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 <https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.81.o8but>

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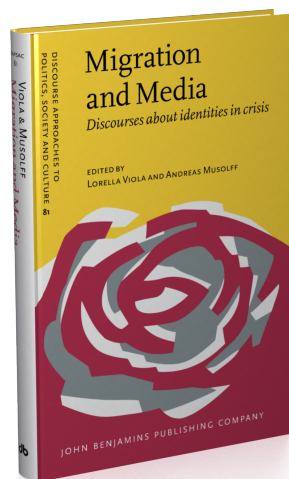
Pages 163–182 of

Migration and Media: Discourses about identities in crisis

Edited by Lorella Viola and Andreas Musolff

[Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture, 81]

2019. xi, 360 pp.



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Practical reasoning and metaphor in TV discussions on immigration in Greece

Exchanges and changes

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This article investigates the dynamic processes taking place in relation to the choice of specific fixed metaphors which function as framing devices by rival politicians to reinforce their proposals for action in the media immigration discourse of Greek TV discussions (1996–2016). In this research context a critical, integrated, multi-level metaphor analysis model is suggested which combines different methods (see Cameron 2008; Fairclough et al. 2012; Charteris-Black 2014; Musolff 2016; Semino et al. 2016) for a linguistic, conceptual and discursive-communicative-rhetorical analysis in the context of practical reasoning focusing on the framing power of metaphor. Results revealed that around these metaphors the different political ideologies are framed in agreement with the rhetorical tendencies (e.g simplification, bipolarization, hyperbole) of the political media discourse.

Keywords: metaphor analysis (critical, integrated, multi-level), frames, scenarios, practical reasoning, TV discussions, immigration

1. Introduction

Once known for its large-scale emigration until 1975, Greece has in the last twenty years turned into a host country for three different population movements: (a) from the Balkans (mainly Albania) since 1990, (b) from Africa, Asia and the Middle East since 2000 and (c) from Syria since 2015. Greece was unprepared to face such novel and demanding circumstances not only socially but politically and legislatively as well (see Skleparis 2017). Meanwhile, after a period of political and economic recovery (the fall of junta in 1974 and the accession to the Eurozone in 2001) the Greek economy started to shrink during the 2010s “under the weight of what is perhaps the country’s worst economic recession in recent memory” (Kasimis 2012,

see also Bickes et al. 2012). These changes created radical shifts and conflicts in the beliefs, values and practices of the Greek society and politics, which were expressed and constructed mainly through public discourse.

I started focusing on public immigration discourse in my teaching and research since the end of the 1980s due to the intense concern of the Greek society for the changes we experienced and mainly for the new forms of social coexistence and learning/teaching methods that had to be developed. In effect, the social and educational needs in Greece at that time led me to discourse analytic research and teaching which were problem-oriented, interdisciplinary and aimed to raise linguistic, cultural and political awareness (see e.g. Butulussi 1999, 2007). These starting points in the meantime merged with the main principles of CDA which became significant in my research and teaching. Thus, “discourse, language use in speech and writing”, is seen “as a form of ‘social practice’” (Fairclough et al. 1997: 258) and its critical analysis has a strong linguistic orientation but also emphasizes on the link among language, ideology and power, i.e. on the historical development of discourse and on interdisciplinarity (see Reisigl et al. 2009: 87–97).

The present study investigates snapshots in the development of media and political immigration discourse in Greece through the study of 20 TV discussions broadcast between 1996 and 2016. The focus is on metaphors used by politicians in the context of practical reasoning, i.e. when answering the question “what should we do now?” The metaphors analyzed refer to the concept of the NATION-STATE as an ENCLOSED OR OPEN SPACE (see CONTAINER).¹

Why were TV discussions chosen for analysis? The TV discussions are a kind of political discourse which, together with other sub-genres (e.g. press releases, press conferences, interviews, round tables, articles/books, public speeches), belongs to the field of action “formation of public attitudes, opinion and will” (see Reisigl et al. 2009: 90–91). A large section of the population has access to this type of discourse and, for some, this is the only source of political knowledge and update. The TV discussions analyzed here belong to the issue-oriented format centered on current affairs (Haarman 1999a, in Richardson 2008: 387).²

The guests are mainly politicians of the leading parties who come prepared to express (in a few minutes) the positions, the suggested actions and ideology of their party on these current issues. The dynamic nature of conversation forces the speakers to take the listener’s perspective into account throughout the whole discussion and to quickly find the appropriate rhetorical manners to get out of

1. Small capitals indicate conceptual status; linguistic expressions are either in italics when given as generic examples or in quotation marks when relating to explicit quotations.

2. Another subtype of TV discussions is centered on social issues in a more personal or social group specific perspective (Richardson 2008: 387), but this is beyond the focus of the present study.

intense confrontations which in some shows are encouraged by the politicians themselves or the host of the discussion.³ The politicians' talk both as representatives of political parties and as individuals and "their speeches (...) contain a range of voices – usually those of the various audiences to whom they appeal." (Charteris-Black 2014: 85). The aim of the politicians in these TV discussions is to persuade the audiences and promote their party (see Wodak et al. 1999) rather than to find common acceptable solutions in cooperation with the other guests.

The analysis of the TV discussions, thus, and especially the metaphor analysis in the context of practical reasoning allows access to condensed political views and ideologies on current problems as they are expressed in public discourse as social practice.

2. Methodology of metaphor analysis

2.1 Linguistic, conceptual, discursive-communicative analysis

The publication of *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff et al. 1980) constituted the springboard of a prolific production of research studies and theoretical approaches (see e.g. the Conceptual Metaphor Theory) which do not view metaphor merely as an ornamental feature but highlight its significance for human thought and understanding and the construction of reality. According to Fairclough (1992: 194) when "we signify things through one metaphor rather than another, we are constructing our reality in one way rather than another."

A very large number of studies have also been devoted to the role of metaphor in the political discourse.⁴ Metaphors are used "as effective pragmatic devices to perform ideological articulation and sensationalization as well as emotional arousal" (Flowerdew et al. 2007: 275). The most recent studies aim to analyze metaphor not only conceptually but also linguistically and communicatively in various types of discourse.

For the aims of my research I devised a critical, integrated, multi-level metaphor analysis model which combines different methods (see Cameron 2008; Fairclough et al. 2012; Charteris-Black 2014; Musolff 2016; Semino et al. 2016) for a linguistic,

3. About the fragmentary, simplificational and infotainment character of TV and the theatricalization of politics in media see indicatively Fairclough (1995: 10), Demertzis (2002: 281, 451), Meyer (2002).

4. The use of metaphors is very common in the political, but not in the diplomatic discourse (Wodak et al. 1999: 217).

conceptual and discursive-communicative-rhetorical analysis in the context of practical reasoning argumentation.

Initially I analyse metaphors in four stages following the model of Charteris-Black (2014: 174–176, 2004: 35–41) slightly modified in the 3rd and 4th stage (see below).

- 1st stage: Contextual analysis (research questions; collection and selection of texts) [see Introduction].
- 2nd stage: Metaphor Identification (description of the linguistic forms; what counts as a metaphor) [see Section 3].
- 3rd stage: Metaphor Interpretation (conceptual analysis; how metaphors are classified and organized by source or target domain etc.) [see Section 2.2 and 3].
- 4th stage: Metaphor Explanation (discursive-communicative analysis taking into account the socio-political context and establishing the ideological-rhetorical motivation) [see Section 2.3 and 3].

For a detailed conceptual and discursive-communicative-rhetorical analysis I subsequently specify the 3rd and 4th stages by incorporating methods and concepts from other relevant studies. In the 3rd stage emphasis is given to “metaphor levels” (see Kövecses 2017) and especially to the concept of ‘scenario’ according to Musolff (2016) while in the 4th stage a model of practical reasoning (see Fairclough et al. 2012) and some types of metaphor shifting in the dynamics of talk (see Cameron 2008) are employed tracing the rhetorical motivation of metaphor use and the ideological framing.

2.2 Conceptual analysis and Scenarios (3rd stage)

In the interpretation stage (3) we identify the metaphorical conceptual structures (Charteris-Black 2004: 38) and decide how metaphors are to be classified, organized and arranged (e.g. on the basis of shared lexical characteristics or by target or source domain etc.) (Charteris-Black 2014: 175).

According to Kövecses (2017: 321) “conceptual metaphors simultaneously involve conceptual structures, or units, on four levels of schematicity: the level of image schemas, the level of domains, the level of frames, and the level of mental spaces”. “An image schema is a recurring dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience.” (Johnson 1987:xiv, xvi).

For example, the domain of BODY is based on the image schema of CONTAINER, OBJECT (Kövecses 2017: 324, 325; Hampe 2005: 2). Image schemas and domains can help us classify the metaphors collected in the corpus into categories in order

to highlight similarities and differences at a higher conceptual level. Domains are a kind of super frames in the conceptual levels that include multiple frames. For instance, the BODY domain can be seen as being elaborated by several distinct frames, such as PERCEPTION (see, for example, the metaphorical linguistic expressions *I see what you mean*). Together, they make up what is known as the generic-level metaphor THE MIND IS THE BODY (see Sullivan 2013: 23–24).

A frame is according to Fillmore (1982: 111) “any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits”. These script-like conceptual structures describe a particular type of situation, object, or event and the participants and props involved in it (Ruppenhofer et al. 2010: 5 in Sullivan 2013: 18). Frames are “organized packages of knowledge, beliefs, and patterns of practice that shape and allow humans to make sense of their experiences (...)” (Fillmore et al. 2010: 314). Frames “represent knowledge at all levels of abstraction” (Rumelhart 1980 in Ziem, 2005: 4, see words, texts, discourses etc.).

Frames, scripts, scenes, mental spaces or scenarios (Musolff 2004, 2006, 2016) are related concepts. Mental spaces or scenarios are tightly linked to the discourse context and that is why they are particularly interesting here, i.e. in a corpus-based discourse analytic research. According to Musolff, a

discourse-based, culturally and historically mediated version of a source domain is what has been referred to as a ‘metaphor scenario’. (...) ‘Scenarios’ are a less schematic subtype of frame insofar as they include specific narrative and evaluative perspectives, which make them attractive for drawing strong inferences in political discourses as well as policy planning. (Musolff 2016: 30)

Based on Musolff’s understanding of scenarios Semino et al. (2016: 12) “use the term ‘scenario’ to refer to (knowledge about) a specific setting, which includes: entities/participants, roles and relationships, possible goals, actions and events, and evaluations, attitudes, emotions, and the like.” In political and media communication research is used the notion of framing:

Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.

(Entman 1993: 52)

These definitions show that the notions of scenario and framing can link the conceptual and the discourse-based level of metaphor and reveal its function in practical reasoning contexts.

In this way we proceed to the 4th stage: the explanation. Here we identify “the social agency that is involved in their production and their social role in persuasion” and “establish their ideological and rhetorical motivation” in the specific context they are used (see Charteris-Black 2004: 39).⁵

2.3 Discursive-communicative analysis, practical reasoning and metaphor shifting (4th stage)

Politicians’ actions are determined by ideologies which can be traced in the metaphor scenarios presented with different rhetorical ways in the practical reasoning contexts. The rhetorical and argumentative relevance of metaphors was highlighted long ago and in the recent years the analysis of argumentation already belongs to the basic components of critical analysis of the political discourse (see Aristotle 2002: 1356a: 140, 141 and for an overview of the bibliography Kienpointer 2017).

In this study the practical reasoning model of Fairclough et al. (2012: 25–26)⁶ was employed because the identification and analysis of practical reasoning argumentations reveals the organization of the scenarios constructed in the single TV discussions and the TV migration discourse as a whole. In the TV discussions, where many guests participate for 1–2 hours, we can observe that a guest may provide his counter argument long time after the argument he wants to refute⁷ (see Deppermann 2006: 14 for the difficulties in locating the components of an argumentation in discussions). Therefore, the emphasis on practical reasoning facilitates the location of the line connecting the dots among the speakers’ contributions and the components of the different scenarios, i.e. revealing the framing procedures.

Practical reasoning is directly linked to the theoretical (or epistemic) reasoning, which “is reasoning concerning what is or is not true” (Fairclough et al. 2012: 35). It seems, however, that the practical argumentation “is the primary

5. We can consider scenarios as ideology components as “ideologies consist of social representations that define the social identity of a group, that is, its shared beliefs” and “specify what general cultural values (freedom, equality, justice, etc.) are relevant for the group (e.g. social movements, political parties)” (van Dijk 2006: 116, 117)

6. In my previous work (e.g. Butulussi 2008) I focused (a) on theoretical argumentation by using Toulmin’s (1958: 97–98) classic model of argumentation (claim, data, warrants) and (b) on topoi which are characteristic in the immigration discourse e.g. the topoi of danger/justice/responsibility (see Reisigl et al. 2001: 69–85) understanding them as content-related realizations of an abstract scheme (see Charteris-Black 2014: 137, 139, 151). For a critical discussion about the topoi see Žagar (2010), Fairclough et al. (2012: 23–24) and Charteris-Black (2014: 133).

7. Toulmin (1958: 99–100) long ago highlighted the difficulty in distinguishing between data and warrants.

activity that is going on in political discourse, and analysis of argumentation can make a major contribution to strengthening textual analysis in CDA” (Fairclough et al. 2012: 85–86).

Fairclough et al. (2012: 21, 94) present a model in which they “show how representations (including metaphors and other forms of rhetorically motivated representations) provide premises in arguments for action, and how representation issues can therefore be integrated within an account of action.” The structure of practical reasoning according to Fairclough et al. (2012: 44–45, 91) can be described as follows: There is a hypothesis that action A might enable the agent to reach his goals (G). The speaker can start, e.g. from the circumstances (C), and in accordance with certain values (V), and under consideration of the consequences arrives to the presumptive claim that he ought to do A. The consequences can be positive or negative.

In the next section following the methodology presented here, metaphors which conceptualize the NATION-STATE as an ENCLOSED or OPEN SPACE are analyzed and, based on frames/scenarios and the context of practical reasoning, their ideological motivation is located. The politicians in order to express the ideological conflict between, for example, mono-culturalism, nationalism and multi-culturalism, answer modifying the metaphors used by their political opponents with metaphor shifting which is based on contrast, and/or relexicalisation, that is, use distant synonyms with elements of hyperbole (see Ritter 2010) and meaning expansion (Cameron 2008). In this way, their rhetorical motivation is also established.

3. Analysis

The corpus consists of a representative sample of very popular TV discussions broadcast with well known hosts/hostesses from 1996 to 2016 on Greek public and private television channels (e.g. (ALPHA (Makis Triandafilopoulos), ANTENNA (Elli Stai), MEGA (Pavlos Tsimas, Nikos Chatzinikolaou), NET (Giannis Politis, Konstantinos Zoulas)). In the TV discussions analysed there were 185 participants in total: journalists, politicians, immigrants, members of societies or associations, etc. Their total duration is 24 hours and the transcription amount to 242,781 words.

In the TV discussions we often encounter the concept of the NATION-STATE, exemplified by the lexical items *Ελλάδα* (Greece), *χώρα* (country), *πατρίδα* (fatherland), *έθνος* (nation), *κράτος* (state), to be the target. Some very common metaphorical linguistic expressions used as source are the following: (a) *ανοίξαμε τις πόρτες/πύλες* ‘we opened the doors/gates’, (b) *η χώρα μας είναι ξέφραγο αμπέλι* ‘our country is an unfenced vineyard’).

Both metaphors could be classified in the source image schema CONTAINMENT/CONTAINER⁸ although the lexical metaphors and respectively the source domains refer to different entities: (a) BUILDING (three dimensional object, e.g. *cup*) and (b) FIELD (two dimensional object, planar space, e.g. *plate*).⁹ But they both share the following common elements: ENTRY, IN-OUT, BOUNDARY, OPEN-CLOSE.¹⁰ The metaphor THE STATE IS A BUILDING exists in many languages and has been analyzed in the literature (e.g. Hart 2010: 134-144; Musolff 2016: 39-71; Kövecses 2017: 330-339). The metaphor THE STATE IS AN OPEN FIELD ('our country is an unfenced vineyard') has not been investigated in the literature so far to the best of my knowledge. Thus, the linguistic, conceptual (frames and scenarios) and discursive-communicative aspects of the metaphor *ξέφραγο αμπέλι* 'unfenced vineyard' are analyzed first and then the metaphors used by rival politicians in order to promote their own scenarios of action are identified and analysed accordingly.

First, the entries *ξέφραγο* 'unfenced' and *αμπέλι* 'vineyard' are investigated separately and as a phrase in dictionaries (see also Steen et al. 2010) and then their use in the specific contexts is considered to ensure that it is used metaphorically (see 2nd stage). The frame and the scenario of the phrase *ξέφραγο αμπέλι* 'unfenced vineyard' can be formed gathering additional information on the history and the conditions of vineyard cultivation from encyclopedias, interviews with vine growers and wine producers. This information will clarify why the phrase was standardized as such (rather than, for example, *ξέφραγο οικόπεδο* 'unfenced plot' or *ξέφραγος κήπος* 'unfenced garden' which are not used figuratively) for any space or field of action where anyone can do whatever they like or can operate unrestricted (see *Lexicon of Common Modern Greek Language* 1998) and which specific elements emerge through its mapping with the target domain STATE.

Subsequently, by contrasting the concepts of the two frames, e.g. the frame of *αμπέλι* 'vineyard' and the frame of NATION-STATE emerge the common concepts of SPACE, TIME and ACTION around which the frame and scenario are organised:

The frame of *αμπέλι* 'vineyard'

- SPACE: INSIDE, OUTSIDE, BORDERS: The vineyard covers a large area. It contains grapevines and especially in the past it seldom had a fence (see below the frame of *ξέφραγο αμπέλι* 'unfenced vineyard').

8. See Johnson (1987: 126), Hampe (2005: 2).

9. For a discussion about a skeletal image of verticality (e.g. trees, buildings, people) and of a flat bounded planar space (e.g. table, floors, plateaus) see Turner (1991: 57) and about the relational character of image schemas, their level of specificity etc. see Hampe (2005: 3).

10. "Following Lakoff (1987), Mandler characterizes CONTAINMENT by three structural elements: interior, boundary, and exterior." (Correa-Beningfield et al. 2005: 347).

- **TIME: LONG LIFE SPAN AND LONG HISTORY:** Grapevines are perennial plants with a long life span (about 100 years). Vine cultivation is first encountered in Persian and Indian ancestors in the Neolithic era and it marks the transition from nomadic life to permanent settlements. Wine was widely used in ancient Greece.
- **ACTION: COLLECTIVE AND TIRESOME CULTIVATION WITH VALUABLE ASSETS:** The cultivation and the vine harvest constitute a collective and tiresome task. The grapevine has very deep roots and, thus, it can be cultivated in dry areas and in drought periods offering valuable assets indispensable for human, physical, economic, but also socio-cultural, and mental well-being (e.g. grapevines were used as symbols in sculpture and paintings)

The above, concepts, slightly modified, are also contained in the frame of the NATION-STATE:

The frame of NATION-STATE

- **SPACE: INSIDE, OUTSIDE, BORDERS:** The nation-state extends over a large territory and always has borders. The nation-state is defined by its geographical area where its citizens enjoy permanent settlement.
- **TIME: LONG LIFE SPAN AND LONG HISTORY:** The nation-state extends from the past to the future and its national features are traced in the culture, religion, language etc.
- **ACTION: COLLECTIVE AND TIRESOME EFFORT WITH VALUABLE ASSETS:** Nation-states are created after long collective effort and offer valuable assets indispensable for human, physical, economic, but also socio-cultural, and mental well-being and development.

The frame of the literal meaning of *ξέφραγο αμπέλι* ‘unfenced vineyard’ can be described as following: In oral history (i.e. interviews) vineyards have always been without fences due to lack of money or because they were located in precipitous hills. Thanks to their deep roots, grapevines could be cultivated in the most barren and stony fields of the family. In the summer when vegetation was generally low, vineyards were often endangered by free-grazing livestock (sheep or goats), thus, causing frequent confrontations between vine growers and cattle breeders.

When politicians use the metaphor *ξέφραγο αμπέλι* ‘unfenced vineyard’ to characterize a nation-state the above elements are present or highlighted. The idea projected is that nation-states were established after wars and battles with the neighboring states and are in constant threat by them; that nation-states are considered as an attraction point for trespassers who destroy and occupy them without control. Consequently, immigrants are projected as trespassers who invade the nation-state (vineyard) and uncontrollably act over its valuable assets. These frames are further

concretized in specific scenarios constructed in the context where the expression *ξέφραγο αμπέλι* ‘unfenced vineyard’ is used, i.e. in practical reasoning contexts where the politicians argue for the actions that need to be taken. The rival politicians try to alter the above frames and the respective scenarios by choosing other metaphors during the verbal confrontation.

Against this backdrop, the rhetorical motivation and the different ideologies of the speakers can proceed combined with elements relevant to the historical, political background of the time such as they emerge in the context of discourses. The following are excerpts found in the TV discussions.

- (1) Δεν πρέπει να περιφρουρήσουμε αυτή τη χώρα; *Ξέφραγο αμπέλι* είναι κύριε Β.; ‘Don’t we need to guard this country? Is it an *unfenced vineyard*, Mr. V.?’
(Apostolos Andreoulakos (MP of ND¹¹),
Host: Nikos Chatzinikolaou (MEGA, 1998)

The above extract comes from the first immigration flow in the 1990s. The topics in TV discussions at the time are related to the illegal entrance mainly of Albanians and the criminal activities caused thereupon. The mass media present a wave of fear overwhelming the rural areas and gradually approaching urban centers. In the “what should we do now?” question, the most frequent answers, by conservative politicians, like in the above example, concern the guarding of the country so that it will not be an unfenced vineyard. In the specific scenarios created around this metaphor the following solutions (or claims for action) are suggested: the strict army patrol of the borders in order to prevent immigrants from entering the country or the so-called *επιχειρήσεις σκούπα* ‘sweeping operations’ in which all illegal immigrants, that have already entered, are arrested and deported.

- (2) Η ελπίδα απ’ τα κέντρα κράτησης είν’ ότι αν αυτός ο οποίος μπαίνει στη χώρα ξέρει ότι δεν θα μπει σ’ ένα *ξέφραγο αμπέλι* (δηλαδή δε θα του δώσουν το χαρτάκι και θα φύγει), δεν θα έρθει.
The hope with the immigration detention centers is that if whoever enters the country knows that they do not walk in an *unfenced vineyard* (in other words, they will not be given the documents and walk away), they will not come at all.
(Nikos Dendias (MP of ND), Host: Antonis Sroiter (ALPHA, 2012)

In the second immigration period further scenarios around the metaphor *ξέφραγο αμπέλι* ‘unfenced vineyard’ are created related to the new circumstances, i.e. the immigration detention centers for the new immigrants originating from Africa, Asia and the Middle East this time and gathered in urban areas (see Kasimis 2012), and the increasing bureaucracy for those who wish to travel through Greece to other European countries. These measures belong to a broader “counter-incentive

11. Member of Parliament (MP), New Democracy (ND): Right Wing Party

policy” scenario: This means that no aid should be given to the immigrants other than their return ticket home.

In both periods the goal of the conservative politicians creating these scenarios is to prevent Greece from becoming an unfenced vineyard and to increase the feelings of fear for the Greek people. The scenario of guarding the borders from the “invasion of the new immigrants, who are more dangerous” is repeated on a larger scale in the media discourse.¹² (Far)right-wing politicians now support that the borders are not possible to be monitored and suggest the construction of a fence in the borders with Turkey, which was actually completed in 2012. This signifies that the constructed fear of Greece being an unfenced vineyard led to building an actual fence in the Greek borders with Turkey.

The outbreak of the economic crisis in the 2010s aggravates the situation. Golden Dawn (the far-right party) is on the rise and there are frequent violent racist events in urban centers. The frequent Eurostat surveys indicate increasing xenophobic attitudes which are mentioned in the discourse of citizens and conservative politicians too (see Gazakis et al. 2014; Wodak et al. 2015: 253 and Wodak 2015: 196, 197).

Based on the above and following the Fairclough et al. (2012) model we can describe the components of practical reasoning argumentation supported by the frames and scenarios of *ξέφραγο αμπέλι* ‘unfenced vineyard’ metaphor used by conservatives’ politicians as follows:

- CLAIM FOR ACTION: Guarding the borders, immigration detention centers, counter-incentive policy, deportation etc.
- CIRCUMSTANCES: Increase in immigrant flows and subsequent feelings of danger, insecurity and threat for the national-citizens, attesting that the country has already become an unfenced vineyard.
- GOAL: Protection of the country; prevention of the unfenced vineyard situation.
- VALUES: The states should be responsible for the survival, safety and welfare for their citizens and preserve the national order in the country protecting the national-interests (like protecting the valuable assets of a vineyard).¹³

12. The right-wing politicians claim now that the new comers threaten Greece more because they come from distant cultural backgrounds, while the earlier comers from the Balkans have already been integrated as they came from neighboring and close cultures. But the study of the TV discussions reveals that the arrival of the earlier comers was also covered by intense alarmism and xenophobic statements (see Excerpt 1).

13. See Fairclough et al. (2012: 140) about the values of fairness, financial responsibility/sustainability, the national interest. See also Reisigl et al. (2001: 69-85, 74-75) about the topoi of justice/responsibility etc.

- CONSEQUENCES: If the above actions are not taken the nation-state will become an unfenced vineyard.

Other indicative metaphors also used in the context of the above practical argumentation, are the following: IMMIGRANTS ARE NOT HUMAN BEINGS (e.g. *αγρίμια* (wild animals)), IMMIGRATION IS A NATURAL DISASTER (*πλημμύρα* (flood), *τσουνάμι* (tsunami), *σεισμός* (earthquake)). These descriptions which exaggerate the dangers and bring about fear are the specific premises which lead to the claim of closing the borders, detaining immigrants in camps¹⁴ and deporting them from the country. Based on these specific premises the suggestions proposed constitute a reasonable conclusion and a “common sense” solution.

The rival discourse, i.e. the discourse with international, universalist¹⁵ orientation, reacts to the above scenario, which emphasizes the guarding of the physical state-space from the intervention of strangers, as follows: In the TV discussion prior to the first extract there was an intense confrontation between Apostolos Andreoulakos (Parliament MP of ND, on the one side, claiming that immigrants have increased serious crime rates and, on the other, Fotis Kouvelis (Parliament MP of SYN),¹⁶ and others, who provide evidence that the foreigner’s registered criminality depends mainly in the lack of legislation which bears the blame for their crimes as it hinders their legal register and integration in the society. Fotis Kouvelis states:

- (3) (...) πρέπει στην Ελλάδα να συμφιλιωθούμε με την έννοια ότι η χώρα μας δεν είναι ούτε οχυρό, ούτε στεγανό, κι ότι θα έχουμε μέσα από τις μεταβολές που συντελούνται στην ευρύτερη περιοχή, παρουσία ξένων πολιτών.
(...) in Greece we have to make peace with the idea that our country is not a fortress, it is not sealed and that through the changes incurred in the wider area there will be an increasing presence of foreign citizens here.’

(Fotis Kouvelis (MP of SYN), Host: Nikos Chatzinikolaou (MEGA, 1998)

Part of the confrontation revolves around the words *οχυρό* ‘fortress’, *στεγανό* ‘sealed’, and unfenced vineyard. The Left Coalition MP using the words *οχυρό* ‘fortress’ and *στεγανό* ‘sealed’ describes the consequences of the ND (Right-Wing Party) policy for closed borders. He implies that if the borders are closed, the country becomes a *στεγανό οχυρό* ‘sealed fortress’, a metaphor with negative evaluative frame elements, e.g. embarrassment or isolation.

14. In the recent years the “Fortress Europe has become the *concentration camp Europe*.” For a comprehensive analysis of the refugee crisis as it was faced in Greece in terms of social attitudes, government policies and mainstream modes of its representation see Kaitatzi-Whitlock et al. (2017).

15. Van Dijk (2000: 97) distinguishes between the national, nationalist and the international, universalist orientation.

16. SYNASPISMOS (SYN): Coalition of the Left, and Movements of Ecology.

The ND MP's rebuttal claims that if the borders are 'open', the country becomes an 'unfenced vineyard'. Thus, the speakers take into account the concept of the metaphor used by their rivals (e.g. 'open country') and relexicalize or paraphrase it with a hyperbolic synonym (see Cameron 2008: 57),¹⁷ i.e. 'unfenced vineyard' or 'jungle'. Around the metaphor 'jungle' a different scenario is created where the negative consequences of openness are exaggerated, e.g. lack of control, brutal activities competitiveness, and extreme terrible feelings of threat, confusion, powerlessness etc. are evoked. Thus, a parallel is drawn between the absolute openness and the absolute closeness with all their negative connotations: 'unfenced vineyard' and 'social jungle' versus a 'sealed fortress'. That means that the speakers create a counter argumentative schema using metaphor shifting where the source domain develops by contrast and hyperbole.

In the TV discussions the politicians exaggerate in this way the differences of their parties in relation to their rivals. The confrontation is mainly between the leading party and the opposition in order to guide citizens to clearly decide for their specific political party. They choose metaphors in compliance with their ideology and in contrast to the opposition. Thus, the motivation for the choice of metaphors is as much ideological as it is rhetorical in order to match the metaphor used by the interlocutors in the dynamic of the talk. This dynamic often extends beyond the duration of a specific TV discussion and operates over the entire political discourse of immigration. This means that politicians are aware of what their political opponents accuse them of in other communicative circumstances (e.g. having turned the country into a 'sealed fortress') and even if the metaphor is not used in the specific discussion they answer by presenting its extreme opposite, e.g. the 'unfenced vineyard' (see inter-textuality, -discursivity).

A similar metaphor (STATES ARE OPEN – CLOSED CONTAINERS) used both in the first and second period of immigration is that of the 'communicating vessels' where the speakers support that it is impossible to block the route of multi-culturalism as it is a "natural" phenomenon and, thus, immigration flows between the countries are inevitable.

- (4) η ελληνική κοινωνία, όπως η γαλλική (...) είναι μια κοινωνία πολυπολιτισμική. Με πολλούς ξένους. (...) κανείς δεν μπορεί να φράξει αυτό το δρόμο. Η λειτουργία εκεί των *συγκοινωνούντων δοχείων*.

'The Greek society like the French one (...) is a multicultural society. With many foreigners. (...) nobody can block this flow. It is the communicating vessels function.'

(Alekos Alavanos (MP of SYN), Host: Pavlos Tsimas (MEGA, 1996)

17. See also Cameron et al. (2006) about "the emergence of metaphor in discourse".

Alekos Alavanos expands the primary metaphor *THE STATE IS A CONTAINER* and in the new conceptualization he suggests that countries are linked together in the same way that ‘communicating vessels’ are allowing liquids to flow from the one to the other.¹⁸ In this frame people moving from one country to another are a liquid flowing mildly and in a controlled way. In the metaphor of immigration as a ‘tsunami’ people are conceptualized as threatening liquids in a scenario in which they flow violently and uncontrollably destroying the country.

The metaphors of nation-states as ‘open countries’ or as ‘communicating vessels’ are used in the non nationalist universalist oriented discourses in practical argumentations with the following components:

- **CLAIM FOR ACTION:** Opening (and control of) the borders, changing the immigration legislation to allow immigrants to integrate into the country’s workforce legally, making bureaucracy less complicated (e.g. for acquisition of citizenship), researching efficient ways for the inclusion of immigrants in relation to the productive needs of the various areas etc.
- **CIRCUMSTANCES:** Entry of immigrants even if the borders are closed or strictly monitored because they live in very difficult conditions in their home countries. Immigrants are more exposed to penal repression as it is very difficult to follow the complicated bureaucracy which may render some of them temporarily illegal. Countries are communicating vessels as they are linked anyway mainly for financial reasons, i.e. transport of commercial, cultural goods. (So should it be for human beings, see *GOAL*).
- **GOAL:** Protection of the human and labor rights of immigrants, refugees and citizens in our/each country and elimination of the middlemen exploitation. Openness and cooperation of all countries.
- **VALUES:** The states should be responsible for the survival, safety and welfare not only for their citizens but for citizens of other states too who are in need. Fairness, solidarity, equal rights for all.
- **CONSEQUENCES:** If we close the borders, we become a sealed fortress which is negative for the development of the country and the immigrants as well. If we grant equal rights, crime rates will reduce and there will be no reason for increasing fear etc.

18. For a similar image schema, i.e. a “static compound image schemas” see Kimmel (2005: 290): “superimposing a connective *CONDUIT* (i.e., a *FORCE* moving an *ENTITY* through a *LINK*) onto the space between two *CONTAINERS* to create the well-known folk-model of communication.”

The above claims of action are implicitly or explicitly reinforced by the metaphors of an 'open state' or of 'communicating vessels' and in some other contexts by the metaphor 'immigrants are brothers'.

In the above contrasting practical reasoning argumentations (of conservative and progressive politicians) different scenarios are created and different relationships between national citizens and the immigrants or between the different states are expressed or implied (see Semino et al. 2016: 2 about the framing of different relationships).

However, most of them are constructed around the notion of the physical, geographic or absolute space for which the goal is "homogenization" (for a critique of this see Lefebvre 1991: 341). As Wodak (2017: 1) points out "it seems that – in spite of an ever more connected and globalised world – more borders and walls are being constructed to define nation states and protect them from dangers, both alleged and real." In the process of globalization the individual's national identity suffers the conflict of enjoying increasing access to social networks, international travel and online information while having to bear the risks of globalized division of labour (see Demertzis 2002: 450).

These complicated and explosive situations (because of the wars in the Middle East and the global financial crises¹⁹) cannot be understood, explained and managed by thinking in old commonly accepted scenarios and using bipolar, dichotomic rhetoric as is the case of the TV discussions genre²⁰ which constitutes the corpus of the present study. More space should be provided for alternative scenarios from the field of social sciences²¹ or citizens' initiatives.

Such an alternative scenario can be produced around a metaphorical conceptualization of the STATE offered by Agamben (1995: 118): "Leiden jar or Moebius strip: where exterior and interior are indeterminate." He uses this metaphor in his older but very topical work "We refugees" (1995) to state that refugees should lead us beyond perspectives determined by geographically defined countries with threatening borders and goes on to claim that "European cities, entering into a relationship of reciprocal extraterritoriality, would rediscover their ancient vocation as cities of the world." Explaining Agamben's standpoints Loick (2016) suggests:

19. Because of the financial crisis over a million people emigrated from Greece alone in search of a livelihood abroad (see Triandafyllidou 2014).

20. See Meyer (2002), Gotsbachner (2010: 4), Musolff et al. (Introduction in the present volume) about the simplification and the colonization of politics in the media as well as the thread scenarios produced thereupon.

21. E.g. see Colleyer et al. (2015: 190) for the notion of "transnational spaces."

Instead of talking about integration, there should be discussion of political participation independent of locality and of transnational public spheres that would make it possible for mobile people to govern themselves. This implies the possibility of several political communities existing in one and the same location, as well as the possibility of belonging to several communities at once (...) (Loick 2016)

Such an alternative perspective would not view integration of refugees and immigrants as the best and only solution but would also set other goals which would necessitate alternative scenarios in our minds and novel words and metaphors in our language. Promoting or processing alternative scenarios could be another small contribution of CDA research towards change in language, discourse, communication, education and the social-political world.

4. Conclusions

The critical, integrated, multi-level metaphor analysis model suggested here revealed how politicians interact in issue oriented TV discussions creating contrasting scenarios around metaphors referring to the target domain NATION-STATE in the context of practical reasoning argumentation in order to reinforce their proposals for action. Following the simplification tendencies of the political media discourse the politicians create counter scenarios using metaphor shifting where the source domain develops by hyperbole and contrast.

The 'open state' suggested by the progressive politicians is characterized by the opponents as an 'unfenced vineyard' or 'jungle' and the 'closed state' suggested by the conservative politicians is characterized by their opponents as a 'sealed fortress'. The motivation for the choice of metaphors is ideological and rhetorical as well as it is created in the dynamics of each TV discussion and of the immigration discourse as a whole (see inter-textuality, -discursivity).

More scenarios are produced to blame the opponents for absolute openness or absolute closeness and by extension for all the negative consequences, connotations and emotions they bring about. Fewer metaphors (encountered in the scenarios of progressive politicians), such as 'states are communicating vessels', 'immigrants are brothers', refer to closer relationships between national citizens and the immigrants/refugees and between the different states. Therefore, more elaborate alternative or novel scenarios are needed, if we (politicians, citizens alike) wish to deal politically/institutionally with the complicated global circumstances and efficiently act upon them.

In the issue oriented TV discussions politicians aim to exaggerate the differences of their parties and blame their opponents to "facilitate" a clear choice for the voters. In the restricted context (time, goals etc) of a TV discussion they are

not interested in offering or they are supposedly not allowed to offer complicate alternative scenarios suggesting really new solutions. Media people are aware of the above critical comments about their simplification, bipolarization, theatricalization rhetoric but they do not change their priorities, for fear of viewing rating changes.

Therefore, the revealing of and the reflexion on their rhetorical methods is the only way to mitigate their impact on people's way of thinking (Girnth et al. 2015: 1). Fortunately, there are certain TV discussions in the Greek state television channels, combined with news coverage reportage or documentary films which are socially oriented and give time and voice not only to politicians but also to (social) scientists, citizens' initiatives or social movements. They do not produce high ratings but they offer complex interpretations and alternative proposals which could contribute to the questioning of the widespread common sense scenarios which are framed around fearsome dichotomous, hyperbolic metaphors and lead to the construction of real fences and concentration camps.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Katerina Leoudi and my students for assisting in the transcription of the material. For bibliography and interesting discussions on issues of the conceptual level of metaphors I thank the members of the Cognitive Linguistics Research Group (School of English Language and Literature, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki) and especially the Professors Angeliki Athanasiadou (supervisor) and Maria Theodoropoulou. For information related to the history of vineyards in Greece I thank Kostas Kremmydas, vinegrower and wine producer from Limnos. And Argiris Archakis for his critical comments.

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