

The Metaphorics behind Political Speeches: Obama vs Trump

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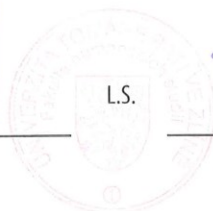
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ABSTRAKT

Tato bakalářská práce zkoumá použití a funkci metafor v politických projevech presidentů Obamy a Trumpa. V Inauguračních projevech, v projevech před Kongresovým shromážděním a v projevech na Národním shromáždění demokratické a republikánské strany. Základem je teorie konceptuálních metafor a jejich použití v politických projevech. Důraz je kladen na jednotlivé typy metafor a jejich užití ve vybraných projevech. Konceptuální metafora je významný rétorický nástroj. Rétorika a přesvědčování spolu úzce souvisejí a přesvědčování je často spojováno s emocemi.

Klíčová slova: metafora, konceptuální metafora, politika, Barack Obama, Donald Trump, projevy, přesvědčení

ABSTRACT

This bachelor thesis explores the usage and function of metaphors in political speeches of presidents Obama and Trump. In the Inaugural Addresses, the Congregational Addresses and the addresses at Democratic and Republican national convention. The basis is the theory of conceptual metaphors that is used in political speeches. The emphasis is placed on individual types of metaphor and their use in selected speeches. The conceptual metaphor functions as a powerful rhetorical tool. Rhetoric and persuasion are tightly connected to each other and persuasion is often associated with emotions.

Keywords: metaphor, conceptual metaphor, politics, Barack Obama, Donald Trump, speeches, persuasion

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Acknowledgements, motto and a declaration of honour saying that the print version of the Bachelor's/Master's thesis and the electronic version of the thesis deposited in the IS/STAG system are identical, worded as follows:

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	9
I THEORY	10
1 THEORIES OF METAPHOR	11
1.1 ARISTOTELIAN METAPHOR THEORY	11
1.2 INTERACTION METAPHOR THEORY	14
1.3 STRUCTURAL-MAPPING METAPHOR THEORY	15
1.4 CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY	16
2 TYPES OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS	19
2.1 PRIMARY AND COMPLEX METAPHORS	19
2.2 ORIENTATIONAL, ONTOLOGICAL AND STRUCTURAL METAPHORS	20
2.2.1 Orientational Metaphors.....	20
2.2.2 Ontological Metaphors.....	21
2.2.3 Structural Metaphors.....	22
3 ROLE OF METAPHORS IN POLITICAL SPEECHES.....	24
3.1 THE ART OF SPEECH MAKING	24
3.2 PERSUASIVE POWER OF METAPHOR.....	24
3.3 ROLE OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN POLITICS	26
II ANALYSIS	28
4 METHOD OF ANALYZING CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN POLITICAL SPEECHES.....	29
5 METAPHORICS OF INAUGURAL ADDRESSES BY OBAMA AND TRUMP	30
5.1 INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT OBAMA.....	30
5.1.1 JOURNEY METAPHORS	31
5.1.2 MILITARY METAPHORS	32
5.1.3 BUILDING METAPHORS	33
5.1.4 FOOD METAPHORS.....	33
5.2 INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT TRUMP.....	34
5.2.1 PERSONIFICATION	35
5.2.2 BUILDING METAPHORS	36
5.2.3 JOURNEY METAPHORS	36
6 METAPHORICS OF CONGREGATIONAL SPEECHES BY TWO US PRESIDENTS.....	38
6.1 PRESIDENT OBAMA IN JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS.....	38
6.1.1 JOURNEY METAPHORS	38
6.1.2 BUILDING METAPHORS	39
6.1.3 MILITARY METAPHORS	39
6.1.4 LANDSCAPE METAPHORS	39
6.2 PRESIDENT TRUMP IN JOINT ADDRESS TO CONGRESS.....	40
6.2.1 JOURNEY METAPHORS	40
6.2.2 BUILDING METAPHORS	41
6.2.3 LANDSCAPE METAPHORS	41
6.2.4 MILITARY METAPHORS	42

6.2.5	PERSONIFICATION	42
7	METAPHORICS OF SPEECHES AT NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.....	43
7.1	PRESIDENT OBAMA AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION	43
7.1.1	JOURNEY METAPHORS	43
7.1.2	BUILDING METAPHORS	43
7.1.3	PERSONIFICATION	44
7.2	PRESIDENT TRUMP AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION	44
7.2.1	JOURNEY METAPHORS	44
7.2.2	BUILDINGS METAPHORS	45
7.2.3	PERSONIFICATION	45
	CONCLUSION	46
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	48
	LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	54

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis is to analyse Barack Obama's and Donald Trump's speeches and recognise the usage of metaphor in political speeches. The use of metaphor in everyday language is not unusual. It is a powerful tool that many speakers have used. Speakers use metaphor for various purposes, to persuade an audience or present their beliefs and goals. Politicians employ different types of metaphors to convince their listeners about different topics.

The theoretical part consists of background information about metaphor. The first chapter is dedicated to theories about metaphors and about the authors who created them. From Aristotle and his Aristotelian metaphor theory to George Lakoff and Mark Johnson who created Conceptual Metaphor Theory in their book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). The second chapter is focused on the types of conceptual metaphors and their application. The relationship between Primary and Complex metaphors and the distinction between Orientational, Structural and Ontological metaphors. The third theoretical chapter is dedicated to the role of conceptual metaphors in political language and its function. At first, I focused on the language of the speech and the process of making of political speech. Then on how powerful the persuasiveness of metaphors can be and lastly on the roles the conceptual metaphor can have in political speech. In the second practical part, the focus is concentrated on the analyses of metaphors in six political speeches. The Inaugural address, the Congressional address and the National Convention address by presidents Obama and Trump. The practical part includes a summary of metaphors and their use in speeches.

I. THEORY

1 THEORIES OF METAPHOR

A metaphor is “an expression, often found in literature, that describes a person or object by referring to something that is considered to have similar characteristics to that person or object” (Cambridge Dictionary). It is one of the stylistic means that poets and speakers use in their works.

“Metaphor is a normal, and mostly unconscious, mechanism of thought” (Lakoff 2009, 46-47). Metaphors are so common, that they appear anywhere from everyday communication to political discourse. Metaphors help express abstract concepts by the use of specific terms. Metaphors are used mainly because of their accessibility and expressivity; yet, they are also used for their persuasive potential, as they can make speech more enjoyable and interesting. Metaphors are sources of defamiliarization and foregrounding (Miall & Kuiken, 1994): a listener has to decode them to understand the meaning behind the metaphor. The rhetorical potential of metaphors was widely discussed by classical authors (Zanker 2017, 415), the best known of whom is Aristoteles.

A lot of metaphor theories were introduced since then. For example, Semantic twist theory, the Relevance theory, Gricean implicature theory or Brute force theory of metaphor. (Hills 2016) The popularity of metaphor studies increased again in the 1980's, when Lakoff and Johnson came up with the theory of conceptual metaphor in their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). In this chapter I will briefly outline some of the main metaphor theories.

1.1 Aristotelian metaphor theory

Aristotle researched metaphors in the first half of 4th century B.C. He was not a pioneer, as Homer, for example, mentioned metaphors in epics *Odyssey* and *Iliad*. Also, Isocrates, who used metaphors frequently for poetry and prose, wanted to forbid using in any work that was not poetic. When Cicero and Quintilian took interest in metaphor, metaphor was one of the most recognizable figures of speech and Hills claimed “a self-explanatory terminological transfer counts as metaphorical only if it is based on a real or supposed analogy or likeness between the regular referent and the special temporary one” (Hills 2016, 5). Despite all of these authors, Aristotle is still considered to be one of the best known.

Aristotle majorly discussed metaphors in *Poetics* (350 B.C.) in a relation to poetry and in *The Rhetoric* (367-322 B.C.) in a relation to convincing argumentation. In *Poetics*, Aristotle writes that the use of unusual words and phrases contribute to the generosity of

poetry. Aristotelian concept of metaphor deals with words and not with whole sentences, as he classifies metaphors as unusual words. The unusualness is a consequence of a deviation from the common meaning (Aristotle 350 B.C.E, 24-25). In *Poetics* he defines metaphors as:

“Metaphor consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else; the transference being either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, on the grounds of analogy.” (Black 1955, 284).

Aristotelian definition of the metaphor is broader than today's understanding of metaphor. The definition of Aristotelian metaphor consists of four metaphor categories. To recognize these categories, it is necessary to identify species and genus in the sentences.

The first type is change from genus to species (1):

(1) *There lies my ship* (Aristotle 335 B.C.E, 23)

The word *lies* is a species of lying and then lying represents an anchor of a ship. “The only way to explain Aristotle's claim that the transference from “anchoring” to “standing” is a transference is to assume that the transference is one made by a word between two kinds of thing and not between two lexical meanings” (Wood 2015, 116).

The second type is change from species to genus (2):

(2) *Verily ten thousand noble deeds hath Odysseus wrought* (Aristotle 335 B.C, 23)

In this example the phrase *ten thousand* is used instead of “many”, or “a lot”. The large number is used for generality of the statement. These days it would be classified as a hyperbole, not a metaphor (Wood 2015, 111). These two types of metaphor also need some concept to convey the information. If the metaphor stands alone, it does not tell us new information, it only conveys the basic concept, such as the meaning can be limited and it can change, when more information is added.

The Third metaphor type changes species to species (3):

(3) *With blade of bronze drew away the life and cleft the water with the vessel of unyielding bronze* (Aristotle 350 B.C.E, 23)

In this sentence the phrase *drew away* is a species of something being taken away. In the first clause it is life, and in the second it is water from a container. The point of this metaphor is the switch of action between the two sentences.

The final fourth metaphor change is based on analogy. It is the metaphor type that Aristotle was most interested in and which he discussed broadly (Hills 2016, 5). He defines this as a relationship between members where the first member is similarly connected to the second, third or the fourth member. Scheme A: B = C: D. Aristotle used for example “*cup is to Dionysus as the shield to Ares.*” (Aristotle 350 B.C.E, 23). According to this relationship when all members of the sentence or phrase are equal, meaning words can be exchanged. And then it can be metaphorically said Dionysus' shield and Ares's cup. With these two types there is no need for the culture concept, the concept can be intuitively identified.

The Aristotelian theory operates with the motive of similarity. The similarity is the main element on which the metaphorical transfer of meaning functions in the four types of metaphor. It means to create good metaphors means to describe the similarity between things (Aristotle 350 B.C.E, 26).

Aristotle highly appreciated the esthetical function of metaphor. The use of metaphor is the most important tool to make an impressive speech according to him (Aristotle 350 B.C.E, chap.2). Aesthetically impressive metaphor originates by transferring the meaning from things. There has to be certain similarity between things, but the similarity is not obvious at the first sight, yet, the related thing is too far away, since the metaphor will not be understandable (Aristotle 350 B.C.E, chap.2).

Apart from esthetical function of metaphor, Aristotle was also interested in the persuasive power of metaphors. According to Aristotle, the means of persuasion can be divided into three categories. Ethos, Pathos and Logos. Ethos means the presentation of character, pathos the emotional influence, logos the argument of the speaker and the use of these means in a speech in order to persuade the audience. Aristotle as giving them the same weight of importance for the speaker (Connolly 2013, 69).

Ethos comes into play when the speaker is performing. He needs to convince his listeners in his credibility: that he is genuine and is worth listening to. Crucial is also the personal presentation. It includes tone of voice, gestures, facial expressions, body language and other. The goal of Pathos is to make an emotional impact on the audience, which can be achieved through metaphor by projecting people believes. Aristotle remarked that in order to emotionally effect the listeners, the speaker must know what type of people he will be speaking to. Relating to this it is important to know which emotion the speaker wants to target and focus on them. Logos is the way the speaker is presenting an argument to the audience. It needs to create an effect of persuasion and at the same time it needs to be believable (Aristotle 350 B.C.E).

Aristotle metaphor theory include four metaphor categories according to the structure of the metaphor. The categories include changes from genus to species, from species to genus, from species to species and the change based on analogy. Aristotle's research also involved esthetical and persuasive functional of metaphor which he analysed in connection to credibility, emotional impact and logic of an argument.

1.2 Interaction metaphor theory

Another metaphor theory I am going to intrude is Interaction theory by Max Black. Black was a philosopher, who argued that metaphors are used to fill gaps in vocabulary (Boyd 1993, 481). According to Black, metaphor is an outcome of an interaction between two subjects and not between two meanings of words or phrases. (Black 1962, 39). Black introduces the terms “source” and “scope. “Source” refers to a domain from which the metaphorical expression comes from (Kövecses 2010, 4), while “scope” to main meaning focus (Kövecses 2010, 140). The referent of metaphor gains a new meaning that is different from literal meaning. For example,

(4) *John is a wolf* (Ayoob 2007, 56)

The sentence (4) is connected to wolves as the source metaphor as the metaphor does not change the meaning of the word wolf, and John as the scope of the metaphor as John is the main focus of the metaphor. Black presumes most people will agree, even experts or people who know nothing about wolf, about the idea behind the metaphor. It does not matter if the implication is exaggerated or untrue, it has to mean things that immediately come to mind when the metaphor is presented.

New meaning is created by connection of two words. John is through the term of *wolf*. This means that some features of source and scope of the metaphor are eliminated from the new meaning as John's characteristics, for which he was known before the connection to the wolf disappear. The only characteristics that stay are in connection to the *wolf*. For example, he is a loner (Ayoob 2007, 57).

The Interaction Theory lacks connection to the meaning. It is unclear which characteristics are acceptable and which are going to be excluded. Another problem is how much information and what type of information can the metaphor hold.

Black's Interaction Theory was criticized by other philosophers. Mainly by Donald Davidson (Ayoob 2007, 60). According to the scholar, Black's Interaction Theory refers only the case of meaning expansion. Metaphor does not have different meaning than literal.

However, it is the matter of effect the metaphor makes on the listener, when the metaphor is used. To properly understand metaphor, people have to study its pragmatism side as well (Ayooob 2007, 58).

Searle also criticized Black's idea of similarity in metaphor (Searle 1993, 90). He gives the following example (5):

(5) *Juliet is the sun* (Searle 1993, 88).

In this sentence, the classical characteristics of the sun, such as being far away from earth or being mostly composed from gases, are not typical features for a human. There is not anything remotely similar between Juliet and the sun. However, there is an abstract connection that joints the two words and creates the metaphor (Searle 1993, 88), which is that Juliet is happy, bright or a being capable of giving life.

Black created the Interaction metaphor view in response to the comparison view, which he criticized, because it was believed that every metaphorical expression has to have a literal one (Searle 1993, 88-89). However, his work was criticized as well, also because of metaphor meaning, only in Black's case, there could be more meanings than necessary.

1.3 Structural-mapping metaphor theory

As a reaction to Black's approach, Yorick Wills suggested another view on metaphors in his article "Making preferences more active" (1978). This theory of metaphor introduces a way how to detect a metaphor in a text. The basis of his view is the selection restriction. It means that some verbs have limited semantic range with which the words can coexist. Different types of words have different preferences for the semantic types of other words that can together create coherent utterance. When the selection restriction is violated it creates an ungrammatical sentence (Wills 1978, 39).

Dedre Gentner extended Wills' idea of selection restriction and laid the foundation of the Structural-Mapping Metaphor Theory or Comparative Theory. Gentre states that analogy is the basic of forming metaphors. Typically, human knowledge is presented as nodes and predicates. The nodes represent concepts and group of concepts that are interpreted as one unit. Predicates are words in the sentence that follow a subject and expand the meaning of the subject. They are of two types: attributes and relation. Attributes are predicates containing only one argument and relation are predicates having two or more arguments. "COLLIDE (x, y) is a relation, while LARGE (x) is an attribute" (Gentner 1983, 157). "Many attribute predicates implicitly invoke comparisons between the value of their object

and some standard value on the dimension. LARGE (x) implicitly means “X is large for its class.” For example, a large star is of a different size than a large mouse. But if LARGE (x) is implicitly interpreted as LARGER THAN, this might suggest that many surface attributes are implicitly two-place predicates. The theory assumes that only relations that apply within the domain of discourse are psychologically stored and processed as true relations” (Gentner 1983, 157).

For creating a metaphor, the relations between objects in one domain (the base) has to hold the same kind of system relation as another domain (the target). Thus, analogy is mapping of knowledge from source domain to target domain (Gentner & Jeziorski 1993, 448). The relation in the analogy has to correspond with the objects of the target to create the highest possible correlation (Gentner & Jeziorski 1993, 449). For example, metaphor “*Plant stems are drinking straws*” is created on principal of relation of two knowledge systems (both stems and straws transfer fluid to nourish living organism) and not on the basis of similarity between the characteristics of two objects (both are long and thin) (Gentner et al. 2001, 208).

All in all, analogy is the comparison based on the relation of similarity and understanding the relation between knowledge domains. For example,

(6) *The atom is like our solar system* (Gentner 1983, 161).

(7) *Some jobs are jails* (Gentner et al. 2001, 224).

Example (6) is the analogy, and the agreement of domains is based on a relation between the base (atom) and the target (solar system). The attributes of two objects, chemical characteristics and size, are ignored. Example (7) is the metaphor on the principal of analogy and the structural mapping can be applied because of the relation between base (jobs) and the target (jails). However, compare to example (6), the characteristics are not ignored.

Structural-mapping metaphor theory is based on a recognition of relationships between words and the system of domains in metaphor. The benefit of this theory is the comparison based on the relation of similarity, because it is a system that can everybody understand. On the other hand, the distinction between relation and attribute can be challenging.

1.4 Conceptual metaphor theory

Conceptual metaphor theory was mainly developed by Mark Johnson and George Lakoff in 1980, when the first edition of their book *Metaphors We Live By* was published. This theory explains a deeper level of metaphoric meaning generation. Metaphors are to some extent processes of human thought. The processes of human thinking were proven to be

metaphorical and “the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined. Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person's conceptual system” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, 6-7). Conceptual metaphor recognizes “the pattern of thought from a number of actual instances of metaphor” (Charteris-Black 2011, 2).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory also employs the idea of conceptual domains. Conceptual metaphor (CM) is formed of two domains, source and target domains, where target domain is comprehended with the help of the source domain (Kövecses 2010, 4). As an example, let me discuss the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. The same vocabulary is used for description of war and argument between people. In examples (8)-(10) (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 16) the words typically associated with war are used to describe arguments.

- (8) *He shot down* all of my arguments.
- (9) *He attacked* every weak point in my argument.
- (10) Your *claims are indefensible*.

CM includes two main domains: the source domain WAR which is mapped onto target domain ARGUMENT. The more abstract concept is understood through the more concrete one (Kövecses 2010, 4). This relationship between the two domains is called mapping. Mapping occurs on the basis of source elements and target elements. Understanding usually goes from concrete concept to abstract concept. This means, mapping functions in reverse order source to target, not from target to source (Kövecses 2010, 8-10).

Metaphors are so common in our everyday communication that people use these metaphorical concepts without even realizing it. For example, TIME IS MONEY (11), IDEAS ARE FOOD (12), LOVE IS WAR (13) or THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS (14).

- (11) You are *wasting* my time (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 7).
- (12) There are too many facts here for me to *digest* them all (Kövecses 2010, 6).
- (13) She *pursued* him *relentlessly* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 49).
- (14) We have to *construct a strong* argument for that (Kövecses 2010, 6).

Sometimes, the same target domain can be understood with the help of more than one source domain. In this case mixed metaphors are created. For instance, IDEAS can be understood in terms of FOOD, PEOPLE, PLANTS and PRODUCTS too. For example:

- (15) The theory of relativity *gave birth* to an enormous number of ideas in physics (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 47).

The phrase *gave birth* refers to human activity and it points to the ideas in area of physics in this sentence. Another example of metaphor connected to ideas is:

(16) The *seeds* of his great ideas were *planted* in his youth (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 47).

Example (16) of metaphor connected plants as both words (seeds and planted) are connected to growing of plants and a person.

(17) We need to take the rough *edges off* that idea, *hone it down*, *smooth it out* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 47).

Example (17) means the idea needs to be improved with the words connected to adjustment of material things.

Since the introduction of the theory in 1980s, the linguistics has seen its application with regard to cultural studies and political discourse (Paul Chilton, Jonathan Charteris-Black). The importance of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is in the mapping of metaphors, in the relationship between source and target domains. This relationship helps us understand more about metaphors and their origin.

2 TYPES OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

As we have described earlier, CMs are common in language and thought. Lakoff and Johnson (2003, 4) classified the CMs into structural, orientational, ontological. According to their conceptual “architecture” (Rydning and Lachaud 2011), CM can be primary and complex. In this section I will discuss Primary, Complex, Orientational and Ontological metaphors.

2.1 Primary and Complex metaphors

Primary CMs are “directly grounded in the everyday experience that links our sensory-motor experience to the domain of our subjective judgments (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 255). They are acquired unknowingly by interaction during the early stages of human life. Primary CMs are gained through sensory-motor experience and allow a child to understand the differences, for example, between “warn” and “close”, “see” and “know” (Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 50-51).

All other metaphor concepts are created through the primary metaphors, which can be culturally-specific. Kövecses (2010, 81) states that conceptual metaphors the MORE IS UP, PURPOSES ARE DESTINATION AND the EMOTION IS TEMPERATURE are the primary CMs. For example, in the English-speaking community there exist CMs such as AFFECTION IS WARMTH, SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS, CHANGE IS MOTION, KNOWING IS SEEING, TIME IS MOTION (Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 53-54). According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003, 272), primary and complex metaphors are part of cognitive unconsciousness: it means we are not aware of them and cannot influence them.

The idea of primary metaphors received much attention. Based on the original idea, Johnson's Theory of Conflation (Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 50), Grady's Theory of Primary Metaphor (Grady 1997, 19-20), Narayanan's Neural Theory of Metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 46-49) and Fauconnier and Turner's Theory of Conceptual Blending (Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 51) were developed.

Grady's Theory of Primary Metaphor was founded on Conflation theory by Christopher Johnson. According to Grady every primary metaphor is constructed from basic elements and is formed automatically. This theory implies metaphors are obtain by everyday experiences through which people inevitable form many primary metaphors and in time two or more metaphors can create complex metaphors by conceptual blending process. (Pitchford & Biggam, 2006, 217) (Lakoff & Johnson 1999, 51).

As stated earlier Complex metaphors are formed by primary metaphors. The primary metaphors are used as a mapping for complex metaphors (Kövecses 2010, 146). For example, complex metaphor OBLIGATIONS ARE BURDENS that can be connected to TAX BURDEN or OUR RESPONSIBILITIES WEIGH HEAVILY ON US (Grady 1999, 73).

Kövecses (2010, 95) states example of ARGUMENT (THEORY) IS A BUILDING metaphor. Without primary metaphors, the complex metaphor would not be able to be created as argument and building cannot be compared in terms of structure or experience. The primary metaphor LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE creates relationship between abstract principal (argument) and physical structures (building). The second metaphor PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT establish relationship between things that are working properly and things that do not function. The combination of two primary metaphors create the complex metaphor (Kövecses 2010, 95-96).

In conclusion from the early life every person obtains primary metaphors by experiencing everyday life. For example, from social life, art or science. People have no decision in the acquisition as the affiliation happens from young age. Primary metaphors are the foundation for other metaphors as complex metaphors or types of CMs that I am going to discuss in next chapter.

2.2 Orientational, Ontological and Structural metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson divided conceptual metaphors into three groups. Orientational, Structural and Ontological metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 2003).

2.2.1 Orientational Metaphors

Metaphor is orientational when various non-physical concepts are organized in physical space. Kövecses (2010, 40) suggested this metaphor type should be called “coherence” metaphor as it would be more appropriate with the cognitive function these metaphors have. He meant that specific target concepts tend to be conceptualized spatially: “Most of them have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral” (Kövecses 2010, 40). For example,

(18) MORE IS UP: *My income rose last year* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 16).

(19) LESS IS DOWN: *He is underage* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 16).

(20) HAPPY IS UP: *That boosted my spirit* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 15).

(21) SAD IS DOWN: *My spirit sank* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 15).

Orientation CM may vary in different cultures; however, they are still not created randomly (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 14-21). Often people use these metaphors to talk about time and they apply phrases from domains of space (Boroditsky 2001, 4). For example,

(22) *Falling behind schedule* (Boroditsky 2001, 4).

(23) *Looking forward to a brighter tomorrow* (Boroditsky 2001, 4).

Experiential bases are important to understand the functioning of metaphor founded on different types of experience. Majority of basic terms people use are established on systematized spatially oriented metaphors. The reason why certain metaphors are used, is the coherence inside the metaphorical system (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 19-21). People share their fundamental values. However, the value that has the highest priority is positioned according to the cultural background and personal values.

2.2.2 Ontological Metaphors

As orientational metaphors were based on spatial orientation, ontological metaphors were formed from interaction with physical objects (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 26-27). This involves our understanding and experiences with objects, substances and containers without any further specification what these objects, substances and containers are (Kövecses 2010, 38).

Kövecses (2010, 39) gives an example of *mind*. We perceive it as an object, but do not really know what it is. The purpose of ontological metaphors is to understand more about this kind of words. Ontological metaphors are applicable for numerous situations and different kinds of metaphors serve different purposes, but at the same time the area of application is limited to, for example, referring (24) or quantifying (25) (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 26-27). For example,

(24) *That was a beautiful catch* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 27).

(25) *It will take a lot of patience to finish this book* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 27).

The example (24) may refer to some kind of sport or to the performance of a player. Example (25) quantifies the level of patience or time that is going to be needed to finish the book.

Further examples of ontological metaphors can be THE MIND IS A MACHINE (26) OR THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT (27) (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 29).

(26) *We've been working on this problem all day and now we're running out of steam* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 29).

The phrase *we're running out of steam* indicates that mind has the same characteristic as a machine (can be turned off, needs energy).

(27) *His mind snapped* (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 29).

The example (27) refers to the psychological state and mental experience of a person (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 29).

2.2.3 Structural Metaphors

The last kind of CMI am going to discuss in this chapter are Structural metaphors. Structural metaphors are metaphors that are determined by the structure between source and target domains. This structure allows people to understand the target through source (through mapping) (Kövecses (2010, 37).

Structural metaphors as orientational and ontological metaphors deal with life experiences. To support this argument, Lakoff and Johnson (2003, 62-65) give an example RATIONAL ARGUMENT IS WAR. People established fighting in many ways, one of them is war. Even if the war is one of the options of fighting, people rather use verbal arguments than physical violence to get what they want. In the case of this argument, strategies are applied to created intimidation, insult or bargain. This metaphor is used commonly in life and is comprehend through the term WAR. "ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is built into the conceptual system of the culture in which you live" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 65).

Structural metaphor can be viewed by the concept of time through the motion and space that creates TIME IS MOTION that has two subcategories. For example (28) and (29) (Kövecses 2010, 37-38),

(28) *The time for action has arrived.*

This metaphor belongs to the first subcategory TIME PASSING IS MOTION OF AN OBJECT. "Times are oriented with their fronts in their direction of motion" (Kövecses 2010, 37-38).

(29) *He passed the time happily.*

The example is part of TIME IS AN OBSERVER'S MOTION OVER A LANDSCAPE metaphor belongs to the second subcategory of TIME IS MOTION. In this metaphor the "times are fixed locations and observe is moving with respect to time" (Kövecses 2010, 38).

The time metaphor is based on cultural experience and its understanding of time. Structural metaphors provide certain type of structuring that the target concept is clearly understood (Kövecses 2010, 38) (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 68-69).

In this chapter I discussed three types of conceptual metaphors. Each of these metaphor types is focusing on different area of CMs and that creates limitations for all three. Orientational metaphor is used for special orientation, ontological metaphor is applied in interaction with physical objects and structural metaphor is focused on structure of the metaphor, on comprehension of relationship between source and target.

3 ROLE OF METAPHORS IN POLITICAL SPEECHES

3.1 The art of speech making

A speech is “a formal address or discourse delivered to an audience.” (Oxford Dictionary) To create persuasive speech, it is important to not only to have quality content, but the execution is crucial too. The performance is perceived by audience through the performer body shape, dress, height, eyes, hair and gestures. In the age of social and mass media coverage, it is essential to deliver great visual presentation as media are present at every speech politician makes (Charteris-Black 2011, 1; Van Dijk 2006, 376).

To create quality speech, it is necessary to follow certain rules of speech making. Argument in classical rhetoric needs to consist of five stages (Charteris-Black 2011, 8). First stage is introduction to engage listeners. Then follows the argument plan. The third stage is the evidence and examples to defend the argument followed by the possibility of counter-argument and the conclusion in the end (Charteris-Black 2011, 7-9).

A speech is created for a purpose to persuade the audience; therefore, modern rhetoric is more focused on the relationship between speaker and listener. Atkinson (1984) originated method called “claptrap”. It is a way to establish a bond between the parties involved. The speaker controls when the audience is going to react to the presentation. The speaker can give the audience signal by hand gesture, head movement or by lips and eyes. The more signals are used the more likely it is going to work (Atkinson 1984, 47-49).

It is quite rare that politicians write their speeches themselves and not all give the credit to the speech-writer. Unlike Obama who publicly recognized Jon Favreau as his personal speech-writer (Charteris-Black 2011, 5). George W. Bush also relied on speech-writers to “to compensate for skills that he lacked.” His team of writers included Karl Rove, Karen Hudes and David Frum (Charteris-Black 2011, 252).

If the speech is written by professional speech-writer, it has to correspond with the language and beliefs of the politician who it is written for. To make a speech natural, metaphors are used and conceptual metaphor is often identified in political speeches (Charteris-Black 2011, 2).

3.2 Persuasive power of metaphor

“In persuasion the interlocutors are free to believe or act as they please, depending on whether or not they accept the arguments of the persuader” (Van Dijk 2006, 361). To make speech persuasive, it is necessary to use the appropriate language. Rhetoric and persuasion

are tightly connected to each other. The persuasion is part of a speech act, such as appearance. For example, an appearance. Language persuasion can be active and passive. Active persuasion refers to how the speaker presents the speech, while passive one deals with the listeners' passive role in the process (Charteris-Black 2011, 13-16).

It is important to distinguish persuasion from manipulation. Manipulation is “communicative and interactional practise, in which a manipulate exercise control over other people” (Van Dijk 2006, 360). In manipulation “recipients are typically assigned a more passive role: they are *victims* of manipulation. The negative consequence of manipulative discourse typically occurs when the recipients are unable to understand the real intentions or to see the full consequences of the beliefs or actions advocated by the manipulator” (Van Dijk 2006, 361). The main difference is that audience can choose to be persuaded. However, in manipulation the audience is passive and “they are victims of manipulation” Also, manipulation is possible, when people do not have enough information or they do not fully comprehend what they are told (Van Dijk 2006, 361).

Metaphors were acknowledged as important aspect of political rhetoric (Chilton 2004, 51) and persuasion. Metaphors are generally applied in political context with ideological purposes since the purposes activates unconscious emotional associations, thereby they are involved in telling the right story and in creation of myth. Charteris-Black (2011, 32) states that the main function of metaphors is to frame people's view of political issues by disposal of alternative points of view. Politicians benefit from metaphor usage, because metaphors in politics are used for negative representation of their political opponents who attack their idea or for positive presentation of plan that was created to solve problems in the future (Charteris-Black 2011, 28-34).

Peoples ability to process information is limited when they face several opinions and limitations. The need for simplification has risen and metaphors seem to fill that role. Metaphor is “uniquely designed to address the information-processing capacity problems discussed by the political cognition theory advocates” (Mio 1997, 117). The cognition theory suggests that selection of information, to what certain person understand and what he is interested, needs to happen (Mio 1997, 117).

Persuasion can have stronger impact on different groups of people and it can happen only under certain circumstances (Boeynaems et al 2017, 130). In persuasion through metaphor, the emotive component can be a crucial element to the strategic use of metaphor (Ferrari 2007, 610-611). Metaphors that connect to emotive components are expressed by physical experience in order to persuade an audience (Ferrari 2007, 612).

Scholars (Charteris-Black or Kövecses) who focused on critical-discourse approach, analyzed connection between language and social structure. The main point of interest was metaphorical language. To justify inequality between social groups, the discourse structure is being used and rhetorical language (metaphors) can help to “transfer and sustain inequality”. “Metaphors can transfer inequality because of their ability to highlight certain aspects, while downplaying others” (Boeynaems et al 2017, 119). Emotional connotation can be activated by the metaphors in speech and then to persuade an audience (Charteris-Black 2004, 24).

Persuasion and manipulation have to be distinguished in order to make the speech compelling. Also, appropriate language is required. Persuasion through metaphor is based on emotional impact on an audience. An audience can consist of people of different beliefs and social groups, and that will affect how the target group perceive the persuasion. Metaphor is an important tool of persuasion that is used in politics. In the next segment I am going to examine what role CMs have in politics.

3.3 Role of conceptual metaphors in politics

Lakoff and Johnson consider politics as one of the five areas of our experiences along with communication, aesthetics, ritual and self-understanding (Lakoff 2003, 230). Metaphors in politics were discussed by Edelman (1971), Burke (1966), Lakoff (2009), Charteris-Black (2011) and others. All these authors highlight the importance of metaphor in political rhetoric.

Language plays an important role in joint meanings and perceptions in public (Edelman 1971, 65). To use metaphors, it is important to realize they do not mean exactly what the metaphors signify (Burke 1966, 12). CM is an important tool for creating political support, opposition and arguments upon which choices are made (Edelman 1971, 68). “Politicians use metaphors to tell the right story” (Charteris-Black 2011, 28). According to Mio, conceptual metaphors have persuasive power in politics. The conceptual metaphors have a role of: (1) Simplifying and understanding the purpose; (2) Representation of symbols; and (3) emotional connection (1997, 122). Simplifying is important, because if the political problem is too complicated or complex, CM can be used for better explanation for the audience (Edelman 1971, 65). Edelman explains the representation of symbols in connection to gun control and violence, because of the emotional connection that is connected with guns (1971, 132). This is effective in politics as political CMs are designed to have emotional impact (Mio 1997, 123).

The role of CMs in politics is mainly persuasive as politicians apply to their speeches several of these methods to convince the audience to believe in them. This role is fulfilled by the simplification, symbolic representation and by emotional connection.

II. ANALYSIS

4 METHOD OF ANALYZING CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN POLITICAL SPEECHES

The practical part of this work focuses on analyses of political speeches of the last two United States presidents, Barack Obama and Donald Trump. I selected the Presidents' Inaugural speeches, Congregational speeches and National convention speeches. I chose Inaugural speech, because it is the speech president makes when he is official elected to office. I selected Congregational speech which is presented in front of the government of the state. Third speeches are from National convention, where Obama presented his speech to democratic party and Trump to republican party.

The analysis focuses on metaphors the speakers used in these speeches. The first step of this work was to find the speeches that are going to be analysed. All the analysed speeches were collected from Internet. I use transcripts of speeches to identify the type of metaphors the presidents applied in the speeches, what role holds the metaphor, how much the speech is based on metaphors and how the use of metaphors by both presidents differ from each other.

5 METAPHORICS OF INAUGURAL ADDRESSES BY OBAMA AND TRUMP

Every president of the United States that has been elected have made an inaugural speech. Inauguration take place every time on 20th January after the election (Architect of the Capitol). It happens weeks after the election thus the president has time to choose a cabinet and prepare a new administration (Klein 2018). The inauguration is a day when the president takes the oath of office (Architect of the Capitol) and subsequently give a speech.

5.1 Inaugural Address by President Obama

President Obama gave his first inaugural speech in 2009 after he was sworn in as 44th president. The speech took place in Washington D.C. and around 1.8 million people were present. The speech was 2395 words long (The American Presidency Project). He talked about several areas: (1) the critical state of the United States economy; (2) foreign policy, which he clearly wanted to distinguish from President Bush's foreign policy; (3) defence and government; (4) the American values; (5) the help in to the Third-World Countries; and (6) racial and religious issues.

Obama's inaugural speech can be analysed according to ethos, pathos and logos (Aristotle 350 B.C.E). He mostly focuses on his credibility in his speech. By this he is trying to show people of United States that they have chosen the right person to be the president when they supported him during his campaign. “And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken – you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you.” (The White House 2009). He speaks for all citizen of the country without exception and tries to persuade them he will serve the country and its people. Obama appeals to logos when there is a need to express severity of some situation: “Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of soma, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses shuttered.” (The White House 2009). In this citation he applies logic when he explains that the United States are in a bad place economically and the situation needs to get better in the future and the path to the better future will be led by the new president. He appeals to pathos (emotions) when he needs to get an emotional reaction from the audience. For example, when he talks about fallen American citizens, he says: “For us, they fought and died in places like Concord and Gettysburg, Normandy and Khe Sahn” (The White House 2009)

Barack Obama's political success during his presidency is often attributed to his powerful rhetoric, especially as he considered that the language plays an important role in politics (Lesz 2011, 5). Among other rhetorical strategies, he used metaphors to express his wishes and goals during his period of presidency.

5.1.1 JOURNEY METAPHORS

Charteris-black explains in his book that the most common source domain of conceptual metaphors in political language is JOURNEY. Partly it is because the history of United States is connected with the journey to the “land of the free”. This source domain is highly expressive in political rhetoric. The domain represents daily experiences of a movement with experiences that can only take place on journeys (Charteris-Black 2011, 315). “Journey metaphors are typically used to reinforce the relation of contrast” (Charteris-Black 2011, 178). The journey metaphors have a role of creating a link between the concept of JOURNEY and political situation. The link is created because the journey scenarios and political journeys have the same or similar foundation. The journey metaphors represent a movement or progress the country made in term of politics (Gyula and Furkó 2015, 12) In the inaugural speech Obama used LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in connection to the JOURNEY the United States and its people had taken over the centuries. For example:

(30) *...more often men and women obscure in their labor - who have carried us up the long rugged path towards prosperity and freedom (The White House 2009).*

The aim of these metaphors is to indicate the journey full of hardships the people of USA had over the past years. The example (30), the phrase “who have carried us up” refers to the long and hard path the citizens of the country had to endure in order to achieve their goals of freedom, prosperity and democracy. This phrase also contains UP metaphor that is connected to positive state (Lakoff & Johnson 2003, 14). The JOURNEY METAPHOR is very successful because of an easy association to everyday life and they can connect present with past (Charteris-Black 2011, 324). The metaphor “who have carried us up” can also be interpreted as pathos as he appeals to people's emotions by reminding his audience that people had suffered in the past for better future.

To be a successful rhetorician it is important to use some additional elements to make the speech compelling. As Charteris-Black argued, it may involve telling a suitable story, using the right intonation or constructing a persuasive message to express the point correctly (Charteris-Black 2011, 311). Obama is adopting the storytelling and continues to extend the

metaphor (30) in the next several paragraphs, where he talks about the struggles that people had suffer through over the centuries.

In the JOURNEY metaphor (31), Obama talks about the day when people can look back and see how the nation has progressed.

(31) *So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far we have travelled* (The White House 2009).

(32) *Let be said by our children's children that we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth hat great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generation* (The White House 2009).

(33) *To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect* (The White House 2009).

Example (32) shows president's wishes to continue to make the country better and safer for the future generation. In example (33) Obama uses the metaphor to connect past with present and again his wish for the future.

5.1.2 MILITARY METAPHORS

Obama also make use of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR. Example (34) shows the political situation of the United States in words relation to war or fight. These terms war, violence, hatred illustrate the enemies the nation has within itself. Van Dijk studied positive and negative characteristic of in-group (*us*) and out-group (*them*) in his Ideological square and how these groups are presented in text (Van Dijk 2006, 373-374). The Ideological square tells us about which group have positive characteristics (usually our group) and which has negative characteristic (opponents) (Van Dijk 2011, 397). This is often presented in manipulation. For example, after the attack on 11th September. People were manipulated to accept operation against terrorism all over the world as “manipulative discourse” was heard (Van Dijk 2006, 374).

(34) *Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred* (The White House 2009).

These words are often used in connection to political debates, where politicians have to defend their position and there is always a winner and a loser. A political debate has also plan and strategy in place for every situation and the speaker acts according the situation. The WAR metaphor can be used for inducing fear and they are able to communicate through

emotion. On function of this metaphor is to evoke fear and that can persuade people to “pay attention, change their beliefs, and take action about important social issues.” (Flusberg, Matlock, and Thibodeau 2018, 5-6).

5.1.3 BUILDING METAPHORS

The conceptual metaphor STATE IS A BUILDING is often used to explain how the state developed from its beginnings. The builders are the people of the United States and the government, who contributes on the growth of the country. The application of BUILDING metaphors usually has positive connotation in political discourse. Metaphor contains the change from an abstract building to an understanding or peace (Charteris-Black 2011, 101-103).

(35) *As we will act, not only to create new jobs, but to lay a new foundation for growth*
(The White House 2009).

In the example (35) Obama shows that he wants the United States to evolve and continue to grow. Example (36) can be interpret as a warning to other states to continue to develop and not to fight. This also can mark a new are for America.

(36) *To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict, or blame their society's ill on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy* (The White House 2009).

5.1.4 FOOD METAPHORS

Food metaphors are one of the possibilities for politicians to connect with their voters. Food is linked to culture and the connection of politics and food “we find a productive site for making claims about borders, both imagined and geographic, and conceptions about qualities, values, and memories around which such boundaries are situated” (Perelman 2013, 2-3). In these citations (37), the metaphor contains words people use in connection to food. Barack Obama inserts these words to show the dark times people had to endure during civil war and times of segregation. Food flavours in political metaphors are used for providing information about the discussed topic (Perelman 2013, 5).

(37) *We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; and because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation, ...* (The White House 2009).

(38) *The cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long no longer apply* (The White House 2009).

The example (38) he demonstrates how the cynics did not notice that situation in politics has changed. The political arguments that were applicable in the past centuries cannot be practised in the 21st century. The FOOD metaphor signifies an outside influence that affects the nation as “when is food consumed it moves from the world into the self” (Perelman 2013, 19).

To conclude, Obama used wide variety of metaphors in his Inaugural speech. He used metaphors that are mostly connected to journey, military and food to express his points. The speech is full of optimism, energy and encouragement.

5.2 Inaugural Address by President Trump

On January 20, 2017 President Trump took oath to be the 45th president of United States in Washington, D.C. (Politico 2017). The power shifted from Democrats to Republicans. Just like Obama's, his speech was designed to set a tone for his presidency. The speech lasted only 16 minutes and was 1433 words long (The American Presidency Project), almost half of Obama's speech length. The number of people in attendance was approximately 600 000, which was considerably lower than when Obama made his speech in 2009 (Hunt 2017).

One of the main topics of the inaugural speech was the unity of the nation. “Together we will determine the course of America and the world for many, many years to come” (The White House 2017). He also talked about democracy “we are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the people” (The White House 2017). The economic situation of the United States and the wishes for improvement were mentioned several times. “The jobs left, and the factories closed,” or “Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities” (The White House 2017). He also touched upon the topics of foreign policy, security, health, immigration and the vision for future.

We can also look at the speech from the point of Aristotle's logos, pathos, and ethos. Trump alludes pathos using direct language. He used inclusive “we”, which attracts the audience and demonstrates his nationalism. “We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our dreams” (The White House 2017). At the beginning of the speech he appeals to ethos; he decided to follow the footsteps of previous presidents and the American people, so he thanked them. “Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President

Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: thank you” (The White House 2017) After the introduction, the tone of the speech changed.

5.2.1 PERSONIFICATION

Unlike Obama, Trump makes a frequent use of personification. He appeals to the basic conceptual metaphor NATION IS A PERSON (Charteris-Black 2011, 55-62). Trump presents the nation as a person. He applies words that are associated with a human being rather than a country. Charteris-Black explains in his book how personification is persuasive in political speeches. It is because of people's feelings, attitudes and beliefs towards one another. As the result, the emotional appeal is increased (Charteris-Black 2011, 61-2). In sentences (39), President Trump expresses personifies the enemies of the nation with the help of words *destroying*, *stealing*:

(39) *We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our job* (The White House 2017).

In these personifications, the words “face” and “confront” express how the nation is going to resolve difficulties.

(40) *We will face challenges. We will confront hardships* (The White House 2017).

He uses “friendship” as personification to express relationship of the United States with other nations.

(41) *We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world — but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interest first* (The White House 2017).

Trump personifies the nation by using “strong” in his slogan.

(42) *Together, we will make America strong again* (The White House 2017).

Example (42) is a slogan that is included in all of Trump's speeches, only with small alterations. Instead of word strong, Trump also uses words like first, wealthy, safe and great. Because of this slogan, Trump won the campaign over Hilary Clinton (Poole 2016). The slogan can characterize by in-groups (us) and out-groups (them) of the Ideological square (Van Dijk 2006, 373-374). Trump implies by the slogan that America and its establishment (us) as weak and at the same time he presents himself as a strong leader. He also indicates that foreign countries as strong (them) (McClay 2017, 20).

5.2.2 BUILDING METAPHORS

Just like Obama, Trump employs the conceptual metaphor STATE IS A BUILDING to express the development every state has to make. Trump used this metaphor in connection with construction in the future. As said before this metaphor has positive feel. In example (43) the President expresses his wish by the metaphor to improve infrastructure in the future. However, this metaphor is different to other JOURNEY metaphors as it does not signify reconstruction, but the improvement of living conditions.

(43) *We will build new roads, and highway, and bridges, and airports, and tunnels, and railways all across our wonderful nation. We will get our people off of welfare and back to work — rebuilding our country with America hands and American labor* (The White House 2017).

5.2.3 JOURNEY METAPHORS

Trump used JOURNEY metaphors to illustrate how the economic situation of the United States had changed in previous years. While Obama used this metaphor to show progress of the country. In the example (44) he talked about the closure of factories which resulted in a lot of unemployed people. However, it is reported that unemployment decreased when Obama was the president (Business insider). Trump is known to contradict and exaggerate facts in his speeches (Pfiffner 2018, 1). According to Pfiffner, it is because “he was telling falsehoods or to try to excuse them by equivocating demonstrated his conviction that he did not need to explain himself to others (2018, 13). Even though, his facts are constantly challenge by media, he did not prove the media wrong by refuting the accusation against him. Instead of this, he stated that media are “the enemy of the American people” (Pfiffner 2018, 3).

(44) *One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions upon millions of American workers left behind* (The White House 2017).

Overall, Trump did not use many metaphors in his Inaugural speech. His speech is straightforward as he used repetition to make clear what the goals are for the presidency: “We will make America strong again. We will make America wealthy again. We will make ...” (The White House 2017). In this way he could connect common interests between speaker and audience (Charteris-Black 2011, 8). “We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny” (The White House 2017).

It seems like the speech was constructed to carry negative tone. Trump uses negativity to persuade his audience. Persuasion through negativity is possible by the use of words to which people have already negative relationship. These words can have more power than criticism (Utych 2018. 78). This negativity continued through the whole speech, where president Trump pointed out everything, he believed was wrong with the country: poverty, unemployment, violence, border control and money taken from lower classes.

6 METAPHORICS OF CONGREGATIONAL SPEECHES BY TWO US PRESIDENTS

The next two speeches that will be analysed in this chapter are remarks by these presidents from Joint Address to Congress in the Capitol of United States. This Address is not required by constitution. This speech is also called the Union State address (On the Issues).

6.1 President Obama in Joint Session of Congress

The speech took place on 24th February in 2009 (The White House 2009). Obama's speech was approximately 5900 words long. He talked mainly about the State of the United States economy and ways for improvement, about the Recovery plan.

This Congressional address can be analysed from the point of persuasion according to ethos, pathos and logos. To persuade with logic (logos), he applied facts and figures. For example: “It reflects the stark reality of what we've inherited – a trillion dollars deficit, a financial crisis, and a costly recession” or “In the last eight years, premiums have grown four times faster than wages” (The White House 2009). He uses Pathos by telling a convincing story and to appeal to people's emotions. For example: “I think about Leonard Abess, the bank president from Miami who reportedly cashed out of his company, took \$60 million bonus and gave it out to all 399 people who worked for him, ... “(The White House 2009). Obama also used persuasion through ethos to establish his authority and credibility. “I'm committed to restoring a sense of honesty and accountability to our budget” (The White House 2009).

6.1.1 JOURNEY METAPHORS

Obama makes use of JOURNEY metaphors. As one of the most common conceptual metaphors, the metaphors can be found in a large number in the Congregational speech. For example,

(45) *A good education is no longer just a pathway to opportunity – it is a pre-requisite*
(The White House 2009).

In the example (45), Obama expresses the importance of education through the words “pathway” as way to make better living in the future, because as stated earlier JOURNEY metaphor can connect periods of time (Charteris-Black 2011, 324). Example (46) shows that the United States have several ways they can follow. One of them is to progress as a nation and develop new ways to improve economic situation.

(46) *As we stand at this crossroads of history, ...* (The White House 2009).

(47) *These education policies will open the doors of opportunity for our children. But it is up to us to ensure they walk through them* (The White House 2009).

In example (47) Obama promises to improve education policies and to make education affordable and available for children from all social classes and it is up to parents.

6.1.2 BUILDING METAPHORS

BUILDING metaphor can have positive or negative connotation, depending on the words through which the metaphor is constructed (Charteris-Black 2011, 102). Example (48) can be positively evaluated because the phrase “new foundation” implies new beginning.

(48) *... but to build a new foundation for lasting prosperity* (The White House 2009).

(49) *Nor did all of our problems begin when the housing market collapsed or the stock market sank* (The White House 2009).

However, the metaphors in example (49) have a negative evaluation, because they are composed of words “collapsed” and “sank” that indicate end of something.

(50) *I see it as a vision for America– as a blueprint for our future* (The White House 2009).

(51) *That is the foundation on which the American people expect us to build common ground* (The White House 2009).

Example (50) has positive connotation as the word “blueprint” signifies a new construction or development of some kind. In example (51) the BUILDING metaphor suggest that the economic changes Obama proposed, are supposed to improve the United States economy.

6.1.3 MILITARY METAPHORS

MILITARY metaphor can be also found in the speech. The metaphor suggests high price as “crushing” is connected to violence.

(52) *... we must also address the crushing cost of health care* (The White House 2009)

6.1.4 LANDSCAPE METAPHORS

Obama also made use of LANDSCAPE metaphors. This metaphor has a similar ideology to JOURNEY metaphor as they usually include some kind of purpose. The LANDSCAPE metaphors can also have positive or negative connotation (Charteris-Black 2011, 98-99). The example (53) has negative connotation as the word “mountain” suggest large amount.

(53) *... the mountain of debt they stand to inherit* (The White House 2009).

(54) ... *continued health care coverage to help the them weather this storm* (The White House 2009).

(55) ... *if we come together and lift this nation from the depths of this crisis; ...* (The White House 2009).

“Weather this storm” in example (54) suggests dealing with some difficult situation that is going to end soon. Example (55) indicates that when all of the conditions are going to be met, the economic situation of the United States is going to be better.

Obama used in the Congregational address mainly JOURNEY, BUILDING, MILITARY and LANDSCAPE metaphors to express the main points of the speech. The speech contains words of encouragement and positive attitude to future.

6.2 President Trump in Joint Address to Congress

Trump's joint address to congress took place on 28th February 2017 (The White House 2017). The speech was approximately 5100 words long. The main points of his speech were: (1) Obamacare, which he wanted to “repeal and replace”; (2) the security of the nation; (3) immigration.

Trump's speech can be analysed according to logos, pathos and ethos. He is evoking emotional reaction (pathos) for audience by telling a story “Joining us tonight in the gallery is remarkable woman, Denisha Merriweather. As a young girl, ...” (The White House 2017). He uses this method several times as he is trying to prove his point by telling stories. He demonstrates his authority and credibility (ethos). “I am going to bring millions of jobs” or “I am not going to let America and its great companies and workers be taken advantage of us any longer” (The White House 2017). He tried to appeal to logic (logos). “America has spent approximately \$6 trillion in the Middle East – all the while our infrastructure at home is crumbling” (The White House 2017).

6.2.1 JOURNEY METAPHORS

Trump used JOURNEY metaphors several times through the Congressional address. As Obama, Trump also uses JOURNEY metaphors in the Congregational address. For example,

(56) *Free nations are the best vehicle for expressing the will of the people, and America respects the right of all nations to chart their own path* (The White House 2017).

This metaphors in example (56) suggest that the United States are going to be less militarily involved with foreign countries and Trump encourages other nations to continue their

development. JOURNEY metaphor in example (57) also uses the word “path” to express how the nation progress in terms of right.

(57) *Tonight, as we mark the conclusion of our celebration of Black History Month, we are reminded of our nation's path toward civil rights and the work that still remains to be done* (The White House 2017).

6.2.2 BUILDING METAPHORS

Trump's BUILDING metaphors carry negative connotation. He uses words as “crumbling”, “collapsing” or “imploding”. In BUILDING metaphor (58) Trump promises that all part of the infrastructure, that had been neglected over the years, will be repaired.

(58) *Crumbling infrastructure will be replaced with new roads, bridges, tunnels, airports and railways gleaming across our very, very beautiful land* (The White House 2017).

(59) *Obamacare is collapsing, and we must act decisively to protect all Americans* (The White House 2017).

(60) *So I am calling on all Democrats and Republicans in Congress to work with us to save Americans from this imploding Obamacare disaster* (The White House 2017).

In the example (59), Trump suggests that the health care act, created during president Obama's administration, will soon come to an end and the Government needs to help citizens who will be affected by the cancelation. The BUILDING metaphor (60) also connects to Obamacare and to the difficulties that are associated with it.

6.2.3 LANDSCAPE METAPHORS

The LANDSCAPE metaphors are also part of Trump's Congregational speech. Trump uses this type of metaphor to amplify what is happening. The example (61) “the Earth shifted” suggest a big change in the nation. In this case, it is the change of focus on the United States.

(61) *Then, in 2016, the Earth shifted beneath our feet* (The White House 2017).

(62) *Finally, the chorus became an earthquake, and the people turned out by the tens of millions, and they were all united by one very simple, but crucial demand: that America must put its own citizens first* (The White House 2017).

The metaphor (62) connects to the previous example as it focused on the people “chorus” who disagreed with the government and protested against it.

6.2.4 MILITARY METAPHORS

Trump also made use of MILITARY metaphor. He used the word “beachhead”. This word is applied in military and it means “an area of land near the sea or a river that an attacking army taken control of and from where it can move forward into enemy country” (Cambridge Dictionary). This example (63) could mean that Trump is trying to prevent the spreading of terrorism in the United States.

(63) *We cannot allow a beachhead of terrorism to form inside America* (The White House 2017).

6.2.5 PERSONIFICATION

Personification can also be found in Trump' speech. He uses terminology connected to the person rather than to the nation. In the example (64) Trump perceives other nations as people either friendly or unfriendly. The metaphor in the example (65) compares cities to people in terms of childbirth signifying that cities once again full of opportunities.

(64) *All the nations of the world — friend or foe—will find that America is strong, America is proud, and America is free* (The White House 2017).

(65) *And our neglected inner cities will see a rebirth of hope, safety and opportunity* (The White House 2017).

Trump's Congregational address carried less negative tone with comparison to his Inaugural address. For example, his JOURNEY metaphors are express by the words “vehicle” or “path” compare to “left behind” in the Inaugural speech. Trump's campaign slogan was also used.

7 METAPHORICS OF SPEECHES AT NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

In this chapter I am going to address speeches at national conventions in 2016. At the end of Obama's presidency and during Trump's presidential campaign. The speeches were delivered only a few days apart.

7.1 President Obama at the Democratic National Convention

This speech took place on 28th July 2016 and was approximately 4800 words long. He talked about: (1) the values of American people; (2) the endorsement of Hilary Clinton presidency; (3) the criticism of Donald Trump campaign and his speeches. Obama referred to America as “a shining city on a hill – under constant construction” in the speech (Fournier 2016).

As in Obama's other speeches, he is trying to persuade his audience through the modes of persuasion, emotion connection, authority or credibility and logic. He is trying to use emotions to persuade his audience by telling a story about his ancestors. “See, my grandparents, they came from the heartland. Their ancestors began settling there about 200 years ago” (The White House 2016). He applies logic by talking about facts and figures. “We've seen deficits come down, 401(k)s recover, an auto industry set new records, unemployment reached eight-year lows, and out businesses create 15 million new jobs (The White House 2016). He validates his authority “I've insisted that change is never easy, and never quick; ... “(The White House 2016).

Obama's national convention speech does not contain many metaphors as his first Inaugural speech and Congregational address did. Here are some examples,

7.1.1 JOURNEY METAPHORS

“Gridlock” means “a situation where roads in a town become so blocked by cars that it is impossible for any traffic to move (Cambridge dictionary). The “gridlock in metaphor (66) implies that politics sometimes cannot make decisions on important matters.

(66) *We get frustrated with political gridlock, and worry about racial divisions* (The White House 2016).

7.1.2 BUILDING METAPHORS

The BUILDING metaphor in example (67) explains that it can be harder to help some families than others. As explained earlier BUILDING metaphors carry positive or negative evaluation. However, in the example (67) it is unclear if it is positive or negative as it depends on the point of view.

(67) ... for every child who needs a sturdier ladder out of poverty or world-class education; ... (The White House 2016).

7.1.3 PERSONIFICATION

President Obama present the nation as a person. He uses words connected to human characteristic to expresses personifies of the American nation with the help of words *courage, optimism, ingenuity, decent and generous*:

(68) *The America I know is full of courage, and optimism, and ingenuity. The America I know is decent and generous* (The White House 2016).

Obama used in his National Conventional speech only few metaphors and personifications. He referred to Ronald Reagan who called the United States “a shining city on a hill” (The White House 2016) and Obama added “under constant construction” to express there is always something that needs to improve.

7.2 President Trump at the Republican National Convention

Trump's Republican National Convention speech took place on 22th July and was approximately 5200 words long. Trump talked about: (1) violence in the United States; (2) Barack Obama's presidency; (3) economic situation; (4) Hillary Clinton's campaign. This speech carries negative tone as Trump focuses on criticism of president's Obama administration and Clinton's campaign. “President Obama has almost doubled our national debt”, “This is the legacy of Hillary Clinton: death, destruction, terrorism and weakness” (ABC News 2016).

Trump is trying to connect with his audience by telling stories. “...young girl named Sarah Root. She was 21 years-old, and was killed the day after graduating from college with a 4.0 Grade Point Average, number one in her class.” (The White House 2016). He used facts as a persuasion method. “Homicides last year increased by 17 percent in America's fifty largest cities.” (White House 2016). He attempts to establish his credibility “When I am President, I will work to ensure that all of our kids are treated equally, and protected equally.” (The White House 2016).

7.2.1 JOURNEY METAPHORS

Trump used JOURNEY metaphor with the word “path” to imply that Iran could develop nuclear weapons.

(69) *Iran is on the path to nuclear weapons* (ABC News 2016).

7.2.2 BUILDINGS METAPHORS

Trump also used few BUILDING metaphors. Example (70) suggest that the airports in the United States are in worst condition than they could be as the phrase “third world” connects to less economically evolve country.

(70) *Our airports are Third World condition* (ABC News 2016).

7.2.3 PERSONIFICATION

As in his other speeches, Trump used personification frequently as he present nation as a person. To personify the nation's political system, Trump used the words “will” and “courage” in the example (73). To express disbelieve, he used the word “shock” (74).

(71) *Our political system lacks the will, or the courage, ...* (ABC News 2016).

(72) *America was shocked to its core ...* (ABC News 2016).

(73) *History is watching* (ABC News 2016).

(74) *We will make America strong again* (ABC News 2016).

In the example (75) Trump used “is watching” in connection to history as a reminder that it is important to make good decision as it will be part of the history. Example (76) is a slogan Trump's uses in many of his speeches.

As Obama, Trump also used very few metaphors and personifications. As in Trump's Inaugural address and Congregational address personifications prevailed over metaphors. He also used repetition “think of this, think of this” or “not so good, not so good” to emphasize the goals of his presidency (ABC News 2016).

CONCLUSION

Metaphors are widely used in political speeches and this thesis demonstrates the use of metaphors in political rhetoric of Barack Obama's and Donald Trump's speeches. From the Obama's 2009 Inaugural Address, Trump's 2016 Inaugural Address, Obama's 2009 Congressional Address, Trump's 2016 Congressional Address and from Obama's and Trump's republican and democratic national convention. In the Inaugural Addresses and Congressional Addresses, both presidents used the metaphorical language widely. In the national conventional speeches, the use of metaphors was limited.

The theoretical part consists of background information about metaphors from four selected theories of metaphor. It shows how different authors had different views on metaphors. Aristotle discussed metaphors from the point of view of poetry, persuasive argumentation and the means of persuasion. Black's Interactional metaphor theory focuses on creation of new meanings. Structural-mapping theory is targeting the structure of metaphor and how they are created. Lakoff's and Johnson's Conceptual metaphor theory is connected to thought processes and the connection between target and source domains.

Second theoretical part includes types of conceptual metaphors. The connection between Primary and Complex metaphors. The conceptual metaphors also are divided into Structural, Orientational and Ontological metaphors. Each of these types are applicable in different situations. The last theoretical part deals with language of speech, persuasion and role of CMs in political speeches.

The practical part deals with analysis of metaphor in six political speeches. Obama's speeches contained many metaphors. The common metaphors for all three speeches were the JOURNEY and BUILDING metaphors. He used these CMs to express the economic progress and development the nation made over the years. Obama also expressed his thoughts other CMs, for example, MILITARY metaphors to express his opinions on us/them groups. Trump's speeches were not that rich on metaphors like Obama's. He expressed most of his points by using personification to appeal to CM NATION IS A PERSON. The metaphors he used also, like Obama's, connect to JOURNEY and BUILDING metaphors.

Propaganda is also a big part of these speeches. Propaganda is “conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses” “those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country” (Bernays 1928, 9). People often are not realizing how they are influenced by propaganda (Bernays 1928, 10). Propaganda can be initiated either by media

or government, but media is essential to expansion of propaganda (Herman & Chomsky 2002, 33). Propaganda or manipulative language is used by both presidents, but to a different extent. Trump used propaganda to appeal to people's emotions. For example: "We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs (The White House 2017). Obama used propaganda try to deliver true information. For example: "But I also know that in a time of crisis, we cannot afford to govern out of anger, or yield to the politics of the moment" (The White House 2009).

Metaphors are pervasive in everyday communication and also in political language. Both presidents Obama and Trump use many rhetorical tools to influence the audience. One of these tools is metaphor whose main function in political communication is to persuade the audience.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CM – Conceptual metaphor