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Table of contents

Introduction

On September 11th 2001, several planes were simultaneously hijacked and intentionally crashed on American soil. On September 20th, the Republican President in power, George W. Bush, declared the beginning of the "War on Terror": "Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them. Our war on terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated."[1] The international military campaign that followed, led by the United States, and justified by a "War on Terror" rhetoric has been highly criticized until, in 2013, President Barack Obama ended it[2]. Among the most virulent detractors of this war, George Lakoff published several articles questioning Bush's politics. In his opinion, a war metaphor was created in 2001. A metaphor that framed the United States in a conflict they cannot end. According to him, the expression conditioned the American involvement in the Middle East and created a new reality

As a linguist, Lakoff's main work is on metaphors, a work he used as a tool to challenge the "War on Terror" expression. Linguistics is the field of research that focuses on language. Stephen Fry and Hugh Laurie satirically gives the following definition of language:

> Imagine a piano keyboard, eh, 88 keys, only 88 and yet, and yet, hundreds of new melodies, new tunes, new harmonies are being composed upon hundreds of different keyboards every day in Dorset alone. Our language, tiger, our language: hundreds of thousands of available words, frillions of legitimate new ideas, so that I can say the following sentence and be utterly sure that nobody has ever said it before in the history of human communication: "Hold the newsreader's nose squarely, waiter, or friendly milk will countermand my trousers." Perfectly ordinary words, but never before put in that precise order. A unique child delivered of a unique mother.[3]

In the Oxford English Dictionaries, *language* is explained as "a method of human communication (…) consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way". This "method of communication", this system, is usually dismantled into words, ruled by grammar, musical notes ruled by bars and measures. However, other conceptualizations of the linguistic

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1 In his "Address to the Joint Session of the 107th Congress" speech; "Selected Speeches Of President George W. Bush".
2 Paul D. Shinkman, "Obama: 'Global War on Terror' is Over".
3 Stephen Fry and Hugh Laurie. *A Bit of Fry & Laurie - Tricky linguistics*.

system exists. For example: definitions from a dictionary are meant to be the shortest possible, but William Croft explains that in his opinion, the meaning of a word is "encyclopedic"[4]. Thus, according to him, a definition cannot grasp the full meaning of a word, "everything you know about the concept is part of its meaning"[5]. Then, the word *restaurant* is not just "A place where people pay to sit and eat meals that are cooked and served on the premises.", i.e. the definition given by a dictionary[6]. But it is also all of what could be considered "common knowledge" about the very concept of *restaurant*, what you would expect to find in a place like this[7]: waiters, kitchens, menus, etc. Someone says "I am going to a restaurant today, I heard the cook was an ace." The demonstrative adjective "the" is either an exophoric or an endophoric reference to something already identified in a text or a conversation. In our example, the word "cook" was never mentioned before. But it appears like a logical idea to have a cook in a restaurant. The determination itself proves that "cook" is inferred when talking about a restaurant, even if it is the first occurrence of "cook" in the dialogue. Besides, it can be demonstrated that this shared knowledge is culturally anchored: in Europe, a restaurant would involve chairs, tables, knives, and forks but in traditional Japanese, *restaurant* infers legs crossed, low tables, and chopsticks. Thus Croft demonstrates that language is not just a correspondence between a word and its meaning: language is a system of concepts, that differ according to the cultures,[8] rather than isolated words linked only by grammar: a "whole network of an individual's and a community's knowledge organized into experiential domains"[9].[10]

Croft tries to define this network better by creating a hierarchy within it, stating that some

4   William Croft, "The Role of Domains in the Interpretation of Metaphors and Metonymies"(2006: 270).
5   Ibid.
6   Concise Oxford Dictionary of English (1976).
7   William Croft and D. Alan Cruse. *Cognitive Linguistics*. (2004: 7).
8   For example, in translation, you might need a paraphrase to explain a term, paraphrase that will explicit the domain inferred by the word in the source language and which is not obvious in the target language.
9   Croft, *Basic Readings*, 271.
10   The network of domains would be linked by different types of construction relationships: "(…) the entire collection of constructions as forming a lattice, with individual constructions related by specific types of (…) links." For more explanation, see Goldberg, Adele E. *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. (1995) Chapter Three.

knowledge is "more central".[11] In his article in *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings*, he describes the linguistic system as a "pattern of centrality and peripherality", a pattern which is "a major part of what distinguishes the meaning of a word from that of another". According to him, language is organized into "experiential domains". He gives the following definition to this notion of *domain*: "a semantic structure that functions as the base for at least one concept profile". He uses the example of "arc of circle": *circle* is the base of that concept; and *circle* itself is based on the domain of *shape[12]*.
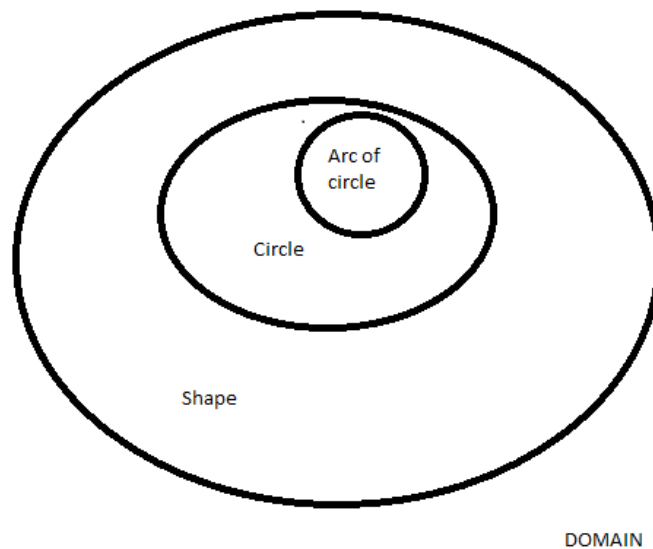

Figure 1. Domain

If *restaurant* is taken as example again, its domain is more difficult to grasp than the one of *arc of circle:* a concept more complex has to be built on several domains. That is what Croft calls a "domain matrix"[13]. Several domains are involved to form *restaurant*, such as *food, financial transaction*, and *culturally based assumptions*[14]. It creates the following domain matrix:

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11 Croft, *Basic Readings*, 271.
12 Croft, *Basic Readings*, 272.
13 Ibid. 273.
14 As it has been said, a room, chairs, waiters are part of culturally based assumptions of *restaurant*. In Vietnam, a common place to eat is a street restaurant where the food is cooked outside and you sit on stools.
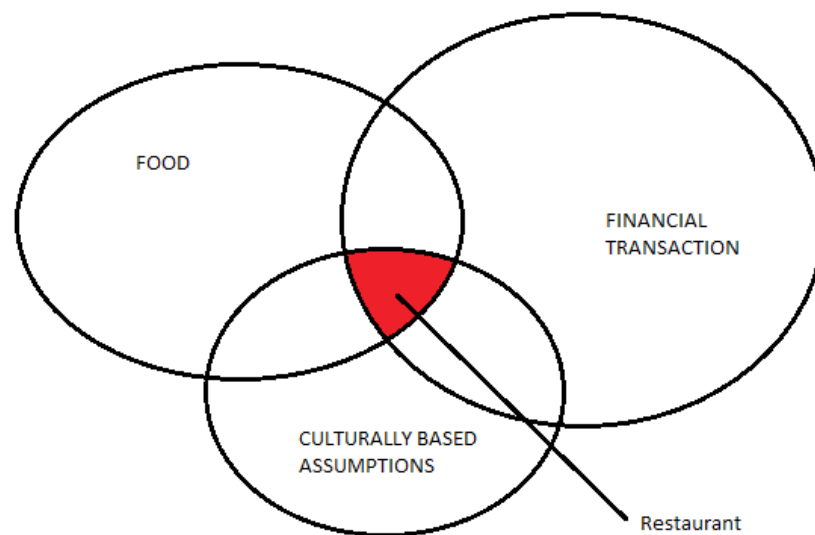
Figure 2. Domain Matrix

What about metaphors? Indeed, if someone says "I am a lion today", *lion* is used in its literal meaning, but in a metaphorical context: no lion is actually present. The *lion* domain is brought to mind but without questioning the humanity of *I*. Obviously, *I* did not become a lion. *I* only assigned theirself some features of a lion. Thanks to the context, the interlocutor knows it is only metaphorical.

What is a metaphor? Aristotle offers the following definition: "Metaphor is giving the thing a name that belongs to something else."[15] Then, two concepts are involved in a single utterance, features of the first one being used to understand and describe the second one. Commonly, metaphors are considered as a poetic decoration to language. You think a concept, a sentence, and it is only when you say this sentence out loud that you use a metaphor as a stylistic device to embellish your idea. You think "I feel strong today", then decide to say it more beautifully so you use a metaphor: "I am a lion today." Basically, what happens when "I am a lion" is said, is that *I* selects some of the features of the *lion* domain and ignores the others to define himself.

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15 In Annabelle Mooney, Jean Stilwell Peccei et al. *Language, Society and Power – An Introduction.* (2011:49).

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LION                               I
Strong                             → Able to defeat difficulties
Wild                               → Energetic
Big cat                            /
Tough                              → Courageous
Lives in the savannah              /
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Cognitive linguists believe that the metaphorical process is not just a rhetorical tool. In their opinion, it is anchored more deeply in our mind, it helps us to understand and organize abstract notions. According to George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, a metaphor is a complex cognitive process that shapes how we perceive concepts. According to them, these concepts would even be understood through metaphors. Croft and Cruse offer the following paradigm to explain the theory, based on the idea that anger is thought as "the heat of a fluid"[16]:

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HEAT OF A FLUID                    ANGER
container                          body
heat of fluid                      anger
pressure in container              experienced pressure
explosion                          loss of control
heat scale                         anger scale
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It is because of the ANGER IS THE HEAT OF A FLUID metaphor that you can try to "release pressure" to calm yourself or otherwise you would "explode"[17]. This metaphor is so pervasive that it is difficult to find other words to describe the notion of *anger*. Thus, Metaphor Theory intends to show that abstract notions, feelings for example, are understood through physical and concrete experiences, as ANGER is understood as the HEAT OF A FLUID[18].

Using Metaphor Theory as a political and rhetorical tool, and in reaction to the war begun in 2001, George Lakoff and Evan Frisch published in 2006 an article entitled "Five Years Later: Drop the War Metaphor". But, when the expression is analyzed following Lakoff's definition of metaphors, one can wonder: can Metaphor Theory be used as a tool to challenge the "War on Terror" or is the expression more complex than a metaphor? These questions will be answered first

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16 Croft and Cruse 197.
17 Ibid.
18 "(…) our experiences with physical objects (...) provide the basis for an extraordinarily wide variety of ontological metaphors, that is, ways of viewing events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances." in George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We live By.* (1980:25).

by finding in Metaphor Theory a paradigm that will be a tool to study a political expression. Then, using that tool on "War on Terror", it will be demonstrated that both the terms "War" and "Terror" cannot be metaphors. The expression will be then challenged thanks to Frame Semantics and finally, it will be studied as a construction, with the linguistic but also legal consequences of its use.

I – Metaphor Theory, Politics, and the War on Terror

A- Metaphor Theory

In traditional conceptions of language, metaphors are seen as rhetorical tools and stylistic devices. Lakoff and Johnson published in 1980 a linguistic study of the metaphorical process. They conclude that metaphors are wrongly considered as only belonging to poetry and literature studies[19]. On the contrary, they believe that metaphors are used daily and even play an important role in our comprehension of the world. According to them, we mainly think in metaphorical terms: we are "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another"[20]. For example, *time* is a difficult notion to explain and understand. The OED offers the following definition: "the indefinite continued progress of existence and events in the past, present, and future, regarded as a whole". Thus, *time* would be a process, a "whole". However, we conceive it as a countable thing that you can *spend, borrow* or *waste[21]*. Lakoff and Johnson explain that phenomenon:

> Metaphors pervades our normal conceptual system. Because so many of the concepts that are important to us are either abstract or not clearly delineated in our experience (…), we need to get a grasp on them by means of other concepts that we understand in clearer terms.[22]

Thus, *time* being a blurry concept to understand, one of the ways to grasp it is to use financial vocabulary, and conceptualize it as a countable and spendable object, identifying it with *money.*

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19 "Metaphors is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish." Lakoff and Johnson 3.
20 Ibid. 5.
21 Ibid. 8.
22 Ibid. 115.

MONEY	TIME
spend	*pass time*
borrow	*ask someone to dedicate his time to us*
invest in something /waste	*dedicate time to someone /without any result*
cost/worth	*time as precious*
own	*have time to do something*

On the paradigm of HEAT OF A FLUID opposed to ANGER there is MONEY, on the right, with the features that belong to its domain. On the other side, there is TIME and its own features that can be expressed through vocabulary of the *money* domain. To ask someone to dedicate time to you, you ask if you can "borrow" their time. A professor helping a student during many hours can be said to have invested time in this student, in his success. Thus *time* can be spent, wasted, or lost, a dimension its definition did not give.

To better illustrate this process, another metaphor analyzed by Lakoff and Johnson will be used: ARGUMENT IS WAR[23]. In the Concise Oxford Dictionary of English, "argument" is defined as "a heated exchange of conflicting views". This seems accurate, and above all, enough to understand what "argument" means. But, one can notice that, even in the dictionary, argument is explained through a metaphor[24]. Besides, the definition does not describe how an argument is structured or thought. One could argue that details are not important to use the term correctly. However, if the concept of *argument* is looked at closely, it can be noticed that, in some European languages such as English, it is expressed through warlike terms. Following Lakoff and Johnson's idea, argument would be understood in those terms that yet are not present in its definition; when debating, you plan a strategy, build arguments and use them as weapons to weaken your opponent's position. Then here, two different activities are linked in the conceptualization of one of them; "ARGUMENT is partially structured in terms of WAR"[25]. But the metaphor is more important than that. You do not just use terms related to war to describe an argument, you literally can lose or win

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23 Lakoff and Johnson 84.
24 "A heated exchange", exchange being metaphorized into a material that can be heated or cooled.
25 Lakoff and Johnson 29.

the argument[26]. The one with the strongest position and who succeeded in defending it efficiently actually defeats the other. According to Lakoff and Johnson, "the point here is that not only our conception of an argument but the way we carry it out is grounded in our knowledge and experience of physical combat"[27]. Argument is experienced as a war, it *is* war.

Another linguist, Michael J. Reddy (1979), analyzed metaphors and concluded that our "everyday behavior reflects our metaphorical understanding of experience."[28] *Domain* is a notion defined in the introduction as a "semantic structure that functions as the base for at least one concept profile."[29]. A concept is built on one domain of knowledge. In a more recent article, Lakoff defines metaphors as "mapping across conceptual domains."[30] According to him "the locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another."[31] Lakoff's paradigm would be a "mapping" across these domains to create a metaphor, from a "source domain" to a "target domain"[32]. Every abstract notion would be mapped onto concrete perceptions. Metaphor thus is a "set of ontological correspondences by mapping knowledge about [the source domain] onto knowledge about [target domain]"[33] as TIME (target domain) was mapped on MONEY (source domain). It can be simplified into the paradigm TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN[34]. Here is ARGUMENT IS WAR:

source domain: WAR	*target domain*: ARGUMENT
strategy	*organization, outline of the rhetoric*
defense	*counter-argument*
attack	*argument*
indefensible position	*lack of evidence*
win/lose	*proved right/wrong*

In this table, it can be seen that the knowledge of WAR, the source domain, has been "mapped" onto

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26 Ibid. 4.
27 Ibid. 63.
28 In Lakoff, George, "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphors" (2006:187).
29 Croft, *Basic Readings* 280.
30 Lakoff, *Basic Readings*, 185.
31 Ibid. 189.
32 Ibid. 190.
33 Ibid. 191.
34 Ibid. 190.

knowledge about ARGUMENT, the target domain, the latter is conceptualized through the former.

Our conceptualization of abstract notions through concrete ones can be analyzed and explained thanks to Metaphor Theory. Lakoff uses it as a tool to study political speeches but also as a rhetorical tool in his political articles. Could it be more than just a linguistic tool?

B- Metaphors and Politics

Lakoff said: "language matters."[35] George Orwell demonstrated in his novel *1984* what political importance language has.[36] In this dictatorial world, manipulations of the language are at the core of the governmental control over the population. Newspeak is a tool to control the population's thoughts. The theory is that if you erase some words from the dictionary, and so, from the vocabulary, the very notion linked to that word will be deleted as well[37]. Then, if no dictionary mentions the word "freedom", eventually no one will even be able to think what *freedom* could be.

1984 is an example of a non-existing dictatorship and so, the linguistic manipulations are extreme and pretty obvious. However, every discourse uses a particular rhetorical strategy to achieve an aim (explain, encourage, describe, convince, etc.). Metaphors are one of the tools used in politics to exemplify and illustrate a politician's words. With a metaphor, a politician links two ideas, two different domains. During the energy crisis of 1979[38], President Carter declared "the moral equivalent of war."[39] With those words, he did not declare a war on an enemy, but he inferred that energy was something worth waging a figurative war for, creating a STRUGGLE FOR ENERGY IS WAR metaphor:

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35 Lakoff, George and Evan Frisch. "Five Years after 9/11: Drop the War Metaphor" (September 11, 2006).
36 George Orwell. *Nineteen Eighty-Four: A Novel*. (1949).
37 "Don't you see that the whole aim of Newspeak is to narrow the range of thought? In the end we shall make thoughtcrime literally impossible, because there will be no words in which to express it. Every concept that can ever be needed will be expressed by exactly one word, with its meaning rigidly defined and all its subsidiary meanings rubbed out and forgotten." Orwell 134.
38 American oil interest in Middle East were threatened first by the Iranian Revolution, then by the Iran-Iraq war. "1979 energy crisis" Wikipedia.
39 Lakoff and Johnson (1980) 156.

source domain: WAR	Target domain: STRUGGLE FOR ENERGY
fights	economic measures
strategy	political measures
reason you fight for: freedom from oppression, conquered land, etc.	reasons: energy
patriotism	oil: American interests

The term *war* triggers all the knowledge and feelings linked to the *war* domain like patriotism and the defense of the country's best interests. Even if only economic measures were taken, without any intervention of the army, the so-called "Carter Doctrine"[40] was built on this STRUGGLE FOR ENERGY IS WAR rhetoric and inferred retaliation to whoever would threaten American oil interests. According to Lakoff and Johnson, the consequences were that the "war metaphor highlighted certain realities and hid others"[41]. The metaphor thus becomes a political tool to manipulate the audience, a "license for policy change, and political and economic action"[42]. In that case, Metaphor Theory was a linguistic device that revealed these political manipulations.

C- The "War on Terror" expression, challenged using Metaphor Theory

In 2001, the United States saw the symbol of its achievement as a capitalist superpower collapse. On September 11th, two planes crashed into the World Trade Center. The attack was claimed by a terrorist organization known as Al Qaeda. By the end of the month, President George W. Bush had declared a war on terrorism and encouraged an international consensus against terrorist groups and states sponsoring terrorism[43]. Military campaigns started as soon as October 2001 with NATO-led operations. NATO intervened in different parts of the world to "free it from terrorism"; the American army and its allies invaded Iraq and Afghanistan to overthrow the powers in place[44]. In the following years, the United States and its allies waged a war mapped on Cold War

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40 Carter Doctrine: "declared that any interference with U.S. oil interests in the Persian Gulf would be considered an attack on the vital interests of the United States" in "1979 energy crisis" Wikipedia.
41 Lakoff and Johnson 156.
42 Ibid.
43 In his "Address to the Joint Session of the 107th Congress", on Sept. 20, 2001.
44 Operations Enduring Freedom (Afghanistan) and Iraqi Freedom "War on Terror" Wikipedia.

strategies: they took control of countries listed as sponsors of terrorists to prevent any spreading of terrorism, like the United States did to fight communism in Korea, Vietnam, and South America. The whole military campaign against terrorism was waged under the name of "War on Terror". The expression "war on terrorism" seemed to exist already, a few occurrences can be found between 1990 and 2001[45], but President Bush and his administration took it over and nowadays, "War on Terror" refers to the international campaign led by the United States.

Charlotte Linde has observed, "whether in national politics or in everyday interactions, people in power get to impose their metaphors".[46] As a linguist, Lakoff agrees: "metaphors cannot be seen or touched, but they create massive effects."[47] Therefore, he uses Metaphor Theory to analyze political speeches and scrutinize these metaphors imposed by the "people in power". Since 9/11, he was one of the detractors of the War on Terror. In 2006, Lakoff and Evan Frisch wrote an article entitled "Five Years after 9/11: Drop the War Metaphor" in reaction to the War on Terror and the rhetoric used to justify it. According to them, the expression "War on Terror" as a metaphor embedded this conflict into an impossible war. They criticized the fact that the "War on Terror" rhetoric created a "new reality", establishing war as the only solution against terrorist groups. In the aftermath of 9/11, the attack had been described as a "crime" against the United States. But soon after the rhetoric changed, and the isolated "crime" was embedded in larger terrorist issues: "a war metaphor was chosen". They see this war metaphor as a tool that has been used to enforce policies, as Carter did during the energy crisis. According to them, 9/11 was "shamelessly exploited". As a crime, 9/11 would have been handled by judiciary institutions and only the terrorist group Al Qaeda would have been targeted. On the other hand, the "war metaphor" put the United States in a state of war that justified the occupation of Iraq for example. Lakoff's and Frisch's aim is what they believe to be a metaphor to be "dropped" because "literal not metaphorical wars are conducted against armies of other nations" and not feelings such as "Terror".

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45 A quick corpus study of "War on Terror" is to be found in the third part of this paper, page 26.
46 In Lakoff and Johnson, 157.
47 All the following quotes are from the article – Lakoff and Frisch.

Their article makes an interesting point: the enemy of a nation at war has been substituted by a feeling, "Terror". They invite us to rethink the conflict and the expression "War on Terror". Metaphor Theory is obviously more than just a theory of language, it also can be a tool to discuss political rhetoric, like Carter's or Bush's. The question is, is Metaphor Theory the best tool to challenge the very expression "War on Terror" and the state of war it created?

II- War and Terror

We have seen that Cognitive linguistics views language as a holistic system, a network of domains[48]. Within this system, metaphors are defined as "cross-domain mappings"[49], one notion mapped onto another in order to be better grasped. In the context of the war against terrorism, Lakoff used Metaphor Theory as a tool to question the expression "War on Terror".

A - A Theory in Question

Without entering yet the debate of the "War on Terror", it should be stated that Metaphor Theory, and more precisely Lakoff and his methods, do not have a unanimous support. Brendan Nyhan, a prolific non-partisan political scientist, criticized the linguist in an article entitled "George Lakoff: False Prophet" published on his website in 2005[50]. In his opinion, Lakoff convinces people "with linguistic manipulation rather than better ideas". This idea, applied to our situation, suggests that the use of Metaphor Theory would be just a "linguistic manipulation" to convince people to withdraw their support to the War on Terror. According to Joshua Green[51], Lakoff "advocates couching the entire Democratic message in palatable—even deceptive—language in order to simplify large ideas and disguise them behind innocent but powerful-sounding phrases."[52] Kenneth

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48 Domains forming a "lattice, with individual constructions related by specific types of (…) links." Further explanation in Goldberg (1995) Chapter Three.
49 Lakoff, *Basic Readings* (2006)*, 186.
50 Nyhan, Brendan, "George Lakoff: false Prophet".
51 Political journalist publishing in *The Atlantic, The Boston Glob,* and *Bloomberg Businessweek.* "Joshua Green" Wikipedia.
52 Joshua Green. "It isn't the Message, Stupid" (May 2005).

Baer, who is director of communications in the Obama administration and author of *Reinventing Democrats: The Politics of Liberalism from Reagan to Clinton,* declared that "it seems that Lakoff is primarily concerned with using linguistics to make the case for his liberal-left politics"[53], concluding that "by reducing American politics to language, Lakoff ignores the context that gives meaning to those words."[54] So, is his criticism of the "War on Terror" expression ignoring its context?

In a scientific point of view, Cosma Rohilla Shalizi makes it clear that he dislikes Lakoff's methods: in his opinion, Lakoff's theory of metaphors is "deeply, purely speculative"[55], without "experimental controls". Shalizi also criticizes Lakoff's style as "grandiose" and "dogmatic", not proper to a scientific demonstration[56]. Besides, according to the linguist Steven Pinker, "the methodical use of metaphor in science shows that metaphor is a way of adapting language to reality, not the other way around, and that it can capture genuine laws in the world, not just project comfortable images onto it." [57] He states that *lens* is a general domain to which both "the lens of an eye" and "the lens of a telescope" refer, without any of them being a metaphor of the other.[58] Without questioning the whole theory as Pinker does, one can still wonder what is an actual metaphor and what was just branded as one. Is the "War on Terror" really a metaphor? And therefore, is Metaphor Theory the right tool to challenge the "War on Terror" expression?

B- War – literal, not metaphorical.

To answer these questions, let's start by studying the "War" part. The first definition of *war* given by the Oxford English Dictionary is:

> Hostile contention by means of armed forces, carried on by, between nations, states or rulers, or between

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53 Kenneth Baer. "Word's Game – George Lakoff, the Democrats' hottest new thinker, misses the meaning beyond the message" (Jan./Feb. 2005).
54 Ibid.
55 In Peter Turney, "Criticisms of Lakoff's Metaphor Theory" – Peter Turney is a scientist working in computational linguistics.
56 Shalizi is a physician, now an assistant professor at Carnegie Mellon University. "Cosma Shalizi" Wikipedia.
57 In Turney.
58 Ibid.

parties in the same nation or state; the employment of armed forces against a foreign power, or against an opposing party in the state.

Since 2001 and as soon as one month after 9/11[59], military operations involving the American army among others were launched in several parts of the world[60]. On January 29, 2002, in his State of the Union address, President Bush announced an "anti-terror policy position of great urgency"[61] and "by the early Spring of 2002, a full year before the invasion [of Iraq], the administration was inexorably set on a course of war"[62]. Before the terrorist attacks, American foreign policy, led by Bush, was moving "steadily in the direction of isolationism (…) [moving] the country away from – or entirely out of – international treaties and military obligations."[63] After 9/11, Bush put the United States on "high alert", "claiming that America had been thrust into a 'global war'"[64]. President Bush thus "declared war on *any* nation harboring terrorists"[65] and Congress gave him powers of war[66]. Powers of war, invasions, bombing, all of these are part of the concrete warfare that is the "War on Terror".

The article Lakoff and Frisch wrote in 2006 implies that the expression "War on terror" inferred a war metaphor used as a propaganda tool to justify military operations. If "War on Terror" is a metaphor, it will involve this "mapping across domains" process. In the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor, ARGUMENT is based on knowledge about WAR: war vocabulary is used to talk about something which concretely is not war, an argument. "War on Terror" would be based on the knowledge of something else, something concrete. When the context of "War on Terror" is analysed, the concrete equivalent of the expression is "war against terrorism". The metaphor then would be WAR AGAINST TERRORISM IS WAR ON TERROR. On the model of ARGUMENT IS WAR, we could have something similar to this:

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59   Operation Enduring Freedom and several bombings of Afghanistan.
60   In the Middle East mainly (Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq) and in North Africa.
61   Stephen E. Ambrose, and Douglas Brinkley. *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938*. (1997:483).
62   George Packer in Ambrose, 484.
63   Ambrose 470.
64   Ibid. 471.
65   Ibid. 475.
66   Ibid - "[Bush] received sweeping authority to use 'all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks'".

WAR AGAINST TERRORISM	WAR ON TERROR
Operation Iraqi Freedom	fight against Evil
Operation Enduring Freedom	spread Democracy

But, the table above is wrong: there is no a "mapping across domains" that a metaphor infers. Both columns refer literally to the *war* domain. What is revealed here is not an opposition of domains as it is in the ARGUMENT IS WAR paradigm but it is more a relation of concrete military applications and the rhetorical tools used to justify them. "War" actually refers to concrete warfare.

C- Terror: a metaphorical enemy?

"War" cannot be metaphorical. And yet, Lakoff and Frisch asked to "drop the war metaphor". The reasoning is that a literal war cannot be waged on "Terror", a non human thing. The definition of *war* can be reduced to "the employment of armed forces against a foreign power, or against an opposing party in the state." Then, "war" has to be waged against a human enemy or a group of humans for the least (like a state) to be considered literal. If the war begun in 2001 was to be understood "literally", it would be waged on "Terror", a feeling[67], which is impossible: "Literal not metaphorical wars are conducted against armies of other nations (…) Terror is an emotional state. It is in us. It is not an army, and you can't defeat it militarily and you can't sign a peace treaty with it"[68]. *Terror* being an intangible enemy, one could only metaphorically fight it. If the expression was a metaphor as Lakoff and Frisch implied it is, the "War on Terror" expression would be the result of a mapping of knowledge about a human enemy on the domain of *terror*. But of what would "Terror" be a metaphor? Following Lakoff and Johnson's paradigm, onto what would the knowledge of "Terror" be mapped? "Terror" stands for the enemy identified by Bush when he began this war[69]: terrorism[70] and terrorist groups. Terrorism is defined as follow: "the unofficial or unauthorized use

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67 Terror: "extreme fear" Concise Oxford English Dictionary.
68 Lakoff and Frisch (2006).
69 "Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them." in the "Address to the Joint Session of the 107th Congress" speech, Sept. 20, 2001.
70 One can argue that even the concept of *terrorism* cannot be considered a concrete enemy as IRA, ETA, ISIS and many groups other than those targeted by the United States since 2001 are called terrorists. The notion is then too vast to be fought as a unique enemy in a unique war.

of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political aims."[71] These groups are called terrorists because they too are "unofficial or unauthorized"[72]. When "terrorism" was defined as such, the *terror* domain diverted from the *feeling* domain and joined/was part of the creation of the *terrorism* domain matrix.
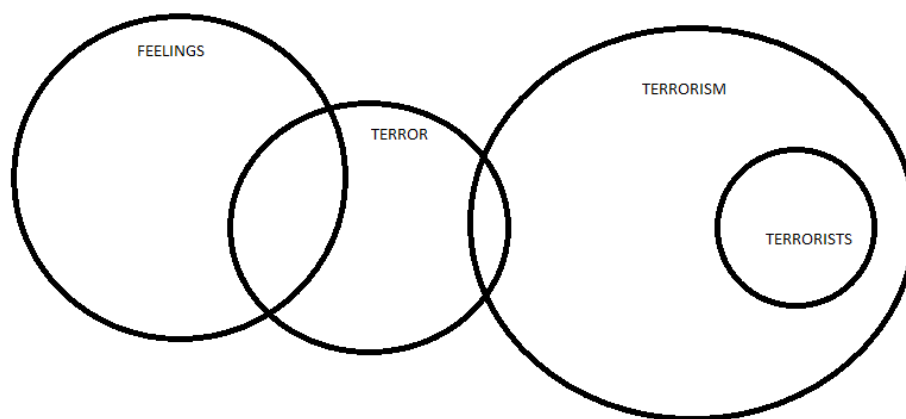

Figure 3. Domain Matrix: Terrorism

Thus, the notion of *terror* forms one domain and only one: terrorists are those who cause terror and were named after that. "Terror" of "War on Terror" refers to *terrorist* which comes from the *terrorism* domain which originated in the *terror* domain itself. Only one domain matrix is involved, it invalidates the idea of a "cross-domain mapping". Thus, it cannot be a metaphor.

However, another word than terrorists, the "concrete" enemy, is used. But there is no mapping across two different domains that do not belong together (like ARGUMENT and WAR which are two different notions). Metaphor is a "mapping between two domains that are not part of the same matrix"[73], a "critical difference" exists with metonymy; the latter needs only one domain matrix to happen.[74] In the afterwords to *Metaphors we live by,* added to the book in 2003, Lakoff

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71 Concise Oxford English Dictionary.
72 "Terrorist" is often opposed to "soldier": "One who serves in an army for pay; one who takes part in military service or warfare"; *army* is defined as "an organized military force equipped for fighting on land" (Concise Oxford English Dictionary) One can notice that a terrorist too could be part of what is defined by *army,* and so, be called a "soldier". Even if it is not the point here, one can wonder why *terrorist* and *soldier* are considered as two different things. If we take these (restrictive) definitions, they are similar. I believe that the difference is subjective. The difference lies is in who wins the conflict. A terrorist is "unauthorized" but if he wins the conflict, then he will be authorized in retrospect. Indeed, when IRA members are described as terrorists, the *guerilleros* who fought fascism in Spain are seen as soldiers, maybe because eventually Franco's regime was recognized as a dictatorship, as the "bad guy to fight".
73 Croft, *Basic Readings* (2006), 280.
74 Among the several links that form the "lattice" that is language, Goldberg defines the "meronomic link": "one construction is a *proper subpart* of another construction and exists independently." Goldberg (1995) 78.

and Johnson introduce this new notion of *metonymy,* linked to metaphors but which is not a metaphor in the strict sense of the term: "Do the two domains form a single, complex subject matter in use with a single mapping? If so, you have a metonymy."[75] It is thus a mapping "within a single domain matrix."[76] The *terror* domain evolved and *terror* is now part of the *terrorism* domain matrix. To call the campaign led by the United States against terrorist groups "War on Terror" is thus to use "Terror" to designate all those terrorist groups under another name which belongs to the same domain matrix, the weapon that gave them their name, *terror.*

"War on Terror" is paradoxical. The "War" part is literal since the United States are militarily involved against another armed group; but "Terror" cannot be literal. It metonymically refers to the terrorist groups they are fighting against. Then, "War on Terror" could be considered as the name for a campaign concretely known as the war against terrorism. When someone says the "Wars of the Roses", no one understands that he is talking about a war between flowers. It is common (and cultural) knowledge that it is the name given to the conflict that opposed the Royal Houses of Lancaster and of York. Nowadays; when someone says the "War on Terror", they designate under a title the whole military campaign waged in the Middle East[77]. Where is the metaphor? Could it be in the [WAR ON] construction?

III- A Paradoxical Expression

The reality of warfare of the War on Terror cannot be questioned. And yet, Lakoff and Frisch assimilated "War on Terror" to a metaphor.

A- The War Frame

According to them, "what has failed is the war approach"; what they call a war metaphor stuck the country into an impossible conflict. They criticize the fact that the "events have been

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75 Lakoff and Johnson, *Afterwords to Metaphors we Live By* (2003) 267.
76 Croft, *Basic Readings,* 280.
77 In the OED, *war* is also defined as "a contest between armed forces carried on in a campaign or series of campaign" and several examples are given, as the Trojan war, the Punic wars and the Wars of the Roses. Nowadays, war on Terror could be added to this series of wars.

framed in [the Bush administration's] terms"[78]. By "framed", they refer to Charles Fillmore's Frame Semantics: "Any system of concepts is related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits."[79] Frame semantics is related to the idea of domains and linguistic network. In Fillmore's opinion, words "represent categorizations of experience"[80]. Every single word an individual (and a community) uses comes with its frame[81]: *restaurant* is based on a domain matrix[82], which constitutes the frame brought up whenever it is mentioned. As it has been said, when someone talks about a restaurant, there is no need to say that there was a cook and waiters. They are part of the *restaurant* frame, and are implicit anytime someone is talking about any restaurant.
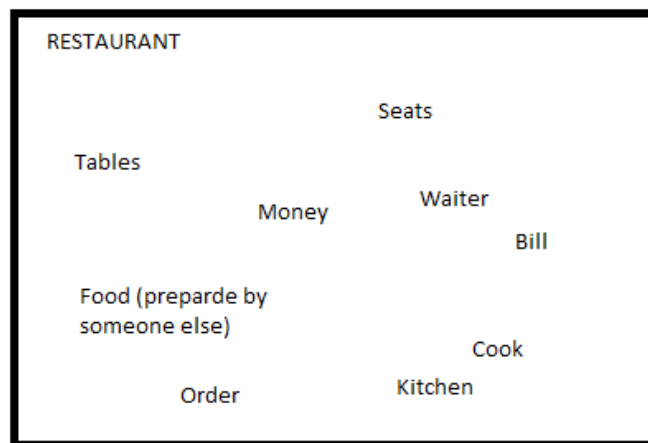

RESTAURANT

Seats

Tables

Money   Waiter

Bill

Food (preparde by someone else)

Cook

Order   Kitchen

Figure 4. *Restaurant* frame

On the same paradigm, *war* comes with its own particular frame. Talking about *war* infers the ideas of "battle, sacrifice, martial story, and an ultimate victory"[83], it involves campaigns, special measures[84] and patriotism. According to Lakoff and Frisch, after 9/11, the Bush administration first referred to the 9/11 as a "crime" but "the crime frame did not prevail (…). Instead, a war metaphor was chosen: the War on Terror. (…) And once the military went into battle, the war metaphor

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78   Lakoff and Frisch (2006).
79   Charles Fillmore J., "Frame Semantics" (2006:373).
80   Ibid.
81   "Framing is the most ordinary everyday thing, (…) Every word we use comes with a frame, and the conventional frames are there in your brain." Lakoff in Erard, Michael. "Frame Wars." Nov. 17, 2004.
82   See figure 2. - Introduction.
83   Erard (2004).
84   War powers for the President, curfews, reinforcement of security measures, etc.

created a new reality that reinforced the metaphor."[85] Why a "crime frame" is here opposed to a "war metaphor" when frames and metaphors are not the same thing? As it has been demonstrated earlier, the paradigm deducted of Metaphor Theory cannot be applied to study the "War on Terror" expression because the war is literal. The frame question on the other hand gives a new perspective to the study: should it have been, from the very beginning, framed as a crime rather than a war? In his speech on September 20, 2001, Bush announced the beginning of the "War on Terror", framing 9/11 as a military attack against the United States. The war frame evokes:

> the idea that the nation is under military attack -- an attack that can only be defended militarily, by use of armies, planes, bombs, and so on. The war frame includes special war powers for the president, who becomes commander in chief. It evokes unquestioned patriotism, and the idea that lack of support for the war effort is treasonous. It forces Congress to give unlimited powers to the President, lest detractors be called unpatriotic. And the war frame includes an end to the war -- winning the war, mission accomplished![86]

In Lakoff's and Frisch's opinion, to frame 9/11 within a *crime* frame would have had better consequences.[87] It would have "involved international crime-fighting techniques."[88] On the contrary, as General R. B. Myers[89] stated , "if you call it a war, then you think of people in uniform as the solution."[90]

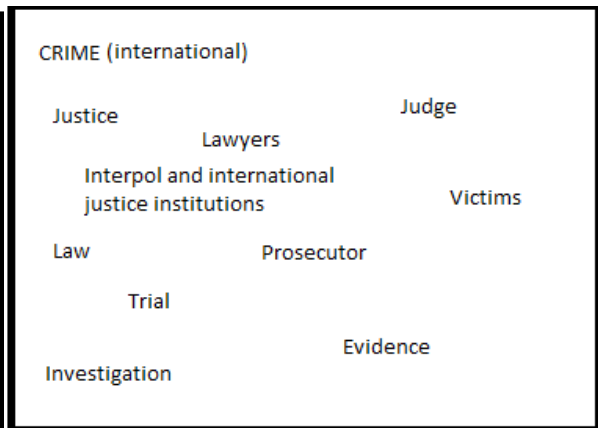Figure 5. *War* frame   Figure 6. *Crime* frame

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85   Lakoff and Frisch.
86   George Lakoff. "War on Terror, Rest in Peace". (July 3, 2005).
87   "The same attack can be conceptualized in any way with different military consequences" Lakoff and Frisch.
88   Lakoff and Frisch.
89   Named Chairman of the Joint Chiefs on October 1, 2001, main military adviser of the President during the first years of the War on Terror – "Richard Myers" Wikipedia.
90   In George Lakoff. "War on Terror, Rest in Peace" (July 31, 2005).

The two frames involve different actors (lawyers and policeman/soldiers and the army) and a different implication of the United States. Framed as a *crime*, American soldiers would not have been mobilized; as a *war,* the American army became the leader of an international military alliance.

Michael Erard adds that the "War on Terror" expression "subtly encodes a frame in which an intangible, terror, can be targeted and conquered"[91]. In 2001, the United States prepared themselves to face a new sort of enemy: stateless and without clear boundaries. It can be paralleled to the Cold War: communism was an ideological enemy that America fought in all the continents. However, communism was embodied by the Soviet Union and several other countries supported by or under the influence of the USSR. When the Soviet Union collapsed, the war was declared over and the enemy defeated. On the other hand, the war against terrorism lacks a precise definition that would allow it to end. Dick Cheney[92] stated: "This war may never be completed (…) with no definition of victory and no exit strategy, we may be entering a state of *perpetual war.*"[93] Thus, the War on Terror is not metaphorical. But its definition does not fit the *war* frame as we might conceptualize it.

There is a new hypothesis: the War on Terror added a new dimension to the *war* frame. A language is something that evolves over time, following a new context, linguistic contact, and phonological evolutions. When something new is encountered or invented, you can create a new word to name it: the word "television" was created at the same time as the object. Or, as Fillmore and Malmberg suggest, you can frame it in already existing and familiar categories[94]: a computer is nowadays a machine but the first mechanical computer was called that way because of the mathematicians who specialized in calculus[95]. Thus, computers (as we know them today) were first assimilated as fast calculators: they were categorized with them, framed as "computers".

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91 Erard.
92 Republican Vice President under President Bush.
93 George Lakoff. "Metaphor and War – September 11, 2001".
94 Fillmore stated that words are "categorization of experience", Malmberg adds: "La tâche du langage humain est de structurer notre expérience, de la catégoriser, hiérarchiser", according to him, "toute perception et connaissance suppose structuration et classement" and thus "l'assimilation de nouveaux objets se fait dans des catégories déjà familières et pourvues de nom, on élargit notre connaissance du monde." (He gives the example of *squirrel* that his daughter of four, when encountering one for the first time, tries to assimilate, first as *dog,* then as *bird* and who finally has to create a new category, *squirrel*.) Bertil Malmberg, *Le Langage: Signe De L'humain*. (1979:17 & 58).
95 Computer: 1640s. "One who calculates" from *compute* – Online Etymology Dictionary.

When Al Qaeda targeted the United States, they created an unprecedented situation. Apart from the attack on Pearl Harbor, which was a military base in the Pacific Ocean, the United States had never been attacked on their soil. 9/11 had to be categorized. The Bush administration framed it in an existing category, *war*, so people could grasp what had happened. And, as framing machines in a *computer* frame extended the definition of "computer", maybe categorizing 9/11 in a *war* frame extended the definition of the term. *War* is a concept that developed alongside technology and geopolitics.. A World War, a sort of war that appeared in the 20th century, would not have been possible without new communication and transportation means (radio, planes, etc.). During the Cold War, the nations were in an arms race. Nowadays, the new weapons are digitized and the arms races are computerized[96]. It is common to talk about cyberwar, i.e. a computerized war[97]. According to Yann Mens, computers are the new planes, and computer worms the new bombs[98]. In an American officer's opinion, the consequences of a cyberwar could be as serious as the consequences of a nuclear war[99]. Thus, the *war* frame changed, enemies can now be intangible data on computers, or, in our case, stateless terrorists. According to Ambrose and Brinkley, "the statement [Bush made on September 20th , 2002] indicated how the 'war on terror', as the Bush administration termed its wide reaching response to the 9/11 attacks, would differ from all wars in U.S. history."[100] Thus, the expression may seem to not fit the *war* frame but maybe it is just extending this frame into a new definition of *war.*

On the other hand, the expression can still be challenged: is it actually an adequate name to the whole campaign? It is clear to everyone who the enemy is: terrorists. The war is obviously literally waged and could correspond to a new conceptualization of what *war* can be. But, when "War on", as a unit of meaning on its own, is looked at more closely, one can wonder: has it a metaphorical sense?

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96 Myriam D. Cavelty, "La cyberguerre est une forme de Guerre Froide." (June 2013: 38-39).
97 "Actions by a nation-state to penetrate another nation's computers or networks for the purposes of causing damage or disruption" - "Cyberwar" Wikipedia.
98 Yann Mens "Guerres secrètes sur Internet." (June 2013: 26-27).
99 The American officer was not named in the article – Ibid.
100 Ambrose and Brinkley (2011) 474.

B – The [WAR ON] constructions

The "War on" part of the expression could be studied as a construction, a particular unit of meaning. Goldberg, a theorist of what is known as Construction Grammar, defines constructions as: "form-meaning correspondences that exist independently of particular verbs. That is, it is argued that constructions themselves carry meaning, independently of the words in the sentence."[101]. According to her, to learn single words and their meanings cannot give you complete knowledge of a language[102]. Idiomatic expressions are one of the most revealing examples of what a construction is: to know the individual definitions of "to kick" and "bucket" does not give you the understanding of the idiom "to kick the bucket", that is, to die. As an independent unit of meaning, it has its own definition. Then, it is a construction.

It has been demonstrated that "War", in the context of the War on Terror, refers to a literal war. Besides the definitions that already have been given, "war" is also defined as "a sustained effort to deal with or end a particular unpleasant or undesirable situation or condition"; in that case, no army is involved, the war is figurative. Under that entry, several examples are given, such as "war on drugs", "war on poverty". Both are metaphorical uses of "war" as they convey the meaning of institutionalized struggle against drug cartels on the one hand and against what might create poverty (lack of education for example). In both cases, no military campaign is waged and, the enemy (drugs and poverty) is intangible.

There is what appears when collocates to "war on" are searched in the Corpus of Contemporary American English[103] (COCA):

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101 Goldberg (1995:14).

102 "An entirely lexically-based, or bottom-up, approach fails to account for the full range of English data. Particular semantic structures together with their associated formal expression must be recognized as constructions independent of the lexical items which instantiate them" Ibid.

103 Mark Davies. *The Corpus of Contemporary American English: 520 million words, 1990-present*. (2015).

2	☐	TERROR	2378		15873	14.98	12.28	
3	☐	TERRORISM	1460		16848	8.67	11.49	
4	☐	DRUGS	875		43915	1.99	9.37	
5	☐	POVERTY	291		20475	1.42	8.88	
6	☐	WOMEN	281		267552	0.11	5.12	
7	☐	IRAQ	136		78493	0.17	5.84	
8	☐	CANCER	85		50632	0.17	5.80	
9	☐	CRIME	62		45581	0.14	5.49	
10	☐	GERMANY	44		29373	0.15	5.63	
11	☐	CHRISTMAS	30		36689	0.08	4.76	
12	☐	ISLAM	25		12307	0.20	6.07	
13	☐	JAPAN	16		34994	0.05	3.92	
14	☐	AIDS	15		22784	0.07	4.45	
15	☐	ISIS	14		4398	0.32	6.72	
16	☐	ISRAEL	12		46772	0.03	3.09	
17	☐	BEHALF	11		10731	0.10	5.08	
18	☐	AFGHANISTAN	11		23348	0.05	3.96	
19	☐	IRAN	11		31807	0.03	3.52	
20	☐	RUSSIA	11		33144	0.03	3.46	

Figure 7. Search: war on * (two collocates)[104]

One can notice that "drugs" and "poverty" are both listed in the COCA as fourth and fifth most frequent words after "war on", the figurative sense of "war" is thus used frequently. In the 20 most frequent collocates of "war on", 10 are intangibles enemies (if you count women, because I do not believe someone literally waged a war on women), 8 are countries (or states, like ISIS)[105]. Two different constructions seem to be revealed here: [WAR ON + intangible] and [WAR ON + country]. To broaden our results, here are the collocates to "war on" in the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA)[106]:

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104 The first collocate of "war on" is obviously "on"; because it was not relevant to our point, it does not appear on the Figure 6.
105 "Behalf", which appears in 17th position in that list, will not be discussed as it is not part of the [WAR ON] construction but of another one that could be seen as [ON BEHALF OF] construction.
106 Davies, Mark, ed. *Corpus of Historical American English*. (2002).

Corpus of Historical American English

| | SEARCH | FREQUENCY | CONTEXT | OVERVIEW |

#	CONTEXT	ALL	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	ALL	%	MI
1	POVERTY	107										2	1			2		51	16	8	20	7	11566	0.93	9.64
2	TERRORISM	97																	1	3	93		1825	5.32	12.16
3	TERROR	90																		4	86		15810	0.57	8.94
4	DRUGS	73																	21	37	15		8477	0.86	9.53
5	GERMANY	60							2				17	5	6	20	4		1	1	2	2	35632	0.17	7.18
6	CRIME	30													6	1		2	7	2	4	8	24138	0.12	6.74
7	ENGLAND	23				2	2		1	9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		2	1			76037	0.03	4.70
8	EACH	22			1	3	3	1				1		2	2	3	1	1		1		3	230044	0.01	3.04
9	RUSSIA	20											3	3	4	4	2	1	1	1	1		23374	0.09	6.20
10	JAPAN	17													4	6	2	1		1		3	17535	0.10	6.38
11	MEXICO	16				2	1		1			1	5	2		2						2	18924	0.08	6.19
12	CANCER	15																	1	2	1	11	9877	0.15	7.03
13	LAND	14			1	1	1	1		1	3	1	2			3							91655	0.02	3.72
14	FRANCE	13				1							4	2	1		3		2				49948	0.03	4.49
15	IRAQ	12																		1	11		5670	0.21	7.51
16	CHINA	11										3	1	1	2	2	2						28659	0.04	5.05
17	SERBIA	10											4	3	1					2			638	1.57	10.40

Figure 8. Search: war on * (two collocates)

Of the 10 most frequent collocates, 10 are intangibles, 4 are countries[107]. Except for the cases of "terrorism" and "terror", both appearing in the late 20th century, the [WAR ON + intangible] construction seems to be referring to a metaphorical war, such as the "war on poverty". On the other hand, the [WAR ON + country] construction would refer to an actual war. For example, "war on Germany" seems to have been mostly used during World War I, or in the 1940s, during World War II, when actual wars were being waged against Germany. Then, the first construction is metaphorical when the second one is literal. But what about "War on Terror"? This war is literal. But "Terror" is an intangible so it is part of the [WAR ON + intangible] construction and its sense logically should be metaphorical.

"War on Terror" started to be coined after 9/11[108]:

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107 "Each" which appears in 8th position will not be discussed here.

108 Before 9/11, "war against terrorism" was coined under the Reagan Presidency. Then, the concept of a (metaphorical or not) war on terror(ism) already existed. After 9/11, "war on terror" was first officially said on Sep. 20, 2001 in Bush's speech. Surprisingly, according to the COHA, the expression can be found before 9/11. However, this seems to be a mistake: in a document "war on terror" is coined as being used in 1992 but the document refers anachronistically to 9/11.
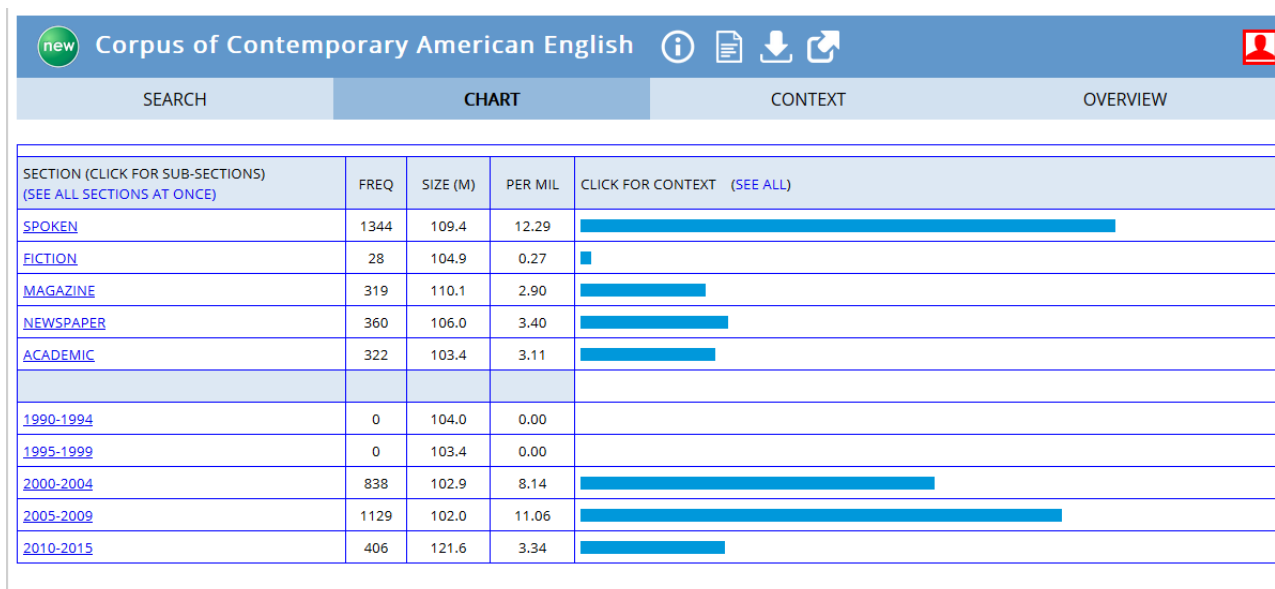
SECTION (CLICK FOR SUB-SECTIONS) (SEE ALL SECTIONS AT ONCE)	FREQ	SIZE (M)	PER MIL	CLICK FOR CONTEXT (SEE ALL)
SPOKEN	1344	109.4	12.29	
FICTION	28	104.9	0.27	
MAGAZINE	319	110.1	2.90	
NEWSPAPER	360	106.0	3.40	
ACADEMIC	322	103.4	3.11	
1990-1994	0	104.0	0.00	
1995-1999	0	103.4	0.00	
2000-2004	838	102.9	8.14	
2005-2009	1129	102.0	11.06	
2010-2015	406	121.6	3.34	

Figure 9. Search: war on terror (Chart)[109]

Because it is a fairly recent expression, maybe "War on Terror" is an evolution of the [WAR ON + intangible] construction, like the *war* frame which changed with the evolution of technology. However, it seems to be the only occurrence in which the construction is not metaphorical. In that case, "War on Terror" would not fit what could be said to be a *war on* frame.

Joan Fitzpatrick studied the legal consequences of the disruption between "War on Terror", supposed to be metaphorical, and the realities of the war.[110] The article's main focus is the Prisoners of War (POW): if the conflict is not clearly defined, which legal status would these POW have? If it is a crime, a metaphorical war, then they are not protected as POW[111]. Thus, the question of "War on Terror" being a metaphor or not is not just a linguistic debate: to define it correctly would give it a legal frame. In Fitzpatrick's opinion, the War on Terror was not clearly framed: the "legal character of the post-September 11 'war' was confused and changeable. (…) The Bush administration's legal characterization of the war remains remarkably ambiguous." According to her, what we identified

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109 It is interesting to notice that it was mostly coined in spoken materials. It could be deduced that it is a rhetorical tool more efficient when spoken than written and so, it has been used more in speeches and journalistic broadcastings than in written sort of documents.

110 All quotes are from Joan Fitzpatrick. "Jurisdiction of Military Commissions and the Ambiguous War on Terrorism." (2002: 345-353).

111 The Geneva conventions "establish the standards of international law for the humanitarian treatment of war". They define what is war and the rules to wage it. They delimit the rights of the POW, but also of non-combatant populations. "Geneva Conventions" Wikipedia.

as the [WAR ON + intangible] construction should be metaphorical (as "war on drugs" for example). In a metaphor, the "'war' terminology signifies a high priority, a marshaling of substantial resources, and a sustained commitment to eradicate the threat." Fitzpatrick tries to find a category to the "War on Terror" according to what happened after 9/11:

- First, she offers to see it as "a metaphorical 'war on terrorism'", which would involve "essentially a multinational police action against organized, politically motivated, transnational criminal syndicates of worldwide scope and indefinite duration." That definition would match the idea of the [WAR ON + intangible] construction as metaphorical. Her proposition of "multinational police action" corresponds to the reality of the "war on drugs". Her definition would fit what has been seen as the *crime* frame. But as we saw, this frame did not last and an actual war was waged.

- Secondly, she offers what she calls a "New Paradigm" of *war* : "an international armed conflict against Al Qaeda as a kind of quasi state, establishing a dramatic new paradigm in the law of armed conflict, with uncertain consequences." This idea would match the hypothesis of an expansion of the *war* frame.[112]

Her very questioning reveals the absence of definition of what should be clearly stated as a war.[113] The article raises the following question: "Have the attacks of September 11 resulted in a shift from metaphorical war/actual crime control to actual armed conflict?" She reminds us that "terrorist crimes do not generally violate the laws of war" and that, before 9/11, the international cooperation against terrorism used to be a "mutual criminal assistance" such as against drug trafficking, making the parallel again between "War on Terror" and "war on drugs". She adds: "The fact that military forces participate in the law enforcement activities against terrorists or drug trafficking has not in the past sufficed to change the character of the 'war on terrorism' or 'the war on drugs' from a criminal law paradigm to an armed conflict paradigm." Then, the only difference is

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112 She offers two other possibilities: the War on Terror could be "an international armed conflict in Afghanistan (although not against Afghanistan) which may be extended [to other states]"; it also could be a "proxy war in the context of the quarter-century old internal armed conflict in Afghanistan." She wrote the article in 2002, when only Operation Enduring Freedom had been launched. Considering she had not the big picture yet and that both these definitions are not essential to our point, they will not be commented here.

113 Indeed, several countries are involved in that conflict, as allies or as targets.

the Bush administration's propaganda and handling of the term. She challenges how 9/11 was framed, but also the fact that a [WAR ON + intangible] construction was part of the "criminal law paradigm" and should not have become an "armed conflict". In her opinion, because the war was "unclear", the conflict is "one of startling breadth, innumerable 'combatants', and indefinite duration." The conflict then need to be clearly defined, "the administration seeks to avoid constitutional and international legal constraints upon [POW]." Because it is a war with no precedent, the legal conventions as the ones of Geneva might need revisions. And even today, 15 years after 9/11, 14 years after Fitzpatrick's article, 10 years after Lakoff's and Frisch's article, the expression "War on Terror" lacks a clear definition.

Conclusion:

Charlotte Linde has observed, "whether in national politics or in everyday interactions, people in power get to impose their metaphors".[114] We quickly demonstrated in this paper the power of language, especially in politics. In the aftermath of 9/11, the Bush administration imposed what Lakoff and Frish believed to be a war metaphor. One of the first attempts to end the conflict was, once again, linguistic: the Obama administration ordered senior Pentagon staff to "avoid using the term Long War or Global War On Terror."[115]

The expression "War on Terror" is a difficult notion to grasp. It has been demonstrated it cannot be defined as a metaphor. To be a metaphor, the expression should involve two concepts, the first one being used to understand and describe the second one. The word "War" refers to an actual conflict and a literal warfare that begun in 2001. Troops were sent abroad and concrete battles were fought. However, the expression still involves a linguistic domain manipulation, not across different domains but rather within the conceptual domain of *terrorism*. The issue not only is linguistic but also is political: the Bush administration decided to frame the 9/11 assault as an attack leading to

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114 In Lakoff and Johnson, 157
115 Oliver Burkeman. "Obama administration says goodbye to 'war on terror'." (25 Mar. 2009)

war whereas a *crime* frame would have had different political and sociological consequences. Once the decision was made, an actual armed conflict against terrorism began and the studied expression now refers to that war. However, the construction [WAR ON+ intangible] usually is metaphorical. "War on Terror" then should be a metaphor. Since 9/11, the use of this construction changed from figurative, as in "war on drugs", to literal: several bombing in the Middle East took place. The metonymy involved by the use of "Terror" and the metaphor induced by the [WAR ON+ intangible] construction both participate to make the expression paradoxical.

Another interesting point worth noticing about "War on Terror" is its translation. Indeed, the [WAR ON] construction is translated differently whether it is literal or metaphorical. On the one hand, [WAR ON + country] would be translated into *"guerre contre"*: war on Germany would become *"la guerre contre l'Allemagne"*. On the other hand, [WAR ON + intangible] tends to be translated into *"lutte contre"*: war on drugs would become "*la lutte contre les narco-trafiquants"* or *"la lutte contre l'addiction"*, according to the context. Then, how the expression under study should be translated: "*la guerre contre la terreur"*, since it is a literal war, or "*lutte antiterroriste"*, since it is part of a [WAR ON + intangible] construction? One can wonder: how was the expression translated in the aftermath of 9/11? Did that translation change, first over time, influenced by American propaganda, then after the events of November 13, 2016 in Paris?

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