Visual Metaphors and the Construction of Political Identities:

> An Analysis of the 2012 Hong Kong Legislative Council Election



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### Visual metaphors in political discourse



2012-09-01 RTHK 2012立法會選舉論壇 (新界西) TVB...

[2012立法會選舉論壇] - 新界西 2012-8-26 (TVB)

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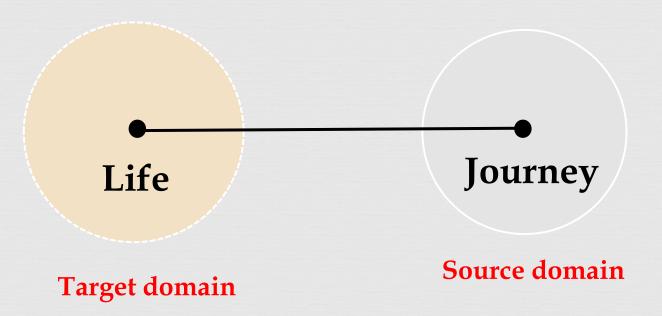


- 1. What is (visual) metaphor?
- 2. Types of visual metaphor
- 3. Why look at metaphor in political in particular, electoral discourse?
- 4. Data and methodology
- 5. Analysis of a visual metaphor in HK electoral discourse
- 6. Summary

# What is a metaphor?

#### Metaphor Mapping (Lakoff & Johnson 1980)

Life is a journey.



#### Conceptual blends (Turner & Fauconnier 1995; Fauconnier & Turner 2002)



November 2001, The Arizona Republic

### **Types of Visual Metaphors**

Forceville (1996, 2010) identifies 3 different types of visual metaphors:

R Simile

A Hybrid metaphor



# Simile

*mapping based on resemblances* (Forceville 1996)

Ididas

The Adidas swimsuit is a second skin as smooth as the skin of a dolphin.

10

# Simile

*mapping based on resemblances* (Forceville 1996)

Ididas

The Adidas swimsuit is a second skin as smooth as the skin of a dolphin.

The Adidas-clad swimmer has the sleekness (and speed) of a dolphin. This visual metaphor is a simile because the source domain and the target domain are visually presented SEPARATELY.





# Hybrid metaphor

*convergent mapping of different domains into one* (Yeung, Yuen & Fan 2013)



Which is primary? Which is secondary

'Ready to bake at home.'

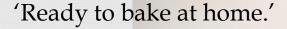
**BAGU**ETTE

**SLIPPERS** 



# Hybrid metaphor

*convergent mapping of different domains into one* (Yeung, Yuen & Fan 2013)



BAGUETTE

**SLIPPERS** 





This visual metaphor is a hybrid metaphor because both the source and target domains are MERGED TOGETHER into a single entity.

'Ready to bake at home.'







La chaussure en beaute

# Contextual metaphor

*contextualized mapping* (Forceville 1996)





A Clerget shoe, like the tie, is a most beautiful accessory.

# Contextual metaphor

*contextualized mapping* (Forceville 1996)



Clerget shoes are not just for the feet.

Wear them with pride.

Matching black suit

This visual metaphor is a contextualized metaphor because the intended meaning of the target domain is understood within the context of the source of the source domain.



La chaussure en beaute

#### Why use visual metaphors?

○ Visual metaphors are "innovative and creative; they do not stem from pre-existing similarities, but induce similarities between different objects".

In this way, they help trigger a sense of awe, wonder and delight in us and "contribute to our new understanding and perception of the world".

(Yeung, Yung & Fan 2013: 7; citing Hausman 1989)

Why look at visual metaphors in political discourse?

- Received the short of the short
- Real Political leaders often use metaphors to establish common ground with the public.
- At the same time, they also often use metaphors to criticize their rivals, and thus indirectly promote themselves.

Research Question:

*How and why do politicians use metaphors – in particular, visual metaphors – in electoral discourse?* 

## Metaphors in Political Discourse

↔ Metaphors are highly valued because:

It they add a touch of novelty and wit to what is said, and thus greatly enhance the speaker's positive selfimage;

Indirectness strategies to mitigate potential facethreats to both speaker and addressee.

(Kuo 2003; Obeng 1997; Wilson 1990)

## Political Metaphors and Humor

Real Political metaphors are often accompanied by humor (sometimes with a heavy dose of sarcasm as well).

This combination is frequently used to criticize rivals without excessive violations to politeness maxims.

(Kiley & Shuttleworth 1971; Inge 1990; Lewis 2006; Taskona 2009)



To examine how and why politicians use visual metaphors in electoral discourse.

Real HOW:

ca WHY:

C To construct favorable political identities for self, and unfavorable ones for rivals.

## Methodology

Some visual metaphors used in the 2012 Hong Kong Legislative Council Election Debates

**○** The cushion metaphor

The ladder metaphorThe 'Oscar Award' metaphor

#### Data source

○ Database: 5 televised debates hosted by RTHK

 $\bigcirc$  Period: 18<sup>th</sup> August – 1<sup>st</sup> September 2012

ス 50-60 minutes eachTotal minutes of data: 290 minutes

Gift-giving session (送大禮環節) inside the debate: Candidates can present gifts, either to the public or to particular rivals. Most of the candidates would make use of this chance to attack the opponents.

## Positive vs. Negative Metaphors

Intended referent	Metaphors with positive connotations	Metaphors with negative connotations
Self	5	0
Opponents	0	43

# Types of metaphors

Types of metaphors	Number of tokens
Characterization	32
Event	3
Illness	2
Ball	2
Plant	2
Stone	2
Bag	1
Paper	1
Plate	1
Seat	1
Rubbish	1





## Cushion = Minion metaphor



Minion

Powerful ruler

= Beijing

#### Liberal Party vs. DAB

DAB





LAU Kin Yee, Miriam 劉健儀
Conservative
pro-Business
pro-Government
Sometimes pro-Beijing

#### Attacks DAB for being pro-Beijing using a cushion (=minion) metaphor



## Liberal Party vs. DAB

(Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong)

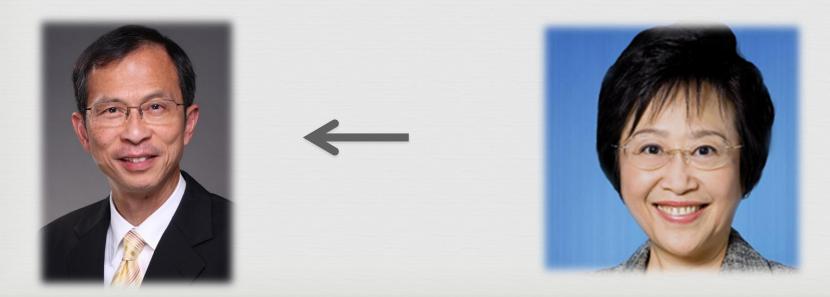


#### DAB

#### **Liberal Party**

- TSANG Yok Sing, Jasper 曾鈺成
- R pro-Government
- R Very pro-Beijing

- 😪 LAU Kin Yee, Miriam 劉健儀



## **Minion Metaphor**



#### HKIsland\_57:00-57:23\_LauKinYee



#### Visual humor

03	因為 <i>jan1wai6</i> because 民建聯	hou2 very	多 do1 many 呢	人 <i>jan4</i> person 就係	話 waa6 say	呢 ne1 PRT	就係 <i>zau6hai6</i> that.is		explains the metaphor – to guide the audience to get the implied
04	成建师 Man4Gin3L DAB	yun4	ne1 z	机依 zau6hai6 that.is	,				meaning
05	— 聽 jat1 teng once hear		吹 ceoi1 blow	雞 gai1 whistle	呢 ne1 PRT		跪低 gwai6 dai1 kneel dov		,
06	gam2 g	国 cushi o3 CL	ne		非常 <i>fei1soeng4</i> very	係 hai6 COP	受用 sau6jung6 useful	嘅 ge3 SFP	0

'Because many people say... That is DAB... that is, they **kneel down** once they hear (the Chinese central government) blowing whistles (implied: Whenever the Chinese government requests, they comply with her wishes). So **this cushion** would be very useful (for them).'

Explains the

07	咁 但係 gam2 daan so but	数 6hai6 ngo5 1SG	dou1 fu	<sup>2</sup> 籲 呢 1 <i>jyu6 le1</i> ppeal PRT	,			
08	就係 <i>zau6hai6</i> that.is	民建聯 Man4Gin3Lyu DAB	呢 n4 le1 PRT	, [				
09	响  涉及 hoeng2 sit3kap6 at  involve	港人 Gong2jan4 HK.person	核心 hat6sam1 core	價值 gaa3zik6 value	嘅 ge3 ATTR	問題 man6tai4 problem	上高 <i>soeng6gou1</i> above	呢, le1 PRT
10	係作為 hai6 zok3wai4 COP as	建制 gin3zai3 conservative	派 paai3 party	呢, le1 PRT			ates itself	
11	仍然 係 <i>jing4jin4 hai6</i> still COP	敢於 gam2 jyu1 dare to	sei1	no nou1 no	0	•	Party) from DAB	

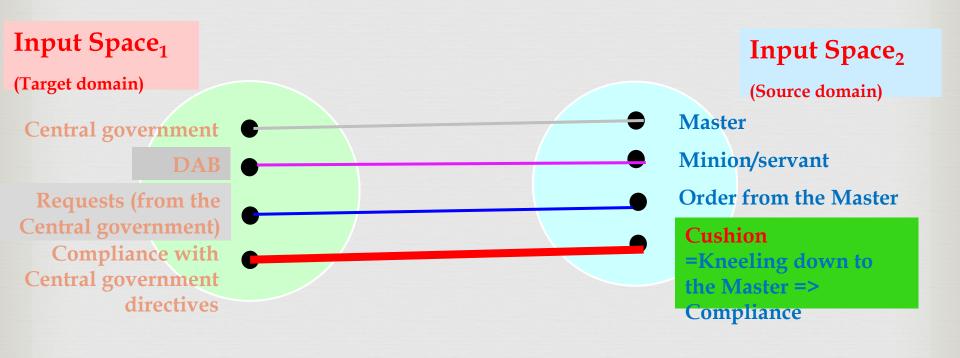
'But I still appeal to... that is, to DAB, as for the issues involving the (violation of) the core values of Hong Kong people, as a conservative party, you should still dare say no.'

Ridicules the opponent's party (DAB) → makes the denigration more potent



'If (they act) in such a way, this cushion can be used for a long time.'

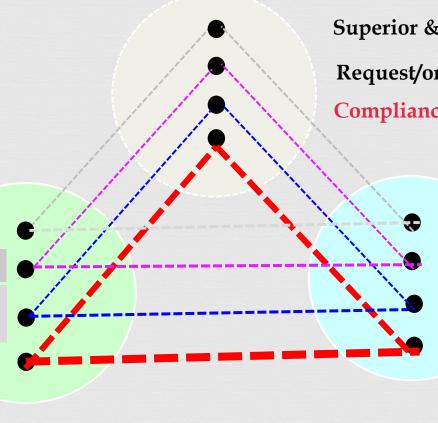
Humorous parting shot



(Target domain) Central government DAB

**Input Space**<sub>1</sub>

Requests (from the Central government) Compliance with Central government directives

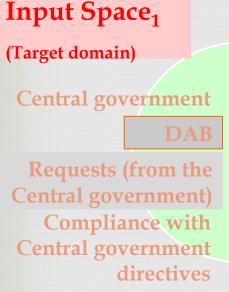


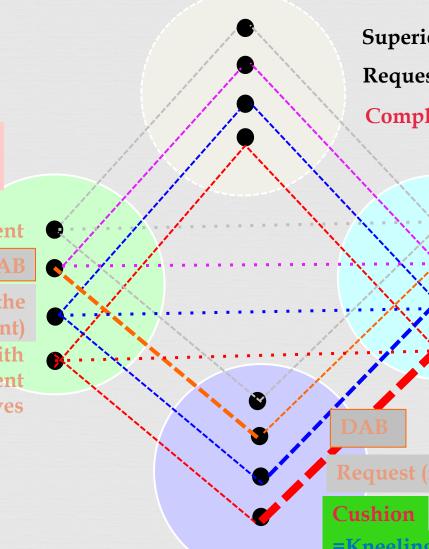
Superior & subordinate relationship Request/order from superior Compliance of subordinate

> Input Space<sub>2</sub> (Source domain) Master Minion/servant Order from the Master Cushion =Kneeling down to

Compliance

the Master =>





**Blended** Space

Superior & subordinate Request/order from superior

**Compliance of subordinate** 

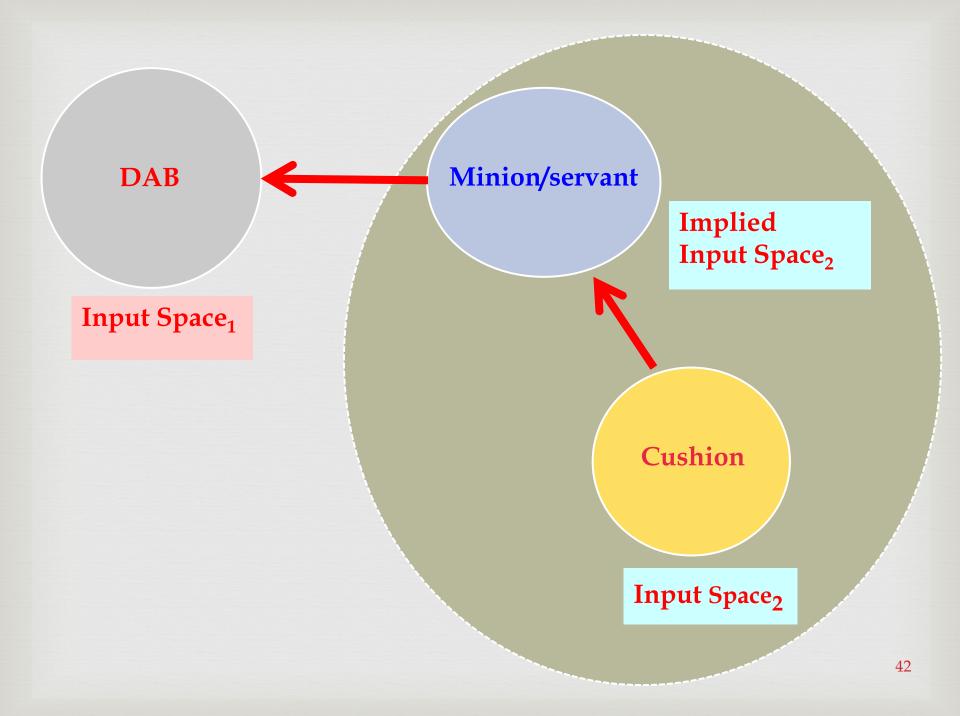
**Input Space**<sub>2</sub>

(Source domain) Master Minion/servant Order from the Master Cushion

=Kneeling down to the Master => Compliance

Request (from the Central government)

=Kneeling down to the Master => Compliance = Compliance with Central government directives



## Liberal Party vs. DAB

(Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong)

DAB

**Liberal Party** 

- 础 TSANG Yok Sing, Jasper曾鈺成

- 🛯 Very pro-Beijing

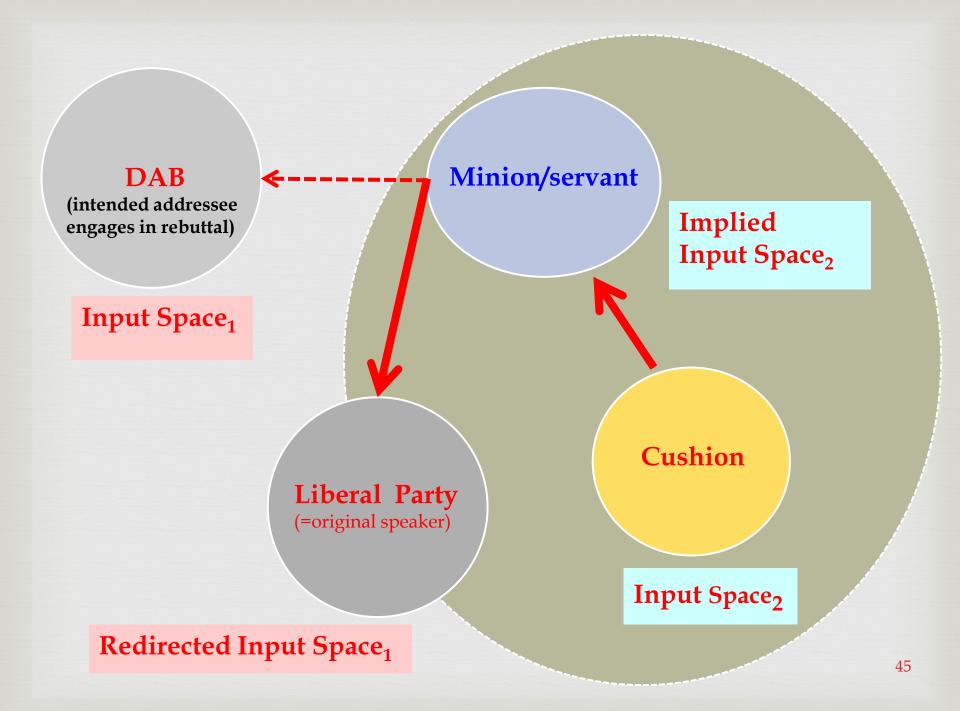


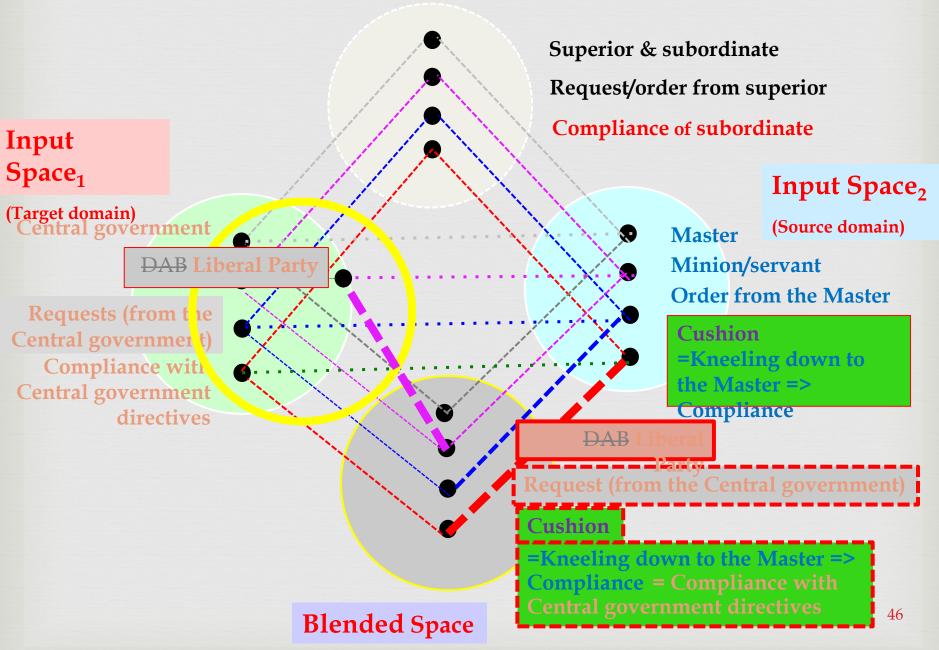
Rebutts by remarking that it is odd that the traditionally pro-establishment (i.e. pro-Government and pro-Beijing) Liberal Party now projects the image that they DARE SAY 'NO'.

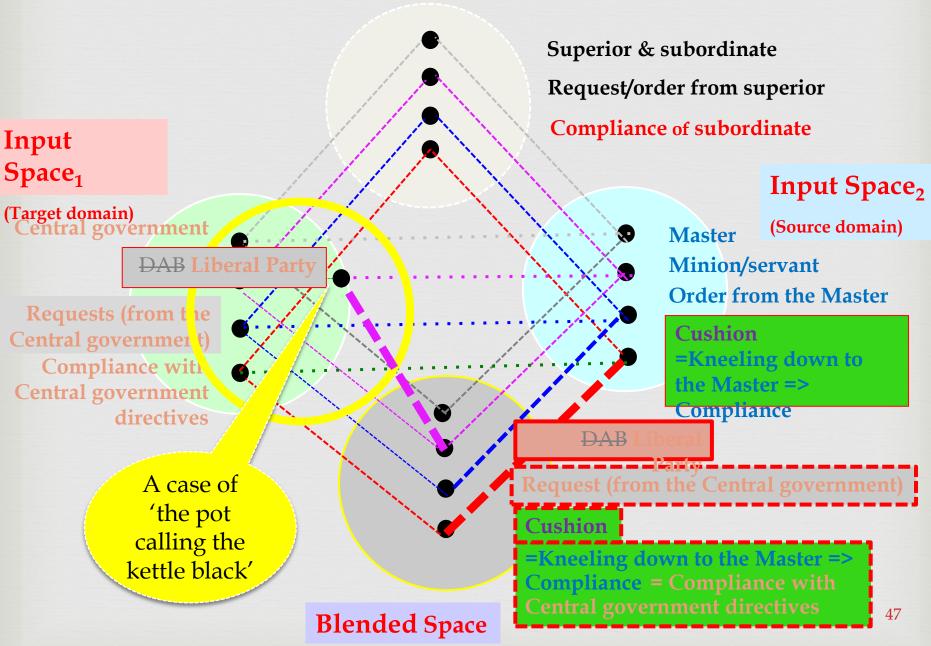
НК 01	Alsland_57:24-57:37_Tsar 今 次 好 gam1 ci3 hou2 DEM time very	有趣 jau5ceoi3	啊 , aa3 一 PRT		ironic si humoro	reference to ituation $\rightarrow$ us effect $\rightarrow$ s face-threat
02	反對 派 <i>faan2deoi3 paai1</i> opposition party	呢 就 le1 zau6 PRT INT	biu1bong2	理性 <i>lei5sing3</i> rational	務實 mou6sat6 pragmatic	,
03	然後  呢 以前 jin4hau6 le1 ji5ci then  PRT past	n4 waa6 gi	u3 gin3zai3	派 paai3 ive party	嘅 ge3 NOM	呢, le1 PRT
04	就標榜 zau6 biu1bong INT advertis	, ,	nou1	Party itsel	lf has generally	ting out that the Liberal been regarded as being and pro-Beijing

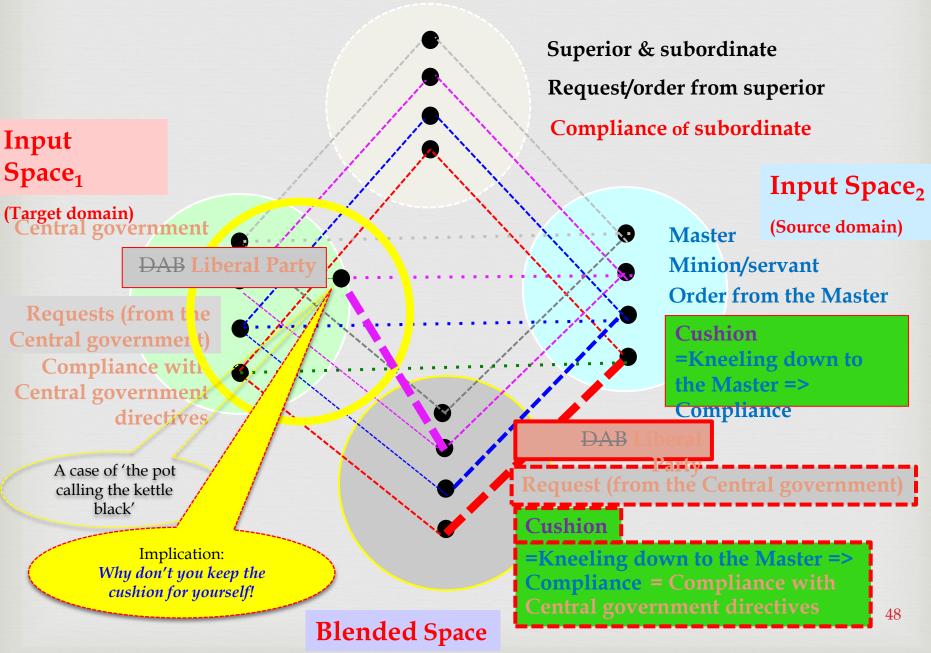
'This time, (the situation) is very funny: The opposition parties advertise themselves as rational and pragmatic. Then, the one that is usually called "the conservative party" advertises itself as "the one that dares to say no".'

05 你 話 係 幾 有趣 呢 1 hai6 gei2 jau5ceoi3 le1 nei5 waa6 2SG COP quite interesting EXCL say 'You say how funny it is!'









### Effect of the cushion metaphor

- The cushion metaphor triggered a negative image of the speaker's political rival.
- This visual metaphor allows a political candidate to criticize her rival yet at the same time mitigate potential face-threat to herself as well as others. (Lau Kin-Yee)
- Real Humor can be used to deflect and mitigate criticisms induced by visual metaphors in critical political discourse. (Tsang Yok-Sing)

### What the visual 'cushion' metaphor does

○ Through the use of the 'cushion' metaphor, the speaker cleverly paints a negative picture of a rival party by depicting them as 'political knee-benders' who are more inclined to listen to the Central government than to represent the voice of the people.

The speaker also narrows the distance between herself and the audience by dis-aligning herself from those subservient to the Central government, and in this way portray herself and her political party as 'a voice for the people'.

## What the visual 'cushion' metaphor does

- ⊲ Heighten the curiosity of the audience.
- Results Engage the audience in deeper thinking through a rich network of mental maps.
- Real Provide a visual cue to make a more lasting impact in the memory of the audience.
- Protect the speaker's positive self-image Lau Kin-yee is applauded for her creativity and excused for criticizing others because she does it in an entertaining way





## **The Ladder Metaphor**

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OFe0KiYSQGc (00:47:52-00:48:36)



## DAB vs. LSD

Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong vs. League of Social Democrats

## DAB 民建聯

- 🛯 Chan Han Pan (CHP) 陳恒鑌
- The largest party in LegCo
- Centre-right
- Conservative
- R Pro-Government



Presents a ladder to the Hong Kong people, wishing them good prospects under the government's housing and youth development policies.

The 'ladder gift' is also used to ridicule the Democratic Party.

#### **3 ladder metaphors**



#### NTWest\_47:52-48:24\_ChanHanPan

1 呢	今日	喺 呃	已一度	送	張	梯	畀
5dei6 le1	gam1jat6	5 hei2 le	ei1jat1dou6	sung3	zoeng1	tai1	bei2
PRT	today	at h	nere	give	CL	ladder	DAT
· 哦	市民。						
4gong2 ge	3 si5man4					Visua	l humor
ong.Kong AT	rR citizen						
t i	5dei6 le1 PRT 生 嘅 h4gong2 ge3	5dei6 le1 gam1jat6 PRT today 透 哦 市民。 h4gong2 ge3 si5man4	5dei6 le1 gam1jat6 hei2 l PRT today at h 感 嘅 市民。 h4gong2 ge3 si5man4	5dei6 le1 gam1jat6 hei2 lei1jat1dou6 PRT today at here 略 市民。 54gong2 ge3 si5man4	5dei6 le1 gam1jat6 hei2 lei1jat1dou6 sung3 PRT today at here give 略 п民。 14gong2 ge3 si5man4	5dei6le1gam1jat6hei2lei1jat1dou6sung3zoeng1PRTtodayatheregiveCL透嘅市民。	5dei6       le1       gam1jat6       hei2       lei1jat1dou6       sung3       zoeng1       tai1         PRT       today       at       here       give       CL       ladder         透       嘅       市民。        Visua         Agong2       ge3       si5man4         Visua

### 'We are here today to present a ladder for all Hong Kong citizens,'

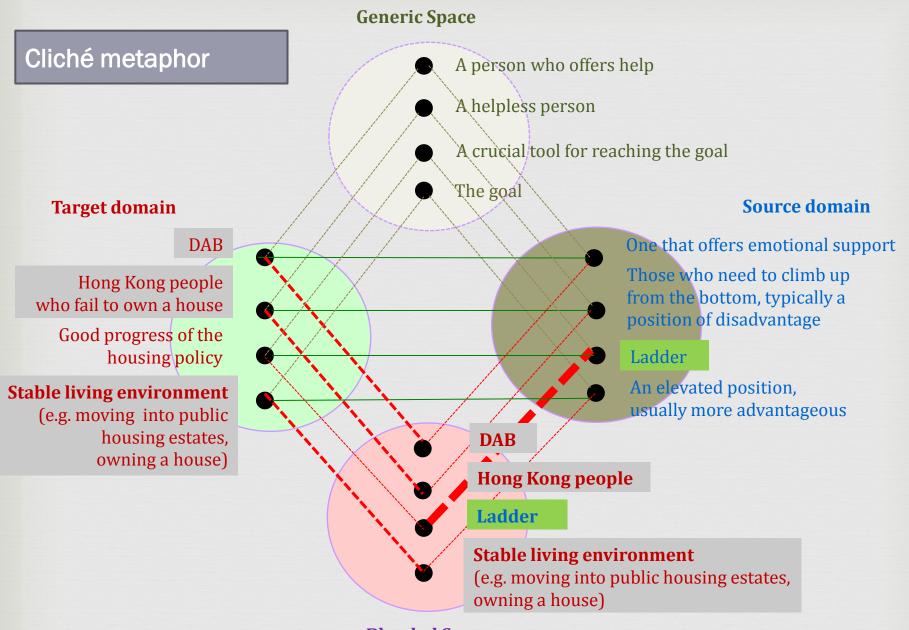
										真式 たまた
03	希望	呢	我哋		房屋	政策	呢	係	-	N. m. l.
	hei1mong6	le1	ngo5dei	i6	fong4uk1	zing3caak	3 le1	hai6		
	hope	PRT	1PL		housing	policy	PRT	СОР		
04	有	房屋	嘅		階梯,					
	jau5	fong4uk1	ge3		gaai1tai1					
	EXIST	house	ATTR		ladder					
05	令到	劏房		唣先	市民	呢	可以	快啲	上到	公屋,
	ling6dou3	tong1fong2	2	ge3	si5 man	4 le1	ho2 ji5	faai3di1	soeng5-dou2	gung1uk1
	make	sub-divideo	d.units	ATTR	citizen	PRT	can	quickly	enter-POT	public.housing

'hoping that our housing policy is **the ladder** for (solving) our housing (problems), so that those who live in sub-divided units can move into public housing estates more quickly.'



'(We also hope that) the next generation can afford to own a house, (while) the middle class do not need to be the slaves of housing.'

真武无景佬



08	亦都 <i>jik6dou</i> also	係 1 hai6 COP	要 <i>jiu3</i> need	送 <i>sung3</i> give	畀 <i>bei2</i> DAT	全港 <i>cyun4 g</i> all.Hon		嘅 <i>ge3</i> ATTR	青年人, <i>cing1lin4jan4</i> youngsters	真武市
09	希望 <i>hei1mo</i> hope	ng6	呢 <i>le1</i> PRT	大家 <i>daai6gaa1</i> everyone	喺 <i>hai2</i> at	置業、 <i>zi3jip6</i> home.ow	nership	學業 <i>hok6ji</i> studie	p6	
10	就業 <i>zau6jip</i> career	同步 5 tun anc	g4maai4	創業 <i>cong3jip</i> start.up.	o6 .business	方面 <i>fong1mir</i> aspect	16	呢, <i>le1</i> PRT		
11	有 <i>jau5</i> EXIST	一	o3 <b>hoe</b>	上 ng3 soeng6 ards up	流動 5 <i>lau4du</i> mobilit		嘅 <i>ge3</i> ATTR	階梯 gaai ladd	1tai1	

'(I would) also give it to all youngsters in Hong Kong, hoping that there will be a way (*lit.* ladder) for upward mobility in terms of home ownership, studies, career opportunities and business entrepreneurships.'

未洗

A person who offers help A helpless person A crucial tool for reaching the goal The present situation

The goal

DAB

#### Source domain

One that offers emotional support Those who need to climb up from the bottom

Ladder

Lower rung of the ladder

Higher rung of the ladder

The young people in Hong Kong

Upward mobility = Ladder

**Fower position in the social hierarchy** 

Higher position in the social hierarchy

#### **Blended Space**

#### Target domain

Cliché metaphor

#### DAB

The young people in Hong Kong

#### Upward mobility

Lower position in the social hierarchy Higher position in the social hierarchy



### Democratic Party 民主黨

- Third largest party in Legislative Council
- R Centrist
- R Pro-democracy
- C Constant internal strife since handover in 1997
  - Discord between Young Turks (People advocating reform) and members from Meeting Point, who are considered as founding members of the Party
  - Members from Young Turks camp left the party one after another owing to their dissatisfaction of the party



'(I) should also present this gift to (the members) of the third tier of the Democratic Party, hoping that you have a chance to climb up (i.e. enter the Legislative Council).'

真武元素化

### Cliché metaphor

#### **Target domain**

DAB offering emotional support

Junior members of the rival Democratic Party

Chances of improving their political standing Currently with little political clout Opportunity to win Legislative Council seats will be seen as a promotion **Generic Space** 

A person who offers help

A helpless person

Means of improving the current situation

The current problem

The desired goal

#### **Source domain**

One that offers support Those who need to climb up from the bottom

Ladder

Lower rung of the ladder Higher rung of the ladder

DAB offering emotional support

Junior members of the Democratic Party

Opportunity to win LegCo seats = Ladder

Little political clout

Greater political clout

#### **Blended Space**

There is internal strife within the Democratic Party - Senior members in the party do not give chances to the junior members

## DAB vs. LSD

Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong vs. League of Social Democrats

## 1 ladder metaphor

础 Tsang Kin Shing(TKS)曾健成

LSD 社會民主連線

- R Left-wing
- R Pro-democracy
- 🛯 Pro-labour

Mocking DAB by using the ladder metaphor but invoking a different source domain – the ladder as the jumping-site for suicides

Meaning:

DAB is not helping HK people but sending them to death.

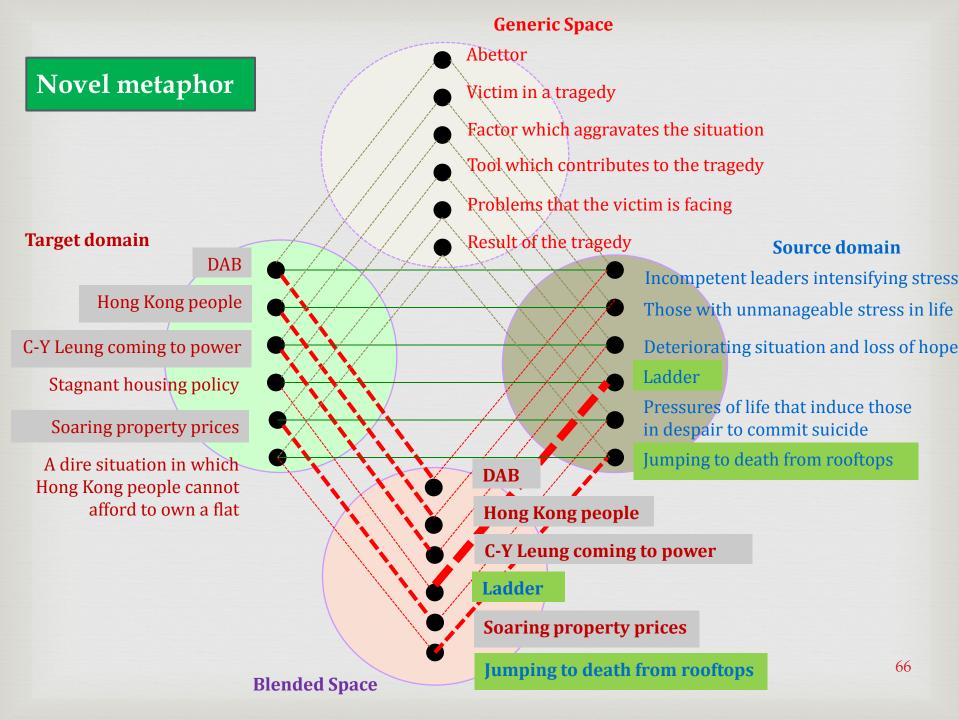


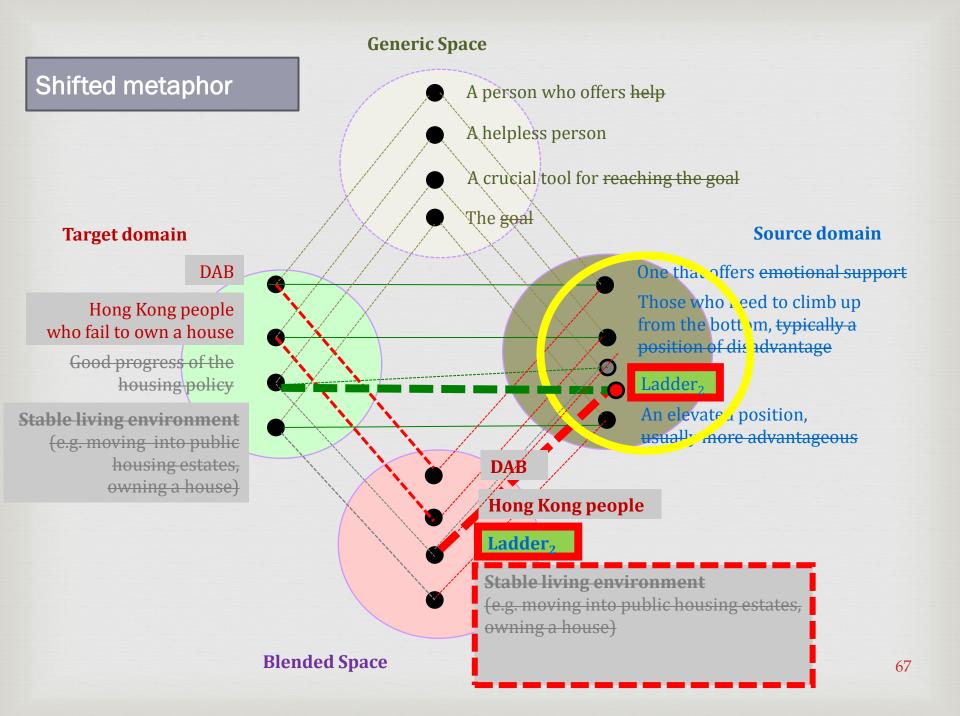
NTWest\_48:24-48:36\_TsangKinShing

01 TKS:	民建聯 man4gin3	送 3lyun4 sung	呢 張 g3 lei1 zoe					社民連線
	DAB	give	this CL	lac	dder PRT			
02	係 逼	港人	听	尼 <b>喺</b>	天棚	擒	高一啲	跳樓。
	hai6 bil	k1 gong2jan	4 le	e1 hai2	tin1paang2	kam4	gou1jat1di1	tiu3lau2
	COP for	rce Hong.Kor	ng.people P	RT at	roof	climb	higher	jump.off.building
03	因為	梁振英	上	場	之後	呢,		
	jan1wai6	Loeng4Zar	n3Jing1 so	eng5coeng	4 zi1hau6	le1		
	because	Leung.Chu	in.Ying co	ome.to.pow	er after	PRT	Cau	stic sarcasm
04	樓價	再	升 多	·	成。			
	lau4gaa3	zoi3	sing1 do	o1 jat1	sing4			
	housing.p	orice again	go.up mo	ore one	tenth			

'DAB presented this ladder so as to force Hong Kong people to climb up higher and jump to death from the roof. It is because the housing price has gone up by ten percent since Leung Chun Ying came to power.'

65





### Counter-metaphor

#### **Generic Space**

A person who offers help false hope

A helpless person

A crucial tool for reaching the goal contributing to a tragedy

The goal A tragic end

#### Source domain

One that offers emotional support induces stress Those who need to climb up from the bott, m, typically a position of digadvantage

Ladder<sub>2</sub>

An elevated position, <del>usually more advantageous</del> to end one's life DAB advocating a failed housing policy

Hong Kong people under stress

#### Ladder = failed housing policy

**Stable living environment** (e.g. moving into public housing estates, owning a house) **Soaring property prices** 

➔ people jumping off rooftops

#### **Target domain**

#### DAB

#### Hong Kong people who fail to own a house

Good progress of the housing policy

Stable living environment (e.g. moving into public housing estates, owning a house) Soaring property prices

**Blended Space** 

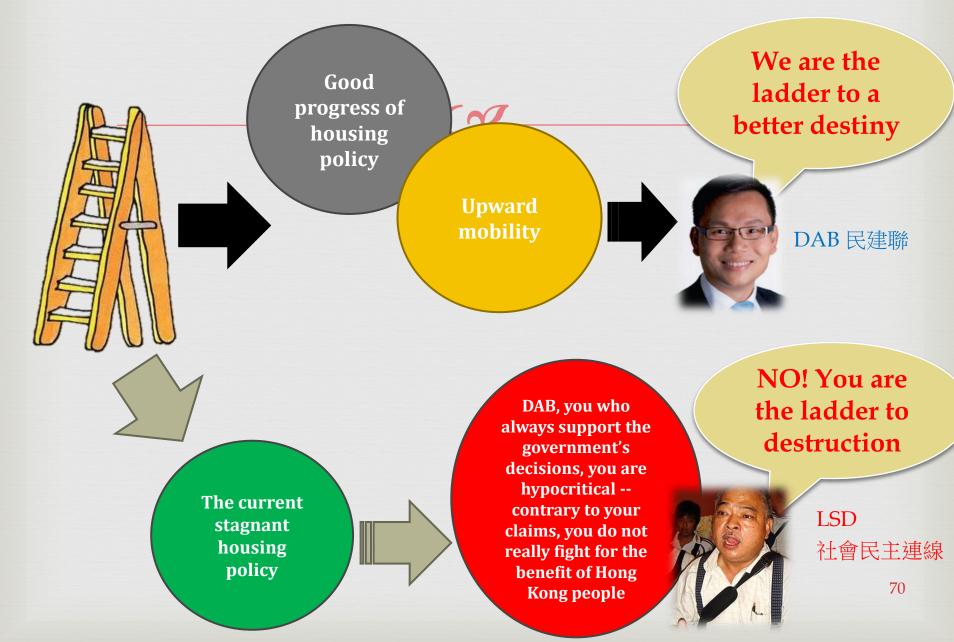
Why ladder metaphors are employed?

A ladder can be used to symbolise the following:

(1) The progress of the housing policy (by Chan)

- (2) Upward mobility a better life for the general public and career development opportunities for the younger generation (by Chan)
- (3) Encouragement to rival party seen as 'fake goodwill' and hence a sarcastic remark (by Chan)
- (4) The current stagnant housing policy, which becomes a tragic inducement for some who despair to unfortunately end their life (by Tsang)

### Competing symbolic representations behind the same metaphor



### Interim summary (2)

CR Using the ladder metaphor as an example, we show how political identities are constructed and reconstructed by rival parties.

This is possible because symbolic representations behind a given metaphor can be interpreted differently by different political parties and these different interpretations are then used to compete for the audience's attention.

## Conclusion (1)

- Real Politicians often engage in adversarial talk with their opponents.
- A Yet at the same time, they often deploy verbal indirectness strategies to mitigate face threats through witty talk.
- Real Humor is often used as well, frequently to deflect face-threats.

## Conclusion (2)

○ Occasionally, sarcasm is used in counter-attacks. This heightens the face-threat, and is sometimes chosen in situations where frustration is high and the speaker feels a strong message has to be delivered regardless of violations to politeness maxims.

○ Despite the rivalry, and sometimes the vitriol as well, both parties are aware that the verbal sparring is part of 'the political game'.

## Conclusion (3)

Among the skills needed is the ability to 'attack', 'defend' or 'deflect', and 'counter-attack'.

- The subtle and skillful use of verbal indirectness strategies including characterization metaphors is useful in creating positive political identities for selves and negative ones for others.
- And when 'attacked', politicians also need to develop skills at deflecting and reconstructing damaged identities as well.

## Conclusion (4)

At the same time, it is important for the general public to understand the nature of this political game, so they can tease apart the 'performance' and 'the message', as this has important consequences for their choice of leaders and the policies that affect their welfare.

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