the AfD represents itself as the opponent in the game. THEATER metaphors further the representations of the government as deceptive and corrupt, engaging in pretend behavior only to please an audience.

ANIMAL metaphors function like personification but draw from animal characteristics instead of human behavior. Hereby the choice of animal highlights unfavorable characteristics or behaviors to construct an image of the government as avoidant, deceptive, and ignorant. While many of the ANIMAL metaphors found in the data are conventionalized in the German language, their deliberate use in this discourse context still conveys powerful imagery, highlighting certain negative characteristics to change the hearers' perspective on the topic. The data reveals that the government is a discourse topic most frequently represented metaphorically, and it also exhibits the highest frequency in unconventional and novel metaphors, which are more likely to evoke a

stronger emotional reaction than conventional ones (Gibbs, 2002) and which are processed by comparison alone (and not necessarily by cross-domain mapping) (Gentner & Bowdle, 2001). In contrast, the AfD least frequently depicts its party metaphorically.

In summary, one of the most striking commonalities of the conceptual metaphors across both corpora is that they frame the discourse topics negatively except for the AfD, delegitimizing the German government and its policies. The data further revealed that the metaphorical representations of their own party sharply contrast in all aspects with the actions and values of the government. A combined approach of CMT and CMA is a valuable theory to expose political discourse's "hidden" meanings and how citizens, and potential voters, might perceive political messages. Hence, by exploring the AfD's metaphorical language it is also possible to illuminate their mindset, which, as has been shown, exhibits many key characteristics of right-wing populist discourse, as discussed in the next section.

6.2 Populist Discourse Features

The conceptual metaphors used by the AfD to represent the EU, the German government, and immigration echo the features of right-wing populist discourse as outlined in Chapter 3.2.1. As the data show, the AfD's binary worldview of "the people" and "the other" is found in almost all metaphors and always stands in stark contrast to its own values and ambitions as the representatives of "the people." Representations of "the other" are embodied by "the elites," here especially Angela Merkel's government, the established parties, but also the EU leadership, by engaging in a narrative characterized by blame and accusing the politicians and parties of incompetence, dishonesty, corruption, cowardice, recklessness, self-interest, and being a general failure to "the people."

For the other outgroup, embodied by migrants, the politicians' metaphorical representation highlights the "overpowering" numbers of incoming migrants, and hence the AfD's demand for restricting immigration. However, the context in which the metaphors occur further forms strong connections with immigrants as bad, criminal, and illegal. This emphasizes their perceived difference and implies "archaic" cultural backgrounds and a refusal to integrate that cannot be stipulated with Germany's culture and values. Consequently, they pose a physical and economic threat to Germany.

On the other hand, taking on the positions of the spokesperson of "the people," the AfD positions itself in stark contrast to these two instrumentalized outgroups, metaphorically representing themselves as the self-appointed "saviors" following righteous ideals and defending "the people" from "the elites'" oppression and wrongdoings and the threat of "the other."

The data further reveal that conceptual metaphors used by the AfD also exemplify another feature of populist discourse: the appeal to emotions. Instead of proposing debates, specific measures, or solutions, the metaphors retreat to discrediting outgroups and underline the AfD's opposing approach, without ever offering actual proposals. This creates a discourse that is highly emotional and simultaneously very simplistic. This appeal

to “common sense, intuition, resentment, and anti-intellectualism” instead of “fact-based evidence and expertise” aims to quickly please voters and garner their support, instead of offering concrete solutions (Mudde, 2004). It is not surprising then that the AfD’s binary worldview and their “politics of emotion” (Wodak, 2021), which thrives on anti-elitist rhetoric, found an audience in voters who were already dissatisfied and who aligned with AfD’s opposition to Germany’s immigration politics as outlined in Chapter 3.1.2, by instrumentalizing their already-existent resentment and their promises for change.

Considering that metaphor is pivotal for the comprehension of abstract concepts, as it is a form of analogical reasoning (Gentner & Colhoun, 2010; Colhoun & Gentner, 2009), and that voters make decisions depending on how they understand the political world, it seems conspicuous that these metaphorical representations utilized by the AfD influence voters, especially ones less familiar with politics overall. Reuchamps et al. (2018), for instance, argue that metaphor as a tool expressing complex political issues in terms of more familiar, relatable ones, “*only* helps individuals with lower political knowledge to construct a representation of a given political topic, whereas individuals with higher political knowledge do not need to rely on such a metaphor to construct a representation; they already possess their own schemes” (p. 156). This not only points to the enormous influence that conceptual metaphor can have on political outcomes and decision making, but also to a need to create a greater awareness of the use of metaphor in political discourse to manipulate political perspectives and influence change.

On this note, I would like to add that my goal here is to make the cognitive theory of metaphor more accessible, not only to those studying and researching metaphor but to everyone interested in ideological, social, and cultural processes.

For a long time, the term “literacy” has been used to denote the ability to read and write, but, since the 21st century, the term has broadened to include other contexts, such as digital, information, or media literacy. The meaning of these literacies now denotes the enabling of individuals to fully participate in their society and culture. To do so, individuals must have the ability to identify, decode, analyze, and evaluate the information they are exposed to. Since political discourse is inherently disseminated through the media, this “critical metaphor literacy” should be regarded as a part of critical media literacy. The following example from Sholle and Denski (1993) notes what it requires for individuals to become media literate—a notion that should also be applied to metaphor and framing:

We must attend to the multiple reference and codes that position them. This means paying attention to the manner in which popular culture texts are constructed by and construct various discursive codes, but also how such texts express various contradictory ideological interests and how these texts might be taken up in a way that creates possibilities for different constructions of cultural and political life. (309)

Since metaphor has such a powerful presence in all aspects of life, particularly the media, critical awareness of figurative language's subtle influence on our attitudes and decision-making is essential.

6.3 Suggestions for Further Research

While this study has focused solely on the presence and implications of conceptual metaphor in political discourse, it is also essential to examine its absence. What is striking in the data is that while the AfD very frequently employs metaphors to represent the elite and the other, they rarely use metaphors in discourse about themselves. The only metaphors used by the AfD was to position itself as the antithesis to outgroups and, aside from underscoring their own true values, never offered political proposals or solutions.

If metaphorical reasoning is employed to express abstract and complex topics to make them more familiar for their listeners, how can the absence of metaphor in discourse be interpreted? To my knowledge, only one study by Cameron (2011) discusses the absence of metaphor. In the study, he noticed that individuals engaging in reconciliation conversations were less likely to use metaphor and employed more straightforward talk when it came to the recollection of past painful events, which proved to have had a strong effect on the listener. Therefore, the question arises if the absence of metaphor can be ascribed to a greater focus on communication and directness than on establishing and negotiating an identity. Since conceptual metaphors often rely on our experience and our own specific knowledge of the world, they also might offer more room to the individual for interpreting them—representations which then, of course, are not neutral but based on our experiences and the knowledge connected to them.

As this study has only examined metaphors of one party; it would be of great interest to investigate whether these metaphors are universal in politics to represent certain political topics, or if they vary across party, their ideological categorizations, language, or culture, and if the metaphors through which they define themselves as parties differs. Although this study also considered diachronic changes of conceptual metaphors, it did so for a relatively short time span; it needs to be determined further if diachronic differences exist across longer time periods. In addition, much research has focused on metaphor in political discourse, but mostly on the discourse of elites, such as parties, politicians, and so forth. It is also important to consider the voters themselves, to gain better insights into how they use metaphor to comprehend the political world (Bougher, 2012).

While these questions cannot be answered within the scope of this study, it is clear that there is much incentive for conducting exciting and indispensable future research into metaphor as a tool in language, thought, and communication and for the insights which can be gained in the sphere of political reasoning.

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Appendix

[Antconc Database Files for Corpus A and B](#)