



# The Art of the Political Metaphor

Examining Boris Johnson's use of conceptual metaphors in a speech on Brexit

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## Abstract

As the 2016 Brexit referendum was an election largely decided by the use of language, there was merit in examining how the Leave campaign had managed to be successful. Therefore, this study asks how one of the leave campaign's main figure heads, Boris Johnson, used metaphors to frame the relationship between Britain and the EU. In addition, the ascribed conceptual role of each party was investigated. To determine this, the metaphorical framing in a pivotal speech was examined by using conceptual metaphor theory. Firstly, several linguistic metaphors were identified by using an established metaphor identification process. After careful analysis, two separate patterns in these metaphors were found and subsequently, suitable conceptual metaphors were suggested. The one relating to the relationship between Britain and the EU was proposed as *AUTONOMY IS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT*. In other words, there were several linguistic metaphors exhibiting the conceptual pattern that the EU restricted Britain's freedom of movement and that this described the more abstract notion of Britain's lack of autonomy. Thus, in his speech, Boris Johnson conveyed the idea that there was an imbalance of power weighted in favour of the EU. The second conceptual metaphor, which denotes the role of the EU, was proposed as *THE EU IS A MACHINE*. This implies that the EU is an emotionless, non-sentient and thoughtless operation that does not inspire warmth or a sense of belonging. This pattern was not as solid as the restriction of movement pattern but other, corroborating, evidence was found. Finally, the role of Britain in the speech was not referred to using metaphors but by personal pronouns, first-person plural. This achieves the opposite effect to the conceptual metaphor *THE EU IS A MACHINE*. Hence, by repeatedly using *we* and *us* when referencing Britain, Boris Johnson humanises the country as he tries to foster a group feeling, a sense of togetherness. These findings highlight how politicians use the tools of linguistics to influence the electorate. Britain's unexpected exit out of the European Union had a huge impact on millions of people so it is crucial to understand how the Leave campaign had managed to swing the vote in their favour. This study shines a light on some of the techniques used to win the referendum.

**Keywords:** Metaphor, Brexit, Boris Johnson, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Framing

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# 1 Introduction

The outcome of the Brexit referendum was incredibly important to millions of people but the issue's complexity and lack of precedence meant that the use of language became vital to convince voters; an important aspect of this was the use of metaphors to frame the debate. Arguments for or against Brexit could not be anchored in any prior experience of a country leaving the EU which meant that the electorate had to be convinced by rhetoric alone. Thus, armed with language as the only available tool, Dominic Cummings, the Director of the Leave campaign, reduced the debate to sloganeering by using expressions such as "Take back control" which started to imprint themselves on British minds (Richards, 2016). Due to the understanding of the impact of such slogans on the electorate, the Leave campaign managed to frame the debate around, what Ruth Wodak describes as, classic right-wing scenarios; blame current perceived problem on a clearly separated scapegoat (Wodak, 2015). In this case, the EU's interference is blamed for Britain's poor economy, lack of jobs and the huge influx of immigrants. Ultimately, the Leave campaign managed to steer the debate regarding Brexit into their chosen territory partly with the use of metaphorical framing.

The win for the leave camp was not just down to careful framing of the issues using metaphors, but also finding the right mouthpiece to deliver them; Boris Johnson was that mouthpiece. By the time the referendum was announced, the arrival of personality politics and social media had already made Boris Johnson a celebrity politician. Most importantly, however, Mr Johnson is a gifted public speaker who can attract the attention of people who might otherwise not be interested in politics. Therefore when, to the surprise of many, he came out in favour Brexit, it was widely deemed to be a boost for the Leave side (Murphy, 2016; "Causes of the Vote In Favour of Brexit", 2021). Hence, with Dominic Cummings' strategies and Boris Johnson's tip-of-the-spear deliveries, the Leave campaign became a potent force to be reckoned with.

Boris Johnson gave a speech in May 2016 where strategy, delivery and timing came together to ensure a wide coverage (*Boris Johnson Attacks Cameron's Eu Talks 'Failure'*, 2016; Wright, 2016; Asthana, 2016). Firstly, his metaphorical strategy can be explored through a careful examination of the speech (*Boris Johnson's Speech on the EU Referendum: Full Text*, 2016). It reveals how he used framing to deliver his message and more specifically, how he portrayed the relationship between Britain and the EU by using metaphors. Secondly, the delivery contained typical headline grabbing moments; Boris Johnson sang "Ode to Joy" in German (Latest News Online, 2016) and attacked the current Prime Minister David Cameron for his failure to improve on the existing EU deal (*Boris Johnson Attacks Cameron's Eu Talks 'Failure'*, 2016). Finally, the timing of the speech, May 2016, could not have been better to also ensure full attention of the voters as it was approximately a month before the referendum.

Despite its coverage in the media, little actual research has been done on the speech; it is therefore a dataset that justifies further examination. One exception is Jonathan Charteris-Black, who very briefly touched on the speech in his extensively researched book, *Metaphors of Brexit* (2019). For his book, Charteris-Black collated 40,000 words of speech and 82,000 written words of Boris Johnson from 2016 to 2018 inclusive (Charteris-Black, 2019). However, he only makes one passing reference to the speech where he picks out a metaphor

regarding the EU system and technology. As a result, there is a research gap that, given the topic's importance and impact on so many people's lives, is worth exploring. For this reason, this study intends to examine the use of metaphors in Boris Johnson's speech to reveal his framing of the relationship between Britain and the EU as well as the conceptual role of each party.

## 2 Aim and Research Questions

Due to the success of the Leave campaign's use of language in the Brexit debate, this thesis will aim to explore their ascription of the metaphorical relationship between Britain and the EU in a widely covered speech given by Boris Johnson. The polls show that Leave had come from behind to overtake Remain as the debate intensified ("Brexit Poll Tracker", 2016) and by examining Boris Johnson's metaphorical speech strategy it is possible gain an insight as to how this happened. Firstly, a fundamental question must be answered:

- In Boris Johnson's speech on the 9th of May 2016, what conceptual metaphors became particularly salient based on his use of linguistic metaphors?

Once this has been established it is possible to focus on the more pointed questions relating to the aim of this study:

- How did Boris Johnson use metaphors to frame the relationship between Britain and the EU in his speech on the 9th of May 2016?
- How was the respective conceptual roles of Britain and the EU described in the said speech?

The answers to these three questions will shed light on the Leave campaign's strategy in how they intended to, and did, win the referendum.

### 3 Theoretical Framework and Previous Research

#### 3.1 Theoretical Framework

It was Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 3) who introduced the idea that metaphors are not solely reserved for poetry and other literary pursuits but a powerful tool that taps into people's cognitive thought process and it does this without people realising it. Their conceptual metaphor theory was succinctly explained by L. David Ritchie (2013), "Lakoff and Johnson (1980) reversed this order, arguing that metaphors connect underlying concepts, and that the metaphorical words and phrases encountered in language are but surface expressions of these underlying conceptual relationships" (p. 69). In other words, metaphors themselves are a mere search function in a database of people's life experiences. As well as stimulating relevant underlying stored information, it can also, if creatively used with a novel metaphor, link previously unconnected life experiences.

A key concept of conceptual metaphor theory is that these life experiences, or conceptual relationships, can be amalgamated into clusters of metaphor families. As an example, a classic conceptual metaphor is *ARGUMENT IS WAR* meaning that we talk about war as it is concrete to describe the more abstract concept of an argument. However, it does not mean that the word *war* must be present in the metaphor itself but there may be subordinated words related to it such as, *battle*, *strategy*, or *attack* (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006).

Lakoff and Johnson introduced another important element of conceptual metaphor theory; the need for a metaphor to be grounded. Often this is talked about in terms of embodiment but, Ungerer and Schmid (2006) discuss this in terms of mapping (see section 3.1.1 for definition), and they identify three separate distinctions:

- Image schemas/Embodiment: These metaphors can be traced back to infancy and the most basic of physical sensations such as heat and cold. Image schemas/embodiments are deemed to be understood by all humans.
- Basic correlation: These metaphors contain basic concepts such as cause<>effect, and purpose<>goal. Like image schemas, this category is also thought to be comprehended by most humans.
- Cultural-dependent valuations: Metaphors in this category are cultural; a specific knowledge is required to understand the meaning of them.

Determining the grounding of the metaphors in Boris Johnson's speech helps to understand how the audience conceptually connects with the metaphors. For example, did Boris Johnson rely on cultural references for the metaphors to be understood or were they of the more basic kind that could be understood by most humans? His speech was presumably aimed at British voters but perhaps partly also at politicians in the EU as winning the referendum was

only a part of the battle; putting down markers for the potential negotiations for a future relationship was also important.

Political speeches are written by dedicated speech writers and linguistic elements such as metaphors are carefully chosen to further a specific agenda; conceptual metaphor theory can be used to deconstruct such elements and reveal the intended literal meaning.

### ***3.1.1 Definitions of Linguistic Tools***

Some definitions are provided below with regard to expressions that have been used throughout this study.

#### *Frame*

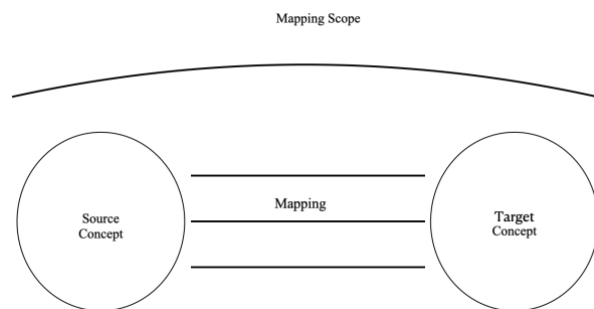
"[A] frame is an assemblage of the knowledge we have about a certain situation, e.g. buying and selling" (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p. 5)

#### *Domain*

"[Domains are] contexts for the characterizations of a semantic unit" (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p. 192).

#### *Mapping*

"What is transferred, then, by a metaphor is not only the properties inherent in the individual concepts, but the structure, the internal relations or the logic of a whole cognitive model. Using a metaphor originating in cartography later taken over by mathematicians, cognitive linguists have called the transfer a "mapping" from a source to a target. This means that from a cognitive perspective a metaphor is a mapping of the structure of a source model onto a target model" (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, p. 118)



#### *Tension (semantic)*

"A metaphor is a word or phrase that causes semantic tension by:

1. Reification – referring to something that is abstract using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is concrete.
2. Personification – referring to something that is inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is animate.
3. Depersonification – referring to something that is animate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is inanimate." (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 21).

For the purpose of this study, only point 1 of the definition of *tension* is relevant.



### 3.2 Previous Research

Public communication is a great source for researchers who examine various techniques used to influence and persuade a target group. In recent years there has been a greater appreciation of the impact of metaphors with regard to persuasiveness and particularly within politics, and as a result research undertaken into this area has increased. With more research available comes more collective experience and understanding which helps to refine methods and processes.

Brexit is a polarising topic which affects a vast number of people, and therefore it is useful to highlight some general aspects of the previous research material referred to in this section. All the material was published after the referendum was held. This is not surprising. After all, history tends to be written after the event. However, politically, it was a period that was moving very quickly. At the time of publication of the previous research material, Britain and the EU had entered the negotiations regarding the withdrawal agreement that would determine the future relationship between the parties. This fact added its own separate political dynamic which should be borne in mind. Another aspect worthy of note is that three out of the four references were published by researchers based at European universities. However, predominantly their own references relating to the more opinion-based material, such as newspaper articles, were from British mainstream media rather than European media. The fourth reference is the British based professor Jonathan Charteris-Black who mainly based his research on his own database of Boris Johnson's published articles and speeches spanning from 2016 to 2018 inclusive (Charteris-Black, 2019).

The examined previous research into conceptual metaphors used in the Brexit debate collectively indicates a clear pattern; a lineage in ontological hierarchy starting with attaching humanlike qualities to Brexit. By referring to Brexit using humanlike qualities to such a non-human event, it taps into a conceptual understanding. Two researchers based at a Ukrainian university, Bilyk and Pyliachyk (2018) analysed political discourse in British mainstream media and concluded that a commonly used mapping was the conceptual metaphor BREXIT IS A HUMAN BEING. In other words, various easily understood attributes of humanity (source concept) were mapped to the complex issue of Brexit (target concept). Some of the examples they give are, eat, change of mood, deny, self-harm, hard, calm etc. Due to the complexity of humanity, there are near endless possibilities for mapping. However, the study notes three distinct source domain of attributes: feelings of a person, actions/events, and family relations. It is the latter of these three source domains that continues the hierarchical lineage of what might be termed the "humanisation" that can be seen as a pattern in the research regarding conceptual metaphors pertaining to Brexit.

Family metaphors are commonly used in politics and although it is a narrowing of the mapping scope compared to BREXIT IS A HUMAN BEING, it still provides the possibility for a wide variety of conceptual mappings. To help explore the variety of family metaphors available, two researchers based at an Italian university, Milizia and Spinzi (2020) propose the conceptual metaphor NATIONS ARE FAMILIES. Such a metaphor leaves it open to denote relationships between nations in terms of, for example, a married couple. Thereby, it would be possible to refer to conceptually linked derivations such as a partnership, honeymoon

period or going through a divorce. Another example could be the relationship between parent and child meaning that one nation is exerting influence/being dominant in comparison to the other. Jonathan Charteris-Black (2019) explores the aspects of NATIONS ARE FAMILIES frame further:

The 'nation as a family' frame overcomes divisions within a group of people and is inward looking and tribal in nature and relies on the moral foundation of Loyalty among and toward family members. By contrast, when a group of nations refers to itself metaphorically as a 'family' it draws on the moral foundation of mutual Care and implies that our shared sense of identify reaches across national boundaries. It is outward looking and can overcome tensions and conflicts between sovereign nation states by rejecting blood-based tribalism because of the harm it causes. (p. 196)

When considering the Brexit issue with Britain in one corner and the EU in another, such a distinction is interesting. Charteris-Black also references that the EU commission has long used the metaphor "the European family" to combat the NATIONS ARE FAMILIES metaphor as the latter is seen as stoking nationalistic tendencies and ultimately being the cause for two World Wars.

Continuing the theme of narrowing the mapping scope, it is at the next level where most of the previous research on conceptual metaphors regarding Brexit is found, the married couple frame. Milizia and Spinzi (2020) claim that even back in the 1990s the British membership was termed as a "marriage of convenience" (p. 161); arguably this set the tone for the various divorce metaphors that appeared around the Brexit debate. Two researchers at a Serbian university, Đurović and Silaški (2018) list several conceptual source domains that fit the married couple frame and which have been used when referring to the Brexit issue. Examples include, rocky marriage, troubled marriage, divorce bill, tied the knot, in sickness and health, attributing Britain as a wife and the EU as a husband. It is also claimed that the latter example adds the dynamic of introducing traditional gender roles to the debate. Đurović and Silaški's work draws on material from both EU countries and Britain and appears to be more based on research and studies rather than news articles.

Previous research also indicates that different stakeholders used the identified frames to a different extent; one of these stakeholders was the media. The media seems to have been the drivers of the married couple frame which includes various conceptually linked events such as a divorce. Milizia and Spinzi (2020) state that the media (they specifically refer to examining the British mainstream media) is replete with references to divorce metaphors and that these metaphors are more popular with the British media than politicians. They conclude that the use of divorce metaphors is partly for dissemination purposes but also that it makes it possible to add on moral and ideological aspects to the conversation. Interestingly, some sections of the media rejected the marriage scenario altogether on account of the fact that it was never an equal partnership, and with no marriage there can be no divorce (Milizia & Spinzi, 2020). It was not specified which exact media outlets this was in reference to.

Another stakeholder group was the European politicians who very much stayed with the family frame and like the media, referred to Brexit as a divorce. For example, Donald Tusk, the then President of the European Council, hoped that there would be a so-called velvet

divorce. This expression stems from the amicable and planned breakup of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia (Bilyk & Pyliachyk, 2016; Đurović & Silaški, 2018). Furthermore, Jean-Claude Juncker, the then President of the European Commission, referred to Brexit on several occasions as a tragic divorce and said that the EU was not a golf club that simply could be joined or left at will (Milizia & Spinzi, 2020). Similar comments by Juncker were also noted when he referred to Britain's severance from the Union as "not an amicable divorce" (Đurović & Silaški, 2018, p 16).

Research shows that British politicians were rather more cautious with their use of the married couple frame. Notably the then British Prime Minister, Theresa May, avoided the divorce reference altogether as she thought that many times people do not have a good relationship after the divorce (Bilyk & Pyliachyk, 2018). More tellingly, when Theresa May was interviewed at a European Council meeting and directly asked about the Brexit divorce; not only did she not repeat the expression back, but she also refused to answer the question (Milizia & Spinzi, 2020). Charteris-Black (2019) dedicates two chapters to the family and marriage frames where he notes how the Leave campaign were reluctant to use such a frame as it intimated emotional involvement and a sense of obligations.

Finally, and considering his prominence in this thesis, it is also worth noting prior research pertaining specifically to Boris Johnson and his use of metaphors with regard to the Brexit issue. Like Theresa May, Boris Johnson was reluctant to use the divorce metaphor, both as a foreign secretary and as Prime Minister (Milizia & Spinzi, 2020). However, he did not, like many other politicians involved in the Leave campaign, completely shy away from using family metaphors but rather he turned it around to refer to the family of the Commonwealth. Whilst doing so he also pointed out the shared history but specifically the shared language, arguably pontificating that this was not the case with the EU. Charteris-Black (2019) notes that Boris Johnson also used another interesting frame, the allegory of unjust entrapment. For example, being caught in a steel trap, falling into a crevasse, and being buried. These can be traced back to embodied simulations with an almost creeping sense of panic. He also portrayed the EU as a controlling adult, but not of family, more akin to a Nanny who exerts authority over the children they look after.

In summary, previous research into the use of conceptual metaphors in the Brexit debate largely centres around the family frame. This is not surprising as politicians often use something as well-understood as marriage when explaining complex political relations. Different stakeholders tried to control the debate by choosing metaphors that suited their own agenda. Media (British mainstream media) used the marriage metaphors for explanatory purposes but also to add a slant of morality and obligations to the debate. European politicians followed suit with regard to the use of divorce but also focused on the expression "European family", possibly indicating a sense of togetherness in Europe. The Leave campaign's understanding of the importance of language was on display when it was clear that they did not engage with the divorce frame. Boris Johnson aligned himself with the Leave campaign's strategy but also used metaphors around unjust entrapment to indicate Europe's encroaching authority over Britain.

## 4 Material and Method

### 4.1 Material

The uncertainty around Brexit where politicians had to discuss and explain complex issues to people voting in the referendum meant that a dataset encompassing a speech on this subject was suitable. Speech writers use metaphors for a variety of reasons, such as simplifying complex issues, raise emotions and for persuasive purposes. In other words, the use of metaphors helps a speech writer to frame the topic. Due to the high level of inherent uncertainty in existence regarding Brexit, political success was partly rooted in how well either side managed to control the debate. The Leave campaign had come from behind in the polls to eventually overtake Remain (Brexit Poll Tracker, 2016). Therefore, there appeared to be merit in examining the framing and the use of metaphors by the winning side. The Leave campaign had several influential speakers but none more so than Boris Johnson, who is known for his ebullient oratory style. The speech by Boris Johnson was chosen due to its timing in the debate and its traction in the media.

### 4.2 Method

The method chosen involves several steps that led to an understanding of how the metaphorical use in the Boris Johnson's speech helped to frame the role of Britain and the EU. It is largely based on the critical metaphor analysis method as described in Charteris-Black's book *Analysing Political Speeches* (2018), although some simplification and amalgamation of the steps were made. The method was chosen due to it being an established practice, its suitability for a study of this type and size, and its practical clarity. The following steps were undertaken:

- Close reading of the data set.
- Metaphor Identification.
- Analysing the linguistic metaphors.
- Proposing an appropriate conceptual metaphor.
- Testing the appropriateness of the proposed conceptual metaphor.

#### 4.2.1 Close reading of the dataset

Firstly, the speech was broken up into separate parts that could be referenced (Appendix 1). Thereafter, a close reading was undertaken; the purpose was to locate a tension between literal and abstract concepts. More simply put, to find an ambiguity in meaning in words or phrases. Where tension was found, the relevant word or phrase was marked for further investigation.

#### **4.2.2 Metaphor Identification**

The decision to use a formal metaphor identification process rather than solely relying on intuition was taken to ensure a more methodical and systematic approach. It helps reduce bias and subjectivity. To investigate the words and phrases exhibiting tension between the literal and abstract concepts, the steps as outlined in *Metaphor identification in multiple languages* (Nancy et al., 2019) were largely followed although it was possible to keep it more simplified:

1. The relevant word class was noted.
2. The contextual meaning of each marked word or phrase was ascertained and noted.
3. The basic meaning of the word was checked and noted. The recommendation is to use Macmillan's dictionary, as it is corpus based, and look at the frequency of usage of a meaning of a word (Nancy et al., 2019).
4. Deciding if there is sufficient lexical difference between the contextual and the basic meaning. If there is more than one numbered meaning in the Macmillan dictionary, there is deemed to be sufficient separation. (Nancy et al., 2019)
5. Deciding if there is sufficient similarity between contextual and basic meaning. This is more subjective and includes consideration of comparing abstract with concrete and making a judgement (Nancy et al., 2019).

After applying the above steps to the marked words and phrases, a metaphor grid was established. This has been included as Appendix 2.

#### **4.2.3 Analysing the linguistic metaphors**

The identified linguistic metaphors were examined more closely to see if there were possible conceptual connections between them. Several steps were undertaken:

- Examine each context closer to look at surrounding clues such as, personification, tense, and agent.
- Look at dictionary definitions using Macmillan and Oxford English Dictionary.
- Determine the grounding of the metaphor with respect to embodiment, basic correlation and cultural-dependent.
- Apply rhetoric to explain conclusions made. For example, if the context states that: "...we cannot change direction.", it is rhetorical to conclude that we are restricted in our movement.

#### ***4.2.4 Proposing conceptual metaphors***

Conceptual metaphors were proposed that corresponded with the identified patterns in the linguistic metaphors. A level of creative thinking was required but with the help of the analysis it was possible, for each of the patterns, to suggest a source and a target.

#### ***4.2.5 Testing the appropriateness of the proposed conceptual metaphors***

To test the conceptual metaphors, the original quotes of the speech containing the linguistic metaphors were re-written with the use of the proposed conceptual metaphors to demonstrate the true and intended meaning of the quote. This process largely follows what is suggested by Jonathan Charteris-Black (2018) when he states that to explain a metaphor, an issue can be re-written literally or by using a different metaphor.

## 5 Results and Analysis

Following the process of metaphor identification and applying conceptual metaphor theory, two patterns in the linguistic metaphors that indicated possible conceptual metaphors were identified. The first pattern related to movement and conceptually appeared to target Britain's (perceived) inability to self-govern. A conceptual metaphor, *AUTONOMY IS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT*, has therefore been proposed and this is explored in 5.1-5.7 through a selection of examples. The examples that were deemed to be the strongest representatives of said pattern were selected and presented in such order. The second pattern, examined in 5.8, included Boris Johnson's various descriptions of the EU and led to the conceptual metaphor *THE EU IS A MACHINE*. As the examples were few and deemed to be equal in terms of representing the pattern, all were presented and in the order of appearance in the speech.

Boris Johnson's references to Britain in the speech are not metaphorical but made with first-person plural pronouns and therefore there is no pattern to investigate. However, there is still a conceptual effect of such a use of references, especially when comparing it to the conceptual metaphor proposed for the references to the EU. This is examined in section 5.9.

### 5.1 Metaphor 1 - "Trap"

Quote taken from speech (Appendix 1, section 58):

"To understand our predicament, and the trap we are in, we need to go back to the immediate post-war period, and the agony and shame of a broken continent"

The use of the word *trap* in this case is metaphorical (as examined in Appendix 2), and one that can be traced back to an embodied experience. The mental image the word evokes is that of someone or something, such as an animal, being trapped and unable to move; it is physically restrained. Boris Johnson uses first-person plural pronouns (*our* predicament, the trap *we* are in) to make it clear that it is Britain that is trapped and unable to move. He also uses present tense to signify that this is an issue that is current. Finally, the end of the quote shown is the beginning of his explanation of how the EU was conceived (*Boris Johnson's speech on the EU referendum: full text*, 2016):

To understand our predicament, and the trap we are in, we need to go back to the immediate post-war period, and the agony and shame of a broken continent. There were two brilliant Frenchmen – a wheeler-dealing civil servant with big American connexions called Jean Monnet, and a French foreign minister called Robert Schuman. They wanted to use instruments of economic integration to make war between France and Germany not just a practical but a psychological impossibility. It was an exercise in what I believe used to be called behavioural therapy; inducing a change in the underlying attitudes by forcing a change in behaviour. Their inspired idea was to weave a cat's cradle of supranational legislation that would not only bind the former combatants together, but create a new sensation of European-ness.

Hence, Boris Johnson is claiming that Britain is stuck in a trap and to understand the reason for that, one must understand the inception of the European Union. He claims that its

intricate setup was deliberate to complicate any attempt of separation of the members. It is now possible to test the appropriateness of the suggested conceptual metaphor, AUTONOMY IS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT. To do this, the quote needs to be modified as:

"To understand Britain's predicament, and its (current) lack of autonomy, we need to go back to the immediate post-war period, and the agony and shame of a broken continent"

It was claimed that *trap* represents an inability to physically move, therefore there is a restriction of movement. Furthermore, the suggested conceptual metaphor argued that a restriction of movement is equivalent to a lack of autonomy. As a result, the conceptual metaphor is deemed appropriate.

## 5.2 Metaphor 2 - "Bind"

Quote taken from speech (Appendix 1, section 60):

"Their inspired idea was to weave a cat's cradle of supranational legislation that would not only bind the former combatants together, but create a new sensation of European-ness."

The metaphor identification grid in Appendix 2 establishes that the word *bind* is used metaphorically in the quote. It is argued that it is rooted in an embodied experience; first entry in the recommended dictionary *MacMillan* states: "to tie someone's hands or feet together so they cannot move", thus it is an argument that holds up. Additionally, the *MacMillan* quote establishes that there is a restriction of (body) movement which has been argued to have the abstract meaning of lack of autonomy. It is now possible to re-write the quote to test the suggested conceptual metaphor:

"Their inspired idea was to weave a cat's cradle of supranational legislation that would not only result in a lack of autonomy for the former combatants, but create a new sensation of European-ness."

This fits with the suggestion that Boris Johnson conveys the idea that being a member of the EU removes the ability to self-govern. However, it should be noted that there is also an acknowledgement on his part, that it was done to create a new sensation of European-ness. In other words, he does admit that the intention behind the formation of the EU was somewhat admirable.

## 5.3 Metaphor 3 - "Hauling"

Quote taken from speech (Appendix 1, section 30):

"The EU system is a ratchet hauling us ever further into a federal structure"



As can be established in Appendix 2, the word *hauling* is used metaphorically. Once again, it can be traced back to an embodied experience as Macmillan's dictionary states that it involves, to move someone or something from one place to another (with a lot of effort). Arguably, being physically moved by someone from one place to another is equivalent to a restriction of freedom of movement. Finally, Boris Johnson uses the pronoun *us* instead of *Britain*. This one is a little more difficult to re-write but it is still possible and thereby test the conceptual metaphor for appropriateness:

"The EU system is a ratchet that reduces Britain's autonomy as it moves ever further into a federal structure"

Hence, the re-written quote agrees with the suggested conceptual metaphor that Boris Johnson perpetuates throughout his speech.

#### **5.4 Metaphor 4 - "Dragged in"**

Quote taken from speech (Appendix 1, section 82):

"How can you stop us from being dragged in, and from being made to pay?"

The phrase *dragged in* has been identified as a metaphor in the grid and it is reminiscent of another metaphor included in the analysis section, *hauling*. Both leave a mental image of someone, or something being manhandled which supports the notion of a restriction of freedom of movement. There is a continued use of first-person plural pronouns; *us* instead of *Britain*. A further detail to note is the use of present tense which leaves the impression of an ongoing and habitual predicament. Although this all sits well with the proposed conceptual metaphor and the quote is short, it is not straightforward to re-write, however:

"How can you stop Britain's autonomy from gradually decreasing, and from being made to pay?"

It is another example of an embodied experience as cognitively there is a physical connection of being dragged by someone or something.

#### **5.5 Metaphor 5 - "Direction"**

Quote taken from speech (Appendix 1, section 31):

"We have proved to ourselves time and again that we cannot change the direction"

The identification of a metaphorical use of the word *direction* can be seen in Appendix 2. Basic meaning as per Macmillan means a path someone or something moves along to get to a place and all examples stated are physical directions. Consequently, not being able to change the direction of a movement correlates to the concrete part of the antipodal conceptual

metaphor, RESTRICTION ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT. Following the same process of re-writing the quote using the proposed conceptual metaphor AUTONOMY IS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT results in:

"We have proved to ourselves time and again that we have no autonomy"

This may sound slightly awkward and therefore a slight tweak may be justified to replace *autonomy* with *self-govern*:

"We have proved to ourselves time and again that we cannot self-govern"

There is, however, ambiguity as to whether the grounding occur in embodiment or cultural-dependent evaluation. The case for the former involves movement of the body and here it is possible to go far back to infancy and the control of our limbs, the first crawl and taking those first steps when learning to walk. With the latter, it is possible, using for example a bicycle, to connect it to a young child/adolescence deciding in which direction to travel.

## 5.6 Metaphor (metonymy) 6 - "Door"

Quote taken from speech (Appendix 1, section 4):

"I believe we would be mad not to take this once in a lifetime chance to walk through that door because the truth is it is not we who have changed."

There is little doubt that the word *door* is not used literally by Boris Johnson. The word is in fact used as a synecdoche and its inclusion is justified because it refers to an implied metaphor. Firstly, a door is a part of a building and secondly, considering the MacMillan definition of door: "a large flat object that you open when you want to enter or leave a building, room, or vehicle", it is possible to re-write the quote without the metonymy as:

"I believe we would be mad not to take this once in a lifetime chance to walk out of that building because the truth is it is not we who have changed."

Thus, the implied metaphor might be EU IS A BUILDING. However, contextually it refers to, "a once in a lifetime chance to walk through that door", and therefore the possibility to leave the building is restricted. This is also supported by Charteris-Black: "We may wonder why it is that Boris's dominant metaphors for Britain's relationship with the EU is one of unjust entrapment?" (2019, p. 186). It would therefore be possible to re-write the implied metaphor as EU IS AN ENCLOSED SPACE. This leaves the potential for a re-write of the quote as:

"I believe we would be mad not to take this once in a lifetime chance to walk out of that enclosed space because the truth is it is not we who have changed."

The implied metaphor, EU IS AN ENCLOSED SPACE fits well with the suggested conceptual metaphor, AUTONOMY IS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT due to the understanding that an enclosed space

restricts freedom of movement. As a result, it is now possible to do the final re-write to include the conceptual metaphor:

"I believe Britain would be mad not to take this once in a lifetime chance to regain its autonomy because the truth is it is not Britain who has changed."

To understand how the metaphor is grounded it is the metonym *door* that should be considered. It represents an opportunity to escape the enclosed space and therefore the most fitting category of grounding is "cause and effect" (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006, pp. 119-120). In other words, it is an understanding that by walking through the door an opportunity is grasped. This is particularly clear when expanding the context of the quote which then points to a promise of good fortunes outside of the enclosed space. This is examined as Metaphor 7 in 5.7 below.

## 5.7 Metaphor 7 - "Sunlit"

Quote taken from speech; extended context shown to demonstrate its connection to Metaphor 6 (Appendix 1, section 4):

"We can see the sunlit meadows beyond. I believe we would be mad not to take this once in a lifetime chance to walk through that door because the truth is it is not we who have changed."

The extension of the quote in 5.6 arguably contains a slight alteration of the famous expression "sunlit uplands" from a well-known speech by Winston Churchill. The Oxford English Dictionary has listed the meaning of Churchill's expression as, "an idealized or longed-for future time of happiness, prosperity, good fortune, etc." (Oxford English Dictionary, sunlit uplands).

Considering the proximity of metaphors 6 and 7: the vision is thus that British people are held in an enclosed space, but able to see the light (sunlit) outside. They have a chance of walking out through the door, leaving the enclosed space and going into the light. Conceptually it means that British people are at the behest of the EU but they have an opportunity to regain their autonomy through the referendum. In addition, they can see this "longed-for future/happiness/prosperity" in front of them. Moreover, Boris Johnson's use of the word *meadows*, as opposed to *uplands*, is a synecdoche for Britain; the expression is, "the great British meadow" (Barnes, 2013; Peach, 2019).

## 5.8 References to the EU

The second pattern in the linguistic metaphors that was discovered contains fewer individual examples and is also more apparent. It is more apparent since the EU (or the various derivations as referred to in the speech) is directly labelled as a type of machine. In fact, in one instance the EU (in this case a derivation of) is simply referred to as a machine (so not a *type of machine*): "Single Market law-making machine" (Appendix 1, section 38) Therefore,

the conceptual metaphor *THE EU IS A MACHINE* is proposed. In 5.8.1 through to 5.8.3 each of these individual examples of machinery are examined. In 5.8.4, the attributes of *machine* that are mapped to the EU are discussed, which also involves secondary, non-metaphorical, linguistic information.

### **5.8.1 Ratchet**

Quote taken from speech (Appendix 1, section 30):

"The EU system is a ratchet hauling us ever further into a federal structure."

Macmillan's dictionary gives the following definition for *ratchet*:

" a part of a machine consisting of a wheel or bar with teeth on it. Another metal piece fits into it, allowing it to move in only one direction."

With this definition it is possible to re-write the quote using the conceptual metaphor *THE EU IS A MACHINE*:

"The EU system is a machine hauling us ever further into a federal structure."

It is worth pointing out that in this case it is *ratchet* that should be replaced (and not *the EU system*) with the conceptual part (machine) as the quote itself is effectively making the substitution by using the introduction phrase "...is a...". This acts as a form of metaphor flag (Nancy et al., 2019, pp. 38).

### **5.8.2 Dynamo**

Quote taken from speech (Appendix 1, section 41):

"Now when the single market dawned, we were told that it was going to be a great dynamo of job and wealth creation"

Macmillan's dictionary gives the following definition of *dynamo*:

"a piece of equipment that changes the movement of an engine or machine into electricity"

However, in its list of synonyms it has "Parts of machines and machinery" which is deemed to be sufficient evidence to back up the conceptual metaphor *THE EU IS A MACHINE*. Re-writing the quote in the speech using the proposed conceptual metaphor:

"Now when the single market dawned, we were told that it was going to be a great machine of job and wealth creation"

Once again, it is worth noting that it is *dynamo* that should be replaced (and not *the single market*) with the conceptual part (machine) as the quote itself is effectively making the

substitution by using the introduction phrase "...it was going to be...". This acts as a form of metaphor flag (Nancy et al., 2019, pp. 38).

### 5.8.3 *Cyclotron*

Quote taken from speech (Appendix 1, section 43):

"We were told that goods would start ping-pong around the EEC as if in some supercharged cyclotron..."

There are no entries in either Macmillan's or Longman's dictionaries (Longman's dictionary is the second choice of suggested dictionaries in the metaphor identification process chosen for this study) for *cyclotron* so therefore it falls on the Oxford English Dictionary to provide the following definition:

"An apparatus for accelerating charged atomic particles by subjecting them repeatedly to a (usually horizontal) electric field as they revolve in orbits of increasing diameter in a constant (usually vertical) magnetic field"

The argument is that the key word for the conceptual description is *apparatus*, which is a form of machinery; Oxford English Dictionary definition for *apparatus*:

"The things collectively in which this preparation consists, and by which its processes are maintained; equipments, material, mechanism, machinery; material appendages or arrangements."

It is now possible to re-write quote with the conceptual metaphor THE EU IS A MACHINE:

"We were told that goods would start ping-pong around the EEC as if in some supercharged machine..."

As in the case of the previous two examples above, it is worth noting that it is *cyclotron* that should be replaced (and not *the EEC*) with the conceptual part (machine) as the quote itself is making the substitution using the introduction phrase "...as if in some...". This acts as a form of metaphor flag (Nancy et al., 2019, pp. 38).

### 5.8.4 *Attributes of Machine & Secondary Linguistic Backup*

To determine what attributes are being mapped from *machine* to the *EU*, other linguistic backup is considered. For example, the mapped attributes could be *efficiency*, *effectiveness* and *automatic*. Helpfully, there is secondary information available through close reading of the speech. This reveals that Boris Johnson uses the word *system* no fewer than seven times to refer to the EU in some form (Appendix 1, sections 30, 44, 62, 63, 85, 91, 96). Therefore, it is possible to postulate the argument that the effect of using *machine* or *system* is conceptually much the same. Thus, the exact type of machine is of no importance, and it is of no benefit

to detail the exact differences between them as, for this purpose, they conceptually exhibit similar characteristics. That is to say, the EU is seen as a non-sentient, faceless operation that does not involve emotions in its dealing with people. Essentially, inhabitants of the EU are subject to a process devoid of humanlike qualities.

## 5.9 References to Britain

Britain is referred to, as has previously been touched upon, by using first-person plural pronouns. To further cement this argument, a simple count of these pronouns used throughout the speech reveals that *we* is used eighty-five times and *our* is used twenty-eight times.

## 5.10 Overall Result

After examining the data, it has been established that there are two separate patterns in the linguistic metaphors that point to the existence of conceptual metaphors. The more complex pattern indicated that a restriction in freedom of movement had the conceptual meaning of a lack of autonomy. The conceptual metaphor proposed for this pattern is therefore AUTONOMY IS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT. The second pattern consists of fewer examples and is more apparent due the existence of metaphor flags (Nancy et al., 2019). This pattern related to the description of the EU and with added secondary back up it was deemed that the conceptual metaphor THE EU IS A MACHINE was appropriate. The examined metaphors were predominantly grounded as embodiments although there was arguably one cultural-dependent variation discovered. (Ungerer and Schmid, 2006).

It was also established that there was no distinct pattern in the linguistic metaphors that referenced Britain, instead Boris Johnson used first-person plural pronouns for this purpose.

## 6 Discussion

The previous section dealt with the first and fundamental research question with regard to what conceptual metaphors were particularly salient based on Boris Johnson's use of linguistic metaphors in his speech. The first salient conceptual metaphor noted was AUTONOMY IS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, and the second salient conceptual metaphor found was THE EU IS A MACHINE. It is now possible to address the aims of this study. In section 6.1, Boris Johnson's use of metaphors to frame the relationship between Britain and the EU is discussed. In 6.2, the conceptual roles that were given to the EU and Britain are discussed. Lastly, in 6.3, the limitations and usefulness of this study are considered.

### 6.1 The Metaphors of the Relationship

The linguistic metaphors examined in section 5 state that there are restrictions in the freedom of movement imposed on Britain and it was argued that this represented a reduction in Britain's ability to self-govern; this led to the conceptual metaphor AUTONOMY IS FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT. Furthermore, it was argued that it was an imposition carried out by the EU. Therefore, it follows that firstly, and as part of the frame, there is a power relationship between Britain and the EU. Secondly, that it is the EU that holds the power over Britain.

#### 6.1.1 Representations of Imbalance of Power

It is possible to divide the metaphors used by Boris Johnson referencing the relationship between Britain and the EU into two groups with the first group being quite vivid and carrying a physical threat. These were rooted in embodiment and examples include *trapped* (5.1), *bind* (5.2) and *hauling* (5.3), with others listed in the Metaphor Grid (Appendix 2, sections 29, 82, 98). Generally, such metaphors appear to have been at odds with most other research in the Brexit debate; stakeholders have shied away from that level of colourful language. Boris Johnson, however, seems to have a proclivity for this type of metaphor. Charteris-Black has called a section in his book, *Metaphors of Brexit* (2019) (in the chapter dedicated to Boris Johnson) "The Allegory of Unjust Entrapment". In this section, as mentioned in section 3, he has collected several examples of quotes by Boris Johnson that adheres to similar vivid images:

"...that this 175 page backstop is a great steel trap that is about to clamp its jaws around our hind limbs and prevent our escape" (Charteris-Black, 2019, p 170). (Origin of the quote: Telegraph.co.uk, 2nd December 2018).

"...lost in a House of Commons crevasse or buried..." (Charteris-Black, 2019, p 170). (Origin of the quote: Telegraph.co.uk, 15th September 2017)

Although these quotes are post-referendum and in print, they still indicate that the types of linguistic metaphors identified and singled out in this study are supported by published work. It is possible to argue that the use of this type of, often novel, metaphor is used to gather the

audience's attention. This would not be unusual for Boris Johnson who, as mentioned in the introduction, is well-known for being an engaging public speaker.

The second group of linguistic metaphors still points to an imbalance of power, albeit not as physically imposing as the group already discussed. Two examples were discussed in Section 5, *direction* (5.5) and *door* (5.6), there are others listed in Metaphor Grid (Appendix 2, Sections 3, 31). Firstly, it should be noted that *door* (5.6) is a metonym that leads to a metaphor of Britain being in an enclosed space, however, it does not evoke the same feeling of a physical threat as the examples in the previous paragraph. It is more akin to an adult (the EU) grounding a naughty child (Britain) in its room. A similar sentiment can be said for *direction* (5.5) where it might be thought of as an adult (the EU) being the driver, thus in charge of the direction of travel, and the child (Britain) merely being the passenger. The suggestion that the dynamic between adult and child represents an imbalance of power is supported by Charteris-Black (2019) who notes that Boris Johnson is not averse to this reference: "He frames the EU as a controlling adult, not one of the family but with legitimate authority over the children; but 'Nanny' and 'Nurse'..." (p.167). Therefore, the metaphors used in the speech is consistent with Boris Johnson's frame of reference for the relationship between Britain and the EU. The slightly softer portrayal of the imbalance of power was, as discussed in section 3, also used by other stakeholders. For example, Milizia and Spinzi (2020) write:

"It was interesting to notice that, according to some media, the UK was never in a marriage with the EU and, consequently, "we are not going through a divorce", also taking into account that a marriage or a divorce is usually between two equal partners, and this is not the case because the UK is a small entity if compared to the EU. (p160)

Unfortunately, they do not give the exact media references but according to their study their aim was to explore metaphors used by British mainstream media (and British politicians) during the Brexit discourse (Milizia & Spinzi, 2020). In other words, the notion of an imbalance of power between the Britain and the EU also had traction in some sections of the British mainstream media.

The imbalance of power might also have been described by the commonly used political frame of family. However, as discussed in section 3, the employment of said frame in the Brexit debate was dependent on stakeholder groups. The British mainstream media (Milizia & Spinzi, 2020) and the European politicians (Bilyk & Pyliachyk, 2018; Đurović & Silaški, 2018) had pushed the family frame; partly for explanatory purposes but also for ideological reasons. Boris Johnson had previously only used it to indicate closeness towards the countries of the Commonwealth. Since there is no reference to the Commonwealth in this speech it is no surprise that it does not contain a single metaphorical reference to family.

### ***6.1.2 The Allusion to Winston Churchill***

The allusion to Winston Churchill's famous speech and the well-known quote "sunlit uplands" carries connotations worthy of discussion. It is possible to argue that by evoking such a revered historical event, Boris Johnson raises the emotional temperature of the speech by inferring a threat to the nation and thus stoking feelings of national pride. Churchill led



the defence of Britain during the Blitz and therefore it could potentially be viewed as that Boris Johnson intimates that the power imbalance between Britain and the EU is so great that it is almost tantamount to an occupation of the former by the latter. Charteris-Black (2018) at least backs the process of such a reasoning: "Intertextual use of metaphor also arouses stronger emotions by transferring the emotions used by the historical memory of admired and loved past leaders" (p. 265). Thereby Boris Johnson's use of the expression achieves two things: firstly, aligning himself with a revered figure of history to appeal to the audience and secondly, transferring emotions from the original speech (national pride). Further examination involving a search in the News On the Web (NOW) corpus (chosen for its large database and its span from 2010 to current day) for "sunlit uplands" reveals an increased use of the expression around the time of Brexit. There was a more than 100% increase from 2015 (frequency 7) to 2016 (frequency 17) and a similar increase to 2017 (frequency 33). It continued to increase to 2020 (frequency 92). Therefore, there appears to be a link to the Brexit debate.

Despite the above reasoning and backup, it is difficult to be fully on board with such a strong claim. The truth is that only a single word has been used in the speech to indicate this allusion, *sunlit*. There are no other references to the speech in question, the historical event or to Winston Churchill. Although, an article in *Prospect Magazine* directly references Boris Johnson's speech examined in this study as it delves into the political history of the use of the expression (Ian, 2019). Still, no further evidence of stoking national pride to a similar extent has been found throughout the speech. It appears that this was at most an outlier reference and therefore it cannot be said to be a fully developed or recurring theme that underpins the speech.

### ***6.1.3 Use of Metaphors to Frame the Relationship - Conclusion***

After the discussion in sections 6.1 through to 6.1.2 it is possible to answer the second research question with regard to Boris Johnson's use of metaphors to frame the relationship between Britain and the EU. Boris Johnson used a variety of linguistic metaphors to establish the frame of a perceived imbalance of power between the parties. Furthermore, the linguistic metaphors could be split into two groups, one which contained physically imposing metaphors and another which contained less vivid and more of adult/child relationship style metaphors. Specifically, the physically imposing metaphors in the first group seems to have been a hallmark of Boris Johnson; a conclusion which was supported by Charteris-Black. Potentially, these types of metaphors were used to grab the audience's attention. An allusion to a famous speech by Winston Churchill which contained a further metaphor was examined for its referential importance but ultimately rejected due to lack of evidence.

## 6.2 Conceptual Roles of Britain and the EU

The perceived imbalance of power between Britain and the EU notwithstanding, the described conceptual roles of each party also reveal elements of the Leave campaign's strategy to convince the electorate to vote leave in the referendum. Observations regarding references to the EU and Britain in the speech point to distinctly contrasting conceptual roles. Although perhaps not strictly polar opposite, there is enough of a separation to create a classic "us-and-them" scenario.

Boris Johnson's references were both metaphorical and literal which worked together to establish a deliberate and strategic meaning. The linguistic metaphors used led to the conceptual metaphor *THE EU IS A MACHINE* whilst there was also a consistent use of the literal term *system*. These references imply a non-sentient being that process without thought, it creates a feeling of distance. A machine, or a system, just operates according to set instructions. Neither of them invokes a feeling of warmth nor belonging. This was also more directly echoed in the speech:

"If you walk around London today, you will notice that the 12 star flag of the EU is flying all over the place. That is because this is Schuman day. It is the birthday of the founder of this project, and the elites have decreed that it should be properly marked. Do we feel loyalty to that flag? Do our hearts pitter-patter as we watch it flutter over public buildings? On the contrary. The British share with other EU populations a growing sense of alienation, which is one of the reasons turn-out at European elections continues to decline." (Appendix 1, Sections 65, 66).

Thus, the implied and conceptual work in conjunction with the literal text on the page.

The EU's views are, not surprisingly, in stark contrast to Boris Johnson's conceptual references to the EU. The EU wanted to create a European family bond, but Boris Johnson mentions that even the then President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, remarked: "too many Europeans are returning to a national or regional mindset" (Appendix 1, Section 67). This sentiment is supported by Charteris-Black (2019) who notes that the EU commission has long used the metaphor "the European family" to combat the *NATIONS ARE FAMILIES* metaphor as the latter is seen as stoking nationalistic tendencies and ultimately being the cause for two World Wars. The EU's idea of the European family is also indirectly referred to by Juncker through his use of divorce metaphors: "Jean-Claude Juncker, the President of the European Commission, reiterated on several occasions his conviction that "this divorce is a tragedy", and that Theresa May should call things with their real name: "this break-up is a divorce". (Milan & Spinzi, 2020, p. 146). This is not unlike the opposite position that was referred to in 6.1.1 where some sections of the British mainstream media did not engage with the divorce metaphor as they did not recognise the married couple frame due to the perception of an unequal partnership. Juncker, on the other hand, does refer to it as a divorce and therefore engages with the idea of a family frame in respect of the EU.

Boris Johnson's does not use metaphorical references to Britain but something more apparent that does not require much interpretation, first-person plural pronouns. There are numerous *we* and *us* scattered throughout the speech. This creates a connection to voters in an attempt to win them over, to side with him. Boris Johnson is effectively trying to create a

group feeling with a sense of belonging. Not only does he align himself with the audience but also, on a broader level, he humanises Britain. Moreover, it makes for a closer connection than for example saying, "British people". However, interestingly, he avoided the family frame to further develop the concept of belonging.

### **6.2.1 Conceptual Roles - Conclusion**

There was a clear intention regarding the ascribed roles to Britain and the EU and it is therefore possible to answer the final research question with regard to the description of the conceptual roles for Britain and the EU. The use of first-person plural pronouns signalled an intent to humanise Britain and equally the use of *machine* and *system* was an attempt to dehumanise the institution of the EU. This was achieved through pitting the emotional bond of the "group belonging" for Britain against the lack thereof for the *machine* and *system* of the EU. Ruth Wodak (2019) describes the separation of a clearly identified scapegoat on which current ills can be blamed as a classic right-wing scenario. Ultimately, it is not important what exact type of *machine* or *system* Boris Johnson used in the speech but that they are inanimate and non-sentient, and that his references to Britain are conceptually contrasted to them.

## **6.3 Limitations and Usefulness of this Study**

This study was carried out with the intention to seek clarity of certain aspects in a singular political speech; it is apt to reflect on its limitations. Firstly, regardless of employing established methodologies, there will always be subjective elements. These elements are dependent on the person carrying out the study, so personality, background, and experience become factors. For example, a different researcher may well find another pattern in the linguistic metaphors or draw different conclusions. A further complication may be rooted in bias when interpreting results or giving undue weight to certain factors. This does not imply any malicious intent. A way to counteract elements such as these is to have a team of researchers or subject the research to a peer-review.

This study has gained an insight into the use of political metaphors by Boris Johnson, one of the leading figures of the Leave campaign. Many of the findings in this study were supported by other research and in particular the work by the British professor Jonathan Charteris-Black. A broader view is that today's society has an increasing need to be aware of persuasive and manipulative language techniques. This should lead to an understanding of the true intention of a speaker or writer. As an example, and where this study has potentially unearthed further avenues of research, is the reference to Churchill's expression "sunlit uplands". The increased frequency of use during the time of the Brexit debate could be an indicator of rising nationalistic tendencies.

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## Section

## Appendix 1 - The Speech

- 1 “I am pleased that this campaign has so far been relatively free of personal abuse – and long may it so remain – but the other day someone insulted me in terms that were redolent of 1920s Soviet Russia. He said that I had no right to vote Leave, because I was in fact a “liberal cosmopolitan”.
- 2 That rocked me, at first, and then I decided that as insults go, I didn’t mind it at all – because it was probably true. And so I want this morning to explain why the campaign to Leave the EU is attracting other liberal spirits and people I admire such as David Owen, and Gisela Stuart, Nigel Lawson, John Longworth – people who love Europe and who feel at home on the continent, but whose attitudes towards the project of European Union have been hardening over time.
- 3 For many of us who are now deeply sceptical, the evolution has been roughly the same: we began decades ago to query the anti-democratic absurdities of the EU. Then we began to campaign for reform, and were excited in 2013 by the Prime Minister’s Bloomberg speech; and then quietly despaired as no reform was forthcoming. And then thanks to the referendum given to this country by David Cameron we find that a door has magically opened in our lives.
- 4 We can see the sunlit meadows beyond. I believe we would be mad not to take this once in a lifetime chance to walk through that door because the truth is it is not we who have changed. It is the EU that has changed out of all recognition; and to keep insisting that the EU is about economics is like saying the Italian Mafia is interested in olive oil and real estate.
- 5 It is true, but profoundly uninformative about the real aims of that organization. What was once the EEC has undergone a spectacular metamorphosis in the last 30 years, and the crucial point is that it is still becoming ever more centralizing, interfering and anti-democratic.
- 6 You only have to read the Lisbon Treaty – whose constitutional provisions were rejected by three EU populations, the French, the Dutch and the Irish – to see how far this thing has moved on from what we signed up for in 1972. Brussels now has exclusive or explicit competence for trade, customs, competition, agriculture, fisheries, environment, consumer protection, transport, trans-European networks, energy, the areas of freedom, security and justice, and new powers over culture, tourism, education and youth. The EU already has considerable powers to set rates of indirect taxation across the whole 28-nation territory, and of course it has total control of monetary policy for all 19 in the eurozone.
- 7 In recent years Brussels has acquired its own foreign minister, its own series of EU embassies around the world, and is continuing to develop its own defence policy. We have got to stop trying to kid the British people; we have got to stop saying one thing in Brussels, and another thing to the domestic audience; we have got to stop the systematic campaign of subterfuge – to conceal from the public the scale of the constitutional changes involved. We need to look at the legal reality, which is that this is a continuing and accelerating effort to build a country called Europe.
- 8 Look at that list of Lisbon competences – with 45 new fields of policy where Britain can be outvoted by a qualified majority – and you can see why the House of Commons Library has repeatedly confirmed that when you add primary and secondary legislation together the EU is now generating 60 per cent of the laws passing through parliament.
- 9 The independence of this country is being seriously compromised. It is this fundamental democratic problem – this erosion of democracy – that brings me into this fight.
- 10 People are surprised and alarmed to discover that our gross contributions to the EU budget are now running at about £20bn a year, and that the net contribution is £10 bn; and it is not just that we have no control over how that money is spent.
- 11 No one has any proper control – which is why EU spending is persistently associated with fraud. Of course the Remain campaign dismisses this UK contribution as a mere bagatelle – even though you could otherwise use it to pay for a new British hospital every week. But that expense is, in a sense, the least of the costs inflicted by the EU on this country.
- 12 It is deeply corrosive of popular trust in democracy that every year UK politicians tell the public that they can cut immigration to the tens of thousands – and then find that they miss their targets by hundreds of thousands, so that we add a population the size of Newcastle every year, with all the extra and unfunded pressure that puts on the NHS and other public services.
- 13 In our desperation to meet our hopeless so-called targets, we push away brilliant students from Commonwealth countries, who want to pay to come to our universities; we find ourselves hard pressed to recruit people who might work in our NHS, as opposed to make use of its services – because we have absolutely no power to control the numbers who are coming with no job offers and no qualifications from the 28 EU countries. I am in favour of immigration; but I am also in favour of control, and of politicians taking responsibility for what is happening; and I think it bewilders people to be told that this most basic power of a state – to decide who has the right to live and work in your country – has been taken away and now resides in Brussels.

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## Appendix 1 - The Speech

- 14 And, as I say, that is only one aspect of a steady attrition of the rights of the people to decide their priorities, and to remove, at elections, those who take the decisions. It is sad that our powers of economic self-government have become so straitened that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has to go around personally asking other finance ministers to allow him to cut VAT on tampons, and as far as I can see we still have not secured consent.
- 15 It is very worrying that the European Court of Justice – Luxembourg, not Strasbourg – should now be freely adjudicating on human rights questions, and whether or not this country has the right to deport people the Home Office believes are a threat to our security; and it is peculiar that the government is now straining at the gnat of the Convention and the Strasbourg court, whose rulings are not actually binding on UK courts, while swallowing the camel of the 55-article charter of Fundamental rights, which is fully justiciable by the European Court in Luxembourg, when you consider that it is the rulings of this court that are binding and that must be applied by every court in this country, including parliament.
- 16 It is absurd that Britain – historically a great free-trading nation – has been unable for 42 years to do a free trade deal with Australia, New Zealand, China, India and America.
- 17 It is above all bizarre for the Remain campaign to say that after the UK agreement of February we are now living in a “reformed” EU, when there has been not a single change to EU competences, not a single change to the Treaty, nothing on agriculture, nothing on the role of the court, nothing of any substance on borders – nothing remotely resembling the agenda for change that was promised in the 2013 Bloomberg speech.
- 18 In that excellent speech the Prime Minister savaged the EU’s lack of competitiveness, its remoteness from the voters, its relentless movement in the wrong direction.
- 19 As he said –
- 20 “The biggest danger to the European Union comes not from those who advocate change, but from those who denounce new thinking as heresy. In its long history Europe has experience of heretics who turned out to have a point.
- 21 “More of the same will not see the European Union keeping pace with the new powerhouse economies. More of the same will not bring the European Union any closer to its citizens. More of the same will just produce more of the same – less competitiveness, less growth, fewer jobs.
- 22 “And that will make our countries weaker not stronger. That is why we need fundamental, far-reaching change.”
- 23 He was right then.
- 24 We were told that there had to be “fundamental reform” and “full-on” Treaty change that would happen “before the referendum” – or else the government was willing to campaign to Leave.
- 25 And that is frankly what the government should now be doing. If you look at what we were promised, and what we got, the Government should logically be campaigning on our side today.
- 26 We were told many times – by the PM, Home Sec and Chancellor – that we were going to get real changes to the law on free movement, so that you needed to have a job lined up before you could come here. We got no such change.
- 27 We were told that we would get a working opt-out from the Charter of Fundamental Human Rights – which by the way gives the European Court the power to determine the application of the 1951 Convention on Refugees and Asylum, as well as extradition, child protection and victims’ rights. We got nothing.
- 28 We were told that we would be able to stop the Eurozone countries from using the EU institutions to create a fiscal and political union. Instead we gave up our veto.
- 29 The Five Presidents’ report makes it clear that as soon as the UK referendum is out of the way, they will proceed with new structures of political and fiscal integration that this country should have no part in, but which will inevitably involve us, just as we were forced – in spite of promises to the contrary – to take part in the bail-out of Greece. They want to go ahead with new EU rules on company law, and property rights and every aspect of employment law and even taxation – and we will be dragged in.
- 30 To call this a reformed EU is an offence against the Trades Descriptions Act, or rather the EU Unfair Commercial Practices Directive that of course replaced the Trades Descriptions Act in 2008. The EU system is a ratchet hauling us ever further into a federal structure.
- 31 We have proved to ourselves time and again that we cannot change the direction. We cannot change the pace. We cannot interrupt the steady erosion of democracy, and given that we do not accept the destination it is time to tell our friends and partners, in a spirit of the utmost cordiality, that we wish to forge a new relationship based on free trade and intergovernmental cooperation.
- 32 We need to Vote Leave on June 23, and in the meantime we must deal with the three big myths that are peddled by the Remain campaign.
- 33 The first is the so-called economic argument. The Remainers accept that there is a loss of political independence, but they claim that this trade-off is economically beneficial.



- 34 The second argument we might broadly call the peace-in-Europe argument – that the EU is associated with 70 years of stability, and we need to stay in to prevent German tanks crossing the French border.
- 35 The third argument is more abstract, but potent with some people. It is that you can't really want to leave the EU without being in some way anti-European, and that the Remain camp therefore have a monopoly on liberal cosmopolitanism.
- 36 All three arguments are wholly bogus.
- 37 The most important mistake is to think that there is some effective and sensible trade-off between the loss of democratic control and greater economic prosperity. The whole thrust of the Remain argument is that there is a democratic cost, but an economic benefit – that if we accept that 60 per cent of our laws are made in Brussels, we will see some great boost in our trade and our exports and in the overall economic performance of the EU. This is turning out to be simply false.
- 38 The loss of democratic control is spiritually damaging, and socially risky – and the economic benefits of remaining subject to the Single Market law-making machine, as opposed to having access to the Single Market, are in fact very hard to detect.
- 39 What the government wants is for us to remain locked into the Single Market law-making regime, and to be exposed to 2500 new EU regulations a year. What we want is for Britain to be like many other countries in having free-trade access to the territory covered by the Single Market – but not to be subject to the vast, growing and politically-driven empire of EU law.
- 40 There is a good deal of evidence that this is the more sensible position to be in. Take the two relevant 20 year periods, before and after the creation of the Single Market, in other words from 1973 to 1992, and from 1992 to 2012.
- 41 Now when the single market dawned, we were told that it was going to be a great dynamo of job and wealth creation – 800 billion euros, the Cecchini report said, of extra European GDP. We were told that it was going to send exports whizzing ever faster across borders. So what happened?
- 42 Did Britain export more to the rest of the EEC 11, as a result of the Single Market? On the contrary, the rate of growth slowed, as Michael Burridge has shown this year. British exports of goods were actually 22 per cent lower, at the end of the second 20 year period, than if they had continued to grow at the rate of the 20 years pre-1992. And before you say that this might be just a result of Britain's sluggish performance in the export of manufactured goods, the same failure was seen in the case of the 12 EEC countries themselves.
- 43 We were told that goods would start ping-ponging around the EEC as if in some supercharged cyclotron; and on the contrary, the rate of growth flattened again – 14.6 per cent lower than the previous 20 years when there was no single market.
- 44 So what was the decisive advantage to Britain, or any other country, of being inside this system, and accepting these thousands of one-size-fits-all regulations? In fact you could argue that many countries were better off being outside, and not subject to the bureaucracy. In the period of existence of this vaunted single market, from 1992 to 2011, there were 27 non-EU countries whose exports of goods to the rest of the EU grew faster than the UK's; and most embarrassingly of all – there were 21 countries who did better than the UK in exporting services to the other EEC 11.
- 45 So where was this great European relaunch that was supposed to be driven by the 1992 Single Market? In the 20 years since the start of the Single Market, the rate of growth in the EU countries has actually been outstripped by the non-EU countries of the OECD. It is the independent countries that have done better, and the EU has been a microclimate of scandalously high unemployment.
- 46 This year the US is projected to grow by 2.4 per cent, China by 6.5 pc, NZ by 2 pc, Australia by 2.5 pc and India by 7.5 pc. The Eurozone – 1.5 per cent.
- 47 All that extra growth we were promised; all those extra jobs. The claims made for the Single Market are looking increasingly fraudulent. It has not boosted the rate of British exports to the EU; it has not even boosted growth in exports between the EU 12; and it has not stopped a generation of young people – in a huge belt of Mediterranean countries – from being thrown on to the scrapheap.
- 48 What has that corpus of EU regulation done to drive innovation? There are more patents from outside the EU now being registered at the EU patent office than from within the EU itself. The Eurozone has no universities within the top 20, and has been woefully left behind by America in the tech revolution – in spite of all those directives I remember from the 1990s about les reseaux telematiques; or possibly, of course, the EU has been left behind on tech precisely because of those directives.
- 49 There are plenty of other parts of the world where the free market and competition has been driving down the cost of mobile roaming charges and cut-price airline tickets – without the need for a vast supranational bureaucracy enforced by a supranational court.
- 50 I hear again the arguments from the City of London, and the anxieties that have been expressed. We heard them 15 years ago, when many of the very same Remainers prophesied disaster for the City of London if we failed to join the euro. They said all the banks would flee to Frankfurt. Well, Canary Wharf alone is now far bigger than the Frankfurt financial centre – and has kept growing relentlessly since the crash of 2008.
- 51 As for the argument that we need the muscle of EU membership, if we are to do trade deals — well, look, as I say, at the results after 42 years of membership. The EU has done trade deals with the Palestinian authority and San Marino. Bravo. But it has failed to conclude agreements with India, China or even America.

- 52 Why? Because negotiating on behalf of the EU is like trying to ride a vast pantomime horse, with 28 people blindly pulling in different directions. For decades deals with America have been blocked by the French film industry, and the current TTIP negotiations are stalled at least partly because Greek feta cheese manufacturers object to the concept of American feta. They may be right, aesthetically, but it should not be delaying us in this country.
- 53 Global trade is not carried on by kind permission of people like Peter Mandelson. People and businesses trade with each other, and always will, as long as they have something to buy and sell.
- 54 But it is notable that even when the EU has done a trade deal, it does not always seem to work in Britain's favour. In ten out of the last 15 deals, British trade with our partners has actually slowed down, rather than speeded up, after the deal was done.
- 55 Is that because of some defect in us, or in the deal? Could it be that the EU officials did not take account of the real interests of the UK economy, which is so different in structure from France and Germany? And might that be because the sole and entire responsibility for UK trade policy is in the hands of the EU commission – a body where only 3.6 per cent of the officials actually come from this country?
- 56 In trying to compute the costs and benefits of belonging to the Single Market, we should surely add the vast opportunity cost of not being able to do free trade deals with the most lucrative and fastest-growing markets in the world – because we are in the EU.
- 57 When you consider that only 6 per cent of UK business export to the EU 28; and when you consider that 100 per cent of our businesses – large and small – must comply with every jot and tittle of regulation; and when you consider that the costs of this regulation are estimated at £600m per week, I am afraid you are driven to the same conclusion as Wolfgang Munchau, the economics commentator of the FT, who said, “whatever the reasons may be for remaining in the EU, they are not economic.”
- 58 And so I return to my point; that we must stop the pretence. This is about politics, and a political project that is now getting out of control. To understand our predicament, and the trap we are in, we need to go back to the immediate post-war period, and the agony and shame of a broken continent.
- 59 There were two brilliant Frenchmen – a wheeler-dealing civil servant with big American connexions called Jean Monnet, and a French foreign minister called Robert Schuman. They wanted to use instruments of economic integration to make war between France and Germany not just a practical but a psychological impossibility.
- 60 It was an exercise in what I believe used to be called behavioural therapy; inducing a change in the underlying attitudes by forcing a change in behaviour. Their inspired idea was to weave a cat's cradle of supranational legislation that would not only bind the former combatants together, but create a new sensation of European-ness.
- 61 As Schuman put it, “Europe will be built through concrete achievements which create a de facto solidarity.” Jean Monnet believed that people would become “in mind European”, and that this primarily functional and regulatory approach would produce a European identity and a European consciousness.
- 62 Almost 60 years after the Treaty of Rome, I do not see many signs that this programme is working. The European elites have indeed created an ever-denser federal system of government, but at a pace that far exceeds the emotional and psychological readiness of the peoples of Europe. The reasons are obvious.
- 63 There is simply no common political culture in Europe; no common media, no common sense of humour or satire; and – this is important – no awareness of each other's politics, so that the European Union as a whole has no common sense of the two things you need for a democracy to work efficiently. You need trust, and you need shame. There is no trust, partly for the obvious reason that people often fail to understand each other's languages. There is no shame, because it is not clear who you are letting down if you abuse the EU system.
- 64 That is why there is such cavalier waste and theft of EU funds: because it is everybody's money, it is nobody's money.
- 65 If you walk around London today, you will notice that the 12 star flag of the EU is flying all over the place. That is because this is Schuman day. It is the birthday of the founder of this project, and the elites have decreed that it should be properly marked.
- 66 Do we feel loyalty to that flag? Do our hearts pitter-patter as we watch it flutter over public buildings? On the contrary. The British share with other EU populations a growing sense of alienation, which is one of the reasons turn-out at European elections continues to decline.
- 67 As Jean-Claude Juncker has himself remarked with disapproval, “too many Europeans are returning to a national or regional mindset”. In the face of that disillusionment, the European elites are doing exactly the wrong thing. Instead of devolving power, they are centralizing.
- 68 Instead of going with the grain of human nature and public opinion, they are reaching for the same corrective behavioural therapy as Monnet and Schuman: more legislation, more federal control; and whenever there is a crisis of any kind the cry is always the same. “More Europe, more Europe!”
- 69 What did they do when the Berlin wall came down, and the French panicked about the inevitability of German unification? “More Europe!” And what are they saying now, when the ensuing single currency has become a disaster? “More Europe!”
- 70 They persist in the delusion that political cohesion can be created by a forcible economic integration, and they are achieving exactly the opposite. What is the distinctive experience of the people of Greece, over the last eight years? It is a complete humiliation, a sense of powerlessness. The suicide rate has risen by 35 per cent; life expectancy has actually fallen. Youth unemployment is around 50 per cent. It is an utter disgrace to our continent.

- 71 That is what happens when you destroy democracy. Do the Greeks feel warmer towards the Germans? Do they feel a community of interest? Of course not.
- 72 In Austria the far-right have just won an election for the first time since the 1930s. The French National Front are on the march in France, and Marine le Pen may do well in the Presidential elections. You could not say that EU integration is promoting either mutual understanding or moderation, and the economic consequence range from nugatory to disastrous.
- 73 The answer to the problems of Europe today is not 'more Europe', if that means more forcible economic and political integration. The answer is reform, and devolution of powers back to nations and people, and a return to intergovernmentalism, at least for this country – and that means Vote Leave on June 23.
- 74 And of course there will be some in this country who are rightly troubled by a sense of neighbourly duty. There are Remainers who may agree with much of the above; that the economic advantages for Britain are either overstated or non-existent. But they feel uneasy about pulling out of the EU in its hour of need, when our neighbours are in distress; and at this point they deploy the so-called "Peace in Europe" argument: that if Britain leaves the EU, there will be a return to slaughter on Flanders Fields.
- 75 I think this grossly underestimates the way Europe has changed, and the Nato guarantee that has really underpinned peace in Europe. I saw the disaster when the EU was charged with sorting out former Yugoslavia, and I saw how Nato sorted it out.
- 76 And it understates the sense in which it is the EU itself, and its anti-democratic tendencies that are now a force for instability and alienation.
- 77 Europe faces twin crises of mass migration, and a euro that has proved a disaster for some member states; and the grim truth is that the risks of staying in this unreformed EU are intensifying and not diminishing.
- 78 In the next six weeks we must politely but relentlessly put the following questions to the Prime Minister and to the Remain campaign...
- 79 1) How can you possibly control EU immigration into this country?
- 80 2) The Living Wage is an excellent policy, but how will you stop it being a big pull factor for uncontrolled EU migration, given that it is far higher than minimum wages in other EU countries?
- 81 3) How will you prevent the European Court from interfering further in immigration, asylum, human rights, and all kinds of matters which have nothing to do with the so-called Single Market?
- 82 4) Why did you give up the UK veto on further moves towards a fiscal and political union? 5) How can you stop us from being dragged in, and from being made to pay?
- 83 The answer is that the Remain campaign have no answers to any of these questions, because they are asking us to remain in an EU that is wholly unreformed, and going in the wrong direction.
- 84 If we leave on June 23, we can still provide leadership in so many areas. We can help lead the discussions on security, on counter-terrorism, on foreign and defence policy, as we always have. But all those conversation can be conducted within an intergovernmental framework, and without the need for legal instruments enforced by the European Court of Justice. We will still be able to cooperate on the environment, on migration, on science and technology; we will still have exchanges of students.
- 85 We will trade as much as ever before, if not more. We will be able to love our fellow Europeans, marry them, live with them, share the joy of discovering our different cultures and languages – but we will not be subject to the jurisdiction of a single court and legal system that is proving increasingly erratic and that is imitated by no other trading group.
- 86 We will not lose influence in Europe or around the world – on the contrary, you could argue we will gain in clout. We are already drowned out around the table in Brussels; we are outvoted far more than any other country – 72 times in the last 20 years, and ever more regularly since 2010; and the Eurozone now has a built-in majority on all questions.
- 87 We will recapture or secure our voice – for the 5th biggest economy in the world – in international bodies such as the WTO or the IMF or the CITES, where the EU is increasingly replacing us and laying a claim to speak on our behalf. If you want final and conclusive proof of our inability to "get our way" in Brussels – and the contempt with which we will be treated if we vote to Remain – look again at the UK deal and the total failure to secure any change of any significance.
- 88 Above all – to get to the third key point of the Remainers – if we leave the EU we will not, repeat not, be leaving Europe. Of all the arguments they make, this is the one that infuriates me the most. I am a child of Europe. I am a liberal cosmopolitan and my family is a genetic UN peacekeeping force.
- 89 I can read novels in French and I can sing the Ode to joy in German, and if they keep accusing me of being a Little Englander, I will. Both as editor of the Spectator and Mayor of London I have promoted the teaching of modern European languages in our schools. I have dedicated much of my life to the study of the origins of our common – our common European culture and civilization in ancient Greece and Rome.

## Section

## Appendix 1 - The Speech

- 90** So I find it offensive, insulting, irrelevant and positively cretinous to be told – sometimes by people who can barely speak a foreign language – that I belong to a group of small-minded xenophobes; because the truth is it is Brexit that is now the great project of European liberalism, and I am afraid that it is the European Union – for all the high ideals with which it began, that now represents the ancien régime.
- 91** It is we who are speaking up for the people, and it is they who are defending an obscurantist and universalist system of government that is now well past its sell by date and which is ever more remote from ordinary voters.
- 92** It is we in the Leave Camp – not they – who stand in the tradition of the liberal cosmopolitan European enlightenment – not just of Locke and Wilkes, but of Rousseau and Voltaire; and though they are many, and though they are well-funded, and though we know that they can call on unlimited taxpayer funds for their leaflets, it is we few, we happy few who have the inestimable advantage of believing strongly in our cause, and that we will be vindicated by history; and we will win for exactly the same reason that the Greeks beat the Persians at Marathon – because they are fighting for an outdated absolutist ideology, and we are fighting for freedom.
- 93** That is the choice on June 23.
- 94** It is between taking back control of our money – or giving a further £100bn to Brussels before the next election.
- 95** Between deciding who we want to come here to live and work – or letting the EU decide.
- 96** Between a dynamic liberal cosmopolitan open global free-trading prosperous Britain, or a Britain where we remain subject to a undemocratic system devised in the 1950s that is now actively responsible for low growth and in some cases economic despair.
- 97** Between believing in the possibility of hope and change in Europe – or accepting that we have no choice but to knuckle under.
- 98** It is a choice between getting dragged ever further into a federal superstate, or taking a stand now.
- 99** Vote Leave on June 23, and take back control of our democracy.”

## Appendix 2 - The Metaphor Grid

<u>Section</u>	<u>Lexical</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Contextual</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>Contextual vs.</u>		
		<u>Class</u>	<u>Context</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>Verdict</u>
3	Door	Noun	And then thanks to the referendum given to this country by David Cameron we find that a door has magically opened in our lives.	It means that there is an opportunity to escape from from the EU/enclosed space	<b>Macmillan:</b> a large flat object that you open when you want to enter or leave a building, room, or vehicle	There is a similarity here in that it is a chance to leave something; basic meaning it is concrete, leaving a room or a building etc. Contextually it means leaving a Union, so something more abstract. Here we can understand the abstract via the concrete.	This is a metaphor as both similarity and difference exists.
4	Sunlit	Adjective	We can see the sunlit meadows beyond.	This is a slight alteration of a famous metaphor by Winston Churchill. Here sunlit means that light (freedom) will return, dispersing the darkness (occupation) which in Churchill's speech referenced the Nazi occupation of Europe. Boris Johnson refers to a perceived occupation of Britain by the EU. Meadows being a metonymy for Britain	<b>Macmillan:</b> brightly lit by the sun The house had a beautiful sunlit kitchen.	The basic meaning is actual sunlight whereas the abstract contextual meaning is that good (light) will drive out evil (darkness). Charteris-Black refers to this as a beacon metaphor in his eximination of a speech made by Tony Blair (Charteris-Black, 2018, pp.210-213)	It is deemed that there is enough tension created by a difference and a similarity so that a metaphor exists.

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<u>Section</u>	<u>Lexical</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Contextual</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>Contextual vs.</u>		
		<u>Class</u>	<u>Context</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>Verdict</u>
4	Meadows	Noun	We can see the sunlit meadows beyond.	'This is a slight alteration of a famous metaphor by Winston Churchill. Here Boris Johnson uses the word meadows to represent Britain whereas Churchill used "uplands" to represent the world. Britain is synonymous with its meadows.	<b>Macmillan:</b> a field where grass and wild flowers grow	There is no similarity here, Only difference exists.	This is not a metaphor but a metonymy
4	Door	Noun	I believe we would be mad not to take this once in a lifetime chance to walk through that door because the truth is it is not we who have changed.	'This is a slight alteration of a famous metaphor by Winston Churchill. Here Boris Johnson uses the word meadows to represent Britain whereas Churchill used "uplands" to represent the world. Britain is synonymous with its meadows.	<b>Macmillan:</b> "a large flat object that you open when you want to enter or leave a building, room, or vehicle"	There is a similarity here in that it is a chance to leave something; basic meaning it is concrete, leaving a room or a building etc. Contextually it means leaving the EU, so something more abstract. Here we can understand the abstract via the concrete. However, it does require awareness of Boris Johnson's fondness for using the allegory of unjust entrapment as per Charteris-Black. Therefore door in itself is a metonymy and not a metaphor	It is deemed that door is a metonymy of building

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<u>Section</u>	<u>Lexical</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Contextual</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>Contextual vs.</u>		
		<u>Class</u>	<u>Context</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>Verdict</u>
5	Metamorphosis	Noun	What was once the EEC has undergone a spectacular metamorphosis in the last 30 years, and the crucial point is that it is still becoming ever more centralizing, interfering and anti-democratic.	It means that the EEC has undergone a huge change, one could say, unrecognisable from its previous incarnation	<b>Macmillan:</b> a major change that makes someone or something very different	There is a similarity but no difference	This is not a metaphor, there is a similarity but no difference.
7	Kid	Verb	We have got to stop trying to kid the British people;	It means that we have to stop trying to deceive or lie to the British people	<b>Macmillan:</b> to say something that is not true, especially as a joke	There is a similarity but there is no difference. However in the word class noun it would be like a child and therefore saying, we have to stop treating the British people as children. However, MIPVU says you cannot cross world classes.	This is not a metaphor, there is a similarity but no difference when looking at the same word class
7	Build	Verb	We need to look at the legal reality, which is that this is a continuing and accelerating effort to build a country called Europe.	It means that a country is constructed from the ground up, it is not organically evolved, intimates that there is no history of traditions but artificially created	<b>Macmillan:</b> to make a building or other large structure by putting its parts together	There is a similarity in that something is being built but the basic is concrete and physical whereas the contextual is abstract as it is a country that is through administration and laws being created. We understand the abstract through the physical	This is a metaphor.

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<u>Section</u>	<u>Lexical</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Contextual</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>Contextual vs.</u>		
		<u>Class</u>	<u>Context</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Meaning</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>Verdict</u>
9	Erosion	Noun	It is this fundamental democratic problem – this erosion of democracy – that brings me into this fight.	It means that there is a slow, but ongoing and steady destruction of democracy.	<b>Macmillan:</b> the process by which the surface of land or rock is gradually damaged by water, wind etc and begins to disappear soil/coastal/glacial erosion Erosion of beaches has resulted in less space for the turtles.	There is a similarity in that it is a gradual process of destruction however the basic is a physical destruction whereas the contextual is abstract. We understand the abstract through a more concrete and physical meaning	This is a metaphor.
11	Inflicted	Verb	But that expense is, in a sense, the least of the costs inflicted by the EU on this country.	It meant that the EU directly responsible (can probably also say deliberately) for the costs Britain suffers.	<b>Macmillan:</b> to cause something unpleasant to happen Such a policy would inflict severe hardship and suffering. inflict something on someone/something: the environmental damage we are inflicting on the Earth	There is a similarity in that it is something unpleasant caused by one party onto another. No real difference.	This is not a metaphor as there is a similarity but not any, or enough of a difference.
12	Corrosive	Adjective	It is deeply corrosive of popular trust in democracy that every year UK politicians tell the public that they can cut immigration to the tens of thousands	It means that there is damage to popular trust which results in a reduction of trust (over time)	<b>Macmillan:</b> a corrosive substance contains chemicals that can cause damage. <b>Longman:</b> a corrosive liquid such as an acid can destroy metal, plastic etc. <b>OED:</b> Having the quality of eating away or consuming by chemical action: said of acids, etc.	There is a similarity in that it is something that can cause damage however the difference is that basic meaning is physical damage whereas contextual is abstract. We understand the abstract through a more concrete meaning	This is a metaphor.



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<u>Section</u>	<u>Lexical</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Contextual</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>Contextual vs.</u>		
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13	Hard-pressed	Adjective	we find ourselves hard pressed to recruit people who might work in our NHS, as opposed to make use of its services – because we have absolutely no power to control the numbers who are coming with no job offers and no qualifications from the 28 EU countries.	It means that Britain finds it difficult to recruit people.	<b>Macmillan:</b> a person or organization that is hard-pressed does not have enough money for the things that they need. <b>Longman:</b> having a lot of problems and not enough money or time The new exams will only add to the workload of already hard-pressed teachers.	There is a similarity and a slight difference, certainly in Macmillan as dictionary only focuses on money which is not relevant to the contextual. However Longman is a bit more open and I therefore deem it not to be enough of a difference	This is not a metaphor, there is similarity but not enough of of a difference in my opinion.
27	Power	Noun	We were told that we would get a working opt-out from the Charter of Fundamental Human Rights – which by the way gives the European Court the power to determine the application of the 1951 Convention on Refugees and Asylum, as well as extradition, child protection and victims’ rights. We got nothing.	It means that the European Court has the right to decide over Britain in the matters described.	<b>Macmillan:</b> the ability to influence or control what people do or think Power within the company is divided between the directors and the shareholders. the power of television advertising power over: Her parents still have a lot of power over her. power struggle (=an attempt by each of two people or groups to get control): a power struggle within the party	There are similarities only, no difference exists	This is not a metaphor as only similarity exists

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29	Forced	Verb	The Five Presidents’ report makes it clear that as soon as the UK referendum is out of the way, they will proceed with new structures of political and fiscal integration that this country should have no part in, but which will inevitably involve us, just as we were forced – in spite of promises to the contrary – to take part in the bail-out of Greece.	It means someone was coerced to do something against their will, but not physically but by means of breaking convention or a moral code if not taking part. In this case, simply because Brtain is part of the EU it had to take part in the bail out of Greece.	<b>Macmillan:</b> to make someone do something that they do not want to do, for example by using or threatening to use violence. <b>OED:</b> To use violance	There are similarities between the basic and the contextual in that it is doing something against someone's will. However, basic meaning includes a physical element which does not apply in the contextual and hence there is a tension. The physical element in the basic also correlates with the more human felt, bodily experience and more concrete as per Pragglejaz.	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.

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<u>Section</u>	<u>Lexical</u>	<u>Word</u>	<u>Contextual</u>	<u>Basic</u>	<u>Contextual vs.</u>		
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29	Dragged in	Phrasal verb	They want to go ahead with new EU rules on company law, and property rights and every aspect of employment law and even taxation – and we will be dragged in.	It means that Britain will be involved against its will.	<b>Macmillan:</b> "to start talking about something that is not connected with what you are discussing and that other people do not want to talk about  He seemed determined to drag in irrelevant details about my personal life"	There is a similarity in that someone is being involved against their will, however basic meaning in Macmillan is refering to to talking only whereas the contextual is about partaking. The second entry in Macmillian states: "to make someone become involved in a situation when they do not want to I don't know anything about the project, so don't try and drag me in". This is more what the contextual says, however, as this is the second entry, it means there is sufficient difference from the basic meaning.	It is deemed that there is enough tension created by a difference and a similarity so that a metaphor exists.
29	Ratchet	Noun	To call this a reformed EU is an offence against the Trades Descriptions Act, or rather the EU Unfair Commercial Practices Directive that of course replaced the Trades Descriptions Act in 2008. The EU system is a ratchet hauling us ever further into a federal structure.	It means that the EU system is a one-way operation which cannot be opposed.	<b>Macmillan:</b> a part of a machine consisting of a wheel or bar with teeth on it. Another metal piece fits into it, allowing it to move in only one direction.	There is a similarity in the one way operation however, the basic is a concrete physical piece of a machinery, the contextual is completely abstract. We can understand the abstract in the form of the physical	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.

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30	Hauling	Verb	To call this a reformed EU is an offence against the Trades Descriptions Act, or rather the EU Unfair Commercial Practices Directive that of course replaced the Trades Descriptions Act in 2008. The EU system is a ratchet hauling us ever further into a federal structure.	It means that Britain, whether it wants to or not, will be moving towards a federal structure. EU is labelled a ratchet which is a mechanical operation which step by step can only move in one direction. As Britain is a member of the EU, it also moves along in the same direction with no possibility to deviate.	<b>Macmillan:</b> "to pull or carry something heavy from one place to another with a lot of effort  haul someone/something to/up/into etc: I hauled my luggage to the nearest hotel" Rescue workers attached the men to ropes before hauling them to safety.	The basic meaning relates to physically moving someone or something whereas the contextual is abstract. The concrete and physical context is used to describe something that is abstract.	It is deemed that there is enough tension created by a difference and a similarity so that a metaphor exists.
31	Direction	Noun	We have proved to ourselves time and again that we cannot change the direction.	It means that Britain does not have the ability to alter the outcome of something.	<b>Macmillan:</b> "the path that someone or something moves along when going towards a place  Are you sure we're going in the right direction? change direction: The wind has changed direction. in a southerly/easterly etc direction (=towards the south, east etc): The River Leadon flows in a southerly direction"	The basic meaning relates to a concrete direction towards (or from) a physical place. The contextual, however, is abstract in the sense of a 'situation' rather than a place. It is, however, possible to understand the abstract direction through the physical movement of direction.	It is deemed that there is enough tension created by a difference and a similarity so that a metaphor exists.

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31	Pace	Noun	We cannot change the pace.	It means that Britain cannot change the how quickly changes are coming. This is abstract and not regarding physically moving at a pace.	<b>Macmillan:</b> the speed at which something happens or is done the pace of something: The pace of technological change increased steadily during the 20th century. the pace of life: The pace of life in the village is slow and easy. at your own pace (=as slowly or quickly as you like): The course allows students to progress at their own pace.	There are only similarities here, no difference.	This is not a metaphor as only similarities exists.
31	Erosion	Noun	We cannot interrupt the steady erosion of democracy, and given that we do not accept the destination it is time to tell our friends and partners, in a spirit of the utmost cordiality, that we wish to forge a new relationship based on free trade and intergovernmental cooperation.	It means that there is a slow, but ongoing and steady destruction of democracy.	<b>Macmillan:</b> the process by which the surface of land or rock is gradually damaged by water, wind etc and begins to disappear soil/coastal/glacial erosion Erosion of beaches has resulted in less space for the turtles.	There is a similarity in that it is a gradual process of destruction however the basic is a physical destruction whereas the contextual is abstract. We understand the abstract through a more concrete and physical meaning	This is a metaphor.

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31	Destination	Noun	We cannot interrupt the steady erosion of democracy, and given that we do not accept the destination it is time to tell our friends and partners, in a spirit of the utmost cordiality, that we wish to forge a new relationship based on free trade and intergovernmental cooperation.	It means that Britain does not accept the position it will find itself in and therefore it wants to begin a new relationship. It is not a physical destination but abstract.	<b>Macmillan:</b> the place where someone or something is going a popular holiday destination arrive at/reach your destination: According to Carla, they should reach their destination by about mid-afternoon.	There is a similarity in that it is a position or a place although a difference in that contextual is abstract whereas the basic is concrete and physical.	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.
38	Machine	Noun	The loss of democratic control is spiritually damaging, and socially risky – and the economic benefits of remaining subject to the Single Market law-making machine, as opposed to having access to the Single Market, are in fact very hard to detect.	It means that the EU is a system, almost an automatic robot like operation, devoid of character and identity, churning out laws and regulations.	<b>Macmillan:</b> a piece of equipment that does a particular job by using electricity, steam, gas etc Sue showed him how to operate the machine.	Contextually it refers to law-making machine, which is similar to a piece of equipment doing a particular job, however the basic meaning is more concrete as it is a physical machine whereas contextually it is an operation that is machine-like, hence abstract.	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.
39	Locked into	Verb (transitive)	What the government wants is for us to remain locked into the Single Market law-making regime	It means that the government wants Britain to be unable to leave the Single Market on its own account.	<b>Macmillan:</b> lock someone/something into something) to involve someone or something in a system, plan etc in such a way that they cannot easily escape from it	There is no difference here.	This is not a metaphor.

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39	Regime	Noun	What the government wants is for us to remain locked into the Single Market law-making regime	It means that the Single Market is a strict system almost military association which cannot be opposed.	<b>Macmillan:</b> a government that controls a country, especially in a strict or unfair way  The murder sparked off events leading to the overthrow of the regime.	There is no real difference here. It is possible to argue that the Single Market is not a regime but that is a matter of interpretation. Therefore, the use of regime is more akin to metonymy than metaphor	This is not a metaphor.
39	Empire	Noun	What we want is for Britain to be like many other countries in having free-trade access to the territory covered by the Single Market – but not to be subject to the vast, growing and politically-driven empire of EU law.	It means that the Single Market is a huge body tightly controlled and something that was built from many parts	<b>Macmillan:</b> a number of countries ruled by one person or government	There is no real difference here. It is possible to argue that the Single Market is not an empire but that is a matter of interpretation. Therefore, the use of empire is more akin to metonymy than metaphor	This is not a metaphor.
41	Dynamo	Noun	Now when the single market dawned, we were told that it was going to be a great dynamo of job and wealth creation – 800 billion euros, the Cecchini report said, of extra European GDP. We were told that it was going to send exports whizzing ever faster across borders	It means that the single market is like an efficient machine transforming something into something else.	<b>Macmillan:</b> a piece of equipment that changes the movement of an engine or machine into electricity	There is a similarity in that the single market is turning something into something else. There is also a difference as the basic meaning is a physical machine whereas the contextual is not, it is abstract. We understand the abstract meaning through the more concrete and physical.	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.

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43	Cyclotron	Noun	We were told that goods would start ping-pong around the EEC as if in some supercharged cyclotron; and on the contrary, the rate of growth flattened again – 14.6 per cent lower than the previous 20 years when there was no single market.	It means that the goods (and therefore trade) would move at very high speed.	<b>Macmillan:</b> No entry. <b>Longman:</b> No entry. <b>OED:</b> An apparatus for accelerating charged atomic particles by subjecting them repeatedly to a (usually horizontal) electric field as they revolve in orbits of increasing diameter in a constant (usually vertical) magnetic field.	There is a similarity here as it refers to speed and acceleration in both contextual and basic however, basic is a real machine or apparatus whereas the contextual is a system of trade agreements and in comparison, abstract.	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.
47	Scrapheap	Noun	and it has not stopped a generation of young people – in a huge belt of Mediterranean countries – from being thrown on to the scrapheap.	It means that there is a whole generation in southern Europe who does not have a bright or any future, there are no opportunities for them with regards to jobs etc.	<b>Macmillan:</b> a pile of things that are no longer wanted or needed, especially metal objects	There is a similarity as it means something that has been thrown away, no longer being used or having a future, however the contextual is abstract and not a real scrapheap	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.
50	Prophesied	Verb	We heard them 15 years ago, when many of the very same Remainers prophesied disaster for the City of London if we failed to join the euro	It means predicting the future but in a manner that evokes religion.	<b>Macmillan:</b> 1 to describe a future event using religious or magic powers Synonyms and related words + 1a to say that you believe something will happen in the future	There is a similarity but not enough separation in the Macmillan dictionary as only 1a as opposed to 2.	This is not a metaphor, not enough difference.



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50	Flee	Verb	They said all the banks would flee to Frankfurt	It means that banks would relocate to Frankfurt in a haste.	<b>Macmillan:</b> to escape from a dangerous situation or place very quickly Earthquake victims have been forced to flee their homes. Police caught up with one of the gang, but the other three fled.  flee across/from/to/into: Thousands of refugees had fled across the border to Albania. + 1a to escape from a difficult or embarrassing situation very quickly	There is a similarity but not enough separation in the Macmillan dictionary as only 1a as opposed to 2.	This is not a metaphor, not enough difference.
51	Muscle	Noun	As for the argument that we need the muscle of EU membership, if we are to do trade deals — well, look, as I say, at the results after 42 years of membership	It means that Britain needs the strength and weight of EU membership to make deals.	<b>Macmillan:</b> a piece of flesh that connects one bone to another and is used for moving a particular part of your body These exercises are good for your stomach muscles. pull a muscle (=injure a muscle): He limped out of the game after pulling a muscle .	There is similarity as concrete strength is connected to muscles however there is also a difference in that contextually it references the abstract strength as in gravitas. We understand the abstract through the physical here	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.

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58	Trap	Noun	To understand our predicament, and the trap we are in, we need to go back to the immediate post-war period, and the agony and shame of a broken continent	It means that Britain are in a situation that they have a difficulty, or are unable, to get out of. It is also worth noting that a trap has to be set by someone or something, in this case the EU.	<b>Macmillan:</b> "a piece of equipment used for catching animals set/lay a trap (=make it ready to be used): We set traps in the attic for the mice"	The basic meaning refers to a physical trap, it invokes an image of restricting physical movement. The contextual is referring to the abstract; finding oneself in a situation that is difficult to get out of.	It is deemed that there is enough tension created by a difference and a similarity so that a metaphor exists.
58	Broken	Adjective	To understand our predicament, and the trap we are in, we need to go back to the immediate post-war period, and the agony and shame of a broken continent	It means that Europe is dysfunctional, that it needs to be fixed.	<b>Macmillan:</b> Physical damage	There is a similarity in that it there is damage to something, however tension exists as the basic meaning is a physical damage, whereas the contextual means abstract damage as in "not working".	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.
60	Bind	Verb	Their inspired idea was to weave a cat’s cradle of supranational legislation that would not only bind the former combatants together, but create a new sensation of European-ness.	It means that no party can independently make decisions due to complex legislation put in place.	<b>Macmillan:</b> "to tie someone’s hands or feet together so they cannot move bind someone/something with something: They bound his hands with a rope"	The basic meaning refers to a physical restraint of hands of feet and thereby restriction the ability of movement. The contextual meaning is abstract and refers to legislation put in place to restrict independent decisionmaking.	It is deemed that there is enough tension created by a difference and a similarity so that a metaphor exists.
71	Warmer	Adjective	Do the Greeks feel warmer towards the Germans? Do they feel a community of interest?	It asks the question if the Greeks have more affinity towards the Germans.	<b>Macmillan:</b> fairly hot in a way that is comfortable and pleasant	There is a similarity in that feeling warm towards someone evokes a pleasant experience but also tension as the basic means the warm as in the temperature, whereas the contextual is abstract.	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.

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72	March	Verb	The French National Front are on the march in France, and Marine le Pen may do well in the Presidential elections	It means that the French National Front party are increasing in numbers and growing in presence	<b>Macmillan:</b> If soldiers march, they walk in a group with each person matching the speed and movements of the others  They made us march for hours. He told the sergeant to march us for another five miles.	There is a similarity here in that it is about moving forward however the basic means the concrete of moving forward as in walking from a to b whereas the contextual is abstract, more as moving from strength to strength	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.
77	Grim	Adjective	Europe faces twin crises of mass migration, and a euro that has proved a disaster for some member states; and the grim truth is that the risks of staying in this unreformed EU are intensifying and not diminishing.	It means that the truth is harsh and horrible.	<b>Macmillan:</b> grim news, situations, or events are unpleasant and make you feel upset and worried  the grim reality of unemployment The future looks pretty grim.	There is only similarity here, no real difference exists.	This is not a metaphor, not enough difference.

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82	Dragged in	Phrasal Verb	4) Why did you give up the UK veto on further moves towards a fiscal and political union? 5) How can you stop us from being dragged in, and from being made to pay?	It means that Britain will be involved against its will.	<b>Macmillan:</b> "to start talking about something that is not connected with what you are discussing and that other people do not want to talk about He seemed determined to drag in irrelevant details about my personal life"	There is a similarity in that someone is being involved against their wish, however basic meaning is refering to to talking whereas the contextual is about partaking, not just being talked about. The second entry at Macmillian states: "to make someone become involved in a situation when they do not want to I don't know anything about the project, so don't try and drag me in". This is more what the contextual says however, as this is the second entry, it means there is sufficient difference from the basic meaning.	It is deemed that there is enough tension created by a difference and a similarity so that a metaphor exists.
86	Drowned Out	Verb	We are already drowned out around the table in Brussels; we are outvoted far more than any other country – 72 times in the last 20 years, and ever more regularly since 2010; and the Eurozone now has a built-in majority on all questions.	It means that the other EU members do not listen to Britain during the negotiations and that Britain does not have enough power to force through their wishes.	<b>Macmillan:</b> to prevent a sound from being heard by making a louder noise The music almost drowned the sound of his voice.	There is a similarity in that Britain's voice around the negotiating table in the EU is not heard however the basic meaning is referring to actual sound not being heard due to louder sounds. The contextual means that Britain's votes are not enough as there are many more votes against Britain.	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.

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92	Fighting	Verb	and we will win for exactly the same reason that the Greeks beat the Persians at Marathon – because they are fighting for an outdated absolutist ideology, and we are fighting for freedom.	It means that the Leave campaign are trying to convince British people (to vote to leave the EU)	<b>Macmillan:</b> if people fight, they use guns or other weapons against each other	There is a similarity in that the leave campaign wants to win voters over to their side, however no weapons are used so there is a difference too. We can understand the Leave campaign abstractly fighting to win in terms of the physical a concrete concept of a real fight.	This is a metaphor as both similarity and tension exist.
97	Knuckle under	Verb	Between believing in the possibility of hope and change in Europe – or accepting that we have no choice but to knuckle under.	It means that Britain does not have absolute say in its own destiny, they have to follow someone else's will.	<b>Macmillan:</b> to do what someone tells you to do	There is only a similarity here, no difference.	This is not a metaphor

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98	Dragged into	Phrasal Verb	It is a choice between getting dragged ever further into a federal superstate, or taking a stand now.	It means that Britain will be involved against its will.	<b>Macmillan:</b> "to start talking about someone who is not connected with what you are discussing How dare you drag my mother into this"	There is a similarity in that someone is being involved against their wish, however basic meaning is refering to to talking whereas the contextual is about partaking, not just being talked about. The second entry at Macmillian states: "tto make someone become involved in a situation when they do not want to The US was afraid of being dragged into the war". This is more what the contextual says however, as this is the second entry, it means there is sufficient difference from the basic meaning.	It is deemed that there is enough tension created by a difference and a similarity so that a metaphor exists.