



Universidad de Jaén

Escuela de Doctorado

**PERSUASION STRATEGIES IN THE 2020 US
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTUAL
METAPHORS IN THE CANDIDATES' POLITICAL
SPEECHES**

**ESTRATEGIAS DE PERSUASIÓN EN LAS ELECCIONES
PRESIDENCIALES DE LOS EEUU EN 2020: ANÁLISIS DE
LAS METÁFORAS CONCEPTUALES EN LOS DISCURSOS
POLÍTICOS DE LOS CANDIDATOS**

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A mis queridos padres,
por su amor incondicional, su apoyo constante
y por enseñarme a nunca rendirme ante los obstáculos de la vida.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CMA	Critical Metaphor Analysis
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
CTM	Contemporary Theory of Metaphor
ELM	Elaboration likelihood model
ICMs	Idealized Cognitive Models
MIP	Metaphor Identification Procedure
MIPVU	Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit
NTM	Neural Theory of Metaphor

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ABSTRACT

Language is essential for political discourse because it is mainly through language that politicians persuade the audience to support them. In this regard, conceptual metaphor is a key persuasive tool in politics because it helps politicians justify their decisions and interpret political events. The general aim of this doctoral thesis, in this connection, is to analyze the role and functioning of conceptual metaphors in the realization of the Ideological Square strategies in a corpus consisting of 99 political speeches delivered by presidential candidates Donald Trump and Joe Biden during the US presidential electioneering campaign in 2020. The research adopts a combination of Critical Discourse Analysis and Conceptual Metaphor Theory as the main theoretical approaches. This doctoral thesis provides a new perspective on the persuasion strategy realization in American political discourse through the polarization of Us and Them. Moreover, conceptual metaphors are classified in accordance with the Ideological Square strategies. The source domains WAR, UP/DOWN, SPORT/GAMES, BUILDINGS, MOVEMENT/DIRECTION, PERSONIFICATION, BODY, JOURNEY, MACHINES, PLANTS, and other miscellaneous conceptual metaphors are identified and analyzed in the presidential candidates' political speeches. In addition, the use of conceptual metaphors by the representatives of the main political parties in the United States is compared. As a result, it is demonstrated that there are certain variables that condition the use of conceptual metaphors in the analyzed political discourses. Thus, Ideological Square strategies and Type of metaphor or Politician and Type of metaphor, for instance, are interdependent variables. It is established that politicians construct their political images on the basis of underlying conceptual metaphors that evoke familiar patterns or associations in the audience's mind. Accordingly, understanding these underlying conceptual mappings provides comprehension of how political persuasion is realized.

Key words: political persuasion, conceptual metaphors, electioneering discourse, presidential elections, cognitive linguistics, United States.

RESUMEN

El lenguaje es esencial para el discurso político porque es principalmente a través del lenguaje que los políticos persuaden a la audiencia para apoyarlos. En este sentido, la metáfora conceptual es una herramienta persuasiva clave en la política, porque ayuda a los políticos a justificar sus decisiones e interpretar los acontecimientos políticos. El objetivo general de esta tesis doctoral, desde esta perspectiva, es analizar el papel y funcionamiento de las metáforas conceptuales en la realización de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico en el corpus formado por los 99 discursos políticos pronunciados por los candidatos presidenciales Donald Trump y Joe Biden durante la campaña electoral presidencial en los Estados Unidos en 2020. La investigación adopta la combinación del Análisis Crítico del Discurso y la Teoría de la Metáfora Conceptual como enfoques teóricos principales. Esta tesis doctoral proporciona una nueva perspectiva sobre la realización de la estrategia de persuasión en el discurso político estadounidense a través de la polarización de Nosotros y Ellos. Asimismo, se lleva a cabo una clasificación de metáforas conceptuales de acuerdo con las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico. Se identifican y analizan los dominios fuente GUERRA, ARRIBA/ABAJO, DEPORTES/JUEGOS, EDIFICIOS, MOVIMIENTO/DIRECCIÓN, PERSONIFICACIÓN, CUERPO, VIAJE, MÁQUINAS, PLANTAS y otras metáforas conceptuales diversas en discursos políticos de los candidatos presidenciales. Adicionalmente, se compara el uso de metáforas conceptuales por parte de los candidatos de los principales partidos políticos de los Estados Unidos. Como resultado, se demuestra que hay determinadas variables que condicionan el uso de las metáforas conceptuales en los discursos políticos analizados. Así, por ejemplo, Estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico y Tipo de metáfora o Político y Tipo de metáfora son variables interdependientes. Se establece que los políticos construyen sus imágenes políticas sobre la base de metáforas conceptuales subyacentes que evocan patrones familiares o asociaciones en la mente de la audiencia. En consecuencia, la comprensión de estos mapeos conceptuales subyacentes ayuda a comprender cómo se lleva a cabo la persuasión política.

Palabras clave: persuasión política, metáforas conceptuales, discurso electoral, elecciones presidenciales, lingüística cognitiva, Estados Unidos.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, political discourse was synonymous to rhetoric because the original meaning of rhetoric was persuasion in a political context, with the major emphasis on language (Parry-Giles & Hogan, 2010; Wilson, 2015). Therefore, politics is regarded as relations between language and power, and consequently, political control is exercised through control of language (Wodak, 2012). Since politics is about gaining and maintaining power, language is essential for political discourse because it is through language that politicians persuade the audience to support them.

In this regard, the conceptual metaphor is a vital persuasive instrument in politics because it makes complex issues understandable and simpler through language (Semino, 2008, p. 90) and helps politicians justify their decisions and interpret political events (Feldman, 1998, p. 196). Furthermore, rhetorical devices as metaphors have an impact on the content and structure of mental models that exist in the collective consciousness of the nation (Dillard & Pfau, 2002; O'Keefe, 2002).

The idea of metaphor as a persuasive tool emerged in the Antiquity, in Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*. He described metaphor as a figurative expression that creates a vivid and powerful image capable of changing people's minds through comparison. It is also noteworthy that Aristotle included cognitive and discursive aspects of metaphor in his study of rhetoric (Mahon, 1999).

Nevertheless, a revolutionary turn in metaphor studies was made by Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By*, published in 1980. This seminal work introduced a cognitive perspective and demonstrated that metaphor pertains to the area of thought and is fundamental in all spheres of life (Cameron, 2012, p. 342). Accordingly, language is metaphorically structured because it is determined by an underlying conceptual framing of reality, i.e., mappings between the source and the target domains (Neagu, 2013, p. 13). In addition, conceptual metaphors are essential in people's aesthetical and emotional experiences. It is a core scheme that allows people to interpret reality and themselves in this world (Gibbs, 2008, p. 3).

Therefore, it is possible to claim that conceptual metaphors construct politics by providing clear understanding of abstract elusive issues such as democracy, politics, social equality, terrorism, etc. (Stenvoll, 2008, p. 35; Neagu, 2013, p. 55). Moreover, conceptual metaphors add a pragmatic value to political discourse by providing the evaluation of a certain problem, making an emotional appeal, and convincing the audience that the problem can be solved (Musolff, 2016, p. 4).

It is also worth mentioning that people tend to respond to persuasive messages that promise to satisfy their needs. Consequently, the politicians, who seek to persuade their electorate, should appeal to the audience's needs and wishes as well as their own goals. This is conditioned by the fact that persuasion is a mutual process. In other words, people want their needs satisfied by the politicians, while politicians refer to these needs in their speeches. Consequently, if people's needs are fulfilled, then they will satisfy the politicians' needs to gain power by voting for them (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, p. 33).

Apart from that, the main power of conceptual metaphor lies in its ability to create a contrast between the positive characteristics of one politician and the shortcomings of his/her opponent. Since voters are prone to support a candidate whose moral virtues and integrity they do not question, politician's self-presentation becomes important. Thus, in order to gain the electorate's trust, politicians have to demonstrate that they share values and beliefs with their voters. In this connection, the selection of metaphors is crucial, because they possess an enormous cognitive and emotional appeal through underlying mental models that contributes to political persuasion (Charteris-Black, 2011, pp. 1-2).

A political speech without any figures of speech would lack emotional appeal and thus would sound monotonous to the audience (Gibbs et al., 2002). Therefore, the persuasive implicit effect of conceptual metaphors is principally based on emotions. When used in politics, this emotional appeal creates a sense of intimacy between the speaker and the audience on the basis of shared emotions. As a result, metaphors can reinforce the politician's authority and increase people's fear or resentment towards certain political actions (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 63).

Hence, conceptual metaphors can subconsciously influence the electorate's perception of important issues (Handl & Schmid, 2011, p. 3). This is achieved through emphasizing some aspects of political activities while hiding others. Accordingly, metaphors establish certain connections between concepts pertaining to different domains. Thus, by interpreting one thing in terms of another one, conceptual metaphors influence the mind more significantly than any other rhetorical device. Instead of merely conveying a given meaning, they create a new one and, therefore, contribute to changing the addressees' attitudes and opinions (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 63). In other words, conceptual metaphors provide a comprehensible interpretation of physical reality and, at the same time, construct it (Honohan, 2008, p. 70).

Taking into account the powerful cognitive effects of metaphors, their persuasive role in political discourse has long been of interest in discourse studies and has received considerable attention from linguists. Thus, the ever-growing number of studies within this field is concerned

with cognitive aspects of political discourse, in particular, with the conceptual metaphors as an efficient persuasive instrument.

In this sense, a large scope of research is concentrated on combining discourse and cognition (van Dijk, 2015; Wodak, 2012; Fairclough, 2012). Moreover, the notion of persuasion and its characteristic features is covered by Jones and Peccei (2004), Virtanen and Halmari (2005), and Blas Arroyo (2010). Besides, many scholars, including Partington (2003), Potapenko (2016a, 2016b), or Giner (2017), have studied persuasion from a rhetorical perspective. Apart from that, other scholars, such as Musolff (2004, 2016), Goatly (2007), Semino (2008), Neagu (2013), and Charteris-Black (2004, 2006, 2009, 2011, 2018), have investigated the role of conceptual metaphors in English political discourse.

In this regard, although this doctoral thesis is based on the prominent works on discourse and cognitive studies by renowned linguists, the choice of the research focus of this thesis is justified by an existing gap in the scope of studies on conceptual metaphors in political discourse, since up to this moment there has been no research on the role of conceptual metaphors in persuasion during the US Presidential elections in 2020.

Apart from that, the idea to conduct this doctoral research appeared due to a personal interest in politics and political persuasion and its realization through conceptual metaphors. This doctoral thesis, in this sense, continues the research initiated as a part of a Master's diploma paper entitled "Stylistic means of persuasion strategy realization in English political discourse", carried out within the academic vocational program "Modern philological studies (English and another foreign language): linguistics and translation studies" at Kyiv National Linguistic University, Ukraine. The Master's diploma paper contained limited research of the conceptual metaphors in American and British political discourses. As a result, it was established that political narrative followed similar patterns constructed on familiar situations from the collective memory.

In continuation of previous research, this doctoral thesis focuses on the realization of Ideological Square strategies in political discourse with the help of conceptual metaphors on the material of the 2020 US Presidential elections. The object of research is conceptual metaphors identified in the electioneering discourse. More specifically, the subject of the study is the role of conceptual metaphors in the realization of political persuasion during the US Presidential elections in 2020. This research study adopts the combination of cognitive linguistics in the forms of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (hereinafter – CMT) and Critical Discourse Analysis (hereinafter – CDA) approaches to the study of persuasion strategies in the 2020 US presidential elections, using conceptual metaphor as a core concept.

Consequently, the general aim of this doctoral thesis is to analyze the role and functioning of conceptual metaphors in the realization of the Ideological Square strategies in the corpus comprised by the political speeches delivered by presidential candidates Donald Trump and Joe Biden during the US presidential electioneering campaign in 2020 through CMT and CDA.

This general aim leads to the initial hypothesis of this study, which puts forward that there are certain variables that influence the choice of conceptual metaphors in public speeches delivered during the 2020 US Presidential campaign, such as the type of metaphor, the politicians, the source domain, the target domain, and Ideological Square strategies. Consequently, this initial hypothesis is materialized in the following 7 research hypotheses:

- a) Politician and Type of metaphor are mutually dependent variables.
- b) Politician and Ideological Square strategies are interrelated variables.
- c) Politician and Source domain are interdependent variables.
- d) Politician and Target domain are mutually related variables.
- e) Ideological Square strategies and Type of metaphor are interrelated variables.
- f) Ideological Square strategies and Source domain are mutually dependent variables.
- g) Ideological Square strategies and Target domain are interrelated variables.

In order to accomplish the general aim and verify the research hypotheses, it is necessary to complete the following specific objectives:

- a) to identify conceptual metaphors in the political speeches delivered by the presidential candidates Donald Trump and Joe Biden during their electioneering campaign;
- b) to classify the identified conceptual metaphors according to the type of metaphor, the source domain, the target domain, the Ideological Square strategies, and the politician who uses the metaphors;
- c) to verify whether the variable Politician is related to the variable Type of metaphor;
- d) to determine if the variable Politician is related to the variable Ideological Square strategies;
- e) to verify if the variable Politician is related to the variable Source domain;
- f) to check whether the variable Politician is related to the variable Target domain;
- g) to establish whether the variable Ideological Square strategies is related to the variable Type of metaphor;
- h) to establish whether the variable Ideological Square strategies is related to the variables Source domain and Target domain;

i) to analyze the role and functioning of conceptual metaphors in the realization of the Ideological Square strategies in the corpus during the US Presidential electioneering campaign in 2020.

With a view to complete the specific objectives, the transcripts of campaign speeches delivered by presidential candidates Joe Biden and Donald Trump during the 2020 US Presidential electioneering campaign were collected. The corpus of this research comprises transcripts of 99 electioneering speeches, containing 522,812 words, by the Democratic and Republican candidates for the Presidency in the USA in 2020, namely Joe Biden (72 speeches, containing 243,356 words) and Donald Trump (27 speeches, containing 279,456 words).

The general aim, specific objectives, and the hypothesis of this research led to the use of the following methods of linguistic analysis: discourse analysis, CDA, Critical Metaphor Analysis (hereinafter – CMA) in the form of Metaphor Identification Procedure (hereinafter – MIP) and the method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings), a comparative method, a contextual analysis, and statistical methods.

Taking into consideration that political discourse is widely manifested through a political speech as a prominent characteristic of a political activity, the analysis of political speeches from a cognitive point of view has an enormous potential for disclosing the persuasive use of conceptual metaphors with a view to making the audience feel convinced of having made the right choice. Hence, the novelty of this research lies in the fact that it is the first attempt of the analysis of the cognitive aspect of political speeches delivered by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during the 2020 US Presidential electioneering campaign which provides a new perspective on the persuasion strategy realization in American political discourse. Moreover, it presents a classification of conceptual metaphors in accordance with the Ideological Square strategies. The research novelty also stems from comparing the use of conceptual metaphors to realize these strategies by the representatives of distinct political ideologies that correspond to the Republican and the Democratic parties. In addition, the role and functioning of conceptual metaphors during the 2020 US Presidential electioneering campaign are established with respect to the Ideological Square strategies realization.

The topicality of the research is determined by a general tendency of modern linguistics towards the combination of CMT and CDA to reveal the use of cognitive means of persuasion strategy realization in political discourse, which reflects distinct ideologies. Accordingly, the analysis of campaign speeches of American politicians through CMT and CDA facilitates comprehension of values and beliefs of the American society.

In this regard, the theoretical significance of this doctoral thesis consists in expanding the theoretical basis of discourse and cognitive studies, providing a detailed insight into the persuasion strategies realization in American political discourse. Apart from that, establishing specific characteristics of conceptual metaphors in campaign speeches of Donald Trump and Joe Biden contributes to the theoretical aspects of cognitive persuasive means typical of American political discourse. Moreover, this doctoral thesis is a contribution to the linguacultural American studies that are focused on national identity of the Americans. At the same time, the practical significance of this research is stipulated by the possibility to apply its results to teaching discourse studies and cognitive linguistics to university students.

As regards the structure of this doctoral thesis, it consists of seven chapters, namely: Introduction, Theoretical framework, Literature review, Methodology, Results, Discussion, and Conclusions. Apart from that, the thesis contains List of abbreviations, List of tables, List of figures, Abstracts in English and Spanish, References, Sources, and Appendices.

The Introduction provides the background of the research, personal and scientific justification of the choice of the research scope. Besides, it states the object and the subject matter of the research, and clarifies the general aim and specific objectives. In addition, the novelty, topicality of the research, and its theoretical and practical significance are described.

The Theoretical framework outlines the theoretical basis of the research. Firstly, it is focused on determining the notion of political discourse in present-day linguistic studies. In particular, it dwells upon political speeches as a realization of electioneering discourse. Secondly, the notion of persuasion is defined in political discourse. Thus, the audience is analyzed as a determining factor of a persuasion process, persuasion strategies in rhetoric are specified, and persuasion strategies in the context of ideology construction by van Dijk are explained in detail. Thirdly, conceptual metaphors are studied as a persuasive tool in electioneering discourse. In this regard, the history of ideas on conceptual metaphors is presented. Moreover, the CMT by Lakoff and Johnson is explained, focusing in particular on the origins of the notion of conceptual metaphor, its types and criticism of the theoretical apparatus. In addition, the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor (hereinafter – CTM) and the Neural Theory of Metaphor (hereinafter – NTM) are briefly described.

The Literature review presents the outline of the main research studies on the use of conceptual metaphors in a political context, conducted by the most prominent scholars in cognitive linguistics and CDA. Accordingly, the ideological impact of conceptual metaphors on politics and persuasion is specified. Apart from that, the role of conceptual metaphors in the EU and the US politics is established. Moreover, the overview of metaphorical

conceptualizations of political communities is provided in general terms and the impact of natural sciences on metaphorical conceptualization of politics is determined.

The Methodology chapter provides the research procedure. In particular, it specifies the general aim, specific objectives of the research and the hypothesis, describes the corpus of study, and determines research stages. Apart from that, this chapter describes the research methods that are used to achieve the aim and objectives. Thus, CDA and CMA are defined as the main approaches adopted in this doctoral research. The MIP and the method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings by Drulák are described. Finally, statistical methods are specified.

The Results chapter provides the quantitative results of the analysis of the Ideological Square realization via conceptual metaphors. Thus, the verification of the research hypothesis is realized through the Chi-square Test of Independence. The classifications of conceptual metaphors identified in the corpus by the Ideological Square strategies, source domains, target domains, and the politician who use them are carried out. Moreover, the quantitative results are presented in the forms of tables and figures.

The Discussion chapter presents a detailed analysis of the use of conceptual metaphors focusing on the Ideological Square strategies realization in the analyzed corpus. Firstly, the general tendency for the realization of political persuasion in the 2020 US presidential electioneering campaign is described. In addition, the source domains WAR, UP/DOWN, SPORT/GAMES, BUILDINGS, MOVEMENT/DIRECTION, PERSONIFICATION, BODY, JOURNEY, MACHINES, PLANTS, and other miscellaneous conceptual metaphors are analyzed in terms of realization of the Ideological Square strategies by the presidential candidates.

The Conclusions is the final chapter that summarizes the obtained results and inferences, describes limitations of the study, and outlines the main suggestions for further research. In accordance with Article 25.4 of the Regulation of Doctoral Studies of the University of Jaen, the Introduction and the Conclusions chapters have been translated into the Spanish language. The Appendices section contains the List of conceptual metaphors (Appendix 1), the List of source domains (Appendix 2), and the List of target domains (Appendix 3). The thesis also contains a List of abbreviations with the explanation of 9 abbreviations that are used in this doctoral thesis, a List of tables, consisting of 13 tables which present the quantitative results of the research, and finally, a List of figures, which contains 25 figures that illustrate the theoretical basis and practical results of this research.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. The notion of political discourse in present-day linguistic studies

Our perception of the world to a great extent is shaped by language. As Heidegger (1978, p. 217) states, “language is the house of Being”. In other words, language is an entity where all human experience is concentrated. Moreover, Foucault (2005) insists on the fact that language is inevitably engaged in relations of power. At the same time, it is necessary to legitimize power so that people accept it (Mayr, 2015, p. 758). Therefore, according to Mulholland (2005, p. 15), language often functions to protect and legitimize the power of the ruling class and the existing power-structural relations in society.

Furthermore, according to Shapiro (1982, pp. 1-2), society is controlled by “those who control discourse”. Hence, “politics is discourse, and discourse is politics” (Shapiro, 1982, pp. 1-2). Consequently, as van Dijk (1998, 2000) believes, when language and politics coincide, language functions as a power strategy aimed to persuade the public. Moreover, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 4) asserts that politics is concerned with gaining and preserving power. He highlights that “language is the lifeblood of politics” (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 4). In other words, language is essential to politics and provides it with necessary persuasive tools. However, politicians have to deal with the enormous pressure on them to persuade the public to follow their policies (Charteris-Black, 2018, p. 4).

Hence, political discourse is essential in the realization of persuasion. Consequently, it is crucial to define the term *political discourse* in contemporary discourse studies. Firstly, it can refer to a great number of distinct types of oral or written texts. For example, it can embrace such types of discourse as a speech, debate or political interview (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; van Dijk, 1997).

Accordingly, political discourse involves any talk or text about politics (Wilson, 2015, p. 775). Similarly, it is possible to affirm that language has innately political nature (Joseph, 2006). Likewise, Wodak and de Cillia (2006, p. 709) maintain that everyday language is constantly involved with institutionalized politics. From this viewpoint, political discourse embraces virtually all instances of language use (Wilson, 2015, p. 775). In a similar vein, Okulska and Cap (2010, p. 6) state that almost all human communication in different settings and with differences in power can be considered political discourse. In addition, according to Fairclough (2006, p. 33), the scope of political discourse should extend beyond the politics itself into the “lifeworld” (Dunmire, 2012, p. 739).

On the other hand, Wilson (2015, p. 788) excludes everyday discourse about politics from the definition of political discourse and limits political discourse to the language use by

politicians. Furthermore, Liebes and Ribak (1991) highlight persuasive nature of political discourse. They determine political discourse as a communicative act, aimed by participants at imparting specific meanings to particular facts and persuade the public. This implies that political discourse is considered to be a manipulative linguistic strategy which helps achieve ideological aims. In addition, Fairclough (2006, p. 33) regards political discourse as rather stable institutionalized structures and practices of the polity (Dunmire, 2012, p. 738).

Moreover, Chilton (2004, p. 204) states that political discourse has a communicative and sociolinguistic nature. Thus, politicians struggle to get the allegiance and support of people by way of manipulating them via a number of linguistic means in order to evoke peoples' emotions. In addition, Chilton (2004, p. 204) argues that there are particular emotions that can be called political, for example, the feeling of national identity, family love, fear of invaders, etc. They are evoked and reinforced intentionally in a political speech.

The definition of political discourse is vague within contemporary discourse studies. Therefore, in this thesis, the definitions provided by van Dijk (2001b) and Wilson (2015) are adopted. Thus, van Dijk (2001b) defines political discourse as a class of genre determined by the sphere of politics. Besides, van Dijk (2001b) suggests that the term can be reduced to the set of activities politicians participate in. Similarly, Wilson (2015, p. 776) specifies that political discourse is the analysis of language used in politics, the emphasis being on language structure manifesting political functions.

Moreover, according to van Dijk (2002, p. 225; 2015, p. 470), political discourse is defined in terms of a communicative situation because it is not mainly defined by subject matter, but by a speaker and the audience, timing, setting, and goals. In other words, a speaker has to take into consideration a number of textual and contextual factors that might have an effect on his or her discourse. These factors may vary from knowing the situation or particular occasion to anticipating the reaction of the recipients; and knowing what is appropriate to be said and what is not. Consequently, it is important to single out the relevant categories of the communicative event of political discourse as follows (van Dijk, 2002, p. 225; 2015, p. 470):

- a) overall domain (politics),
- b) social event (presidential elections),
- c) setting (timing and place),
- d) goals (persuading the public),
- e) interaction (rally),
- f) genre (campaign speech),
- g) institutional roles and identities (presidential candidates, audience, constituency),

h) participants' cognition (aims, knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, ideologies).

Accordingly, to control the communicative event is to exercise control over these categories. Thus, politicians decide on the timing and location of a communicative event, what roles or image they assume, what knowledge or opinions they rely on, or what political goals they can achieve by means of their discourse. In other words, this control focuses on the participants' contexts because the appropriateness of discourse depends on the context model (van Dijk, 2015, p. 471).

Furthermore, Kenzhekanova (2015) distinguishes four distinctive features that characterize political discourse, based on a thematic criterion:

1) Antagonism, or competitiveness, is a basic characteristic of politics, which is created via a permanent confrontation between the parties. For example, the analogy between political and sport discourses can be observed due to the fact that the most conspicuous features of sport are present in political activities, namely: opponents, competition, strategies and tactics, weapons, victory or failure.

2) Aggressiveness is connected with the concepts of hierarchy and domination. Apart from that, it is regarded as a cornerstone of power that at the same time determines a hierarchy of social and political relationships. Kenzhekanova (2015) explains that the reason for this hierarchy is a competition among politicians which is connected with the struggle for power. Considering the aggressive nature of speech in political discourse, it is worth mentioning that this aggression is pointed at a certain politician who is not directly present in the situation of communication and aims at belittling the status of the addresser. Examples which could serve to illustrate this point are the criticism of a political opponent behind his back in campaign speeches, interviews or debates.

3) An ideological component embraces the scope of beliefs and attitudes built on common values and collective memory. This characteristic makes politics similar to a war discourse. Their interrelation lies in such notions as a doctrine of the country, agreements and treaties, and peace talks and thus provides the ideological aspect to political discourse.

4) Theatricalness brings together political discourse, advertising and scenic discourses. This means that the audience acts not as an immediate addresser, but as the direct observer who watches political actions and events as a stageplay with an enthralling plot and an unexpected end. Therefore, presidential candidates intentionally play to the gallery in order to make impression and elicit applause from the audience during rally speeches or the inauguration address (Kenzhekanova, 2015).

In addition, as Edelman (1967) asserts in his book *The Symbolic Use of Politics*, political discourse follows specific patterns and is ritualized (Edelman, 1967, as cited in Wodak, 2012, p. 525). Similarly, taking into account the theatricality of politics, Goffman (1959, pp. 17-112, as cited in Wodak, 2012, p. 525) singles out frontstage and backstage. Frontstage is where the performance occurs and the actors and the audience are present. On the other hand, backstage is where the actors are present but the audience is absent, so that the actors can put away their roles without ruining their images. In a similar vein, Wodak (2012, p. 525) observes the performative nature of political activities. These activities are designed to present politicians in a favorable way to the public, so that they could play their role in front of the audience. Apart from that, Wodak (2002, p. 149) singles out the following functions of political discourse:

- a) construction of knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, situations, roles, images, and interpersonal relations;
- b) formation of certain social conditions necessary in particular political situations;
- c) construction of national identities;
- d) justification, reproduction, maintenance or destruction of a certain status quo.

It is also necessary to add that van Dijk (2002, p. 204) sets forth that there are three levels of political discourse as follows:

- a) the base level, which involves individual politicians and citizens who have their thoughts, values, and discourse;
- b) the intermediate level, which deals with individual politicians and citizens in relation to political institutions;
- c) the top level, which includes the intermediate level and political systems with their discourse and the socio-cultural factors.

Similarly, Chilton and Schäffner (2002, p. 5) distinguish two core constituents in politics. Firstly, politics is a power struggle between politicians who attempt to obtain and preserve it and their opponents who oppose such attempts. Secondly, politics is a cooperation because a society and a state have institutions and mechanisms aimed to overcome conflicts of interest over power.

In addition, Chilton (2004, p. 3) develops this idea further and sub-classifies politics into micro and macro-levels of society. At the micro-level, politics is a struggle for dominance and interest between individuals or social groups with the help of persuasion. At the macro-level, state institutions are involved in supporting the dominant power and in resolving conflicts, including politicians, social movements, and parties (Dunmire, 2012, p. 738). At both levels, a wide range of persuasive strategies are used to achieve certain goals.

It is also necessary to mention that, according to Schäffner (1997), there are two ways to link linguistics to politics. The first way is to analyze persuasive functions performed by a word selection at the micro-level. Another one is to examine linguistic units that were used to perform these functions in the communicative event (Partington, 2003, p. 28).

2.1.1. Presidential elections as a subtype of political discourse

Kiewe (1998, p. 79) maintains that in American culture, discourse is extremely important in social and political life, especially in the presidency. This can be illustrated by the fact, as Tulis (1987) described it, that the twentieth-century presidency is the rhetorical presidency because it relied on public discourse. Meanwhile, the nation started to regard rhetorical skills as characteristic features of the authorities (Hart, 1987). Thus, the presidency is seen as “a talking institution” (Kiewe, 1998, p. 54), with the American president ruling by discourse. Similarly, Jamieson (1992, pp. 15-22) points out that the American president is the epitome of the nation, his role being that of principal communicator. That is why, the president often addresses his constituencies at locations.

However, before taking the office of the presidency, candidates have to gain the electorate’s trust and persuade the citizens to vote for them. Thus, Anderson (1998, p. 64) observes that in a democratic country, a politician running for the presidency attempts to motivate the voters who are likely to support his or her candidacy to vote. It is also important to note that the electioneering campaign encourages the participation of the electorate. However, voters who support their adversaries may constrain the overall participation. Moreover, Anderson (1998, p. 65) adds that the participation depends on partisanship. In other words, the candidates seek to invoke citizens’ identification with the beliefs expressed by the candidates.

This can be explained by the fact that in the democratic societies partisans are more active voters than non-partisans. For example, Rosenstone and Hansen (1993, p. 273) estimate that people who regard themselves as strong Democrats or strong Republicans are prone to vote thirty percent higher than people who regards themselves as independents (Anderson, 1998, p. 65). Consequently, candidates can motivate the electorate to participate just by reminding citizens of their political identity (Ansolabehere & Iyengar, 1995, p. 75). To continue this idea, Anderson (1998, p. 66) believes that in the United States, Republicans and Democrats are symbols that entail complex and thorough views about the political world. In other words, being a Republican or a Democrat involves having a precise list of likes about the party one sticks to and dislikes about the adversary party.

In this sense, Beck and Jennings (1991) affirm that these lists of beliefs on abortion, taxation, immigration, governmental intervention are used by the candidates to instigate voters to identify themselves with the candidate sharing their political identity (Anderson, 1998, p. 66).

In order to persuade the electorate, politicians choose meticulously the issues they speak about. According to Anderson (1998, p. 65), external and domestic security, and social advances are the most common subject-matters of any electioneering campaign. At the same time, Anderson (1998, p. 65) adds that the language politicians use acquires some distinctive features to encourage participation. For example, electoral politicians can focus citizens' attention on the politicians' personalities and relationships with them.

2.1.2. Political speeches as a realization of electioneering discourse

Charteris-Black (2011, p. 8) draws attention to the fact that already in the Antiquity speech making became the art of creating a reputation for the politician and making the world. Moreover, Sapir (1921) affirms that society speaks through the individual. In other words, a political speech reveals the philosophy, values, and beliefs of a certain politician, political party, organisation, community and society (Potapenko, 2016a). Thus, the main manifestation of political discourse is a political speech as a prominent characteristic of various political activities. Therefore, Rapp (2010) defines a political speech as a communicative, argumentative and persuasive text that seeks to make the audience take a certain course of action and react in a desirable way.

Moreover, Clark (1996, p. 81) claims that political speeches are presented to the audience in the form of a monologue, because there is almost no necessity of interaction. However, it is important to highlight that political discourse assumes a global audience in society. Although, as Virtanen and Halmari (2005) explain, it is addressed to the general public, it does not involve every member of his society. Furthermore, it is also a part of discourse pertaining to distinct discourse communities, who are use discourse with various goals. Consequently, political speeches, being available to all citizens, are perceived and interpreted in various manners, which depends on the approval or disapproval of the speakers by the audience. In addition, the publicity of political speeches is limited to a part of the audience that is willing to know the ongoing political events (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005).

It is also worth mentioning that within classical rhetoric there was a distinction between structure and style. Thus, Charteris-Black (2011, pp. 8-9) states that the structure deals with the ways in which the arrangement of a speech influences the public. First of all, the politician

seeks to get the audience's attention by heuristics ('discovery'). After that, he or she follows a taxis (a plan) of the speech. At the same time, the context of the speech delivery is also important.

Aristotle claimed that the taxis consists of four elements such as "an *exordium*, or introduction (*prooimion*), an advanced thesis (*prothesis*), proofs (*pisteis*), and a conclusion (*epilogos*)" (cited in Enos & Fahnestock, 2001, p. 51). However, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 9) elaborates Aristotle's idea and distinguishes five stages of the taxis, which are still resorted to by contemporary politicians, as follows:

- a) *exordium*, or an introduction, in which the speaker seeks to flatter or praise the audience;
- b) *narratio*, or the presentation of the argument;
- c) *confirmatio*, or the presentation of examples and analogies to underpin the argument;
- d) *refutatio*, or the expectation of the opponents' counter-arguments;
- e) *conclusio*, in which the politician appeals to emotions and instincts of the audience.

On the one hand, Billig (1996), and Billig and MacMillan (2005) put forward that an argument includes not less than one counter-argument. Therefore, arguments presuppose the possibility of an opposite political opinion. On the other hand, Muntigl (2002, p. 51) doubts that an argument is always "a politicizing move" to imply opposite views. On the contrary, arguments can be used to underpin and enhance the speaker's position by discarding possible alternatives even before they were produced (Antaki & Wetherell, 1999).

Furthermore, it is essential to classify a political speech into genres. Thus, Campbell and Jamieson (1978, p. 19) determine that genres are stylistic replies to perceived settings and circumstances. In other words, a genre of the political speech depends on the communicative event in which political communication takes place such as setting, circumstances, purposes, roles, type of interaction and societal action. Moreover, Rama Martínez (2000, p. 19) explains that communicative events belonging to the same genre share purposes of the participants to achieve. Therefore, a genre is determined by specific purposes and objectives. In addition, the purposes determine the genre structure, its style and content.

Apart from that, Campbell and Jamieson (1978, p. 20) add that a genre is constituted by a range of unique characteristics that occur together and perform the same function. Similarly, Rowland (1991, pp. 128-144) develops this point of view and claims that "genres are empirical categories of discourse that possess underlying (ontological) defining principles distinguishing them from other works" (Rowland, 1991, p. 134). At the same time, Rowland (1991, p. 134) further develops his own idea and maintains that the internal dynamic of a genre is constructed

“by some constraints and needs, limiting purpose in confronting those needs, and societal limitations on appropriate rhetorical responses” (Rowland, 1991, p. 134). In addition, as Neville-Shepard (2019, p. 89) notes, it means that according to this definition there are not so many communicative events that need similar responses. Finally, Hart describes genre as a class of messages that share structures and contents and invoke some expectations in the public (Hoffman et al, 2021, pp. 1-2).

Almost 2500 years ago, Aristotle was first to suggest a generic classification of political speech. He classified a political speech into deliberative, forensic, and epideictic genres (Sauer, 2013, p. 193; Hoffman et al., 2021, p. 2). Thus, as Charteris-Black (2011, pp. 7-8) explains, the deliberative (political) speech concerned critical, serious, and debatable topics that required some important decisions to be made about the policy. It was usually given to a public assembly. Furthermore, the forensic (judicial) speech was delivered to a jury in the court and dealt with crimes. Finally, the epideictic (‘display’) speech was given to a passive audience in order to praise or blame.

Charteris-Black (2011, p. 8) further adds that these speech genres differ from one another in terms of the expected audience’s reaction (for example, voting), and the speaker’s purpose (for example, to convince citizens to vote). Apart from that, persuasion means are adjusted to particular speech contexts. Similarly, in contemporary discourse studies, the following genres of political speeches can be distinguished: campaign speeches, inaugural addresses, farewell addresses, state speeches, concession speeches, etc. (Hoffman et al, 2021, p. 1). Following this classification, this doctoral thesis focuses on the genre of campaign speeches.

Therefore, it is crucial to distinguish key characteristics of campaign speeches. This genre of political speech is aimed at organizing and regulating the relations between politicians and the electorate (Chilton & Schäffner, 2002, p. 22). Thus, a campaign speech tends to have an explicit declaration that a politician is participating in the elections. Moreover, such a speech usually contains reasons for running, the themes of a candidate’s campaign. It also includes an assurance that the victory is within reach (Palazzolo & Theriault, 1996, pp. 350-363; Benoit et al., 2008, pp. 3-18; Neville-Shepard, 2019, p. 97). Apart from that, Graham (2016) highlights that politicians vary their campaign speeches to address different audiences in order to persuade them.

Apart from that, it is essential to determine the function of political speeches in politics and, in particular, in the electioneering campaign. Thus, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 6) claims that all political speeches have a common rhetorical function to legitimize the politician. Although a political image is created by speech-writers, the image is owned by the politician

who is responsible for the words he or she utters and should be considered the author of his or her speeches. Charteris-Black (2011, p. 6) explains this by the fact that the public needs to believe in a trustworthy leader of moral integrity and virtue. Consequently, a politician's image should fully correspond to a rhetorical style used in political speeches.

Likewise, Garzone (2017, p. 123) defines the functions of political speeches in terms of accomplishing persuasion by a positive image of the politician. Consequently, the campaign speech is composed and delivered so that the politician is portrayed as virtuous. This fact is especially important in cases when there is uncertainty concerning the speaker's integrity.

Apart from that, Campbell and Jamieson (1986, p. 235) single out two functions of political speeches: universal and specific. The universal function, which is characteristic of any campaign speech, presupposes the following elements:

- a) uniting the electorate,
- b) evoking common values,
- c) expounding political platforms,
- d) demonstrating the appreciation of executive power,
- e) centering on the present, integrating it with the past and the future (Potapenko, 2016a, p. 14).

Moreover, Chilton and Schäffner (2002) distinguish various functions of a written version of a political speech. Firstly, it functions as a record that could be alluded to at any time. Secondly, a written version of a political speech can be distributed to the public via the media. Thirdly, political discourse is considered with respect to power, a key notion in discourse. Therefore, power is realized through political discourse, which is governed by institutions. Biriá and Mohammadi (2012, p. 1293) develop the study of political discourse further and claim that the major functions of a campaign speech are to convince the electorate to believe particular politicians, make the public cooperate with them, and feel convinced of having made the right choice.

2.2. The notion of persuasion in political discourse

In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle (2010) asserts that all people apply rhetoric, the persuasive use of language, in order to demonstrate the truthfulness of their ideas and make other people accept them (Joseph, 2006, p. 110). From there, as Giner (2017, p. 250) maintains, the power of rhetoric is widely used in political discourse to persuade citizens in the trustworthiness of a certain politician and his or her political platform.

As is known, language and politics are interconnected. Mulholland (2005, p. 15) highlights that language is a major tool in persuasion. It can change mental representations of the world to suit people's beliefs and the speaker's purposes. Accordingly, the construction and maintenance of the most influential aspects of life such as beliefs, ideologies, assumptions, and values, depend on language. So, as Mulholland (2005, p. 15) rightly points out, language has a significant impact on thoughts and can be used to provide opinions, state facts, express attitudes, create moods, attack or defend views, which could be used persuasively for some purposes.

Further, Mulholland (2005) claims that language allows citizens to interpret the reality and perceive the surrounding world. Besides, it helps the speakers to control interactions since concepts are selected and represented in language. Moreover, language structures ideas into texts, by grammatical and compositional strategies. Attitudes to the world and emotions are also shown through words. Apart from that, Jones and Peccei (2004) emphasize that language functions as a powerful persuasive instrument, which facilitates exercising power over citizens' political views and change them in accordance to political goals.

Therefore, it is essential to define the notion of persuasion in political discourse. Thus, Kinneavy (1971, p. 211) and Jucker (1997, p. 122) highlight the linguistic nature of persuasion. Accordingly, they look upon persuasion as the linguistic choices which seek to alter or influence listeners' beliefs and attitudes and underpin the opinions and behavior of the speaker's supporters. Furthermore, they include the beliefs, attitudes and behavior of persuaders in the process of persuasion.

Moreover, Perelman (1982) maintains that persuasion is a part of an umbrella term *argumentation*: “[...] argumentation [...] covers the whole range of discourse that aims at persuasion and conviction, whatever the audience addressed and whatever the subject matter” (Perelman, 1982, p. 5). In other words, the concept of persuasion is regarded as a part of argumentation involving all types of discourse which attempt to persuade and convince irrespective of its topic and audience. Consequently, persuasion is the main tool for the building and behavior of argumentation (Dafouz, 2003; Virtanen & Halmari, 2005). In addition, persuasion obviously intends to solve the conflict at hand so that the result is acceptable and suitable to both parties in a given communicative situation (Giner, 2017, p. 250).

On the other hand, Metcalfe (1998, p. 398) defines persuasion as a communication act which have an impact on and transforms the opinions, beliefs, emotions, and values of the audience. Consequently, political speeches persuade people and motivates them to vote (Metcalfe, 1998, p. 398). In other words, persuasion aims either at confirming or at challenging beliefs, attitudes or behaviour, which are never introduced as completely new ones.

Similarly, O'Donnell and Kable (1982, p. 9) determine that persuasion is

a complex, continuing, interactive process in which a sender and a receiver are linked by symbols, verbal and nonverbal, through which the persuader attempts to influence the persuadee to adopt a change in a given attitude or behavior because the persuadee has had perceptions enlarged or changed. (O'Donnell & Kable, 1982, p. 9)

In other words, a persuasive message is aimed to prompt a particular viewpoint or spur some desired reactions or behavior in the audience voluntarily. Moreover, Maillat and Oswald (2013, p. 137) maintain that persuasion is a removal of different kinds of hindrances on the way the audience treat information.

In addition, according to Mulholland (2005, p. 13), it is important to mention that persuasion can be a joint activity, that is to say, a cooperation between all the participants of discourse to achieve certain goals. Another important aspect of persuasion implies that many tactics can be applied simultaneously to obtain desired results and, especially, that the use of the set of strategies and tactics can be more successful than the application of just one.

Jowett and O'Donnell (2012, p. 33), in turn, define persuasion as a reciprocal process where the audience expects their personal and social needs to be satisfied if they accept the persuasive purpose. Meanwhile, the persuader's needs are satisfied if the audience agrees on the persuasive purpose. Accordingly, persuasion can be seen as a reciprocally fulfilling process for both the persuader and persuadee.

Jones and Peccei (2004, p. 51) provide another definition of persuasion. According to them, persuasion embraces the language use that arouses human emotions, emphasizes equal beliefs, focuses the audience's attention on a particular part of the speech or de-emphasizes another one. In order to achieve this, politicians resort to rhetorical devices, trying to gain the credibility and win the elections.

Following this point of view, Wodak (2012, p. 530) suggests that politicians accomplish persuasion by constructing their exclusive identities, based on their backgrounds (communities, biographies, histories and regions of precedence). In other words, politicians possess different "symbolic capital" (Wodak, 2012, p. 530), that is, their political skills, proficiency, judgement and knowledge.

In addition, it is necessary to note that Charteris-Black (2011, p. 13) considers persuasion to be closely connected with and always embraced by the notion of rhetoric. However, these notions are not equivalent. While rhetoric consists of methods used to persuade, persuasion is "the whole gestalt of intention, action and effect" (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 13). Therefore, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 13) defines persuasion as the language usage by one group to motivate

another one to comply with some opinions and beliefs. According to this definition, persuasion implies that there is a preceding intention of one participant (a speaker) before his/her exercising an influence over another passive participant (the audience).

Hence, the process of persuasion presupposes the participation of two parties which influence each other – a persuader (a speaker) and an audience being persuaded. Such double structure emphasizes the effect of persuasion because it changes the passive participant's opinions. In this doctoral dissertation, the definition and explanation of persuasion provided by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 13) is adopted. He concludes that persuasion is the intention and actions to alter and adjust the electorate's cognition, as well as the results of such actions. Apart from that, Hidalgo Tenorio (2004, p. 18) highlights that the audience should be prepared to understand the hidden meaning of a persuasive message.

However, it is crucial to highlight that persuasion often elicits associations with the misuse of authority and the exercise of inappropriate influence on the electorate. It is viewed as manipulation of minds of the audience. Thus, Mulholland (2005, p. 12) states that people tend to consider it as 'the manufacturing of consent'. Otherwise speaking, this is an artificial activity, which restricts the freedom of choice of the public. However, it should be noted that these associations are more characteristic of propaganda than of persuasion. Therefore, it is necessary to discriminate the notion of persuasion from propaganda and manipulation (Mulholland, 2005, p. 12).

First of all, linguistic manipulation, as Fairclough (2018, p. 448) argues, is a deliberate use of language in an indirect way to control others. Moreover, van Dijk (2006, p. 360) indicates that political manipulation is an interactive use of language in which a manipulator has control and supremacy over the public, without people's consent. Therefore, according to Blas Arroyo (2010, p. 416), it also involves power abuse, which helps to distinguish manipulation from persuasion. At the same time, as a kind of social power abuse, manipulation results in various consequences in the cognitive (efforts to control the minds by shaping biased mental models such as knowledge and ideologies), in the social (attempts to prove social equality) and discursive spheres (van Dijk, 2006).

Furthermore, Jowett and O'Donnell (2012, pp. 1-2) mention that the terms propaganda and persuasion are often used interchangeably. However, propaganda makes use of persuasive strategies, but with different purposes. On the one hand, propaganda seeks to obtain a response that satisfies the propagandist's goals. On the other hand, persuasion tries to satisfy the goals and desires of both persuader and persuadee. It is also necessary to mention that Burnett (1989,

pp. 127–137) highlights inherent ideological nature of propaganda in mass culture. Thus, propaganda is aimed to communicate the ideology and political goals to the audience.

Apart from that, De Landtsheer (1998a, p. 3) highlights negative connotation of propaganda. Thus, while persuasion is focused on communication (“the purposeful exchange of symbols”), propaganda concentrates on action. In other words, propaganda tempts the society to ignore the ways in which public opinions and beliefs are formed and focuses on the result. Finally, De Landtsheer (1998a, p. 3) points out that the term *propaganda* is limited to the spheres of crisis, war and totalitarian regimes.

Furthermore, Jowett and O’Donnell (2012, p. 7) asserts that propaganda is the intentional, purposeful, and organized effort to influence understanding and cognition of the audience and control people’s behavior in order to obtain a reaction that facilitates achieving the speaker’s political goals. According to Mulholland (2005, p. 13), propaganda employs strong, mostly hidden tactics and scarcely make allowances for opposition. Moreover, the objective of propaganda is a total imposition of the speaker’s wishes, values and attitudes on others. If it meets resistance, the pressure on the audience is increased until its message is accepted. In addition, it can work for an instant result (agitation propaganda), or it infiltrates social life steadily (integration propaganda) with a view to impose a constant long-term allegiance to certain viewpoints (Clark, 1997).

On the contrary, persuasion is an activity opposite to propaganda by its nature. Mulholland (2005, p. 13) observes that although persuasion aims at achieving the goals of the persuader, unlike propaganda, persuasion can be cancelled if it proves ineffective or meets resistance. Furthermore, persuasion serves to urge the other person to share the views of the speaker, instead of imposing them. Besides, persuasion takes into consideration and allows for differences in beliefs and opinions.

Pratkanis and Turner (1996, p, 191) also distinguish persuasion from propaganda on the basis of a message design. Thus, persuasion is built on democratic discussions, disputes, or debates to find out the most suitable solutions for problematic issues, while propaganda has the purpose of manipulating the audience by those in power. Moreover, Pratkanis and Turner (1996, p. 190) explain this by the fact that propaganda intends to influence the audience by simple slogans and plays on emotions and stereotypes.

Further Mulholland (2005, p. 13) points out that persuasion can be partly efficient and successful in contrast to propaganda, which either succeeds or fails. In addition, unlike propaganda, persuasion is open and uses both covert and explicit tactics. However, both propaganda and persuasion work immediately or steadily spread their influence in society.

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that persuasion is a communicative process aimed at changing the electorate's viewpoints by means of influencing their cognition.

Charteris-Black (2011, p. 13) further elaborates on the notion of persuasion from a cognitive perspective. Accordingly, persuasion is usually based on some prior knowledge and beliefs shared by the speaker and the public and the setting where a political discourse happens. Apart from that, politicians reinforce stereotypes that already exist among the public, thus, changing the audience's way of thinking.

Moreover, it is possible to state that the aim of persuasion is to change the behavior of the audience, by influencing people's attitudes. This change is a certain response from the audience. Thus, Roloff and Miller (1980, p. 16) distinguish the following types of response:

a) response shaping, which means that the persuader tries to form the response of the audience by showing people how they should behave and gives them positive reinforcement for acquiring desired behavioral patterns. In other words, the persuader must shape a positive attitude towards a certain subject;

b) response reinforcing means that positive attitudes toward a subject already exist within the audience. Therefore, the persuader must evoke people's positive attitudes and reinforce them by specified patterns of behavior;

c) response changing means that the persuader must make the audience change one attitude for another, a neutral position towards a subject to a positive or negative one. To achieve this goal, the persuader uses anchors (beliefs, values, attitudes, behaviors, and group norms) that unites new attitudes with already existing ones (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, pp. 33-35).

In addition, there are several models of persuasion aimed to explain this process. Thus, McGuire's (1968) persuasion model focuses on the following persuasive processes: awareness, perception, obedience, preservation, and activity. He concludes that people with a high level of intelligence are responsive to persuasion since they are certain of their own opinions and were capable of understanding arguments better. Nevertheless, they were resistant to obeying because they were confident in their current attitudes (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, pp. 180-181).

Another model of persuasion was developed by Zimbardo and Leippe (1991, p. 136-137), who elaborated McGuire's (1968) model. They added exposure as the first process of persuasion and singled out the "translation of attitude to behavior" instead of action. According to this model, exposure goes before attention because firstly people have to be exposed to a message in order to pay attention to it. Consequently, if a message achieves its persuasive goal, a new attitude is shaped, which in turn determines the behavior (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, p. 181).

Apart from that, the elaboration likelihood model (hereinafter – ELM) was suggested by Petty and Cacioppo (1986). They stated that the attitude formation is influenced by receivers' motivation to become preoccupied with the subject of a persuasive message. In other words, it is influenced by people's willingness and ability to put a certain amount of effort to assess the argument. On the one hand, if the subject is important for them, people are ready to spend much time and energy to analyze the arguments. As a result, they can be persuaded only by the solid argumentation or by force. At the same time, people already dispose of favorable or unfavorable ideas on the subject of the persuasive message. Apart from that, people acquire new knowledge. In this case, a change in attitude occurs by the "central route" (Renkema & Schubert, 2018, p. 276).

On the other hand, if people are not motivated or if they stick to neutral opinions on the subject of the message, they will not dedicate much time in order to analyze the arguments in detail. In such cases, the change in attitude is reached by the "peripheral route" (Renkema & Schubert, 2018, p. 276). According to Petty and Cacioppo (1986), stimuli play a considerable role in persuasion without the need to resort to arguments. For example, the persuader evokes primitive associations linked with the subject of the persuasive message (Renkema & Schubert, 2018, p. 276).

In this doctoral thesis, the model of persuasion developed by Jowett and O'Donnell (2012, p. 33) is adopted. According to them, the audience perceives the persuasive message and relates to or contrasts it with values, opinions, beliefs, attitudes, and experiences that already exists in their mind. Thus, it is important to mention that perceptions are "complex psychological, philosophical, and practical habitual thought patterns that we carry over from past experiences" (Hayward, 1997, p. 73).

Moreover, O'Donnell and Kable (1982, p. 171) expand on this definition and describe the perception as the process of evoking some information from both a person's inner world and outside experiences. In turn, according to Jowett and O'Donnell (2012, p. 8), persuasive language is built on a massive net of associations that allows people to understand and interpret perceptions. Such constructed meanings are linked to previous experiences and a current context.

In addition, each person has his/her unique perceptual field that is construed by the person's values, attitudes, roles, beliefs, group norms, and self-image. Consequently, since all these elements take part in shaping the person's perception and, thus, the persuasion process, it is important to define them (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, p. 8). Thus, Fishbein and Ajzen (1975, p. 131) determine beliefs as a presumed connection between any two elements within the inner

world. Therefore, in order to change an audience's beliefs and cultivate new ones, a speaker must work on beliefs that already exist in their consciousness. In other words, a speaker needs to apply "anchors of belief" to build novel beliefs (Jowett and O'Donnell, 2012, p. 35).

Furthermore, a value can be defined as a kind of persistent belief that is unlikely to change. In other words, Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, p. 551) put forward that a value is a concept about desired and preferable conditions which serve as a guidance for a person's behavior and are ordered in accordance with their importance. For example, concepts such as good and bad, or right and wrong shape a person's behavioral patterns. It is also necessary to highlight that people cherish their values as very personal and resist if someone intends to attack them. Therefore, values also serve as anchors for the process of persuasion (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, p. 35).

Moreover, Jowett and O'Donnell (2012, p. 36) determine an attitude as an eagerness of the audience to respond to some ideas or actions. It is important to notice that attitudes are persistent within the minds of the audience. Thus, they can serve as anchors for persuasion since people construct their beliefs about certain ideas, persons or events and immediately form attitudes towards them. As Renkema and Schubert (2018, p. 274) add to this explanation, since attitudes determine behavioral patterns, politicians pay special attention to changing attitudes and persuade the audience to vote for them.

Consequently, behavior can serve as an anchor because behavioral patterns can predict future behaviors of the audience. It means that if a behavior is repetitive, behavioral patterns become automatic and do not require much consciousness to follow the same pattern. Thus, Jowett and O'Donnell (2012, p. 37) emphasize that references to effective behavior can be persuasive. In other words, the persuader reminds the audience that their past behavior led them to the satisfaction of their needs and desires, and therefore, the audience must follow the same behavioral patterns in the future. This idea is connected with Bandura's model of observational learning (Bandura, 1986). According to this model, to form a behavior, it is necessary to represent it symbolically for the audience in the form of words and to show the audience how to behave. Thus, modelling can change the audience's behaviors, emotional reactions, and attitudes (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, p. 37).

Another important component of perception is group norms, that is, beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors that exist within groups. They are often used as anchors since people are prone to yield to the norms and values of the groups they belong to. This phenomenon was explained by psychologist Bem (1970, p. 75) who emphasized the role of peer pressure. Thus, people frequently follow the attitudes of others when they feel uncertain about their own

position because it is easier to agree with the norms of the majority. Nesler et al. (1993) further expand this explanation and believe that the audience have a tendency to accept the opinions of people they consider authoritative or credible (van Dijk, 2015, p. 466). Apart from that, Jowett and O'Donnell (2012, p. 37) distinguish group norms based on reference groups. These groups are liked or disliked by outside audience who can be impacted by them.

Another important element of forming the perception is creating “messages of resonance” (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, p. 38). Beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors make important and inseparable part of the audience. Therefore, “messages of resonance” are aimed at imposing the persuader's opinion as if it came from within the audience. According to Kecskemeti (1973, p. 864), the persuader expresses concerns and desires of the audience, while propaganda voices the propagandist's own feelings. In other words, persuasion is based on shared ideas, concepts, beliefs, values, attitudes, behavioral patterns. Accordingly, the persuader speaks the language which is recognized and accepted by the audience's inner feelings (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, p. 38)

Finally, when perceptions are formed, the audience's cognition can be manipulated by influencing people's minds. Consequently, the persuader can indirectly control their behavior and actions (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, p. 38; van Dijk, 2015, p. 470).

2.2.1. Target audience as a determining factor of persuasion

As Charteris-Black (2011, p. 14) points out, persuasion requires the presence of the audience. Moreover, the ability to give public speeches is a powerful tool in politics as politicians resort to speeches in order to persuade the audience, gain ground and ratify their political claims (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005, p. 7). Orwell (1946) was the first to take notice of the political potential of language. In his essay *Politics and the English Language*, Orwell (1946) remarks that political speeches are “largely the defense of the indefensible” (Orwell, 1946). It means that language is used to influence and manipulate beliefs, personal views and thoughts of citizens.

Thus, the structure of the electioneering discourse presupposes two roles, namely: the speaker and the audience (the addresser). Accordingly, the mental world of communicants, the details, and the perception of reality can be constructed from two points of view, that is to say from the perspective of creating discourse and comprehending it (Kenzhekanova, 2015).

Thus, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 14) points out that the speaker's role is determined by his/her deliberate intentions. It means that persuasion is not an arbitrary process. On the contrary, it happens owing to the speaker's implicit goal and his/her ability to transmit these

goals effectively to the audience. On the other hand, the audience's role is mainly passive (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 14). Schäffner (1996, p. 117), likewise, claims that political texts are a part of the political life because they are defined by the political allegiance of the speaker and the topics connected with politics. These speeches can be aimed at members of the same political group, broader public or the whole nation. Schäffner (1996, p. 118) further explains that the intention of the speaker is to transmit a relevant message to the audience and reach a particular political goal.

Moreover, it is well-known that electioneering speeches are commonly given before a live audience. Nevertheless, such speeches are not a usual interpersonal communicative event because they are pre-written. Accordingly, the subject matter of such a speech is not determined entirely by the electorate. At the same time, as Muntigl (2002, p. 52) emphasizes, a particular audience is always taken into account when preparing a campaign speech, for example, to envisage an alternative opinion.

Furthermore, Kenzhekanova (2015) puts forward that the factor of addresser as a discursive category is one of the priorities. The creation of a text means substitution of abstract models that can ensure a relevant perception of the message. A person constructing discourse has a privileged position, enforcing one's beliefs and opinions on the audience. Hence, this factor performs a significant function in politics and tightly links it with the following categories (Kenzhekanova, 2015):

a) communicative authority, or leadership (in the communicative event, the communicative leader is the speaker who directs communication to achieve certain communicative objectives);

b) communicative equality (the equality of speakers is possible if the communicative leader is formal or absent).

Therefore, Kenzhekanova (2015) concludes that in political communication the first and second types of an addresser's capacity can be singled out, which is conditioned by the genre of political discourse. Thus, the type of communicative leadership is inherent in political interviews or political speeches, while the type of communicative equality is natural for polemic genres such as political debates or discussions (Kenzhekanova 2015).

In this connection, it is necessary to mention that Sauer (1997, p. 43) distinguishes two ways of rendering speeches to the audience, namely: "to a general audience or to particular audiences" (Sauer, 1997, p. 43). The first way means that the speech should be general in order to be focused on most people. However, it should be noted that this case is not common because there are no people with absolutely similar attitudes, beliefs, values, and behavior. Moreover,

according to Blas Arroyo (2010, p. 412), it would be more accurate to speak of multiple audiences and not of one audience, because they are never homogeneous. Thus, the second one presupposes the persuader targeting individuals and groups within the audience and addressing them “in a paragraph by paragraph fashion” (Sauer, 1997, p. 43).

A similar point of view is expressed by Virtanen and Halmari (2005, p. 8). They state that in case the aim of a persuasive discourse is to reinforce the existing values and attitudes of those citizens who are convinced of the persuader’s aims, successful linguistic forms to reach these aims differ from efficient linguistic means used to convince the audience in a strong opposition. However, in most cases, politicians confront multiple audiences that consist of people who already share certain political ideas and those who are not yet persuaded (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005, p. 8).

According to Rubini and Sigall (2002), when the audience is seen as homogeneous and identical to the speaker, the latter will resort to language that is highly abstract, because the speaker aims to show that his positions are long lasting and widespread. On the other hand, when the audience is mixed, the politician is likely to use concrete language. Blas Arroyo (2010, p. 413) explains this by the fact that the speaker expects that his positions will content those who agree with them, while he seeks to persuade those who disagree.

It is worth noticing that according to Virtanen and Halmari (2005, p. 8), this awareness of the omnipresent audience, even though it can be invisible and abstract, can define a text as persuasive. Therefore, the audience here is regarded as a crucial component of political discourse. In addition, Jucker (1997, p. 121) defines texts as persuasive taking into account their effects on the audience. On the other hand, it is the audience that defines what type of persuasion is efficient and, thus and what form of a persuasive discourse should be used in each particular context (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005, p. 8).

Apart from that, Bull (2000) maintains that the political views of the addressees are also relevant, since they restrain both the politician’s performance and its reception by the audience, in terms of whether its members are supporters of the same party, followers of rival parties, or an unbiased audience. Consequently, to achieve particular political goals, the politician must create an alliance with the audience by giving the impression that he shares their backgrounds, worries and hopes.

Finally, another important side of the relations between politicians and their audiences is the responses and feedback signals such as clapping, cheering or laughter, which the former hope to receive from the audience in response to the speech (Blas Arroyo, 2010, p. 412).

2.2.2. *Persuasion strategies in the context of rhetoric*

Politicians resort to numerous rhetorical strategies with a view to persuade the audience in their trustworthiness. Consequently, according to Partington (2003, p. 225), mastery of persuasive techniques is one of the main tools by which the politicians communicate and underpin their power over citizens. Thus, as Charteris-Black (2011, p. 6) defends, the emergence of the art of speech making coincides with the emergence of democracy. He explains this by the fact that democracy presupposes negotiations and discussions; therefore, there was need for people who were able to persuade the audience. Apart from that, Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2005, p. 20) explain that the periods of golden age of the arts of rhetoric coincided in history with periods of relative freedom. Then, it is natural that it first appeared and developed in democratic conditions in Ancient Greece. Eventually, unlimited power is unneedful of rhetoric (Partington 2003, p. 225).

At the same time, there were different viewpoints on persuasion in Ancient Greece. Thus, Socrates rejected the importance of persuasive appeals to the audience since he believed in the phenomenon of universal truth for everyone. Nevertheless, Aristotle and Quintilian recognized that different methods of persuasive methods and strategies should be used in different contexts. For example, a politician aiming to convince his/he electorate to vote and a lawyer trying to win legal cases should resort to different persuasive strategies (Charteris-Black, 2011, pp. 6-7).

Consequently, Aristotle (2010) defined a rhetorician as a person who was able to distinguish persuasive features in language as opposed to the language used to find universal truth. Respectively, rhetoric is understood as the skill to perceive what is persuasive in every particular case. Hence, it is necessary to agree with Charteris-Black (2011, p.7), who emphasizes that the establishment of rhetorical theory in Antiquity was attributed to the notion of a truth that differed in time, place and situation.

As Nash and McCurdy (1989) highlights, in Ancient Greece rhetoric was understood as *ars bene dicendi*, that is, the art of speaking in public. Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2005, p. 20) similarly define rhetoric as “the art of persuasive discourse”. Furthermore, Beard (2000, p. 118) points out that rhetoric deals with persuasive writing or speaking. For example, in debates and public speaking, rhetorical techniques increase the persuasive value of a speech since the aim of a speaker is to persuade the audience. As follows, rhetoric is closely connected with persuasion (Bonnefille, 2012, p. 228). In terms of rhetorical methods, Kennedy (2001, p. 119) regards rhetoric as a science, an art, an ability, or a skill. In addition, Burke (1969) indicates

that rhetoric is the choice of linguistic units by speakers to shape opinions and beliefs or encourage the public to certain actions.

It is also necessary to note that, according to Partington (2003, p. 225), the essence of rhetoric is persuading people to accept certain versions of events as opposed to other versions. However, attempts to affect and persuade the public are prone to encounter distrust, opposition and even hostility. Thus, according to Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2005, p. 5), the more obvious and transparent these attempts are, the bigger distrust and suspicion appear. Rhetoric is likely to be opposed in terms of two related points: it is conniving and involves a discrepancy between rhetorical arguments and veracity.

Moreover, Billig (1996) adds that all arguments are likely to be resisted by the listeners since rhetorical use is basically polemical. As Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2005, p. 5) conclude, “every argument, every generalization, invites an exception or a counter-proposal from the individual (or group) invited to listen, whether or not their response is openly expressed”. In other words, rhetoric is a dialogue. Thus, a speaker must foresee probable counterarguments even if there is no open resistance from the audience (Giner, 2017, p. 250).

In this regard, Cros (2001, p. 193) claims that argumentative strategies involve the use of the methods that serve most effectively for the speaker to convince the addresser within a particular communicative situation. Consequently, these strategies are characterized by markers that are linked to their dialectic function in a particular discourse. Giner (2017, p. 251) expands on this and explains that the strategies used by the speaker aim at performing the functions required by their communicative purposes, which may be explored in the interactions with the audience in a particular situational and social context. The most illustrative examples of argumentative strategies in use are discussions, advertisements and campaign speeches, because they all share a strong persuasive component (Renkema & Schubert, 2018, p. 273).

Aristotle (2010, p. 7) distinguishes three rhetorical means of persuasion as follows: *ethos*, which is based in the character of the persuader; *pathos*, which deals with the emotional state of the listener; and *logos*, which is the argument itself. Thus, *ethos* is the ethical appeal to the audience. In other words, according to Virtanen and Halmari (2005, p. 6), *ethos* refers to the linguistically expressed implications of ‘good character’ of the persuader. Following this definition, Stiff and Mongeau (2003) explain that it points to the credibility of a speaker and embraces three aspects, namely: competence, trustworthiness and dynamism. Moreover, Renkema and Schubert (2018, p. 273) define *ethos* as the semiotically construed personality of the persuader. This includes all aspects that can boost the credibility of the speaker (for example, image, reputation and social status).

Aristotle (2010, p. 7) explains that “persuasion is achieved by the speaker’s personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible”. In other words, if the speaker looks believable, the audience will make the judgment that ideas suggested by the credible speaker are faithful or suitable. To achieve this, the speaker must demonstrate practical intelligence (*phronêsis*), a virtuous character, and a strong will. As Aristotle (2010) states, if the speaker displays all these virtues, it will be impossible to doubt rationally of the plausibility of his arguments. It is also necessary to emphasize that the speaker must achieve these effects by what he says. Thus, it is not essential for him to be actually virtuous. In contrast, an already-present positive character cannot be part of the rhetorical means of persuasion (Virtanen & Halmari 2005, pp. 6-7).

Moreover, *pathos* is an emotional plea to the audience. As Potapenko (2016b, p. 155) remarks, in Classical rhetoric, the term *pathos* means the condition of the human spirit which was shaped by some experience and which embraces the language use capable of producing such an effect. Therefore, it was not connected with emotions themselves but with the experience that caused them. In other words, as Renkema and Schubert (2018, p. 274) put it, *pathos* concerns all the emotions that the speaker arouses in the audience in order to achieve persuasive goals. Moreover, Aristotle (2010, p. 7) looked upon *pathos* as “a motive for judgment”. In other words, he connected it with stimulus as inner mental forces that determine certain behavior and in combination with human needs it encourages the audience to an action.

Potapenko (2016b, p. 155) further observes that the success of the persuasive techniques is determined by the emotional spirit of the audience. According to Aristotle (2010, p. 8), in order to achieve persuasion, it is essential for the speaker to “understand the emotions – that is, to name them and describe them, to know their causes and the way in which they are excited” (Aristotle, 2010, p. 8). In such a way, the orator has to evoke emotions in the audience because emotions have a power to alter the public judgments (Potapenko, 2016b, p. 155).

Apart from that, Potapenko (2016b, p. 155) proves that a set of factors testifies to the interrelations between emotions, motives, and human needs. The first one is that emotions and motives have the shared root expressed by the concept of motion. Thus, it implies that they both refer to one original concept. The second one is matches between Aristotle’s emotions and Maslow’s needs: physical, security, identity, fame, and self-fulfillment (Potapenko, 2016b, p. 155).

Green (2001, p. 557) divides these matches into direct and indirect ones depending on whether they meet or flout particular needs. On the one hand, the direct correspondence is shown by the link of safety need to the emotion of fear, which is regarded by Aristotle as the

emotion of pain. Similarly, the belongingness need correlates with friendliness, which is seen by Aristotle as pleasure at the coming of benefits for another person.

On the other hand, the indirect match between emotions and needs means that the fulfilment of motives causes positive emotions, which Aristotle related to gratitude as pleasure from the received favors and satisfaction as pleasure from another person's deserved bad luck. Consequently, the deficit of needs is expressed through four emotions: anger, regarded by Aristotle as pain at the sight of unfair neglect; shame, as pain from dishonor; pity as pain coming from someone else's bad luck; and rivalry, as pain at one's want of rewards. This list displays correlations between the emotion of esteem and the reputation need, connects desire and aversion to the physiological need, and links love to the need for belonging (Potapenko, 2016b, p. 156).

The level of the significance of emotions depends on a particular communicational situation. Thus, the disappearance of direct visual contact caused a switch to the pathos of motives and needs. This, therefore, made it possible to form a rhetoric of needs, which studies the ways discourse attracts and holds attention of the listeners by means different from emotions (Potapenko, 2016b, p. 156). In addition, according to Wheeler (1998), the partial loss of face-to-face contact in political discourse leads to attention to new aspects of the audience, which also deals with pathos. As a result, emotions are substituted by appeal to human needs. It enables the speaker not to dictate the audience what to feel, but to build the speech so as to elicit desirable emotions.

In such a manner, according to Green (2001, p. 558), political speeches are fitted for the use of implicit pathos techniques for several reasons. First, pathos operates methods such as narration and description, which are based on the human love of storytelling. Second, the speaker's aim is to evoke the association of the speech subject with certain images formed in human minds. Consequently, Green (2001, p. 558) believes that they are especially efficient in stimulating emotions and feelings, irrespective of whether the images are visual (perceptions) or cognitive (memory and imagination). In addition, Potapenko (2016b, p. 158) sets forth that such arrangement of speeches seeks to organize the topics in three steps: attracting, catching and holding attention of the public at the macro-level and micro-level.

Finally, *logos* is the plea to the sense and reasoning of the public by means of the argument itself. Aristotle (2010, p. 8) distinguishes two types of arguments: inductions and deductions. Induction is the reasoning from particular details to the universal truth. The inductive way of argumentation is the example, which comes from one particular individual to a similar particular in case they both fall under the same class. On the other hand, Aristotle

(2010) defines a deduction as the way of reasoning in which a conclusion is drawn from general patterns and regularities. In addition, Aristotle (2010, p. 8) states that “it is possible to form a syllogism and draw conclusions from the results of previous syllogisms; or [...] from premises which have not been thus proved”. In other words, Aristotle claims that what results from necessity and what is presumed can differ. This, therefore, would exclude arguments in which the conclusion equates to the premises (Smith, 2017).

Virtanen and Halmari (2005, p. 6) conclude that political discourse displays a strong combination of all three classic techniques of persuasion. In public speeches, politicians refer to the rationality of the electorate by presenting credible information to explain their political platforms. Besides, they resort to *ethos* by creating a positive political image. Finally, they appeal to *pathos* by rousing desirable emotions. This can be achieved, for instance, by frequent references to children and families, which are the topics of great concern of all people (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005, p. 6).

Apart from that, according to Partington (2003, p. 234), rhetoric makes use of some lingual rhetorical techniques such as grandiloquence, i.e., the use of pompose language units. The use of grandiloquent, blustering and long-winded vocabulary in political speeches is aimed at evoking the scholarly (and pseudo-scholarly) associations. This is achieved by rhetorical persuasive strategies and figures of speech. The best illustration of grandiloquence is the employment of hyperbolic language in speech (Partington, 2003, p. 234). On the other hand, in politics there is a frequent resort to slang and informalisms, which is opposite to grandiloquence. Thus, the informal register of speeches is used to civilize the clerical characteristics of political activities and portray politicians as friendly and practical (Partington, 2003, p. 234).

The concepts *ethos*, *pathos*, and *logos* entail an active and responsive audience (Virtanen & Halmari, 2005, p. 7). Aristotle (2010) indicated that persuasion is a dynamic and mutual process. He explained that persuasion works when listeners respond emotionally to the speech. This view was further developed into a dialogic relationship between the orator and the audience by Modern Rhetoric (Lunsford & Ede, 1984; Mulholland, 2005).

2.2.3. *Persuasion strategies in the context of ideology construction by van Dijk*

It is a commonly accepted fact that political discourse, especially electioneering discourse, resort to the strategy of dominant discourse and mind control techniques (van Dijk, 1998). As van Dijk (2000; 2015, p. 476) suggests, this general strategy usually involves polarization of ideologies, namely the Ideological Square, which is constituted by four conceptual elements:

Emphasize positive things about Us, Emphasize negative things about Them, De-emphasize negative things about Us, and De-emphasize positive things about Them (Figure 1). In the doctoral thesis, this Ideological Square is adopted to the study of a persuasive role of conceptual metaphors in electioneering discourse. Therefore, it is essential to consider van Dijk's theory of polarization of ideologies in detail.

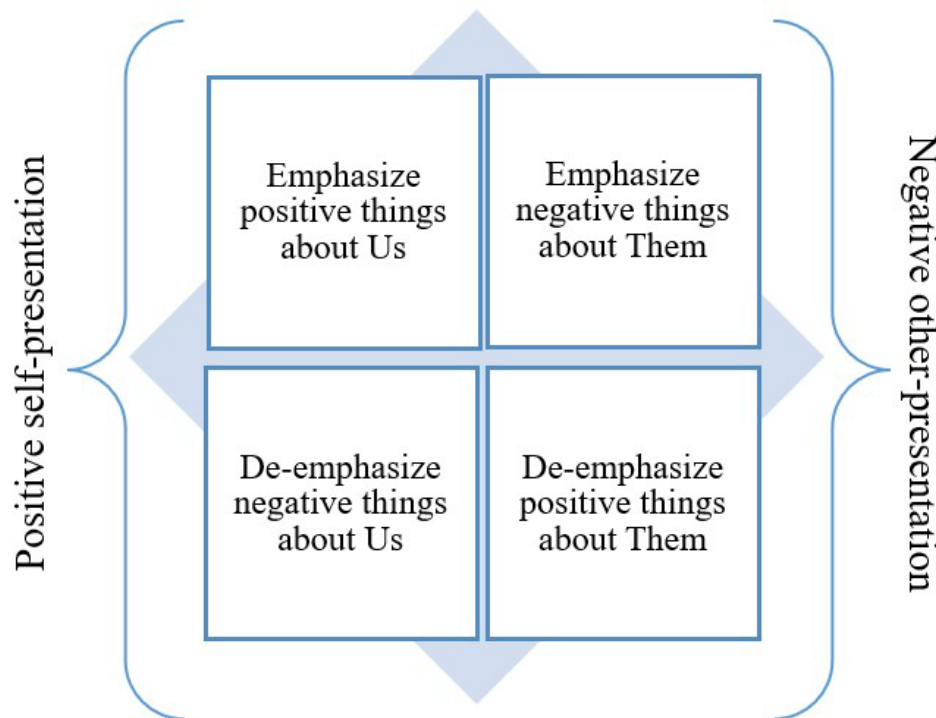


Figure 1. Ideological Square strategies

Source: constructed by the author on the basis of van Dijk (1998; 2000).

Thus, van Dijk (2000, p. 8) developed his theory on the basis of the fact that ideologies appear from groups conflict, opposing them, making them rivals. According to van Dijk (2000, p. 17), an ideology, being a complex representation in human mind, has a schema-like nature structure. Van Dijk (2000, p. 17) explains that it comprises a set of traditional categories making it possible for social actors to immediately understand, construct, accept or reject a certain ideology. Since the patterns of group membership identification are set, van Dijk (2000, pp. 17, 43) distinguishes the following categories that form and organize the ideology schema of a certain group:

- a) Membership: Who are we? Who can belong to our group?
- b) Typical actions: What do we do?
- c) Overall goals: Why do we do it? Which is our aim?
- d) Norms and values: What is good and bad for us?

e) Position: What are the relationships with others? Who are our friends or enemies? Where do we stand in society?

f) Resources: Who has access to our group's resources? What resources do we possess that others don't?

As van Dijk (2000, pp. 18, 43) explains, these questions determine group identity. Accordingly, they represent a group self-schema. In other words, ideologies organize collective beliefs and establish the criteria for belongingness to a group with regard to the Others. Since belongingness to a group is attributed to how 'we' are different from 'them' by our beliefs, values, attitudes, and norms, there is the polarization of Us vs. Them in discourse.

In this regard, van Dijk (2000, p. 440) asserts that this polarization is realized in the form of the general semantic macrostrategies: positive self-presentation (accolade of Our-group) and negative other-presentation (criticism of the Other-group) (Figure 1). These general semantic macrostrategies define the way in which We interact with Them (van Dijk, 2000, p. 44).

However, van Dijk (2000, p. 44) notes that this strategy is one-sided, and therefore, limited to one content. Consequently, he adds opposite meanings to the scheme. Finally, van Dijk (2000, p. 44) highlights that the opposed pairs Emphasize and De-emphasize permit numerous variations in discourse structures. Applying it to the electioneering discourse, presidential candidates can talk about their own good or others' bad things explicitly or implicitly.

In this connection, according to the deictic dimensions model suggested by Chilton (2004, p. 58), actors, events and values are conceptualized along three specific scales, i.e., Space, Time, and Modality (Figure 2).

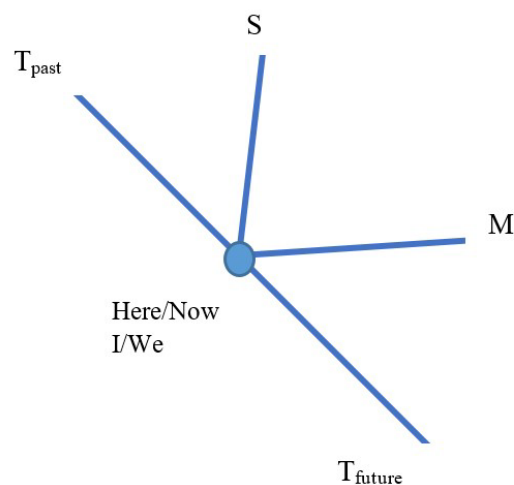


Figure 2. Deictic dimensions model

Source: constructed by the author on the basis of Chilton (2004, p. 58)

As can be observed in Figure 2, the model of deictic dimensions reflects the principal conceptual categories of discourse space on the basis of the concept of distance and proximity. This model consists of three dimensions, namely: Space, Time, and Modality of Attitude (Chilton, 2004, p. 58). It implies that there is a distance between a point of view and a frame of reference in deictic spaces (Kaal, 2017, p. 52). Accordingly, the Self (in the form of I/We) is located in the deictic center; so, everything that is close to the Self is considered morally good and correct. In contrast, the Other is situated at the far-off end of these scales, manifested through social distancing, isolation, the lack of moral integrity and rightness (Neagu, 2013, p. 23).

2.3. Conceptual metaphors as a persuasive tool in electioneering discourse

2.3.1. Conceptual metaphors throughout history

As the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2023) defines it, “metaphor [is a] figure of speech that implies comparison between two unlike entities, as distinguished from simile, an explicit comparison signaled by the words *like* or *as*” (<https://www.britannica.com/art/metaphor>). Currently, CMT is the most prominent metaphor theory in contemporary linguistics (Kövecses, 2010, p. vii). Metaphor studies have been characterized by two approaches to considering the metaphor: traditional and cognitive. According to the traditional approach, metaphor has the following features:

Metaphor is a property of words; it is a linguistic phenomenon. Metaphor is used for some artistic and rhetorical purpose. Metaphor is based on a resemblance between the two entities that are compared and identified. Metaphor is a conscious and deliberate use of words, and you must have a special talent to be able to do it and do it well. Metaphor is a figure of speech that we can do without; we use it for special effects, and it is not an inevitable part of everyday human communication, let alone everyday human thought and reasoning. (Kövecses, 2010, pp. ix-x)

The earliest systematic study of metaphor belongs to Aristotle. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle (2018) determines metaphor as a procedure of relocating a lexical unit from its own domain to another one by means of a certain tie between them. He further explains that these two domains can be either linked by taxonomic categorization or by analogy based on some shared feature (Luporini, 2013, p. 14). Accordingly, Aristotle (2018) distinguishes four types of metaphors as follows:

a) “metaphor from genus to species” (a specific way of speaking about some concepts instead of a general one);

b) “metaphor from species to genus” (a general way of speaking about concepts instead of a specific one);

c) “metaphor from species to species within the same genus” (for example, “having drawn the life away with bronze”, where “to draw away” means to deprive someone of life, i.e. the replacement can occur since two concepts belong to the same sphere);

d) “metaphor by analogy” (the replacement is grounded on a shared attribute, i.e. an evening is the final part of the day as well as advancing years are the final part of human life).

However, on the basis of this classification and examples, Luporini (2013, p. 14) notes that in Aristotle’s theory, metaphor is more extensive than in the contemporary ones, where metaphor is constructed on analogy. Meanwhile, the other types correspond to metonymy and synecdoche. It is interesting that Aristotle (2018) emphasizes that the fourth type of metaphor is more frequent and recognizes its cognitive function.

In this regard, Aristotle (2018) differentiates between current and strange words. Current words are used to refer to a certain entity, while strange (for example, borrowed words, neologisms, slang terms, and metaphors) are considered alteration from the linguistic norm. Moreover, current words are simple, frequent and directly connected with their referents. On the other hand, strange words raise the style of ordinary language:

A certain infusion, therefore, of these elements is necessary to style; for the strange (or rare) word, the metaphorical, the ornamental, and the other kinds above mentioned, will raise it above the commonplace and mean, while the use of proper words will make it perspicuous. (Aristotle, 2018, p. 8)

However, it is necessary to limit their use to eschew complexity of language. Aristotle concludes that poetry is good when it combines current and strange words (Luporini, 2013, p. 14). Furthermore, among the strange words metaphor occupies a special place, being the highest level of poetic skills. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle (2018) believes that the ability of a poet to manage metaphors is the sign of a talent because to create suitable metaphors, similarities between different notions of life should be determined:

But the greatest thing by far is to have a command of metaphor. This alone cannot be imparted by another; it is the mark of genius, for to make good metaphors implies an eye for resemblances. (Aristotle, 2018, p. 8)

Nevertheless, as Luporini (2013, p. 15) highlights, the cognitive significance of this process is not explained in the *Poetics*. Yet, Aristotle further dwells upon the ability to relate unconnected elements in other work, *Rhetoric* (Luporini, 2013, p. 15). Although now he focuses on prose, metaphor again occupies a prominent place in elevating the style of language because

all people use metaphors in their talks (Aristotle, 2010, p. 11). According to Aristotle, this happens since metaphors are similar to current words although they are constructed on different logical relations.

Moreover, Aristotle determines that metaphors are not arbitrary. He further explains this by the fact that if metaphors must be suitable, they should be grounded on analogy (Aristotle, 2010, p. 11), i.e., its components must share some common feature or attribute. Besides, the choice of words is essential because some terms may be more appropriate than others to interpret a certain notion of life. Therefore, the main function of metaphors, according to Aristotle, is to produce prompt insights and knowledge by relating notions that have no obvious link in a colorful way (Aristotle, 2010, p. 11).

As Luporini (2013, p. 16) concludes, Aristotle's criterion of balance between current and strange words in poetry and prose is relevant for metaphors. Thus, a good metaphor should not be neither too trivial nor too elaborate, neither too simple nor too complicated to interpret. Aristotle (2018) highlights that since the main function of metaphors is to enhance comprehension, unsuitable metaphors prevent the style from being clear and vivid.

In his later works, such as *Metaphysics* (Aristotle, 2022) and *The Nichomachean Ethics* (Aristotle, 2020), Aristotle recognizes the cognitive value of metaphors. Thus, according to Guastini (2005), metaphors hold a crucial place within Aristotle's theory when he shifts from logical categories by Plato to ontological and conceptual categories of similarity. As a result, metaphors are effective and influential instruments to communicate the multidimensional essence of life. In this regard, Guastini (2005) believes that it is in the cognitive sense that Aristotle considers metaphor to be the ability to relate similar notions and a tool to recreate knowledge with words in an artistic manner.

Hence, it is necessary to mention that some linguists emphasize cognitive elements in Aristotle's metaphor theory. Thus, Swiggers (1984, p. 40) regards Aristotle's thoughts as "astonishingly modern". Moreover, Eco (2004, p. 5) puts forward that Aristotle's definitions of metaphor "[...] show that metaphor is not a purely ornamental item, but rather a form of knowledge" (Eco, 2004, p. 5).

On the other hand, until the last decades of the 20th century Aristotle's metaphor theory was understood in the opposite sense. For example, Black (1955; 1962) maintains that metaphors are equal to elliptical similes on the basis of Aristotle's (2018) definition in *Poetics*. Furthermore, Searle (1993) shares this viewpoint in his *Metaphor and Thought*. Meanwhile, in the introduction to this book, Ortony (1993, p. 3) claims that within Aristotle's theory,

metaphors are “[...] entirely ornamental: metaphors, in other words, are not necessary, they are just nice” (Ortony, 1993, p. 3).

Such controversial interpretations of Aristotle’s theory can be explained by the influence of Cicero (2018), who defines metaphors as shortened similes that perform a merely embellishing role (De Oratore III, 42), or Quintilian’s (2002) statement that “[...] on the whole, metaphor is a shorter form of simile” (Institutio Oratoria VIII, 6, 8). Apart from that, Johnson (1981, p. 4) explains how the traditional approach to metaphor emerged. Following Ricoeur (1977), he maintains that Aristotle considers metaphor a purely stylistic device by seeing it as a concept that concerns individual words rather than sentences. Moreover, Johnson (1981, p. 7) claims that the distinction between current and strange words established a huge difference between figurative and non-figurative language. Eventually, the foundation of metaphor on similarity and its resemblance to a simile caused that metaphors began to be interpreted as a shortened simile.

Later on, Manetti (2005) stated that the connection between metaphors and similes is misconstrued to a great extent in Latin oratoric art because Aristotle (2010, p. 11) defines a simile as a metaphor type, and not inversely. Besides, in *Rhetoric* he puts forward that simile lacks attractiveness and ability to produce knowledge, which makes metaphor a powerful cognitive tool because “[...] it is less pleasant, because it is longer, and it does not say ‘this is that’; therefore, the mind does not have to make any effort to understand it” (Aristotle, 2010, p. 12).

Moving further in time, Luporini (2013, p. 18) summarizes that in the Middle Ages, Aristotle’s works are interpreted by Latin philosophers, who stress the stylistic and aesthetic dimensions of Aristotle’s theories and regard metaphor as a short simile. Consequently, the initial emphasis on the cognitive aspect of metaphor renders obscure in the course of time. This process is further enhanced because at the beginning of the Medieval time rhetoric is separated from philosophy and focuses on the matters of style and artistic creation, with metaphor being treated as an optional ornamental element. As a result, any cognitive aspect is lost.

In the 17th century, the use of metaphors is criticized by the philosophers believing any variation of language to be deliberately deceitful (Luporini, 2013, p. 18). For instance, in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke (2014) insists that any figurative language should be avoided in scientific and philosophical discourses. As a result, the use of metaphor becomes limited to literary language for several centuries.

However, in the 19th century, Nietzsche (2018) makes a significant attempt to restore the epistemic and cognitive dimension of metaphor. He discards the common perception of words

used in their literal meaning as the norm and emphasizes the essentially metaphorical spirit of language and thought. As Hinman (1982, p. 183) says, quoting Nietzsche,

whenever a word is used to refer to anything except the 'singularly occurring and thoroughly individualized primal experience to which it owes its origin', it becomes metaphorical. (Nietzsche, cited in Hinman, 1982, p. 183)

In other words, every linguistic expression that involves any transfer of meaning may be defined as metaphorical. Consequently, a truly literal meaning is possible only when a word and its referent coincide perfectly, such cases being very infrequent (Luporini, 2013, p. 19). Therefore, according to Nietzsche (2018), metaphors are omnipresent due to their essential cognitive role. In particular, they regulate the processes of gaining and categorizing knowledge in three phases as follows:

a transfer from a sensory stimulus to a mental image that represent this stimulus (Anschauungsmetapher, or perceptual metaphor); a transfer from the generated mental image to a sound (a word); a transfer from words to concepts, attaching a single word to a whole set of experiences that have something in common, focusing on their aspects of similarity while ignoring their differences (Erkenntnismetaphern, or knowledge metaphor). (Luporini, 2013, p. 19)

The third stage actually involves conceptualization, meaning that a set of common experiences is associated with a word, laying stress on their similarity and discarding their differences. As Luporini (2013, p. 19) concludes, such transfers are fundamentally metaphorical due to the fact that they involve considering distinct components, such as sensory experiences, mental images, words, and concepts as equals which can substitute each other. Hence, the mental schemata that interpret human experience of the world are grounded subconsciously in metaphor. This claim is supported by Johnson (1981, p. 16), who emphasizes the importance of cognitive re-evaluation of metaphor made by Nietzsche because

we experience reality metaphorically. What we know, we know metaphorically. And the 'fixed truths' of our culture are nothing but metaphorical understandings that have become conventionalized to the point where their metaphoricity is forgotten. (Johnson, 1981, p. 16)

Accordingly, it is important to summarize three aspects of Nietzsche's ideas that are essential for the theory of metaphor in the 20th century. Firstly, Nietzsche (2018) confirms a powerful bond between metaphor and conception, with the former as the principal means of interpreting bodily experience. Secondly, he differentiates linguistic and conceptual metaphors. Thirdly, he describes the conceptual system as a schemata based on metaphor; therefore, the

metaphor origin becomes unclear. Later on, these ideas have become the basis for CMT proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (Luporini, 2013, p. 20).

At the same time, during the beginning of the 20th century, quite opposite views on language, and in particular, figurative language, coexist. On the one hand, within logical positivism inspired by Wittgenstein's theories, language was analyzed in terms of the verifiability principle. Ortony (1993, p. 1) explained that

a basic notion of positivism was that reality could be precisely described through the medium of language in a manner that was clear, unambiguous, and, in principle, testable – reality could, and should, be literally describable. (Ortony, 1993, p. 1)

On the other hand, a statement has a meaning only if it is possible to determine a direct referent. As a result of such an approach, figurative language has not received attention from scholars since it does not have any direct referent (Luporini, 2013, p. 20). On the other hand, representatives of the opposite approach maintain that a meaning is generated from the interaction between language and extra-linguistic factors, such a context. For example, Sapir (1921) and Whorf (1956) suggest that language influences the ways of thought, i.e. it is not possible to comprehend a concept that does not have a name in language.

Moreover, Kihlstrom and Park (2002, pp. 839-840) distinguish two dimensions of the Sapir-Whorf theory of linguistic determinism and relativity. Thus, relativity means that speakers should take into account various grammatically marked dimensions of reality. Meanwhile, determinism means that cognitive processes are determined by the discrepancy in languages. In addition, Malinowski (2003) recognizes the importance of a context in the generation of meaning because “[...] the situation in which words are uttered can never be passed over as irrelevant to the linguistic expression” (Malinowski, 2003, p. 6).

The Philosophy of Rhetoric by Richards (1936) is another important work on the cognitive role of metaphor. He agrees with Aristotle's conception of metaphor and considers it to be essential in evoking emotional response in the audience and achieving communicative goals (Luporini, 2013, p. 22). At the same time, Richards (1936, p. 92) recognizes metaphor to be the “omnipresent principle of language”. To put it differently, the metaphor contributes essentially not only to poetry but also to everyday communication. Moreover, Richards (1936, p. 92) remarks that “[...] our pretense to do without metaphor is never more than a bluff waiting to be called”.

Furthermore, Richards (1936, p. 94) suggests that the omnipresence of metaphor in language proves its omnipresence in the human mind. Effectively, metaphors are based on the primary mental operations, i.e., the abstraction from an individual phenomenon as a member of

a class. Consequently, the metaphor is a more complex process than mere substitution of one word by another. It involves “a borrowing between and intercourse of thoughts, a transaction between contexts” (Richards, 1936, p. 94).

Another innovative contribution to the theory of metaphor made by Richards (1936, p. 94) is that he introduces a specific terminology to determine components of the metaphor. Thus, he proposes the names “tenor” and “vehicle” to label two concepts which are awakened by a metaphor at the same time. Tenor is the main concept, which is compared with another concept, i.e., vehicle. Richards (1936, p. 94) further explains that there exists an interactive relation between these components of the metaphor, which enhance and reinforce each other. In addition, he highlights that the link between tenor and vehicle is a complex one and can be built on differences rather than on similarities.

However, these forefront ideas remain unregarded until on their basis Black (1955, p. 277) creates the interaction metaphor theory. According to it, metaphor is a result of the interaction of different thoughts that influence on each other concurrently, extending to the level of sentences. Therefore, a main stress is laid upon a pragmatic interpretation of metaphorical statements when a semantic interpretation does not fulfill this task. Furthermore, Black (1955, p. 277) explains that a new meaning is built on the combination of “focal word(s)” (metaphorical expressions) and a “frame” (words used literary) when different thoughts (different conceptual systems) interact with their set of associated features. In addition, to denote the components of metaphor, Black (1955, p. 294; 1993, p. 20) discards Richards’ terminology and suggests to use the terms primary and secondary subject.

It is necessary to mention that Black’s theory evokes renewed attention to in the processes of metaphor construction and comprehension. In this regard, Fillmore (1968) develops his Frame Semantics Theory, trying to distinguish the principles that rule the mapping of subconscious semantics on the external syntactic structure. Since he regards knowledge as experiential and prototypical, Fillmore’s theory is close to the cognitive view on metaphor.

The essence of frame semantics is that lexical units are interpreted by referring to prototypical knowledge that embrace core (central) and non-core (peripheral) components. Therefore, according to Frame Semantics Theory:

metaphor consists in using, in connection with one scene, a word [...] that is known by both speaker and hearer to be more fundamentally associated with a different frame. The requirement for a true metaphor is that the interpreter is simultaneously aware of both the new scene and the original scene. (Fillmore, 1977, p. 70)

In other words, a metaphor is construed by a lexical item from an atypical frame instead of being construed by means of a deviation from standards (Luporini, 2013, p. 25). It is important to highlight that Fillmore's ideas on experiential and prototypical knowledge has a significant impact on CMT, developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Yet, all these theories mainly focus on metaphor processing and do not explain why metaphors are used so frequently in everyday speech (Luporini, 2013, p. 25).

In this sense, Reddy's (1993) essay on the conduit metaphor is an exception. This work also has had an influence on CMT. This metaphor, is a persistent metaphorical framing in language. In order to explain what it is, Reddy (1993, p. 166) analyzes a number of dead metaphors that are commonly used to talk about language. He provides several examples as follows: "You still haven't *given me* any *idea* of what you mean. Whenever you have a good *idea* practice *capturing it in words*. Don't *force* your *meanings into* the wrong *words*" (Reddy, 1993, p. 166).

These examples contain metaphorical expressions with an obvious metaphorical origin because ideas are not actually containers which can be filled with some substance. Reddy's (1993) maintains that in English, most linguistic structures follow this pattern to refer to verbal communication. They are constructed on the basis of the relocation of meaning through different types of containers from one mind to another. Due to the fact that the system is coherent, it is possible to group different realizations of this pattern into the conduit metaphor.

Having analyzed the conduit metaphor, Reddy (1993, p. 175) proceeds to study what the degree of language impact on thought and mental processes is, i.e., he tries to identify the underlying link between language and thoughts. In this regard, he suggests that the conduit metaphor is reassuring, while its omnipresence in language is important in terms of the cognitive plane. Thus, it has an impact both on how people talk and think about communicative processes.

As Luporini (2013, p. 29) concludes, there are two important aspects in Reddy's essay that have influenced further advancement of CMT. Firstly, it proves a suggestion that metaphor is present in everyday language, similarly to literary texts. Secondly, it emphasizes the cognitive dimension of the conduit metaphor.

2.3.2. *Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson*

The cognitive turn in linguistic studies occurred when the foundational book *Metaphors We Live By* was published by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). They presented CMT – a revolutionary approach to metaphor that regards metaphor exclusively from the cognitive angle. According

to this theory, our linguistic behavior is presupposed by our experience of the world and the way these experiences are conceptualized in our minds. Moreover, the language influences the work of our minds (Handl & Schmid, 2011, p. 1).

Kövecses (2010, p. xii) puts forward that the novelty of CMT entails the fact that it is exhaustively, universally and analytically tested. Firstly, CMT is exhaustive since it describes metaphors thoroughly, including the relation between metaphor and other figures of speech, consistency, globality, and culture specifics; the use of metaphors in different kinds of discourse, etc. CMT is the first theory to deal with these issues within one approach.

Secondly, as Kövecses (2010, p. xii) elaborates, the generalization of conceptual metaphor is attributed to the fact that it intends to combine the existing knowledge about conceptual system and the language functioning. Thirdly, it is empirically tested because the main ideas of the theory have been tested with a number of experiments. As a result of these tests, it has been proved that the cognitive dimensions of metaphor is mentally feasible. Hence, it can be considered a crucial tool both for producing new words and organizing human thought (Kövecses, 2010, p. xii). Thus, CMT can be summarized as follows:

metaphor is a property of concepts, and not of words; the function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, and not just some artistic or esthetic purpose; metaphor is often not based on similarity; metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people, not just by special talented people; and metaphor, far from being a superfluous though pleasing linguistic ornament, is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning. (Kövecses, 2010, p. x).

Thus, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 5) resume that “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”. To put it differently, as Mihas (2005, p. 125) further elaborates this definition, metaphor involves the substitution of one abstract denotation for a concrete one, creating certain conceptual and connotative meanings. The metaphor creates imagery, which evokes needed associations, and in such a way directs the way of thinking.

Moreover, Kövecses (2010, p. xi) asserts that metaphor is a matter of thinking of one notion as if it were another notion. Accordingly, metaphor is conceptual in nature. In a similar vein, Luporini (2013, p. 30) explains the essence of CMT in the following way: a linguistic metaphorical expression is the actualization of a deep underlying scope of conceptual metaphors that regulate our thinking.

Goatly (2007, p. 11) states that a conceptual metaphor is comprehending one notion (target domain) as another notion (source domain). Such a conceptual mapping is built on

analogy, while analogical relations between target and source domains are the grounds. Accordingly, the conceptual metaphor is a scope of conceptual mappings that exist between source and target domains (Cameron, 2010, p. 91).

Casasanto (2017, p. 21) highlights that the target domain is an abstract notion that people experience but cannot experience through senses, such as TIME, HAPPINESS, or VALUE. On the contrary, the source domain is usually a concrete concept that people live through via senses, such as SPACE, FORCE, or MOTION. Therefore, by such a conceptual mapping, it is possible to render the abstract concept more specific and precise. As a result, it is easier for the human mind to think about abstract notions. In addition, by conceptualizing abstract domains metaphorically people “recycle” neural resources. Thus, structures that support perception and action in the physical world are used to uphold abstract cognitive capacities (Pinker, 1997; Casasanto, 2010; Merritt et al., 2010; Casasanto, 2017).

However, Kövecses (2010, p. 4) provides a slightly different definition of conceptual domains. This is a cohesive system of human experiences about notions and objects in the physical or social world. In this regard, the source domain is the conceptual domain that provides metaphorical expressions, facilitating conceptualization of abstract domains. At the same time, the target domain is the conceptual domain which is conceptualized through these metaphorical expressions. For example, target domains are LIFE, POLITICS, ECONOMY, IDEAS, etc.; meanwhile, source domains are WAR, JOURNEY, BUILDINGS, PLANTS, etc.

Consequently, the conceptual metaphor is a conceptual mapping between two conceptual domains that constructs one domain in terms of the other (Cameron, 2012, p. 342). Hence, the mappings mean that some features of the source domain and certain features of the target domain correspond to each other so that source elements match target elements (Kövecses, 2010, p. 121).

Furthermore, the conceptual metaphor is ever-present and it is mainly noticeable when speaking about abstract concepts (Paprotte & Dirven, 1985). As Goatly (2007, p.15) claims, the key aspect of CMT is that abstract thinking is feasible only with conceptual metaphors. As Handl and Schmid (2011, p. 4) summarize, conceptual metaphors serve as a key determining factor in structuring the human minds.

Similarly, Handl and Schmid (2011, p. 1) add that everyday language is abundant with conceptual metaphors. They ascend to deeply rooted mappings. Mappings are fixed mental links between distinct domains of human experience. The conceptual mappings in the conceptual metaphor are illustrated by MONEY IS LIQUID conceptual metaphor (Figure 3).

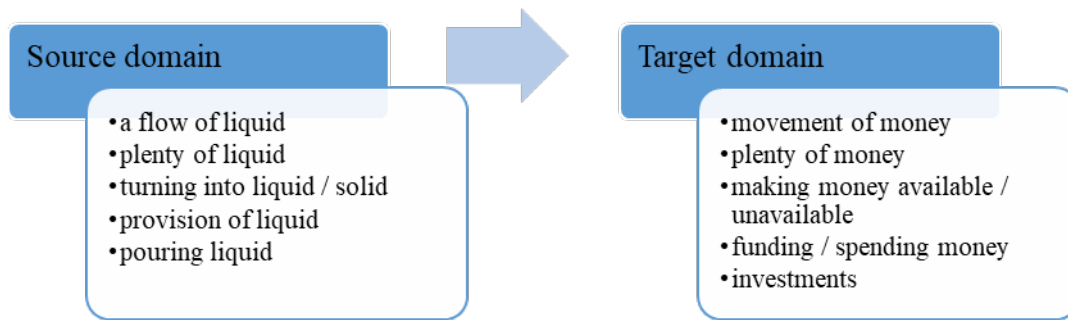


Figure 3. Conceptual mappings in the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS LIQUID

Source: developed by the author on the basis of Goalty (2007, pp. 20-27) and Silaški & Kilyeni (2011, p. 65).

In this example, source domain LIQUID is mapped on the target domain MONEY. Here, a highly abstract notion of money is conceptualized as a structured and familiar notion of liquid. Based on the analogy, the mappings apply the characteristics of liquid to think about money, i.e., money movement is understood as a flow of water. Hence, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) specify, conceptual mappings are selective. In other words, they highlight some aspects of the domains, while leaving other aspects downplayed. Consequently, in the conceptual metaphor MONEY IS LIQUID, the mapping foregrounds such a feature as fluidity, being the most characteristic feature of any liquid.

Therefore, Johnson (2010, p. 407) determines the conceptual metaphor as “a cross-domain mapping of structure from a source domain to a target domain, where the two domains are regarded as different in kind”. However, Kolter et al. (2012, p. 221) also define the conceptual metaphor at the contextual level:

rather than conceiving of metaphors as discrete units they should be regarded as a process of meaning construal in which new metaphoric expressions dynamically emerge, are elaborated, and are selectively activated over the course of a conversations. (Kolter et al., 2012, p. 221)

Zlatev (2011, p. 126; 2017, p. 181) explains this definition in such a way that there exists a consensus between cognitive processes, bodily human experiences, culture, and contexts when conceptualizing the abstract target by a concrete source.

Another definition of the conceptual metaphor is provided by Sullivan (2013, p. 3). Accordingly, the conceptual metaphor is a unidirectional mapping between the source frame and the target frame (Sullivan, 2013, p. 3). Furthermore, Sweetser (2017, p. 380) explains this by the fact that Lakoff and Johnson (1980) established that the metaphor is not built on similarity because it is not possible to identify similarity between objects and the pastness of a certain event. Apart from that, Sweetser (2017, p. 380) supports Lakoff and Johnson’s opinion

that metaphoric mappings form reasoning, not just reference. In other words, “inferential patterns are mapped from the source to the target” (Sweetser, 2017, p. 380). So, as Sweetser (2017, p. 380) concludes, if we comprehend crime in terms of a disease in one case and in terms of a dangerous enemy in another, we think about it differently.

In this regard, the Invariance Principle is noteworthy. It was introduced by Lakoff (1993) in the revised version of CMT, which is called CTM. As Lakoff (1993, p. 215) defines, “[w]hat the Invariance Principle does is guarantee that, for container schemas, interiors will be mapped onto interiors, exteriors onto exteriors, and boundaries onto boundaries [...] and so on” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 215).

Thus, the Invariance Principle involves that conceptual mappings maintain the image schema of the target domain so that it corresponds to the image schema of the source domain. Nevertheless, it is not possible to apply the Invariance Principle to metaphors not involving image schemas as a basic experiential structure underlying conceptualization (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Pérez Hernández, 2011, p. 180).

In connection with the Invariance Principle, it is essential to explain the image schema place in CMT. Sullivan (2017, p. 398) defines image schemas as simple cognitive structures that express spatial configurations irrespective of a sensory modality. For example, the Path schema includes a trajectory that objects go through when moving from one point in space to another one.

However, there is a dispute among researchers concerning the number of image schemas that can be distinguished. Thus, some scholars include force-dynamic information to image schemas (Talmy, 2000a; 2000b). Meanwhile, other researchers restrain image schemas only to spatial configurations (Mandler & Pagán Cánovas, 2014). Despite this disagreement, it is commonly accepted that image schemas provide for generalizations. Thus, they exclude information that is specific to one sensory modality. They have no particular size or shape, no specific time or place (Sullivan, 2017, p. 399). For example, Sullivan (2017, p. 399) explains this on the example of the Containment schema. It involves the information that objects can enter and exit certain spaces. As result, a bottle and a house are comprehended as containers.

Therefore, image schemas perform an important function in CMT because they are preserved in the conceptual mappings. Moreover, Sullivan (2017, p. 404) puts forward that the principle was developed for the mapping of image schemas. Nevertheless, it can be similarly applied to frames.

Consequently, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (1998) suggested the Extended Invariance Principle, being the advanced form of the Invariance Principle. According to this principle, the

generic structure of conceptual domains is constantly maintained. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández (2011, p. 180) explain that all meanings evoked by primary cognitive processes maintain the generic structure of the source and target domains that participate in these cognitive processes in accordance with their inherent structure.

Nevertheless, it is also crucial to distinguish between metaphorical linguistic expressions and conceptual metaphors because the term *conceptual metaphor* is often used vaguely. On the one hand, it can mean metaphorical expressions used in language. On the other hand, it can refer to mappings between the source and the target (Casasanto, 2017, p. 21). Hence, Kövecses (2010, p. 4) maintains that metaphorical linguistic expressions are words or phrases that are derived from the concrete conceptual domain. Meanwhile, a conceptual metaphor underlies conceptually these metaphorical expressions. Accordingly, Kövecses (2010, p. 7) highlights that the linguistic metaphoric expressions are manifestations of the underlying conceptual metaphors.

In addition, Stenvoll (2008, p. 33) highlights that metaphorical reasoning is inherent in our conceptual systems. However, this is a process that emphasizes one aspect of some notion or concept while disregarding another aspect. This view can be exemplified by ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor that foregrounds the fact that both argumentation (or a debate) and a war involve winners and losers and ignores the cooperative aspect of debates. Therefore, Stenvoll (2008, p. 34) concludes that metaphorical categorization is realized by highlighting, downplaying and hiding.

It means that the mappings within the conceptual metaphor are partial, i.e., metaphorical highlighting occurs. Kövecses (2010, pp. 91-92) explains that metaphorical highlighting concerns the target domain, whereas metaphorical utilization is applied in the source domain. It is necessary to mention that source and target domains concepts are distinguished by a range of features. It means that only some characteristics of the target domain can be mapped on the source domain, i.e., can be highlighted. Alongside highlighting, there occurs hiding. Hiding means that some characteristics of the target domain, which are not foregrounded, are made concealed. Kövecses (2010, p. 92) provides the example of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING to illustrate the processes of highlighting and hiding. He explains that this conceptual metaphor highlights only some features of argumentation, i.e., its strength and construction. At the same time, the building metaphor hides other aspects of the argument such as progress, control, content, etc.

Furthermore, metaphorical utilization means that only some aspects of the source domain are used when conceptualizing the target domain (Kövecses, 2010, p. 93). For instance, the

conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING provided above uses only the strength and structure of a building to conceptualize the concept of an argument, while ignoring other parts of the concept of building. Thus, such aspects of buildings as rooms, roofs, windows, corridors, etc. are not utilized in this conceptual metaphor.

Moreover, it is essential to understand how source and target domains interrelate within conceptual metaphors. Goatly (2007, pp. 12-13) distinguished the relationships of diversification and multivalency. Thus, diversification occurs when the same target is conceptualized by various sources, proceeding from different semantic fields. On the contrary, multivalency occurs when the same source is mapped onto various targets.

It is also important to mention that mappings allow to discover underlying patterns of thinking, for example: “He has strong beliefs. That belief died out years ago” (Handl & Schmid, 2011, p. 1). In these metaphorical linguistic expressions, mental notions are conceptualized as concrete entities. Thus, in the first example, the abstract domain BELIEFS is perceived and construed as a concrete entity of possession. In the second example, the domain BELIEFS is conceptualized as beings with a life cycle that can be born, live and die. Furthermore, these conceptualizations evoke other associated metaphorical mappings. For instance, if beliefs are construed as possessions, they can be bought, sold, owned, borrowed, etc. Similarly, if beliefs are conceptualized as beings with a life cycle, they can be considered plants, their growth standing for the evolvment of ideas or their roots being the base for these ideas (Handl & Schmid, 2011, p. 1).

Moreover, Casasanto (2017, p. 21) asserts that the source and the target domains are linked asymmetrically. It means that there exists an asymmetric dependence between nonlinguistic representations in the source and the target domains. Apart from that, mappings between the source and the target are systematic. Casasanto (2017, p. 21) explains the systematic nature of mappings by the fact that a sequence of values within the target domain is mapped onto a sequence of values within the source domain, providing the conceptual metaphor with inferential power. For example, the inferences about the height of an object in space is carried into the target domain and upholds inferences about the height of a price.

In addition, Casasanto (2017, p. 21) claims that the conceptual mappings of the source domain onto the target domain in language are productive. In other words, new examples of a certain conceptual mapping can be easily created and comprehended immediately. For example, the metaphorical expression ‘romance was boiling’ can be understood as the case of the conceptual metaphor PASSION IS HEAT.

Furthermore, Kövecses (2010, p. 122) maintains that people have extensive knowledge about the source domain and its components. This is manifested in everyday perception and interpretation of the world. The source consists of some elements that participate in the mappings. Apart from that, people possess a high amount of additional background knowledge about the source and its features. However, this knowledge does not participate in the conceptual mappings between the source and the target.

Therefore, when additional knowledge about the source domain is mapped on the target domain, the metaphorical entailment occurs. Kövecses (2010, p. 122) explains the existence of entailments by the fact that in many metaphors there is a mapping of additional knowledge from the source on the target. Kövecses (2010, p. 122) illustrates this by the ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor. Within this metaphor, there is the mapping that the journey occurs along a certain road that matches the course of an argument. Nevertheless, there is a certain additional knowledge about journeys (e.g., it is possible to stray from the path). This non-constituent element appears in the metaphorical entailment that it is possible to deviate from the line of an argumentation. Thus, some additional parts of knowledge about journeys can be applied to interpret certain aspects of the target domain ARGUMENT.

Furthermore, it is essential to consider the notion of metaphorical understanding. Kövecses (2010, p. 41) distinguishes the short-term and long-term understanding. In the first case, it occurs when people speak and interpret the interlocutor's words in real time. On the other hand, understanding can be based on long-term memory, resulting from long-term historical-cultural processes. In this case, understanding involves the conceptualization of the metaphorical meaning of a word through the source domain.

Therefore, Kövecses (2010, p. 63) highlights that metaphors are inherently conceptual. Conceptual metaphors have linguistic manifestations, i.e., "metaphorical linguistic expressions" (Kövecses, 2010, p. 63). However, given that metaphors are essentially conceptual, they should be manifested not only linguistically. Consequently, if the conceptual system is partially metaphorical, the conceptual metaphors are realized both in language and human experience.

Moreover, Gibbs et al. (1997) conducted various studies in order to prove that metaphor comprehension always happens together with triggering source domains. Thus, it was established that the comprehension of metaphors did not take place independently but in combination with the source domain. In his experiment, Gibbs et al. (1997) saw the ways people understood instantly metaphorical expressions based on the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. The participants were asked to read stories ending with

idioms. After that, they were required to immediately provide feedbacks in the lexical form to letter strings which were shown to them. These letter strings were of two types: either related to the conceptual metaphor (for example, heat) or unrelated to it (for example, lead). As a result, it was established that the participants responded quicker after they saw metaphor-related letter strings than in case of the unrelated letter strings. Therefore, Gibbs et al. (1997) concluded that source domains are activated simultaneously with processing target-related metaphorical meanings (Kövecses, 2010, p. 42).

In this regard, Kövecses (2010, p. 42) supports Gibbs' results and asserts that people resort to conceptual metaphors when processing metaphorical expressions directly. Besides, he maintains that source domains are triggered in the direct perception of target domains if it is necessary to process a highly conventional metaphor. Therefore, "understanding" embraces conceptual metaphors.

In addition, Goatly (1997, pp. 698-707) differentiates a number of functions of conceptual metaphors on the basis of Halliday's metafunctions as follows:

a) the ideational function ("understanding the environment") implies that the conceptual metaphors fill lexical gaps, explain, and conceptualize human experience;

b) the interpersonal function ("acting on others in the environment") means that the conceptual metaphor is as a powerful persuasive device, which "construct[s] reality as a means of maintaining or challenging power relations in society" (Goatly, 1997, p. 707), conveys emotions, creates common grounds shared by the speakers and the audience;

c) the textual function (the relations between what is said and what is implied within the context) involves that the conceptual metaphor functions as a cohesive device that unite different parts of the text into the whole structure. Moreover, conceptual metaphors facilitate the memorability of discourse because they form unusual collocations (Neagu, 2013, p. 16).

2.3.2.1. Origins of conceptual metaphors

Given that conceptual metaphors are omnipresent in daily living, it is important to determine their origin. CMT challenges the traditional approach that metaphorical reasoning is arbitrary and unmotivated (Kövecses, 2010, p. xii). Given that a central idea of CMT is that "experience-distant domains of experience are comprehended through experience-near domains of experience" (Stenvoll, 2008, p. 34), conceptual metaphors are constructed by linguistic and non-linguistic sources, which influence each other (Handl & Schmid, 2011, p. 3).

Thus, Kövecses (2010, p. 80) states that conceptual metaphors are based on human experience in combination with the pre-existing similarity, namely: various correspondences in

human experience, different types of subjective similarity, as well as cultural and biological roots. These kinds of experiential basis motivate the selection of one source domain over another to conceptualize a certain target. The interrelation between these sources is presented in Figure 4.

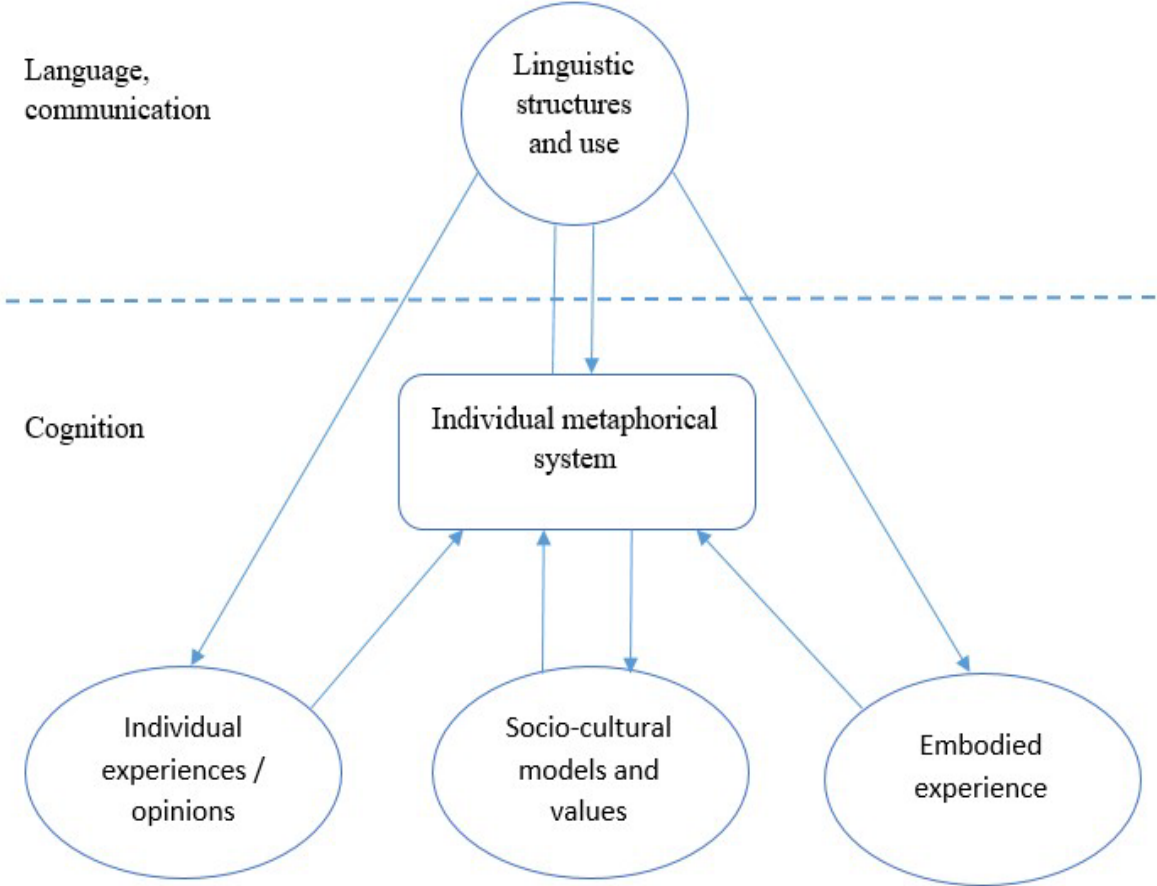


Figure 4. Factors determining the formation of the individual metaphorical system

Source: adopted from Handl and Schmid (2011, p. 4).

Thus, the individual metaphorical system is shaped by the conventional figurative expressions as the elements of everyday language use. At the same time, the individual system of figurative thinking is construed by non-linguistic human experiences such as memories, opinions or attitudes. However, these experiences are in turn influenced by socio-cultural models and values because people do not usually live in isolation but in society (Handl & Schmid, 2011, p. 4). In other words, metaphors are grounded in culture (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 22-24). Consequently, they vary from one society to another (Ringmar, 2008, p. 57).

In this regard, Kövecses (2010, pp. 84-85) distinguishes biological and cultural roots of conceptual metaphors. This implies that the source is likely to have a biological origin of the target resulting in a conceptual metaphor. For example, within the LOVE IS A BOND

conceptual metaphor, the target domain LOVE is perceived through the source domain BOND because this source is a manifestation of such biological states as the relationship between a mother and a child, birth, romantic relations. Hence, the concept of love is grounded in the image schema of unity. Moreover, the target can have a cultural origin. Thus, the ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor may have a historical origin because the notion of argumentation has emerged from the notion of fighting.

Apart from that, CMT presents the novel idea that both metaphorical thinking and language are grounded in the basic bodily experience of humans. It is also necessary to emphasize that it is the embodiment that distinguishes the cognitive approach from the traditional one (Kövecses, 2010, p. xii). Thus, as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim, the conceptual metaphor is based on our bodily infant experiences. The embodiment can be explained by the fact that humans are living beings that move in the world, communicate with physical objects and other people, shapes human reasoning and comprehension of an outer world (Stenvoll, 2008, p. 34).

Hence, Evans and Green (2006, p. 2) highlight that “our construal of reality is likely to be mediated in large measure by the nature of our bodies”. Consequently, Gibbs (2017, p. 450) defines embodiment as ways human bodies and bodily interactions with the outer world form human minds, actions and beliefs, attitudes, and cultural identities. In other words, embodiment involves the idea that “human symbols are grounded in recurring patterns of bodily experience” (Gibbs, 2017, p. 450). As a result, this proves the idea that thought and language emerge from the continuous intercommunications between the mind, bodies, and the surrounding world.

Similarly, Kövecses (2010, p. 79) supports the viewpoint on the embodiment of conceptual metaphors. It means that the experiential basis of conceptual metaphors lies in the human body’s operation. Sullivan (2017, p. 398) emphasizes that starting from the moment of birth, people constantly experience spatial configurations with the help of more than one of the senses. For example, when we are born, we learn a space schema, resulting in the conceptual metaphor FREEDOM IS SPACE TO MOVE. Later, we learn a container schema from our experience of eating, forming the conceptual metaphor MIND IS A CONTAINER (Goatly, 2007, p.15). Moreover, the impact of gravity on our bodies construes the way we conceptualize abstract concepts as ordered vertically, resulting in the GOOD IS UP conceptual metaphor (Stenvoll, 2008, p. 34).

As Kövecses (2010, p. 80) explains, the GOOD IS UP conceptual metaphor deals with the concepts of verticality and quantity. Accordingly, the quantity involves a scale of MORE and LESS, and the verticality involves the UP and DOWN concepts. Hence, quality is

conceptualized by verticality because there exists a correlation between these concepts in human experience. For example, changes in quantity are comprehended as changes in verticality. Moreover, there is a correlation between MORE and UP as well as between LESS and DOWN, i.e., when the quantity of a certain item or a substance grows, its level augments and, accordingly, if the amount of the substance declines, its level decreases.

Consequently, Stenvoll (2008, p. 34) concludes that the meaning is embodied, which implies that concepts are connected with bodily experiences when communicating with the world. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 192) define the embodiment as experientialism, which is opposed to objectivism and means “that there is absolute and unconditional truth” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 192), and the subjectivism that views “truth as obtainable only through the imagination, unconstrained by external circumstances” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 192).

However, they also regard experientialism as a combination of objectivism and subjectivism. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 193) further explain, metaphorical thinking, being embodied, links reason with imagination:

Reason, at the very least, involves categorization, entailment, and inference. Imagination, in one of its many aspects, involves seeing one kind of thing in terms of another kind of thing – what we have called metaphorical thought. Metaphor is thus *imaginative rationality* (emphasis in original). (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 193)

Moreover, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) single out three levels of embodiment which in combination form the embodied mind (Figure 5). The first level is neural embodiment that deals with the structures of concepts and cognitive processes at the neurophysiological level. The second level is the cognitive unconscious embodiment, which involves the rapid mental operations that structure conscious experience, for example, the comprehension and use of language. The third level is the phenomenological embodiment, which is conscious and contains our knowledge of our mental states, bodies, physical world, and interactions with objects and other humans (Gibbs, 2017, p. 451).

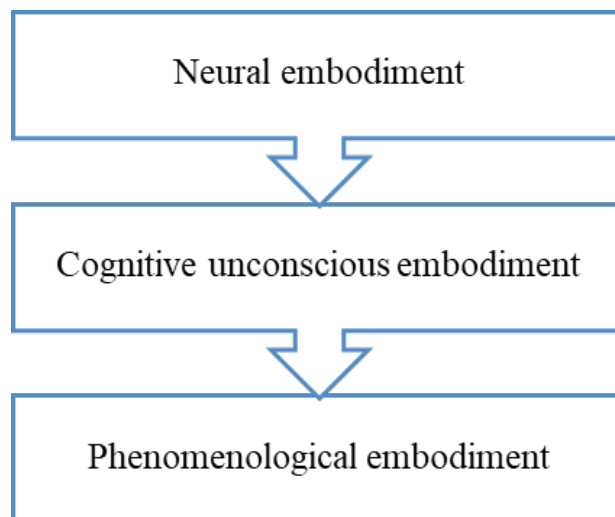


Figure 5. Levels of embodiment

Source: compiled by the author on the basis of Lakoff and Johnson (1999) and Gibbs (2017, p. 451)

Accordingly, Gibbs (2017, p. 451) further develops the idea of three levels of embodiment and emphasizes that there exist interactions between them (Gibbs, 2005a). Cognitive linguistics recognizes all three levels of embodiment as being motivation for structuring language and behavior. However, Gibbs (2017, p. 451) asserts that these three levels of embodiment consider human bodies to be individual entities. He explains that each individual comprehends the world and one's own experiences in this world from a certain individual point of view taking into account one's bodily sensations and activities. Nevertheless, the individual orientation omits critical dynamics of bodies when they interact with the world (Gibbs, 2005b; Blomberg & Zlatev, 2014).

However, it should be noted that there are certain limitations on embodiment. Thus, Gibbs (2017, p. 461) claims that according to a standard cognitive linguistic analysis of embodied meaning, it is necessary to determine all the relevant embodied motivations for a particular utterance and apply them to the full expression on the page. However, Gibbs (2017, p. 461) questions these ideas given the real-time language comprehension and usage. First of all, he claims that we do not always infer the complete meaning of any expression disregarding the context. On the contrary, they create representations that are relevant for the present goals. Consequently, it is not essential to conduct a full analysis of the embodied image schemas and conceptual metaphors each time people use the same expressions.

Moreover, Dancygier and Sweetser (2014) claim that the types of embodied simulations, which emerge during the language understanding, depend on the context. Thus, Gibbs (1999, p. 155) maintains that

embodied metaphor arises not from within the body alone, and is then represented in the minds of individuals, but emerges from bodily interactions that are to a large extent defined by the cultural world; [...] bodily experiences that form the source domains for conceptual metaphors are themselves complex social and cultural constructions; [...] social and cultural constructions of experience fundamentally shape embodied metaphor. (Gibbs, 1999, p. 155)

In other words, Gibbs and Colston (2012) explain that the type of embodiment people resort to depends on the situation, the objectives, motivations, and the concrete comprehension task. Another important aspect highlighted by Gibbs (2017, p. 461) is that people do not comprehend language from the analyst's standpoint, but rather interpret meanings word by word. Moreover, Gibbs (2017, p. 461) believes that such language comprehension involves meaning construction on the basis of previous discourse or present gestural or prosodic information. It means that people's use of language never occurs out of context; in contrast, cognition and language are influenced by the previous experiences up to present bodily information (Gibbs, 2017, p. 461).

In addition, Gibbs (2017, pp. 461-462) emphasizes that embodiment is not situated in individual minds and bodies, but is shared and regulated during conversation. This is attributed to the interactive nature of language. Given the implicit coordination between people during conversation regarding their speech, gestures, and body positioning (Shockley et al., 2009), the embodiment should be understood as constantly changing. Hence, Kok and Cienki (2014, p. 1) put forward the idea of "an interactive and multimodal reappraisal of embodied language comprehension" in real language production and understanding.

Apart from that, conceptual metaphors originate from the events of everyday experiences that correlate with each other. However, not all conceptual metaphors are based on everyday experience directly. In order to explain this idea, Kövecses (2010, pp. 80-81) provides an example of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor. He determines it as a specific case of the generic-level conceptual metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. Since people tend to have some purpose in life, then a life with some goal can be seen as a specific instance of the general concept of goals. Accordingly, a journey can be conceptualized as a special case of reaching a certain destination in general. Therefore, he concludes that the specific conceptual metaphors have the very same experiential basis as the generic-level ones.

Furthermore, having elaborated their CMT in their re-edition of *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 244) notice that the conceptual metaphor

allows inferences in sensory-motor domains (e.g., domains of space and objects) to be used to draw inferences in other domains (e.g., domains of subjective judgement, with concepts like intimacy, emotions, justice, and so on). (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 258).

Accordingly, metaphorical reasoning has a “neural basis” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 258). It means that primary categories, i.e., primary categories are retrieved from sensory-motor perception of the world, such as moving in space and interacting with objects. Therefore, abstract thinking “is governed by sensory-motor enactments unfolding in real time and in real contexts” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 258).

Another basis for conceptual metaphor is supported by Goatly (2007, pp. 15-16), who puts forward the idea of the conceptual metaphor having its basis in metonymy. He explains that unlike metaphors, metonymic relationships are based on contiguity in experience, or, in other words, on omission rather than replacement. Goatly (2007, pp. 15-16) illustrates this idea by the sentence “I drank two bottles of wine” as a short form of “I drank the contents of two bottles of wine”. This sentence is understandable because we know from our experience that bottles are containers for wine and consequently these notions are connected in our mind.

Moreover, Goatly (2007, pp. 15-16) claims that basic links in conceptual metaphors are built on the following metonymies: activity – place or cause – effect. For instance, there is a group of metaphorical expressions that conceptualizes anger in terms of heat. Therefore, Goatly (2007, p. 15) explains that in this case, the origin of this metaphor is quite obviously metonymic because when we are angry, we feel the heat. Thus, the metonymy of cause – effect is activated. Besides, activities can be conceptualized in terms of place. For example, the phrase “to fill a position” evokes the image of the place where it is exercised. Nevertheless, these metonymies further evolved into metaphors (Goatly, 2007, p.16).

In this regard, it is worth mentioning that “the distinction between metaphor and metonymy is scalar, rather than discrete: they seem to be points on a continuum of mapping processes” (Barcelona, 2000a, p. 16). In other words, Barcelona (2000b; 2002) points out that the metonymy should be regarded as a primary cognitive phenomenon that provides motivation for the conceptual metaphor. Yu (2008, p. 250) supports this point of view and claims that the metonymy can connect a certain bodily experience and the metaphor through the conceptual mapping: bodily experience → metonymy → metaphor → abstract concepts.

On the other hand, there is an opposite point of view on the metonymic basis of conceptual metaphors. Thus, Taylor (1995) suggests that not all conceptual metaphors are based on metonymy. As Barcelona (2000b, p. 42), explains, “the metaphor does not really develop out of the metonymy. It is simply motivated and constrained by the metonymic model of the target”.

In this regard, Goatly (2007, p. 273) supports Taylor's opinion and defines the analogical origin of metaphors. In other words, he singles out that the A:B:C relation in one domain corresponds to the X:Y:Z relation in the other one via analogy. He concludes that there are cases when metaphors cannot be based on metonymy. As an example, he suggests the conceptual metaphor SIGHT IS SOUND. Metaphorically, the adjective *loud* means "having unpleasantly bright colors or too strong patterns", while literary, it means "having or producing a large amount of sound", or "demanding attention and talking and laughing loudly" (*Cambridge Dictionary*, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/loud>). Therefore, there is no experience, providing an association of loud sound with bright colors, thus presenting an experiential basis for such metaphors. As a result, Goatly (2007, p. 273) suggests to explain such a mapping by conspicuousness.

In this regard, Gentner and Bowdle (2008, p. 109) believe that within this approach metaphor is based on analogy and similarity. Accordingly, they define analogy as a mapping between two contexts which share their structure (Gentner & Kurtz, 2006). In other words, within the structure-mapping theory, the analogical mapping involves creating a structural inference, or alignment, between two situations (Falkenhainer et al., 1989; Markman & Gentner, 1993; Gentner & Markman, 1997). Meanwhile, this inference is based on a range of correlations between the components of the two situations (Gentner & Bowdle, 2008, p. 109).

Gentner and Bowdle (2008, p. 110) single out two types of the alignment, according to structural consistency constraints, as follows: the one-to-one correlation between the mapped components; and the parallel connectivity between the corresponding arguments. Furthermore, Gentner and Bowdle (2008, p. 110) add that the choice of the alignment is based on the systematicity principle. It means that a matching system of relations linked by causal relations is preferable over a matching system linked by independent correspondences. After that, according to Falkenhainer et al. (1989), inferences are voluntarily mapped from the source to the target. However, it is necessary to highlight that the human mind does not apply arbitrary concepts from the source to the target but rather draw inferences with the shared concepts (Gentner & Bowdle, 2008, p. 110).

Therefore, Gentner and Bowdle (2008, pp. 110-111) prove the origin of some metaphors from analogies. Firstly, it is possible to conclude that people unconsciously prefer analogies and metaphors with common large, deep-rooted structures (Gentner et al., 1993; Forbus et al., 1995). Secondly, the common system based on a comparison is conspicuous and can be used in new contexts (Gentner et al., 2003). Accordingly, the metaphorical comparison is a process of generating new abstract concepts (Gentner & Bowdle, 2008, p. 110).

2.3.2.2. Types of conceptual metaphors

Conceptual metaphors can be classified according to the level of conventionality, their functions, the degree of generality, and their structure (Kövecses, 2010, p. 33). First of all, regarding the scale of conventionality, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) distinguish the following two types of metaphors:

- a) novel metaphors, which connect source and target domains in an unusual manner;
- b) conventional metaphors, which are so well-established in everyday language that they are not seen as metaphors.

At one end of the scale of conventionality, there are highly conventional metaphors. As Kövecses (2010, p. 34) maintains, such conceptual metaphors as ARGUMENT IS WAR, IDEAS ARE FOOD, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, and THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS are deeply rooted forms of comprehending abstract concepts. Furthermore, these metaphors are manifested in the following extremely conventional metaphorical expressions: “I defended my argument. We’ll just have to go our separate ways. We have to construct a new theory. I can’t digest all these facts” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 34). Accordingly, speakers do not consider them metaphors when they use such expressions because they are common ways of speaking about these notions (Kövecses, 2010, p. 34).

At the opposite end of the scale, there are novel metaphors. Kövecses (2010, p. 35) provides the following example from Robert Frost’s poem *The Road Not Taken* in order to describe this type of metaphors:

Two roads diverged in a wood, and I —
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference. (Frost, 2017, p. 87)

Kövecses (2010, p. 35) demonstrates that in these lines, Frost applies the conventional metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY in an unusual way. He uses linguistic metaphorical expressions belonging to the source domain JOURNEY that are not usual for people and thus are perceived as clichés. Yet, it is necessary to highlight that although these linguistic expressions are novel, the conceptual metaphor they display is conventional.

Furthermore, according to their cognitive functions, conceptual metaphors are divided into three types as follows:

- a) structural metaphors (an abstract concept is conceptualized in terms of another concept),
- b) orientational metaphors (two concepts are structured with respect to one another),

c) ontological metaphors (abstract concept is conceptualized as an object) (Stenvoll, 2008, p. 35).

In structural metaphors the source domain gives a mental structure for the target domain. To express it differently, the cognitive function of this type of metaphors is to allow speakers to interpret a target concept A through a source B structure (Kövecses, 2010, p. 37). Kövecses (2010, p. 37) illustrates this type of metaphor with the concept of time, which is structured within the notions of motion and space. Thus, in TIME IS MOTION conceptual metaphor, time is conceptualized via such “basic elements” as objects, their position in space and movements. This can be explained by “a background condition”, i.e., “the present time is at the same location as a canonical observer” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 37). Taking into account the background condition and the basic elements, the following mappings can be singled out within the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MOTION: “Time is an object. The passing of time is movement. Future times are ahead; past times are behind” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 37).

Hence, Kövecses (2010, p. 37) further claims that this scope of mappings presupposes the existence of the TIME IS MOTION conceptual metaphor in two versions as follows: TIME PASSING IS MOTION OF AN OBJECT and TIME PASSING IS AN OBSERVER’S MOTION OVER A LANDSCAPE. In the first case, the spectator is steady and unmovable, while time is an object moving with regard to the spectator, for instance: “The time will come when [...]. Time is flying by [...]” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 38). On the contrary, within the second form of the metaphor, time is structured as a fixed location, while the spectator is moving with regard to time. For example: “He passed the time happily. We’re getting close to Christmas” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 38).

According to Kövecses (2010, p. 40), the cognitive function of the second type of metaphor, orientational metaphor, is to make target domains coherent in conceptual systems. In simpler terms, most orientational metaphors are built on the basis of human spatial orientations in space, for example, up-down and center-periphery. Although Kövecses (2010, p. 40) suggests another name for this type of conceptual metaphors, namely coherence metaphor, because it reveals the essence of their cognitive function, in this thesis the term *orientational metaphors* is preserved.

This type of metaphor can be illustrated by the following examples: “Speak up, please. He is under my control. I’m feeling up today” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 40). These linguistic metaphorical expressions are manifestations of such conceptual metaphors as MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN, CONTROL IS UP, LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN, HAPPY IS UP, and SAD IS DOWN (Kövecses, 2010, p. 40). In these examples, positive concepts have an upward

orientation. On the contrary, negative ones have a downward orientation. Nevertheless, positive-negative evaluation is also characteristic of other bipolar image schemas such as whole, center, link, balance, and front (Kövecses, 2010, p. 40).

The cognitive function of third type of conceptual metaphor, ontological metaphors, according to Kövecses (2010, p. 38), is to provide “a new ontological status to general categories of abstract target concepts and to bring about new abstract entities” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 38). In other words, people perceive their experiences as containers, substances and objects.

Kövecses (2010, pp. 38-39) further claims that owing to the fact that our knowledge about containers, substances and objects is general, these extremely general concepts cannot be applied to think about target concepts. Consequently, ontological metaphors facilitate conceptualizing when human experiences are undelineated, unclear or highly abstract.

Thus, NON-PHYSICAL or ABSTRACT ENTITIES (the mind), EVENTS (going to the race), and ACTIONS (giving someone a call) can be conceptualized in term of a PHYSICAL OBJECT. Moreover, ACTIVITIES (running) are perceived as SUBSTANCES. In addition, UNDELINEATED PHYSICAL OBJECTS (a clearing in the forest), PHYSICAL and NON-PHYSICAL SURFACES (the visual field), and STATES (in love) are understood in terms of CONTAINERS (Kövecses, 2010, p. 39).

In this regard, Kövecses (2010, p. 39) adds that ontological metaphors make undelineated experiences more delineated. Therefore, it is possible to use this type of metaphor to determine more precise aspects of the experiences. For example, being conceptualized as a physical object, fear can be perceived as one’s possession. Apart from that, ontological metaphors allow to further conceptualize a certain high abstract experience by means of structural metaphors. For example, the mind is understood as an object, and therefore, it is possible to structure it by the conceptual metaphor MIND IS A MACHINE.

In addition, Kövecses (2010, p. 39) considers personification to be a subtype of ontological metaphors. The essence of personification is that non-human entities acquire human qualities. To illustrate this point of view, he provides the following examples: “Life has cheated me. Inflation is eating up our profits” Kövecses (2010, p. 39). In these examples, life and inflation are not human beings, but they receive human features, such as cheating and eating (Kövecses, 2010, p. 39).

According to the level of generality, Kövecses (2010, p. 45) classifies conceptual metaphors into generic-level or specific-level ones. ARGUMENT IS WAR, IDEAS ARE FOOD, and LIFE IS A JOURNEY are the examples of specific-level metaphors because argument, war, ideas, food, life, and journey are specific concepts. However, the conceptual

metaphors *GENERIC IS SPECIFIC*, *EVENTS ARE ACTIONS*, and *THE GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR* are generic-level ones. Kövecses (2010, p. 45) calls them generic-level metaphors because they are general concepts that have “skeletal structures”, i.e., they are defined by a narrow range of characteristics. Thus, the conceptual metaphor *EVENTS ARE ACTIONS* underlies instances of personification, while the *GENERIC IS SPECIFIC* conceptual metaphor facilitates understanding proverbs and cliches.

Kövecses (2010, p. 45) provides an example of *GENERIC IS SPECIFIC* metaphor in proverbs. Thus, in the proverb “the early bird catches the worm”, specific-level concepts are *a bird*, *to catch*, and *a worm*, while the generic-level meaning of it is “if you do something first, you will get what you want before others get it”. The explanation of the proverb is construed through the *GENERIC IS SPECIFIC* conceptual metaphor. Such a generic-level interpretation allows to apply the proverb to a large number of cases that have the same generic “skeletal” structure.

According to the structure, conceptual metaphors are classified into primary metaphors and complex ones. Sullivan (2017, p. 397) defines primary metaphors as conceptual metaphors that are created on the basis of correspondences in the real world. Such domains are also called a ‘primary scene’ (Grady, 1997; Grady & Johnson, 2002). Furthermore, Gibbs (2017, p. 454) elaborates that primary metaphors are built on strong correlations in everyday embodied human experiences, for example, *INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS*, *AFFECTION IS WARMTH*, *MORE IS UP*, *IMPORTANT IS BIG*, *PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS*, etc. Primary metaphors “represent metaphorical conceptualization of the most fundamental sort” (Grady, 1997, pp. 285-286). Therefore, a primary metaphor is understood as a conceptual mapping that is based on a direct experiential correlation between conceptual domains in language (Gibbs, 2017, p. 455).

Within a revised version of CMT, differentiating primary and complex metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson (1999, p. 49) emphasize that primary metaphors come directly from correlations in human experiences, or “conflations in everyday experience” that “pair subjective experience and judgment with sensorimotor experience” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 49). In addition, within NTM, Lakoff and Johnson (1999, p. 56) regard primary metaphors as mappings through neural connections and claim that

they are part of the cognitive unconscious. We acquire them automatically and unconsciously via the normal process of neural learning and may be unaware that we have them. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999, p. 56)

On the other hand, Sullivan (2017, p. 398) defines complex metaphors as mappings that link components of the source and the target domains that do not correspond in the real world but are related to the components that do co-occur. In other words, Sullivan (2017, p. 398) explains that primary metaphors can become complex ones by receiving complex mapping. This can be illustrated by the example of the conceptual metaphor LACK OF AFFECTION IS COLD. People cannot produce cold when they feel unfriendly to someone. Hence, the conceptual metaphor LACK OF AFFECTION IS COLD is a complex one, which is based on the primary metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH, since the notions of affection and warmth happen together in reality (Sullivan, 2017, p. 398).

In addition, Lakoff and Johnson (1999, pp. 46, 60) point out that complex conceptual metaphors are “molecular”, consisting of “atomic” primary metaphors and the scope of common knowledge that include cultural patterns and folk beliefs. Similarly, Sullivan (2017, p. 398) claims that complex metaphors can appear as a result of primary metaphors being combined. Gibbs (2017, p. 455) supports this viewpoint and defines the complex metaphor as a “self-consistent metaphorical complex composed of more than one primary metaphor” (Gibbs, 2017, p. 455). For example, the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS is based on the combination of three primary metaphors, namely STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE, INTERRELATED IS INTERWOVEN, and PERSISTING IS REMAINING ERECT.

2.3.2.3. Criticism of Conceptual Metaphor Theory

CMT has aroused a high amount of criticism from different perspectives. In this regard, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández (2011, p. 165) describe several aspects of CMT and its revised version that have been criticized.

The first problem is purported circularity. McGlone (2001) claims that, for instance, in LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor people tend to speak about their life as if it were a journey because they think about life as about a journey; conversely, they think of life as of a journey because they speak about their life as about a journey (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Pérez Hernández, 2011, p. 165). Nevertheless, it should be born in mind that humans understand life and other abstract concepts as journeys, since there is linguistic evidence of such a correlation.

Practitioners of Relevance Theory also expressed similar criticism. Thus, Vega Moreno (2007, p. 139) puts forward that “conceptualizing life as a journey would imply we cannot think of life without thinking of journeys”. However, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández

(2011, p. 166) attribute this piece of criticism to the misunderstanding of the flexibility of the cognitive linguistics framework. As a result, within Relevance Theory, the conceptual metaphor is usually neglected owing to the absence of specific interpretation mechanisms for metaphor (Wilson & Carston, 2008; Sperber & Wilson, 2008). Nevertheless, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández (2011, p. 166) contradict this idea by claiming that people conceptualize only some features of their life as journeys, and not the whole concept of life.

Another aspect of CMT that has caused criticism is the relation between metaphor and analogy. Thus, it is claimed that there are many conceptual metaphors that are a simple analogy or a simile, and cannot be considered metaphors. For example, life is similar to a journey in some aspects, but it is not exactly a journey (Haser, 2005; Vega Moreno, 2007).

Nevertheless, some cognitive psychologists, such as Gentner and Kurtz (2006), maintain that analogy embraces any form of alignment between domains. Therefore, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández (2011, p. 166) prove that conceptual metaphor can be grounded on analogical reasoning. Moreover, a considerable quantity of metaphors is not derived from analogy between the conceptual domains, but rather based on experiential correlations. For example, a pump is related to a hydraulic system; similarly, the heart is related to the circulatory system. Therefore, this “kind-of” relationship evokes the conceptualization of the heart in terms of a hydraulic pump (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Pérez Hernández, 2011, p. 166).

The conceptual metaphor classification has also provoked criticism. Thus, Szwedek (2007) notes that the classification of metaphors into ontological, structural and orientational ones is not sufficiently justified. According to this point of view, certain objects are necessary so that the metaphor can exist. Therefore, all metaphors are ontological. However, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández (2011, p. 167) contradict this claim and point out that metaphors are not obligatorily ontological. They prove this by Lakoff’s idea that image schemas and primary concepts are more fundamental than other concepts. Moreover, the object can be regarded as the image schema. As a result, it should be highlighted that metaphorical thought is fundamentally image schematic (Lakoff, 1990, 1993).

The criticism of CMT also concerns the notions of conflation. Thus, according to Murphy (1996), there exists a certain confusion as to whether the processing of the target and the source occurs simultaneously or whether people are able to think of the target domain autonomously of the source domain or whether they are combined into one image. However, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández (2011, p. 168) explain that this is not a question of CMT but an issue of assuming experiential conflation. For example, people can think of time without thinking of space but people usually resort to the concept of space to think and talk about time.

Moreover, Haser (2005, p. 216) criticizes the notion of conflation. According to her, some metaphorical expressions, which are usually explained as experiential correlations, cannot possibly be derived from conflation. She illustrates this point by the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS. In this metaphor, buildings are conceptualized as upright physical structures, leaving out other aspects of buildings concept that can be applied to produce a conceptual metaphor. Thus, to construct a theory is similar to construct a building because it requires time, efforts and design. Consequently, Haser (2005, p. 216) asserts that conceptual metaphors are not based on conflation but on similarity.

However, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández (2011, p. 168) dismantle this argument. They explain that primary metaphor is rooted in a fundamental conceptual correspondence in experiential correlation. A well-established correlation determines conceptual conflation, but it is not necessary for the human mind to presuppose conceptual conflation each time there is experiential correlation. Moreover, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández (2011, p. 168) emphasize that primary metaphors can be regarded as basic patterns that can be complemented with more concrete concepts so that they could correspond to the implications people try to express.

For example, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández (2011, p. 168) explain that some metaphorical expressions that underlie THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS conceptual metaphor may be concentrated on the structure of the building or its physical strength, which requires planning and organization. Similar to the building, organizing ideas presupposes efforts and planning of actions. However, they emphasize that elements of a building such as walls or windows are not taken into account to conceptualize the concept of theory. Therefore, this conceptual metaphor is not based solely on similarity.

Another piece of criticism concerns the veracity of neural connections within metaphorical mappings. Thus, Haser (2005, p. 210) claims that the deep-rooted association of two concepts evokes neural connections. Yet, it is not possible to call such an association a metaphor. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Pérez Hernández (2011, p. 168) agree that neural connections being simultaneous with conceptual mappings define the type of mappings between domains. Nevertheless, they maintain that in case of a conflation of two domains, there is a neural foundation that displays the degree of association embedding. This process allows the metaphor to appear.

2.3.3. *Contemporary Theory of Metaphor*

CTM was created by Lakoff (1993) as a refined version of CMT. One of its originalities is the articulation of the Invariance Principle (Luporini, 2013, p. 33), which was described in detail in previous sections.

Moreover, Lakoff (1993, p. 229) singles out image metaphors as a new metaphor category. They are built on the association between images instead of concepts. “Image metaphors [...] are “one-shot” metaphors: they map only one image onto one other image” (Lakoff, 1993, p. 229). Lakoff (1993) illustrates this category of metaphor by the following metaphorical expression by Rabelais: “His toes were like the keyboard of a spinet” (Rabelais, cited by Lakoff 1993, p. 230). It establishes a conceptual mapping between two mental images, i.e., between the foot with the toes and the keyboard with the keys, in accordance with the Invariance Principle. Lakoff (1993, p. 230) concludes that being “one-shot”, image metaphors are not as complicated as other conceptual metaphors, which involve simultaneous mappings between elements from complex conceptual structures (Luporini, 2013, p. 33).

Furthermore, Luporini (2013, p. 33) emphasizes that CTM proves that the conceptual system is inherently metaphorical because of the omnipresence of conceptual metaphor in everyday speech. Moreover, according to CTM, language results from the conceptual structure of our mind. Consequently, taking into account that linguistic metaphors are numerous, metaphor plays a central role in cognitive processes (Luporini, 2013, p. 34).

Moreover, Luporini (2013, p. 35) notes that the conventional metaphorical expressions prevailing in everyday language are also so deeply rooted in our mind that they are often not viewed as metaphors by language speakers. Hence, within CTM, such highly conventional metaphors are called metaphors that are located at the periphery of our conceptual system. Therefore, “they do not interact with other metaphors, play no particularly interesting role in our conceptual system, and hence are not metaphors that we live by” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 55).

Another important aspect of CTM is that conceptual metaphors are key elements of thinking and are grounded in physical experience (Lakoff, 1993, p. 230). It means that image-schemas and primary concepts are non-metaphorical because they are derived from bodily experience in order to interpret abstract concepts. As a result, conceptual metaphor is considered the standard cognitive process because people comprehend the majority of abstract concepts by mapping conceptual domains (Luporini, 2013, p. 35).

This is proved by various studies. Thus, Lakoff and Turner (1989) and Sweetser (1990) analyze the linguistic manifestations of UNDERSTANDING IS SEIZING conceptual metaphor

in different languages. Besides, Gibbs (1994) confirms the link between the expressions that refer to anger in English and the underlying ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER conceptual metaphor. In addition, Deignan and Potter (2004) carry out a corpus-based research study of figurative usage of words and expressions related to human body in the English and Italian languages. They prove that most of these expressions are based on metaphor and metonymy.

Apart from that, CTM claims that the bodily experience is culturally-mediated. Although the tendency to interpret abstract concepts as concrete ones is universal, within different cultures it can occur in different forms. Even the basic category of orientational metaphors is culture-specific. However, it is more noticeable in case the source domains are culturally-mediated (Luporini, 2013, p. 36).

Furthermore, the conceptual system is a network with the nodes being linked by various types of relationship. Conceptual metaphor is a key in this network (Luporini, 2013, p. 36). The proper functioning of the network is ensured by three characteristic features. Firstly, the network is systematic. It means that such a network facilitates the systematic correspondences between domains of experience and, as a result, one concept can be comprehended in terms of another. Secondly, it is selective. In other words, conceptual and image metaphors are not accidental. Instead, metaphors highlight only some aspects of concepts or mental images, downplaying or hiding other aspects. Thirdly, the network is coherent. It means that flexibility and complexity of the conceptual system are counterpoised by the existing coherent conceptual mappings inside the same or different domains. Accordingly, a certain concept can be a source in several metaphors, forming a coherent set. Likewise, several mappings can be applied to the same notion, being coherent with each other (Luporini, 2013, p. 36).

Finally, in CTM, Lakoff (1993) emphasizes the ideological power of conceptual metaphors. As Black (1955, p. 288) claims, metaphors “organize our view” of the world. Hence, it is possible to state that metaphorical interpretations of the world are generally biased. In addition, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 156) dwell upon the ideological function of conceptual metaphors and claim that “[...] metaphors can be self-fulfilling prophecies” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 156). Therefore, by using a certain metaphor, people can persuade the hearers to change their attitude towards a particular subject matter (Luporini, 2013, p. 36). This feature of conceptual metaphors is widely used in politics, with politicians aiming to change the electorate’s opinion on some aspects of public life.

For example, Lakoff and Johnson’s analysis of the war conceptual metaphor used by President Jimmy Carter to speak about the energy crisis which happened in the 1970s confirms

the persuasive power of metaphors. According to examples provided by Lakoff (2013), the energy crisis was construed as a “threat to national security” presented by an “enemy” that required “a new chain of command” (Lakoff, 2013, p. 7). Hence, the main metaphorical entailments are the duty of American people to stand for their nation and sacrifice their personal interest to the national ones and the idea that the enemy was foreign. He emphasizes that the choice of ENERGY CRISIS IS WAR conceptual metaphor allowed to conceptualize the situation in a particular way that determined further actions to be taken by politicians. Consequently, Lakoff (2003) concludes that this metaphor and similar conceptual mappings have huge impact on promoting public acceptance of the war (Luporini, 2013, p. 37).

2.3.4. Neural Theory of Metaphor

The connection between the body and the brain are key to comprehending the essence of metaphor and thought, as defended by Gibbs (2008, p. 6). Therefore, a major step forward in cognitive linguistics was taken by Feldman (2006) as a founder of neural computation and Lakoff (2008) who developed the Neural Theory of Language, and in particular, NTM. Its revolutionary novelty consists in the assumption that metaphor can be found in the human brain (Lakoff, 2008). Consequently, as Kövecses (2010, p. 87) explains, the new theory presents “the extension of metaphor from language (linguistic metaphors) to mind (conceptual metaphors) to body (bodily basis of metaphor) and to brain”.

The essence of NTM is that the neural circuitry that characterizes the semantic meaning of words is activated when a person imagines or perceives concepts. Therefore, the meaning is understood as a mental stimulation. Such a stimulation is applied to create metaphorical patterns (Gibbs, 2008, p. 6).

Generally, NTM explains why conceptual metaphors exist, how metaphorical inferences are established, how metaphors are different from conceptual blending, and how conceptual metaphors facilitate comprehension of abstract notions. Lakoff (2008) suggests that the broad neural theory can be used to study metaphorical thought and language (Gibbs, 2008, p. 6).

It is common knowledge that the brain consists of neurons. According to the Neural Theory of Language, neuronal groups are built of “nodes”, while a neuron may perform its functions in various neuronal groups. Apart from that, semantics is regarded as mental simulation. Hence, mirror neurons play the essential role in performing and perceiving certain actions. Thus, the same mirror neurons are activated when we do a certain action and when we see someone doing the action. These mirror neurons are activated when we think of doing or observing the same action. In other words, our brain activates neurons which are necessary to

do or think about some action. Therefore, a neural node is meaningful whenever it triggers the entire neural simulation. As a result, metaphorical inferences occur in case one meaningful neural node activation leads to another meaningful neural node activation (Lakoff, 2008; Kövecses, 2010, p. 87).

In order to illustrate how the mirror neurons work, various computational models have been built. They prove that sensorimotor information is activated exactly during reasoning and language comprehension. Therefore, it confirms the links between the neural and cognitive unconscious levels of embodiment (Narayanan, 1997; Gallese & Lakoff, 2005; Feldman, 2006; Bergen & Chang, 2013). Thus, these experiments prove the presence of mirror neurons in the premotor cortex that become active when people observe some actions, imagine performing them or simply hear someone speaking about these actions (Gallese & Lakoff, 2005). As a result, it can be affirmed that people understand abstract concepts by simulating sensorimotor actions (Gibbs, 2017, p. 457).

Thus, Narayanan (1997, p. 24) proposes a neural model KARMA, which means “knowledge-based action representations for metaphor and aspect”. It specifies the way we think about economic events with the help of embodied metaphors, for example, conceptual metaphors with concepts of moving, taking steps, falling, struggling, etc. (Narayanan, 1997). Therefore, KARMA allows to construct different relevant inferences about economic events through mental simulation of the physical actions mentioned in economics discourses. As a result, Narayanan (1997) proves that a structured neural network, which controls high-level motor schemas, is also activated when abstract reasoning and linguistic interpretation are required (Gibbs, 2017, p. 457).

Later, Loenneker-Rodman and Narayanan (2012) single out neural pathways, which they called “cascades”. These cascades are essential for the creation and comprehension of specific verbal metaphors. Loenneker-Rodman and Narayanan (2012) explain that cascades regulate activations in different brain areas which participate in construction of complex neural networks, including those involved in decision-making and motor control. Moreover, they become the ground for the embodied metaphors to be merged with specific frame-based knowledge of certain specific events. Hence, specific verbal metaphors are built. For instance, there is the cascade in such primary metaphors as COMMUNICATION IS ENTITY TRANSFER, DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTRUCTIONS TO MOTION, IDEAS ARE ENTITIES, KNOWING IS SEEING, and PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS. They can be combined with situational context and create metaphorical linguistic expressions (Gibbs, 2017, p. 457).

According to Lakoff (2008), this means that one neuronal group activates other neuronal groups. However, they may impede the activation of each other because the neural binding emerges in case two or more concepts are regarded as one notion. For instance, although shape and color are not conceptualized in the same brain area, if people imagine a green triangle, the human brain considers it a single notion (Kövecses, 2010, p. 87).

Kövecses (2010, p. 87) further clarifies that thought is produced by two groups of neurons when they are activated simultaneously and this activation sprawls along the network links. Such an activation results in different types of neural circuits.

Thus, Lakoff (2008) distinguishes different types of neural circuits as follows:

- a) a “linking circuit”, which participates in the formation of metonymy;
- b) a “two-way linking circuit”, which represents words and grammatical constructions;
- c) a “mapping circuit”, which defines metaphors.

Accordingly, the mapping circuit consists of two groups of neural nodes, which correspond to the source domain and the target domain, as well as a range of binding nodes, which match the components in the node A with the components in the node B. As a result, a metaphor is a neural mapping circuit, which connects the two domains (Kövecses, 2010, p. 87).

In addition, NTM was experimentally confirmed. For example, Desai et al. (2011) studied the neural processing of metaphorical expressions of action. This research showed that the brain’s motor areas that are activated during the interpretation of non-metaphorical action statements are the same. Moreover, Citron and Goldberg (2014) examined taste metaphors and confirmed that brain areas associated with gustatory perception are activated more intensively than those related to non-gustatory perception. In addition, the use of tactile metaphors was proved to activate more tactile regions of the brain’s sensorimotor area as compared to non-metaphorical phrases related to tactile experiences (Lacey et al., 2012). Therefore, these experiments uphold that embodied metaphors involve modality-specific neural processing (Gibbs, 2017, p. 457).

CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. Ideological impact of conceptual metaphors on politics and persuasion

The cognitive view of metaphor is connected with such prominent linguists as Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Steen et al. (2010), Gibbs (2008), Semino (2008), Kövecses (2010), and Barcelona (2000a, 2000c). At the same time, the CDA approach is associated with such figures as Fairclough (1989, 2003, 2012), van Dijk (1998, 2002, 2015), Wodak (2012), and Chilton (1996). However, these two approaches have merged together. Thus, Chilton (1996), Lakoff (2002), Balkin (1998), Charteris-Black (2004, 2009, 2011), and Musolff (2004, 2016) have launched the studies of the ideological functions of metaphor in discourse (Goatly, 2007, p. 3). Thus, there is a considerable scope of scholarly works on the ways conceptual metaphors are used to fulfill political goals (Wilson, 2015, p. 779).

In this regard, it is worth mentioning Stockwell (2000) who demonstrates that CDA and cognitive linguistics share some similar features, as may be seen in the analysis of the discourse on the Gulf War carried out by Lakoff (2013). Firstly, these two approaches are anti-objectivist because both discourse and metaphor construe and interpret reality. Secondly, Fairclough's (1989) term *Members Resources* is similar to the cognitive notion of *Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs)*, since both are based on scripts, frames and schemata. Thirdly, Stockwell (2000) emphasizes that CDA recognizes the essential role of metaphor within ideology.

The founder of CDA, van Dijk (1984, 2004, 2015) dedicates his works to the study of racist discourse, i.e., “rationalization and justification of discriminatory acts against minority groups” (van Dijk, 1984, p. 13). Thus, van Dijk (1984, p. 13) distinguishes seven categories that are employed to explain and justify discrimination against minority groups, namely “dominance, differentiation, distance, diffusion, diversion, depersonalization, and discrimination” (van Dijk, 1984, p. 13). As van Dijk (1984, p. 40) explains it, these categories are aimed to legalize the difference between “Us” and “Others” by dominating them, preventing them from participating in political life, and dehumanizing them. As a result of numerous studies of racist discourse in politics, van Dijk (2004, pp. 351-352) singles out two types of racist discourse as follows:

a) “Racist discourse aimed at ethnically different Others” (van Dijk, 2004, p. 352). This form of racist discourse is created by the domineering group who communicates with the dominated groups. It can be explicit or implicit and engages all levels of language.

b) “Racist discourse about ethnically different Others” (van Dijk, 2004, p. 352). It is targeted at other dominant groups. This type of racist discourse can be observed in daily life as well as in “elite discourse” (van Dijk, 2004, p. 352), such as parliamentary debates, news

reports, textbooks, scholarly works, and laws. It involves two general strategies (macrostrategies) of negative presentation of Others and positive presentation of oneself (van Dijk, 2004, p. 352).

In addition, van Dijk (2004, pp. 352-353) differentiates the following three themes in racist discourse: themes highlighting the differences of Others from Us; themes highlighting that the behavior of Others is not normal and violates Our norms and standards; and themes alluding to Others as a danger to Us. Within political discourse, this polarization of Us and Others is mostly used to indicate certain problems with foreign neighbors or political opponents, contrasting them with the in-group. The resolution usually remains unexpressed to enhance the presumed problems with Others.

Moreover, Charteris-Black (2011) studies the ideological impact that conceptual metaphor exercise over politics. In order to determine this impact, he applies critical metaphor analysis and establishes the interrelation between conceptual metaphors and CDA. Apart from that, Charteris-Black (2009) analyzes how conceptual metaphors participate in the construction of a leadership style in politics by referring to the common interpretation of social and political reality shared by the electorate. He further explains that charismatic politicians build their discourses on the metaphors that the voters perceive as rooted in their consciousness. People map their personal meanings on these metaphors and thus the sense of emotional comfort is created.

Therefore, in order to illustrate how metaphors facilitate political persuasion and how metaphors participate in creating political myth and ideology, Charteris-Black (2009) analyzes the use of metaphors by Fidel Castro and Tony Blair. Thus, he claims that the classical idea of political rhetoric requires modification to express the political myth and ideology in political discourse. For example, the conceptualization of crises as a disease allows to legitimize the power because curing the illness is understood as naturally right. As a result, Charteris-Black (2009) establishes that metaphors have an inherently mythic dimension, which is a powerful instrument of political persuasion. In other words, he claims that the metaphor appeal to conscious cognition or to unconscious association that appear in human mind with persuasive goals. In addition, metaphors link cognitive aspects of ideology with the emotional aspects of political myth as an ideological instrument (Charteris-Black, 2009, p. 102).

Charteris-Black (2011, p. 14) develops further his idea of political myth and suggests that conceptual metaphors play an essential role in underpinning a politician's ethical qualities via a positive self-representation. He claims that this is achieved by demonstrating the politician's right intentions because political persuasion is mainly grounded in the strategy of being right.

Therefore, the aim of the politician is to convince the electorate that he is right. In order to achieve this aim, the politician will have to win the confidence of the citizens by forming and maintaining his integrity. Accordingly, Charteris-Black (2011) claims that confidence can be won by persuading the electorate that the politician has the right intentions to act in their interests.

Moreover, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 15) puts forward that thinking right is another persuasive strategy aimed to show that the political platform or policy suggested by the politician is founded on rationality because reasonable argumentation is persuasive by nature. In addition, in order to persuade the audience, the politician should sound right through evoking emotions and creating emotional impact on people. Conceptual metaphors facilitate establishing the relevant emotional atmosphere due to the fact that conceptual metaphors dwell upon unconscious association evoked by discourse.

In addition, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 15) distinguishes another persuasive strategy used in politics, i.e., telling the right story. He explains that the politician has to persuade the electorate of his rightness by constructing mental images that have an impact on how citizens perceive certain issues. In other words, the politician evokes relevant conceptual metaphors or frames that fall within the people's experience and thus make complex issues more comprehensible. Finally, Charteris-Black (2011) singles out looking right as the strategy that is also important in political persuasion. It involves the non-verbal instruments of persuasion such as appearance, cloths, gestures, or facial expressions. As a result, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 328) concludes that conceptual metaphors participate in creating political myth, in particular through the use of the strategies of being right, sounding right, thinking right, and looking right. Hence, they help politicians, who comprehend the interrelation of persuasion and cognition in political discourse, to convince the audience in their reliability.

Furthermore, Wodak (2012, pp. 528-529) explored power, hegemony and ideology in politics because politics widely relies on language and communication. Thus, she claims that the contrast between "our" group and "their" group is an indispensable element of political power, which is aimed to achieve one's political goals. This idea is illustrated by Wodak's studies of the work of politicians in the European Parliament (Wodak, 2009a, 2009b). Combining cognitive linguistics, CDA and Discourse-Historical Approach, she analyzes the daily life and work of Members of the European Parliament in order to interpret their political platforms.

Wodak's (2012) analysis is based on the concepts of frontstage and backstage (Goffman, 1959), the notion of "community of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991), different approaches to

the construction of individual and collective identities (Wodak et al., 2009), and notions of legitimacy and authority (Weber, 2003), which allow to study different aspects of politicians' everyday actions in the context of conventions of the field of politics. As a result, she establishes that politicians build their identities in different ways, which are determined by their communities, the situational contexts, their personal characteristics, and their national and regional belonging. As Wodak (2012) highlights, in the context of the European Parliament politicians have different amounts of symbolic capital reflected in their political knowledge. This means that they have different levels of legitimacy depending on their charisma during persuasion in order to persuade other politicians and the voters (Wodak, 2012, p. 530).

Similarly, Goatly (2007) examines the functioning of metaphors in constructing and interpreting ideologies in political discourse. Moreover, De Landtsheer (1998b, p. 129) analyzes the discursive use of metaphors in the European Parliament during the period from 1981 to 1993 from the political-semantic standpoint. In other words, politics is studied through the analysis of political style (De Landtsheer, 1994). During the analysis, De Landtsheer (1998b, p. 129) uses Holsti's (1969, pp. 634-636) reliability hypothesis, according to which the discourse should meet the criterion of popularity to make some cultural changes.

Furthermore, Zinken (2003) examines how conceptual metaphors facilitate the ideological interpretation of political events. He highlights that although the embodied nature of conceptual metaphors is commonly recognized, the influence of culture on conceptualization of politics is still understudied. Therefore, in order to integrate culture into the experiential basis of conceptual metaphor, Zinken (2003, p. 507) suggests differentiating between two types of metaphorical motivation, namely intertextuality and correlation. He analyzes the role of intertextual metaphors within ideological discourse during the final period of communism in Poland.

Having conducted the analysis, Zinken (2003, p. 519) establishes the difference in function between these two types of metaphors. Thus, intertextual metaphors are applied to interpret social aspects of a certain concept. Meanwhile, correlational metaphors are used to conceptualize additional notions that are not the main concern of discourse. However, Zinken (2003, p. 520) notices that both types of metaphors serve to carry out a comprehensive ideological interpretation of discourse. In this case, intertextual metaphors provide the semiotic environment and specific stereotypes of the discourse, while correlational metaphors interpret everyday language use.

Apart from that, Feldman (1998) analyzes the use of conceptual metaphors in slogans which are widely used in political settings. He defines a slogan as a catching word or phrase

that evokes associations with a particular political party (Feldman, 1998, p. 199). Thus, conceptual metaphors are used to construct political slogans in order to persuade people by shaping their attitudes towards certain political issues and decisions. By setting up the image of a certain politician and a political party, politicians obtain the public's support to their policies and ensure their votes at elections (Feldman, 1998, p. 200).

Furthermore, it is important to mention the research study on the debate between the candidates for the Spanish Government Presidency in 2011, Rajoy and Rubalcaba, conducted by Hidalgo Tenorio and Sánchez García (2017). They study how the strategies applied by these candidates are realized in order to demonstrate their political platforms, how they construct the world in their discourses, and how the inner worlds of the candidates are expressed. Thus, Hidalgo Tenorio and Sánchez García (2017, p. 41) identify argument fallacies and conceptual metaphors in the candidates' discourses.

Hidalgo Tenorio and Sánchez García (2017, pp. 45-46) find out, then, that during the debate the candidates used the following persuasive strategies:

- a) request of principle;
- b) assertion of the consequent;
- c) hasty generalization;
- d) the straw man fallacy (a position easy to refute, attributing it to the opponent);
- e) fallacy of the special allegation (the person presumes that the opponent is not in a position to evaluate his argument by lacking his authority or empathy);
- f) argument *ex silentio* (the silence of the interlocutor is taken as proof of certainty of what is said by the opponent);
- g) argument *ad consequentiam* (a fallacy involving responding to a statement by referring to its possible negative or positive consequences);
- h) argument *ad hominem* (the falsehood of a statement is proved by the personality of the speaker);
- i) argument *ad ignorantiam* (the truth or falsehood of a statement is proved by alleging that there is no evidence to the contrary, or by alleging the inability of the opponent to present evidence against him/her);
- j) argument *ad populum* (a fallacy in which the truth of a statement is proved because most people believe so);
- k) argument *ad nauseam* (basing the veracity of an argument on its repetition);
- l) argument *ad verecundiam* (basing the veracity of an argument on the prestige or authority of whoever uses it);

m) argument *ad antiquitatem* (the veracity of an argument is based on the appeal to tradition);

n) argument *ad conditionallis* (the argument cannot be proved because the fact to which it refers does not exist).

Hidalgo Tenorio and Sánchez García (2017, p. 50) conclude that since all these strategies are primarily realized by conceptual metaphors, it is possible to affirm that they are a powerful tool used in politics to gain authority by interpreting the reality and convincing the opponent and the electorate. Having conducted the analysis, they establish some characteristics of the use of conceptual metaphors by Rajoy and Rubalcaba. For instance, they interpret the Spanish economy in terms of the space-time dimensions (Hidalgo Tenorio & Sánchez García, 2017, p. 50).

In addition, Vengalienė (2019) analyzes the metaphoric models of ironic assessment which are used in political discourse in Lithuania. She applies the Blending theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) to the study of the predominant metaphoric patterns in posters of the Lithuanian political parties during the electioneering campaign. As a result, Vengalienė (2019, p. 30) establishes that the domains of sport, miracles, family, business, tale, and crime are the main ones in the analyzed political posters.

Apart from that, she emphasizes the interrelations between social cognition and culture because they are inseparable elements of the blending structure and are fundamental in transmitting the evaluative attitude. In particular, Vengalienė (2019, p. 30) claims that ironic metaphors are constructed on the basis of a double-scope conceptual integration network because the blend contains the elements of the two input spaces and the elements of our foreknowledge. Thus, Vengalienė (2019, p. 41) concludes that in the Lithuanian political discourse, ironic models are widespread because they make use of the mental models of conceptual metaphors. She explains that such a double-scope integration ensures the ironic shift of meaning depending on the specific context against the background knowledge (Vengalienė, 2019, p. 41).

Furthermore, Vengalienė (2019, p. 42) highlights that although the majority of identified conceptual metaphors are conventional and can be observed in other countries and cultures, there are also several source domains that are specific for the Lithuanian discourse such as miracles and family. These metaphors participate in creating ironic effects based on background knowledge and local Lithuanian contexts. In such a way, the ironic metaphors are immediately understood only by the Lithuanians who are acquainted with these notions (for example, the tradition of ironically calling Lithuania as the land of miracles). Therefore, Vengalienė (2019,

p. 42) asserts that the conventional metaphorical models are transformed into trite-ironies and make political discourse more comprehensible.

Likewise, Linkevičiūtė (2020) also examines the political discourse in Lithuania. In particular, she dwells upon the linguistic means of realization of political conflict during the presidential elections of the Republic of Lithuania in 2019. With this purpose, she analyzes the conflict between the three candidates, namely Nausėda, Skvernelis, and Šimonytė. Linkevičiūtė (2020, p. 117) claims that these candidates' discourses are aimed at positive self-presentation and negative representation of the former president and political rivals.

Thus, having analyzed their discourse, Linkevičiūtė (2020, p. 117) finds out that Nausėda's and Šimonytė's discourses are characterized by the conceptual metaphor of well-being, which is used in order to emphasize the damage caused by former presidents and political parties and represent his own personality as positive for the country. At the same time, Skvernelis's discourse is dominated by the metaphor of an active and responsible state in contrast to an inactive and irresponsible state (Linkevičiūtė, 2020, pp. 117, 128). Moreover, Linkevičiūtė (2020, p. 128) suggests that the conflict communication between all candidates is realized via the oppositional model of ME vs. THEM, which create stereotypes and images, intended to change the opinion of the electorate and form the desired attitude.

Although a wide range of linguistic research studies examine the impact of the conceptual metaphors on political discourse, there are gaps in the study of the role of metaphors in political persuasion. Therefore, this doctoral thesis is an attempt to analyze how conceptual metaphors facilitate the realization of the Ideological Square persuasion strategies in the 2020 US presidential elections through the combination of CDA and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

3.2. Conceptual metaphors in the EU politics

De Landtsheer (1998b, p. 130) put forward that although the European Parliament discourse is public, it does not meet the criterion of popularity because it represents the European identity only in part. The discourses of 700 delegates to the European Parliament were studied. Therefore, De Landtsheer (1998b, p. 130) proves that they are mostly conditioned by their national cultures and identities since they are representatives of different nations. However, the parliamentary environment serves as a unifying element, and thus forms a common European culture (Lang, 1993, p. 39). In this regard, the political style analysis is aimed at studying the subconscious level of the common European politics, i.e., the collective mental processes undergoing in parliamentary discourses (De Landtsheer, 1994, 1998b). Apart from that, the European Parliament is organized according to political groups, which surpass the borders of

nations and share a political style in their discourses. Therefore, politicians' national identities are downplayed (Weinberger, 1995).

De Landtsheer (1998b, p. 132) concentrates her study on the role of metaphors in the European Parliament, mainly on the metaphor of the European house, which conceptualizes the unification of Europe. Thus, this metaphor facilitates the creation of the European culture and identity within political discourse. According to De Landtsheer (1998b, p. 132), the European house metaphor can be considered to be a stylistic element, a component of political argumentation, a communicative instrument, a subconscious product, a powerful source of information, and a semantic unit.

In addition, De Landtsheer (2009, p. 59) puts forward the idea that political discourse should be studied in combination with political psychology and persuasion. Consequently, she claims that conceptual metaphors in political discourse should be analyzed as a political phenomenon. Therefore, in order to study the functions and the impact of metaphors on political discourse, De Landtsheer (2009, p. 59) develops the method of the metaphor power model. This method involves the identification and categorization of conceptual metaphors. As a result, this method helps to explain the political meaning through the assessment of metaphor power in political discourse.

This newly designed method was tested on the example of political discourse (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 74). As a result, De Landtsheer (2009, p. 74) establishes that conceptual metaphors participate in the political struggle between political adversaries as a persuasive tool in order to intensify an emotional contact with the electorate. Therefore, conceptual metaphors and emotions are closely related in political persuasion. However, during the electioneering campaigns the level of metaphor power grows because the emotional background is intensified. Thus, De Landtsheer (2009, p. 74) emphasizes that the emotional intensity of the metaphor power largely depends on the politician's personality, his/her gender, political party, and specific contexts. For example, female politicians are prone to apply the metaphor power with a less intense power level in their political discourses than male ones; on the contrary, political parties with radical ideologies use a high-level metaphor power.

This theory of metaphor power is further developed by Vertessen and De Landtsheer (2008). They analyze the interrelation of rhetoric and conceptual metaphors in electioneering campaigns in order to find out the ways in which the elections influence the persuasive rhetoric. With this goal, they use the method of metaphor power and crisis communication combination. Consequently, Vertessen and De Landtsheer (2008, p. 271) draw the conclusion that conceptual metaphors are more extensively used during the pre-election period because they are aimed at

facilitating understanding of complex political language by the electorate and at preparing them to be persuaded. In other words, as Vertessen and De Landtsheer (2008, p. 283) explain, during the elections conceptual metaphors become an integral part of a general persuasive pattern used by the politician, where emotional appeal is paramount. In this way, the emotional contact with the audience is established by empathic modals. As a result, political leaders, who are willing to win the elections, apply conceptual metaphors along with emotional appeal to persuade their electorate (Vertessen & De Landtsheer, 2008, p. 283).

Furthermore, it is also worth mentioning the research study carried out by Drulák (2008). He identifies and analyzes conceptual metaphors in discourse on EU reforms. His research demonstrates that the use of metaphors in international politics is understudied and lacks a clear methodology. Therefore, Drulák (2008) develops a method for the identification of metaphors in a corpus. His method is grounded in the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the corpus as well as in the metaphor conceptualization from the cognitive standpoint. Apart from that, he exemplified the use of the method by identifying and assessing conceptual metaphors within the selected sphere of international interactions. Using the newly developed methodology, Drulák (2008, p. 118) investigates how conceptual metaphors frame the debates on the reform of the European Union.

In a similar vein, Walter and Helmig (2008) examine the ability of metaphors to construct reality, focusing on the European political discourse about the EU growth. They observe that in order to analyze this phenomenon comprehensively, it is necessary to develop a new method that would unite the macro-level of discourse and the micro-level of conceptual metaphor. Therefore, Walter and Helmig (2008, p. 120) analyze the metaphor of (de)construction(s) of Europe and its participation in the construction of reality.

In addition, Fridolfsson (2008) analyzes how conceptual metaphors interpret the phenomenon of a gender gap in political discourse in Sweden. In particular, she focuses on two political protests as examples, namely the alternative globalization movement's demonstrations in Gothenburg in 2001 and referendum on the introduction of the euro in 2003. Fridolfsson (2008, p. 132) notes that in the first case the protesters were conceptualized in terms of some living organism, an animal, a natural phenomenon, and a war. She establishes that these source domains facilitate representing the protesters as belonging to Others' group. She also points out that such metaphors enhance masculinity in protests, while downplaying femininity.

However, Fridolfsson (2008, p. 132) claims that women were more represented in the second case. Since the majority of Swedish citizens were against the euro, they were conceptualized as rural and nationalist women who lack knowledge about politics. She

emphasizes that these metaphors both organize political events and create the image of political protest. This image functions according to the liberal democratic idealization consisting of fair laws and some vile protesters who oppose the prosperity of the EU (Fridolfsson, 2008, p. 132).

It is important to mention that Fridolfsson (2008, p. 134) highlights the ideological organization of political protests. She notes that political actors are not prepared figures, but on the contrary, they are fixed temporarily in a particular event by themselves or by others. Therefore, she finds out that in the context of political protests, conceptual metaphors function as social practices that construct the political events. Consequently, the political actor can be regarded as a metaphor summarized by a meaning. In other words, Fridolfsson (2008, p. 134) explains that the Other group's identity and the protesters' identity are constructed simultaneously. As a result, the comprehensible image of the social life is created.

Therefore, Fridolfsson (2008, p. 134) attempts to deconstruct the innately political character of the social life and the domination that defines political protests. Within the concept of liberal democracy, the political protest is allowed in the form of voting, while violent manifestations are considered illegal. At the same time, street-demonstrations and labor-strikes are seen as permitted ways to express the public opinion on some governmental decisions that sometimes can become extreme in character. This occurs in accordance with the laws of protest; however, the meaning of the protests can be more or less lawful. Nevertheless, Fridolfsson (2008, p. 134) claims that in the course of protests these laws are often broken and simultaneously come into existence. Therefore, she maintains that the laws of protest are conditioned by their violation.

As a result of the analysis, Fridolfsson (2008, p. 134) concludes that conceptual metaphors of age, gender, and class define the outcomes of the protest and challenge the idea about the superiority of the good argumentation. Therefore, although peaceful protesters try to distance themselves from the violent manifestations of disagreement to legitimize their claims, their efforts are difficult to fulfill. This is explained by the fact that the scope of conceptual metaphors related to the protests identified in the corpus conceptualize participants of protests as parts of the body (Fridolfsson, 2008, p. 144).

Besides, Petrica (2011) investigates the variance, strategies, and impact of conceptual metaphors in political discourse. In particular, she concentrates on the public discourse on the membership of Malta in the EU. The focus on Malta is attributed to the fact that the cognitive analysis of metaphors that interpret the EU-related issues in political discourse mainly dwells upon well-developed countries such as Germany and Great Britain. Therefore, Petrica (2011, p. 143) examines the role of metaphors in Maltese political discourse when discussing Malta's

EU-membership in order to reveal the role of culture-specific conceptual metaphors (Petrica, 2011, p. 143). It is necessary to mention that her analysis is carried out on the basis of a small corpus that consists of metaphors identified in the English-language discourse of Malta between 2000 and 2008.

As a result, Petrica (2011, p. 143) identifies two types of metaphors in the Maltese political discourse, namely overt and covert. She further explains that the overt variance of metaphors interprets apparent intercultural dissimilarities between conceptual metaphors applied by British and Maltese politicians. These differences lay in the application of distinct source domains. At the same time, the covert variance of metaphors includes two forms as follows: the same source domains are used to refer to different target domains in different countries; and different source domains are used to conceptualize the very same target domains. Petrica (2011, p. 143) emphasizes that the covert variance is mainly intra-cultural. Therefore, it is necessary to take into consideration the cultural context.

Thus, Petrica (2011, p. 143) establishes that a large number of the identified metaphors are similar to metaphors used in political discourse in other European countries. Despite this, they are also special because they have specific features pertaining to the Maltese socio-cultural setting. For example, the Maltese discourse primarily makes use of the BODY source domain, while political discourse in other European countries is characterized by source domains such as FAMILY, GAMES, and BUILDING. At the same time, she distinguishes a scope of metaphors that are characteristic of the Maltese political discourse. For example, the EU is conceptualized as a sodomizer who is willing to beats Malta. Petrica (2011, p. 143) concludes that such metaphors are likely to be typical of political discourse in Malta because they foreground the aspects of the conceptual metaphors that are characteristic of the Maltese context.

Another important study on the effects produced by metaphors in politics was conducted by Musolff (2004, 2016). He focuses on the manifestations of the conceptual metaphor of family in politics. In particular, Musolff (2004, p. 13) analyzes how the European Union and relationships within it are conceptualized in terms of the family or love relationship. He indicates that although his analysis is generally based on Lakoff's (2002) theory, he adopts a different approach to the analysis and develops the scenario analysis. Thus, Musolff (2004, p. 13) maintains that the source domains can be grouped into conceptual clusters that construct the love-marriage-family frame. In order to analyze it, he suggests the notion of scenario (Musolff, 2004, p. 13).

Musolff (2004, p. 17) further explains that conceptual components do not describe all possible concepts pertaining to the love-marriage-family frame. Instead, they construct conceptual clusters that concentrate only on several elements of general background knowledge people have about of love, marriage, and family. In turn, such conceptual clusters construe scenarios, i.e., short stories (for example, the destiny of the EU spouses, the childhood of the euro-child). Consequently, issues related to EU politics are conceptualized as family bonds, marital faithfulness, parental authority, etc. Musolff (2004, p. 17) justifies the use of the term scenario by the fact that it embraces conceptual patterns that comprise associations about typical roles and actions known from the film industry.

In this regard, Musolff (2004, p. 18) distinguishes the following scenarios for metaphors of the love, marriage, and family frame: a) the parents scenario: countries perform the role of parents that bring up their children; b) the children scenario: countries function as children that are educated, cared for, and punished by their parents; c) the marriage scenario: two countries act as lovers, fiancés, and spouses, with other countries functioning as extra-marital lovers or suitors.

Apart from that, Musolff (2004, p. 89) applies the scenarios to life-body-health metaphors when analyzing the debates on Europe in the UK and Germany as follows: a) the life cycle scenario: an institution or a country is born, it survives, grows up, lives, and dies; b) the health/illness scenario: an institution or a country suffers physical injuries, gets sick, receives medical aid, recovers; c) the body scenario: the components of an institution or institutions of a country function as organs of the body (Musolff, 2004, p. 90). Thus, Musolff (2004, p. 89) illustrates these scenarios with the help of the concepts of health/illness (for example, the sick man of Europe).

Furthermore, Musolff (2016) elaborates on the notion of scenarios and explains that within the love-marriage-family scenario, source domains can be formed and grouped in any way; for example, the concepts of the married couple of EU countries with a euro child, the single motherhood for a family of twenty-eight EU nations, and other nations as children striving to return into the European family. Consequently, these source concepts create a few scenarios, which are constrained by several mini-melodramas (Musolff, 2016, p. 38).

In this regard, Musolff (2016, p. 133) maintains that the scenario analysis facilitates not only categorizing conceptual metaphors on the basis of domains in the corpus, but also establishing the metaphor frequencies and their clusters. In turn, such metaphor clusters can be associated with politics and assessed according to their salience in political discourse. As a result, the scenario-oriented analysis allows to enrich and clarify the comprehension of the

degree to which conceptual metaphors are rooted in certain sociocultural contexts and have the power to construct the discourse. Thus, Musolff (2016, p. 133) puts forward that the construction of power occurs not only by repeating some source domains, but also by their argumentative credibility and emotional appeal, which helps to persuade the audience. In addition, conceptual metaphors in political discourse (for example, POLITICS IS A WAR and HUMANS ARE PARASITES) obtained momentous persuasive power because of their plausible naturalness.

Having applied the scenario analysis to the study of the EU political discourse, Musolff (2016, p. 134) draws the conclusion that it is reasonable to single out four levels of metaphor comprehension, namely a) the metaphor reception, i.e., the audience identifies the target domains; b) the semantic reconstruction of the speaker's planned meaning; c) the interpretation, i.e., the audience comprehends the part of discourse containing the analyzed metaphor as figurative; d) the audience accepts it as a plausible argument that presupposes certain political decisions to be made.

Accordingly, Musolff (2016, p. 135) affirms that these levels involve the deliberateness of the speaker's use of conceptual metaphor because only the first two levels are considered the automatic processing of understanding information. Meanwhile, the third level presupposes the deliberate processing of metaphors in discourse. Hence, the audience is regarded as being aware of the figurative meaning of certain phrases and can criticize and reuse the metaphors as "a communicative precedent" (Musolff, 2016, p. 135). Thus, he concludes that it is possible to identify such precedents in the form of allusion to reinterpretation of scenarios in many conceptual metaphors used in political discourse (Musolff, 2016, p. 135).

Similarly, Đurović and Silaški (2019) apply the scenario analysis to the study of Serbian discourse on the migrant crisis in Europe. Thus, they investigate the ways the container and the wall metaphor scenarios have powerful persuasive effects on the audience in order to build the national idea. In this regard, Đurović and Silaški (2019, p. 59) single out two types of framing within the container and the wall scenarios. The first one conceptualizes Europe as a container, which is divided into the EU and non-EU spaces. The second framing involves the interpretation of the EU as an isolated place on the European continent or as a fortress, i.e., a small container, which is necessary to protect by walls against the belligerent world.

Therefore, Đurović and Silaški (2019, p. 60) analyze the wall metaphor in the social and political context of migrant crisis. They establish that this metaphor has a special discursive effect, which is different from the meaning of the original metaphor. In the course of their research, Đurović and Silaški (2019, p. 60) collect metaphorical expressions from political

discourse on migration and classify them in accordance to the container and the wall scenarios. Thus, they maintain that migrants and the Serbian nation are conceptualized in terms of the belonging to the same container. This container, in turn, enhances the sense of isolation and otherness. Moreover, such an interpretation of the EU national identity involves the feeling of belonging and solidarity (Đurović & Silaški, 2019, p. 60).

Having carried out the analysis of the container and the wall scenarios in political discourse on migration, Đurović and Silaški (2019, p. 73) come to the conclusion that conceptual metaphors imply ideological patterns that may vary in different discourse communities. They support the idea expressed by Šarić (2015, p. 61) that the conceptual metaphor forms an indispensable part of collective identity, i.e., discourse, collective memory, symbols, and myth. As a result, studying metaphors in discourse facilitates “the understanding of collective identity” (Šarić, 2015, p. 61).

Elsewhere, Silaški and Đurović (2021, p. 571) continue to examine how the migrant crisis in the EU is interpreted via the metaphor of fortress Europe in political cartoons in 2017 by combining the Critical Metaphor Analysis with a cognitive view on multimodality developed by Bounegru and Forceville (2011), Forceville (2007), Forceville and Urios-Aparisi (2009), and Pinar Sanz (2015). Silaški and Đurović (2021, p. 571) claim that the political cartoons selected for the analysis depict the EU in terms of the fortress with strong walls and fences. In this regard, they demonstrate that this metaphor is aimed to express the sense of otherness by evoking the perception of Others as a threat from which the EU should be protected.

Silaški and Đurović (2021, p. 577) put forward that the fortress Europe metaphor is quite commonly used in political cartoons during crises in Serbia. They explain that this metaphor originates from the media and political discourses on the EU integration and enlargement. According to this interpretation, the fortress has cemented heavy walls that limit the possibility of Others to enter it (Chaban et al., 2007, pp. 85-86; Zinken, 2007, p. 17). Thus, Silaški and Đurović (2021, p. 576) explain that the fortress Europe metaphor involves the protection against immigrants encroaching Europe. Hence, there is a need to prevent immigrants from entering the EU so that they do not harm the stability and prosperity of the EU citadel. Consequently, the fortress Europe metaphor means that the protection of the EU citizens is of paramount importance and can be guaranteed by being fenced off with high walls. Moreover, Silaški and Đurović (2021, p. 577) emphasize that by conceptualizing the EU in terms of the fortress, the notion of the loss of control is enhanced. This is attributed to the fact that the concept of security is inseparable from the notion of control because, according to Charteris-Black (2006, p. 576), threats are dangerous because they are out of control.

As a result, Silaški and Đurović (2021, p. 580) establish that the metaphor of fortress Europe, which has walls, gates and other elements belonging to the container scenario, facilitates the construction of the positive perception of the EU's Self and the negative perception of immigrants as Others. In other words, they explain that being realized in the form of persuasive images and texts, the fortress Europe metaphor highlights the dichotomies of Us vs. Them, EU vs. immigrants, security vs. danger, and functions as a powerful tool in delimiting the in- and out-groups (Silaški & Đurović, 2021, p. 580).

3.3. Conceptual metaphor in the US politics

Furthermore, Lakoff (2004, p. xv) claims that cognitive metaphors are not limited to show how politicians form our thinking about politics. They demonstrate that framing can refute the control over discourse. Lakoff (2004, p. xv) defines frames as mental structures that construct the world and determine the way people perceive it. Applying them to politics, he claims that frames build our perception of public policies and political decisions made by politicians. Moreover, Lakoff (2004, p. xv) maintains that it is possible to change frames by suggesting counter frames, which are other ways of considering the same concepts. Since conceptual frames are embedded in language and are activated through words, new frames require new words.

Thus, having analyzed the US political discourse, Lakoff (2002) suggests that political reasoning in the USA is constructed on the dual perception and comprehension of the conceptual metaphor WELL-BEING IS WEALTH. This conceptual metaphor is manifested by two opposite idealized models, i.e., the Strict Father morality within the Republican conceptual system, while it is represented as the Nurturant Parent morality within the Democrat conceptual system. Lakoff (2004, p. 5) justifies this system by the fact that all people share the NATION IS A FAMILY metaphor. In the American context, this metaphor is illustrated by the Founding Fathers and the Daughters of the American Revolution.

In addition, this metaphor is very common because people tend to comprehend big social groups in terms of small ones, i.e., the nation in terms of the family. Accordingly, Lakoff (2004, p. 5) suggests that different political parties understand the concept of the nation because they have different perceptions of family. Lakoff (2004, p. 39) emphasizes that the models of idealized family structure are used as a means of structuring our comprehension of the nation in terms of the family.

Thus, within the Strict Father model, Lakoff (2004, pp. 6-7) distinguishes a number of assumptions. First all, the world and life are seen as dangerous; it is also very difficult because

there is competitiveness. Moreover, in the world, the concepts of the absolute right and wrong exist. Therefore, children are inherently bad and it is essential to teach them to be good. Hence, the Strict Father is responsible for protecting and supporting his family in this evil world as well as bringing up his children as good citizens. In turn, children are obliged to be obedient because they have to see their father as the only moral authority. In this regard, children are taught to be obedient via punishments when they disobey.

On the one hand, when applying this model to social policies of the Republican party, Lakoff (2004, pp. 9-10) claims that social programs are considered immoral because if people receive help from the state, they do not learn to be disciplined and thus do not cultivate independence in themselves. However, he notices that the governmental support of the industry and subsidies for big corporations fall within the Strict Father model because good investors should be rewarded. Moreover, regarding the foreign policy, the sovereignty is paramount. The USA is considered to be the most powerful country in the world that is the moral authority for the world. Such a belief is associated with the NATION IS A PERSON metaphor, which is used to interpret international relations. Accordingly, there are villain states and friendly states. As a result, citizens, who understand the world in terms of this model, believe that it is absolutely right to rule the country in this way.

On the other hand, Lakoff (2004, pp. 11-12) puts forward that the Nurturant Parent model is gender neutral. This model presupposes that both parents are responsible for bringing up their children to the same extent. Children are seen as inherently good and thus can be taught to be even better. Similarly, the world should be made better. Thus, the parents are responsible for nurturing their children and bringing up their children as nurturers. The nurturance embraces empathy and responsibility. Empathy means that parents have to pay attention to the children when they cry or when they are hungry. Meanwhile, responsibility means that parents have to take care of their children. In order to achieve this, parents should be able to take care of themselves, work hard, and know a lot about the world.

In addition, Lakoff (2004, p. 12) emphasizes that empathy involves protection. In politics, it means protection against crime, drugs, unhealthy food, etc. Thus, he points out that the Democratic party lays stress on environmental protection, worker protection, and protection from disease. Applying the Nurturant Parent model to politics, in the area of domestic affairs, it involves governmental support of social programs, civil liberties and equal treatment, benefits for all citizens, affordable education and healthcare, etc. In international relations, this model is manifested in the extensive cooperation with other nations and promotion of the Democratic party's values throughout the world (Lakoff, 2004, p. 40).

Therefore, in his book *Moral Politics*, Lakoff (2002) suggests that people do not usually vote in their self-interest. Instead, they vote their identity and values they identify themselves with. In addition, citizens tend to vote according to their ethnicity, religion, and cultural stereotypes. In particular, the most powerful way of self-identification for the electorate are values and cultural stereotypes (Lakoff, 2004, p. 39).

Nevertheless, some linguists note certain problems with such application of frames to the US politics. Thus, Pinker (2006) notes that Lakoff's idea is constrained by relativism. In other words, if "counter frames" are aroused, there is a possibility to either deny them or reintegrate new frames into old ones with the purpose of adapting beliefs to new conditions. Moreover, having analyzed political discourse, Cienki (2005a) emphasizes that it is problematic to classify conceptual metaphors into "progressive" and "conservative" ones because such a two-party system does not apply different metaphors. On the contrary, it presupposes that similar conceptual metaphors are used by the Democratic and Republican parties to display different political platforms. In addition, according to El Refaie (2001) and Lazuka (2012), in political discourse, conceptual metaphors are not necessarily purely linguistic; they can be a mixture of linguistic and other forms (Wilson, 2015, p. 780).

Apart from that, Ahrens (2011) also dwells upon political discourse. She analyzes the cognitive models used in the speeches delivered by such US presidents as Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush Sr., Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush Jr. on the basis of cognitive models of morality that dominate the US political discourse (Lakoff, 2002), i.e., the models of the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent used by the Republican and Democratic parties respectively. In addition, Ahrens (2011, p. 167) develops the procedure for identifying these cognitive models by calculating the frequency of correspondences of patterns in a computer-based corpus.

As a result, the frequency analysis of the of lexical units bound to these models and corresponding collocations demonstrates that they are used to express political platforms of the different presidents. Thus, Ahrens (2011, p. 170) confirms Lakoff's theory that Republican presidents resort to lexemes within to the Strict Father model, while Democratic presidents apply more words within the Nurturant Parent model. Finally, having compared the speeches delivered by the four American presidents, she establishes that the individual differences in the metaphor choice represent different political ideologies, taking into account the audiences that they address (Ahrens, 2011, p. 170).

In another study, Ahrens (2006) investigates the occurrence of lexical units that discriminate women in the State of the Union Addresses from 1945 to 2005. Ahrens (2006) establishes that their use decreased after Title IX of the Civil Rights Act became the law in 1972

because the gender-based discrimination was declared illegal. Ahrens (2006) also notes that the lexical unit “mankind” is still used by Republican presidents. However, she emphasizes that its usage with the meaning of “people” has also declined in presidential speeches (Ahrens, 2011, p. 168).

Nevertheless, not all studies confirm Lakoff’s theory on cognitive models in political discourse. Thus, in their research, Ahrens and Lee (2009) compare the Senate Floor Speeches of the US Senators from the Democratic and Republican parties in terms of the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent models. Nevertheless, they establish that there is no evidence of the use of these two conceptual models in senators’ speeches although they can be contrasted as two groups. Thus, Ahrens and Lee (2009) distinguish the individual differences among senators regarding the use of conceptual metaphors.

In a similar vein, Cienki (2005b, p. 290) conducts the research in order to find the instances of metaphors that form part of the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent moralities in transcripts of three televised debates in 2004 that were held between the Republican presidential candidate, George Bush Jr., and the Democratic presidential candidate, Al Gore. As a result, in the corpus, consisting of 41,000 words, only forty-eight cases of conceptual metaphors that fell within these two cognitive models were identified. Consequently, in order to expand the study, Cienki (2005b, p. 290) includes metaphorical and non-metaphorical entailments in his analysis, although he fails to provide a clear explanation of the procedure for determining entailments.

In addition, having analyzed the speeches of the US presidents over the period of 200 years, Lim (2008) determines that the US presidents used a highly democratic rhetoric. Moreover, he claims that family-related metaphors have become widely used by US presidents since Franklin D. Roosevelt’s term, while the frequency of metaphors based on the concepts of childhood and youth have increased since Jimmy Carter’s presidency. Thus, it can be concluded that socio-cultural changes are identified in the course of the development of the US democracy (Lim, 2008).

What is more, Neagu (2013, p. 3) conducted her research in order to determine the socio-psychological effects of metaphors on political discourse during the three US Presidential debates in 2008 by linking the CDA and cognitive view on metaphors. Neagu (2013, p. 115) suggested a new perspective on the argumentation in political discourse by positioning it at the intersection of cognitive and transpersonal psychology.

Accordingly, she compares the metaphorical reasoning of Presidential candidates and distinguishes the following conceptual metaphors with several target domains: POLITICS IS ETHICS, POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS BUSINESS, CRISIS IS DISEASE, CRISIS IS

CALAMITY, HEALTH IS MERCHANDISE, HEALTH IS COMMODITY. Thus, Neagu (2013, p. 6) claims that these metaphors are predominant in the debates and create the candidates' discourses and their political frameworks. In particular, Neagu (2013, p. 6) focuses on the conceptualization of domestic and foreign policies by conceptual metaphor during the analyzed debates. In addition, she dwells upon the conceptual metaphors that concern the audience's questions because they display the formation of reality.

Neagu (2013, p. 30) considers political discourse "a cognitive demand–supply transaction". According to this idea, a source domain gives the needed commodities to meet the demand. Neagu (2013, p. 30) claims that her mental voids theory involves that cognitive linguistics should be applied to analyze a new condition entailing people's efforts to adjust to new settings or situations. She uses the term *mental void*, suggested by Christianopoulos (2002) in the following wording: the mental void is "dictated by an immobile process that stems from a discontented disposition equally present by the challenge to express oneself, that is at the same time an attempt to bridge the void" (Christianopoulos, 2002, p. 89).

Neagu (2013, pp. 30-31) states that the theory of mental voids serves to explain the reactions that political discourse evokes in people. For example, both over-gratification of needs and failure to satisfy the basic needs can cause the sense of purposelessness and moral decay, which politicians seek to revive through discourse. Therefore, she maintains that the creation of cognitive and behavioral changes in society depends on the extent to which the audience perceives and adopts the ideas expressed by politicians in their speeches. Moreover, Neagu (2013, p. 31) puts forward that since the mental void is the gap in information that emerges in the social perceptiveness and susceptibility, political discourse is aimed at connecting the mental void existing in society and the frustrations related to society needs. Consequently, the results of presidential elections demonstrate the extent to which the candidate was successful in filling in the void caused by society needs.

On the basis of this theory, Neagu (2013, p. 115) carries out the analysis of conceptual metaphors functioning as arguments and within arguments. She confirms that conceptual metaphors are more than a mere relation of inclusion between two distinct domains. On the contrary, conceptual metaphors provide the opportunity to establish uncommon mappings that may challenge people's pre-existing frames and associations. Hence, Neagu (2013, p. 115) establishes that conceptual metaphors are persuasive devices which should be considered to be solid arguments based on the argument from definition or from analogy.

Having analyzed the three US Presidential debates in 2008, Neagu (2013, p. 155) finds out that political discourse makes a wide use of marketing strategies such as analysis, planning,

implementation, and control (Kotler, 1997). These strategies are embedded in the PRODUCT LIFE-CYCLE metaphor. For example, they allow to determine the underlying meanings when economic issues are debated by the presidential candidates. Thus, she affirms that marketing strategies forms the matrix that serves as the symbolic interpretation of the real state policy (Neagu, 2013, p. 115).

In addition, as a result of the analysis, Neagu (2013, p. 116) suggests new kinds of metaphors that belong to the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation used by politicians during debates. In other words, symptomatic argumentation creates defining metaphors, analogic argumentation generates analogous, or descriptive, metaphors, causal argumentation produces metonymical metaphors (which are divided into resultative and equative metaphors), and dissociative argumentation results in alternative metaphors (Neagu, 2013, p. 116).

3.4. Metaphorical conceptualizations of political communities

Honohan (2008) investigates how political communities are understood in terms of different kinds of relations between people. She singles out metaphors of solidarity as especially relevant for contemporary society because they unite citizens by bonds of patriotism. She also explores how metaphors make up the political community as unitary through human relationships. In addition, Honohan (2008) studies the ways metaphors depict citizens as a firmly united or exclusive group.

Thus, Honohan (2008, p. 69) follows Stjerno's (2004) definition of solidarity as a tendency to collective concern and action. This notion is closely connected with the concept of fraternity and has obtained a political value in the course of history. As Honohan (2008, p. 69) explains, solidarity depends on the sense of belonging to a certain ethnic or cultural group. In this regard, it is important to preserve boundaries between the in-group and the outgroup. Since metaphors structure politics, political community and solidarity are conceptualized in terms of conceptual metaphors based on family relationships and friendship.

Furthermore, Honohan (2008, p. 70) selects two discursive contexts in which solidarity is constructed, namely nationality, culture and ethnicity, on the one hand, and social capital, on the other hand. Consequently, there are also two types of metaphors that participate in the construction of solidarity. These are metaphors that are based on the sense of belonging to a particular social group and metaphors that display relationships between individuals and groups within society. When applying this idea to political discourse, she emphasizes that these two types of metaphors perform an outstanding framing function in politics.

In this regard, Honohan (2008, p. 73) maintains that family metaphors are used to conceptualize the concept of nation as a fundamental element of political community. In other words, the representation of nation as a family presupposes the existence of a home for citizens as members of this family and common goals. The family metaphors originated in the patriarchal tradition supported by Hobbes and Locke which evolved into the fraternal political model of the French revolution. Honohan (2008, p. 73) highlights that in any case the family model is hierarchical, with the father being the head of the household and the mother being in charge of home comforts.

At the same time, the family involves a deep emotional connection between its members. Thus, the family metaphors that contain close relationships between family members form the foundation of solidarity. Applying this interpretation to political discourse, the unity and mutual support of citizens are regarded as the support within the strong loving family (Honohan, 2008, p. 74). However, the family metaphors can be used to conceptualize immigrants as strangers who do not belong to the kinship (Goodhart, 2004). As a result, Honohan (2008, p. 74) makes a conclusion that the belonging to the political community is mostly conceptualized in terms of the family conceptual metaphors.

Moreover, friendship is another source domain which is applied to reason about the nation because it provides for a wider diversity than the family metaphor. As Honohan (2008, p. 75) supports the Aristotle's (1981, p. iii) point of view, according to which citizens form a circle of friends who are worried about the well-being of others along with enjoying each other's company. However, such interpretation of friendship is not suitable for the contemporary society because in modern politics friendship and political relationships are regarded as incompatible and hostile notions (Honohan, 2008, p. 76). She grounds her analysis on the theory of Schmitt (1996, pp. 27-28), who claimed that friendship and enmity are the key notion of politics.

Consequently, Honohan (2008, pp. 75-76) suggests that solidarity is based not only on the differentiation between in-group and out-group, but also on the extreme opposition between them. Therefore, in politics the party solidarity is usually enhanced by a common enemy. In this context, solidarity can be conceptualized in terms of friendship due to the application of the concept of personal friendship to political discourse.

In this connection, Honohan (2008, p. 77) emphasizes that the team metaphor is more suitable for contemporary politics, especially concerning electioneering campaigns. This is due to the fact that teams are perceived as more unified around the common goals than family or friends. She exemplifies the use of the team metaphor by the Irish political discourse. Here,

metaphors depicting participants of political processes as a national team are quite common. For instance, when motivating the Irish people to support the Nice Treaty, the deputy prime minister Mary Harney said that everyone needed to wear the green jersey. Nevertheless, this metaphor is ambivalent because a green shirt is characteristic of a both culturally and religiously diverse rugby team that represents the whole island and of a soccer team that represents only the Republic.

3.5. Impact of natural sciences on metaphorical conceptualization of politics

Chilton (1996, p. 53) examines the ways in which language is used to do politicking, i.e., making political activities. Having analyzed political discourse, Chilton (1996, pp. 50-55) identifies four conceptual metaphors used in discourse on international relations and defense, which are based on embodiment, namely container, path, force, and link. For example, the container conceptual metaphors are often used to conceptualize geographical regions, i.e., nations or states. Besides, the path conceptual metaphor includes the starting point, finishing line, time, direction, etc. The force conceptual metaphor involves the concept of resistance to movement. Finally, the link metaphor is applied to conceptualize the interconnections between human bodies and surrounding objects (Chilton, 1996, p. 138).

In a similar vein, Muntigl (2002, pp. 53-54) demonstrates how conceptual metaphors of container, path, force, and link are manifested in language and how they function in political discourse. Thus, the domain of path embraces different kinds of ideational meanings such as motion, direction, and phase. For example, motion and direction are manifested in material processes, which interpret doing, being, or sensing (Halliday, 1994). Meanwhile, phase means the beginning and the end of some process expressed by verbs. Moreover, the metaphor of force is related to meanings of modality, such as positive or negative ability. In addition, the metaphor of link involves the ideational meanings of accompaniment, manifested by prepositions in language (Muntigl, 2002, pp. 53-54).

Hence, as Muntigl (2002, p. 54) points out, in political discourse, these types of metaphor are realized differently. For example, the path is involved in the conceptualization of EU public policies. Thus, elements of the policy constitute a path with limited time frames. Thus, the measures taken when implementing some EU policies are understood as the step taken along the path; while problems appearing in the process are interpreted as barriers on the path. Consequently, overcoming these barriers can happen through the cooperation of social groups in order to continue going along the path. In this regard, it is important to mention that the concept of barriers is often used to depict the opposing group. Muntigl (2002, p. 66) explains

that this allows to demonstrate that the opposition's attitudes towards the policy are incorrect and need to be revised. In addition, by conceptualizing opposition as barriers on the path, politicians try to show their opponents preventing the EU from moving forward.

It is also necessary to mention Akrivoulis (2008), who examines the use of Newtonian metaphors in two different periods of American politics, i.e., the founding era and the early years of the Cold War. Based on Ricoeur's (1997) hermeneutics of imagination, he claims that the Newtonian metaphors were especially relevant for the foundation of the American society because they influenced the way in which the new American nation perceived itself. Meanwhile, regarding the use of Newtonian imagery to conceptualize the Cold War epoch's balance of power, Akrivoulis (2008) analyzes the impact this ideological schematization has on three levels of US foreign policy, namely projects of action, level of motivation and power to act (Carver & Pikalo, 2008, p. 5).

Thus, Akrivoulis (2008, p. 15) suggests that nature-based conceptual metaphors, which he calls Newtonian, are one of the most widespread in political discourse because they provide rich metaphorical reference to interpret a wide range of political beliefs. He emphasizes that for the last 400 years, the scientific development has exercised a significant impact on the perception of politics. Thus, the domain of natural science has provided models of structure and process that are used in political discourse. In other words, patterns that were scientifically discovered in nature are applied to sociopolitical modelling. The way of the poet advocated here treats scientific metaphors as deeply ingrained in political methodology, without necessarily implying the scientific modelling of politics. This is important because in this way scientific metaphors are embodied in political discourse (Akrivoulis, 2008, p. 16).

Therefore, it is noteworthy that, according to Akrivoulis (2008, p. 16), Newtonian metaphors are characteristic of the American political discourse because they are deeply rooted in eighteenth century American political thought and continues to be the predominant model of politics in the USA. In the course of historical development, Newton's ideas were re-contextualized and gave rise to the culture of Newtonianism. Akrivoulis (2008, p. 17) defines Newtonianism as the re-contextualization of Newton's original metaphors that were aimed at explaining and legitimizing the natural order.

The technological progress equated Newtonian metaphors with mechanical metaphors. This development was also underpinned by the works of English and French philosophes. As a result, Newton's theory of gravitational forces was blended with the functions of machines (Brooke, 1956, p. 170). According to this frame, a person was perceived as a physical object in society that is ruled by the same laws of gravitation as the celestial bodies or functions as the

organized parts of a machine (Akrivoulis, 2008, p. 17). Consequently, these metaphors were used to justify the organization of the government by the founding fathers. Thus, the States were conceptualized in terms of the ‘planets’ of the ‘solar’ federal government, moving by their orbits. In times of crisis, the States were understood as a huge clock or any other kind of machine (Akrivoulis, 2008, p. 18).

Therefore, Akrivoulis (2008, p. 18) claims that at the beginning of the American state formation, political discourse was mainly concentrated on the organization of the government. However, the external affairs of the new state were limited to its relations with England. In this case, in accordance with Newtonianism, England was referred to as the ‘primary planet’ with America as its ‘satellite’. This image helped legitimize America’s independence as the planet with its own orbit that pertain to a different gravitational system (Akrivoulis, 2008, p. 18).

Having analyzed the American political discourse in dynamics, Akrivoulis (2008, pp. 19-20) comes to the conclusion that Newtonianism was a powerful argumentative instrument that facilitated the legitimization and the justification of the being of the American state. In other words, the metaphorical conceptualization of America as a machine or a celestial system confirmed the righteousness and justness of the American federal government organization. Since Newtonianism implies that everything can function with and is ruled by harmony and order, politics can be legitimate only if it corresponds to the mechanical system.

At the same time, Akrivoulis (2008, p. 24) suggests that in the context of the Cold War the nature of international politics was reconsidered by the creative abilities of metaphors. Thus, international politics became to be regarded as a cosmos “reigned by an intelligible logos, the balance-of-power system” (Akrivoulis, 2008, pp. 24-25), with its satellites, planets, and orbits. As a result, the political action was regulated by the cosmological principle of Newtonian imagery in order to make the Cold War international politics more comprehensible and to legitimize the desired results of these international political relations. In other words, Newtonian metaphors made the politically desirable actions more real by transforming them into the symbolic power in international politics.

Moreover, Stenvoll (2008) studies the use of the slippery slope metaphors in politics because they link the target domain of politics to the source domain of physics by the underlying POLITICS IS PHYSICS conceptual metaphor. As Stenvoll (2008, p. 37) explains, the slippery slope metaphors conceptualize politics in terms of physical objects, regulated by the laws of nature and not by social factors. This metaphor allows to make politics more natural by simplifying complex issues and phenomena. Stenvoll (2008, p. 35) claims that in political discourse, slippery slope metaphors (for example, crossing a line, taking one step too far, or the

domino effect) perform the function of structuring political issues in terms of physical concepts. In other words, politics is perceived as analogous to physical objects in nature (Stenvoll, 2008, p. 35).

Furthermore, referring to the law of gravitation, the slippery slope metaphor interprets politics by understanding abstract concepts without clear boundaries through clearly delimited physical objects. Apart from that, this metaphor applies deterministic and mechanical causal models of the physical world to explain the relations of causes and effects in politics (Stenvoll, 2008, p. 39). He emphasizes that if political events are interpreted as physical processes, the sense of predictability is created. However, in political discourse these causal relations lack flexibility because the political issues are extremely complex, involving different aspects and components. Besides, interpreting politics in terms of physical rules of cause and effect leaves no ground for political choice and political activity (Stenvoll, 2008, p. 39).

In addition, slippery slope metaphors arrange time/space in society into a hierarchical structure. Within this structure, the present condition of comfort is up and therefore good; on the contrary, the harmful condition is perceived as being down and thus bad. This conceptualization is manifested in the orientational conceptual metaphor GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN (Stenvoll, 2008, p. 35). At the same time, Stenvoll (2008, p. 39) adds that the language of biology can be used to conceptualize social issues and groups. In other words, society can be understood as a biological organism, while certain social phenomena evolve similarly to natural selection. Thus, metaphorical mapping from nature to society is aimed at naturalizing social issues and problems. As a result, through the interpretation of socially constructed notions as something natural facilitates the justification and the legitimization of the existing social order.

As a result, Stenvoll (2008, p. 35) concludes that in politics metaphors based on the slippery slope argument are the scope of metaphors that frame and organize the perception and comprehension of political discourse by people and motivate them to participate in political activities. Thus, politics is considered to be equal to physics, i.e., abstract issues related to politics are conceptualized in terms of relatively concrete notions such as natural and physical objects. For example, the unforeseeable effects of political decisions are perceived as the more foreseeable effects of natural phenomena (Stenvoll, 2008, p.35).

In a similar vein, Pikalo (2008) studies the impact of natural sciences on the perception of political discourses through the conceptual metaphor of machine and mechanism. Different metaphors are used to imagine and understand political issues and events, while the sphere of nature and mechanics is popular in different political contexts. Although it is politics that has

always been the target domain applying lexical units from mechanical sphere, it is established that the mutual construction occurs. As Pikalo (2008, p. 41) explains, the natural sciences and mechanics are also influenced by political, media, and academic discourses.

3.6. Conceptual metaphors of social order

Ringmar (2008) studies how societies deal with the problem of social order. He puts forward that social control is exercised by the power of metaphor. In order to prove his viewpoint, Ringmar (2008) compares different metaphorical strategies used in political discourse and determines their political role (Carver & Pikalo, 2008, p. 6). In order to achieve this aim, he compares the construction of concepts of freedom, power, and virtue in different political systems on the example of the medieval, early modern, and contemporary states (Ringmar, 2008, p. 58).

Therefore, Ringmar (2008) distinguishes metaphors of social order as predominant in human thought. The first conceptual metaphor of this type is STATE IS A BODY. In the early modern era, the body was the main metaphor that was used to conceptualize the European state (Ringmar, 2007, pp. 169-172). The body-based metaphor originated in the Church. As Ringmar (2008, p. 58) explains, according to the Medieval mindset, the Church had two bodies: temporal (on earth) and transcendental (in heaven). When the notion of a sovereign entity emerged in the Renaissance period, this concept of body was secularized, giving it a political meaning. Consequently, the state was understood as having two bodies: temporal and transcendental (Ringmar, 2008, p. 59). According to Cassirer (1946, pp. 248-276) and Ringmar (1996), in its temporal form, the state consisted of different types of official institutions, while in its transcendental form the state existed beyond these institutions as the eternal principles provided for in the Constitution of the United States.

Ringmar (2008, p. 59) emphasizes that the body-based conceptual metaphors were so widespread because they justify social order. Thus, social life and political systems are conceptualized in terms of the parts of the human body, which are closely related and naturally united. Within this metaphor, social classes correspond to organs of a human body, for example, the aristocracy is understood as the arm, the clergy is the heart and the peasants are the stomach, and the king is the head of state who reigns over the body politic.

As a result, Ringmar (2008, p. 59) draws the conclusion that the body metaphor is highly hierarchical. Since bodily organs have distinct functions and ranks in order to ensure proper functioning of the organism, the state is organized according to this principle, i.e., social groups and institutions perform distinct functions and depend on each other because the hierarchy is a

prerequisite for the preservation of social order. Moreover, if the state is conceptualized in terms of a body, conflicts are impossible. In other words, the body metaphor leaves no place for discussions because the state is ruled by the leader who makes all decisions. However, the ruler is obliged to examine the conditions of the different bodily organs to ensure their well-being (Ringmar, 2008, p. 59).

In this regard, Ringmar (2008, p. 60) highlights that according to such a political system, political parties were seen as dangerous and undesirable. For instance, in eighteenth-century England, the existence of many political parties was considered harmful for people, while in the United States, bipartisanship is regarded to be a great moral goodness in American politics. Furthermore, Ringmar (2008, p. 60) claims that the STATE IS A FAMILY is another metaphor of social order. This metaphor embraces both biological and hierarchical aspects. Therefore, the ruler is interpreted as a father who brings up his children. As Ringmar (2008, p. 60) states, like in traditional families, the father of the state is the person who decides on the family issues and children cannot disobey him.

Although this makes the family metaphor seem very similar to the body metaphor, they are different in terms of the relations within the state. First of all, the family is a social unit, where the father is responsible for the well-being of his family members taking into account their interests. Likewise, the state is father-centered, or “paternalistic” (Schapiro, 1999, pp. 715-738). Therefore, such state thinks and acts on behalf of its citizens, regulating their behavior and protecting them from the unknown. Hence, if the state is conceptualized as a family, the state can be considered a home. However, it is noteworthy that the family metaphor is less strict and limiting than the body metaphor because it leaves space for family members to be individuals with their own beliefs and attitudes. As a result, a discussion is often necessary to reach a decision that would satisfy everyone’s needs (Ringmar, 2008, p. 61).

Apart from that, Ringmar (2008, p. 64) includes the STATE IS A MACHINE metaphor to the metaphors of social order. This metaphor became popular due to the technological revolution when numerous mechanical instruments appeared. According to the machine metaphor, if the state is conceptualized as a machine, different social groups are understood as parts of this machine that perform different functions. It is also emphasized that social groups are very different from each other and only in cooperation they can achieve their goals. Consequently, each member of the society should prioritize the collective interests over the personal ones in order to make the state work properly. In this regard, Ringmar (2008, p. 64) notes that the machine-based metaphor was very common in the 18th century, when the absolutism was the most widespread form of political system in Europe. However, it should

also be mentioned that within the machine metaphor, the ruler has his own responsibilities and obligations, i.e., he is seen as an engineer who supervises the work of the machine and repairs it when necessary.

Finally, according to Ringmar (2008, p. 64), another metaphor of social order which is closely connected with the machine metaphor is STATE IS A CYBERNETIC DEVICE. From the 18th century, society has become understood as a self-balancing mechanism or a cybernetic device (Mayr, 1986, p. 195). The discoveries that were made at the end of the 17th century demonstrated the importance of the principle of self-regulation (Mayr, 1986, pp. 190-193). This principle was exemplified by Newton's description of the planetary system in which each planet was held in place by the sun. According to this system, the interaction of contradictory forces occurs. In other words, a push in one direction provokes a pull in the opposite direction. Consequently, the balance is preserved (Ringmar, 2008, p. 65).

In the sphere of governance, this principle was adopted by Adam Smith to describe the economic system as governed by an "invisible hand", originated from "the invisible hand of Jupiter" (Smith, 1982, p. 49). As Smith further developed his theory, the economic system is maintained in balance between the self-serving actions of opposing groups (Hirschman, 1977, p. 110-112). In the 19th century, the cybernetic device metaphor started to be used in politics (Ringmar, 2007, pp. 202-215). Thus, Ringmar (2008, p. 65) explains that in accordance to the principle of self-regulation, political parties can act in the public interest if they act in their own interests. Consequently, political rivalry is beneficial for all participants. Moreover, the opposition is not considered a problem as long as people with opposite ideas can freely express themselves. Therefore, although the function of political opposition is to oppose, they have to do this according to the rules of the political game.

Therefore, Ringmar (2008, p. 65) concludes that the cybernetic metaphor permits to understand that the difference in political views is not a problem. On the contrary, the political diversity is a necessary condition for the maintenance of social order through the antagonism of social groups. However, it is worth emphasizing that although the metaphor presupposes a great degree of freedom in political choices, cybernetic systems can be manipulated by politicians with unlimited access to resources. For example, political parties that control media can influence the interaction between political parties and the electorate (Ringmar, 2008, p. 66).

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Research procedure

This research adopts the combination of cognitive linguistics in the forms of CMT and CDA approaches to the study of persuasion strategies in the 2020 US presidential elections, using conceptual metaphor as a core concept. This intersection of two approaches is based on the phenomenon of Cultural Software, suggested by Balkin (1998). He developed a new theory of cultural evolution, which deals with ideologies and beliefs and explains how they emerge, spread, and evolve (Balkin, 1998).

According to this new theory, cultural evolution happens by transfer and dissemination of cultural information or “cultural software” in human minds. Balkin (1998) claims that people embody cultural software because they consist of information and spread it by communicating with others. Hence, human minds create the environment where cultural software appears, spreads, and evolves (Balkin, 1998).

In this regard, Balkin (1998) considers ideology not a deviant form of thinking but as the usual mechanism of human thought. His theory lays the grounds for the ideological analysis of others and ideological self-criticism (Balkin, 1998). Therefore, within his theory of Cultural Software, Balkin (1998, pp. 112-113, 243-824) considers the metaphor to be a cognitive mechanism of ideology that has ideological effects. He highlights the importance to study discourse and ideology through the prism of cognitive processes (Balkin, 1998, p. 186) because

ideological analysis does not end with a demonstration that a particular belief or symbolic form is partly or wholly false or distorted. It must ask how this falsity or distortion might create or sustain unjust social conditions or unjust relations of social power. (Balkin, 1998, p. 111)

As Goatly (2007, p. 4) emphasizes, Cultural Software provides the common ground between cognitive linguistics and CDA. Such an interconnection is attributed to the fact that language is not a transparent channel which allows us to think, but it determines our thinking. As a result, conceptual metaphors in political discourse shape and regulate our ways of thinking and acting (Goatly, 2007, p. 4).

4.1.1. General aim and specific objectives of the research

The general aim of this doctoral thesis is to analyze the role and functioning of conceptual metaphors in the realization of the Ideological Square strategies in the corpus consisting of the political speeches delivered by presidential candidates Donald Trump and Joe Biden during the US presidential electioneering campaign in 2020 through CMT and CDA.

This general aim stipulates the initial hypothesis of this research is that there are certain variables that influence the choice of conceptual metaphors in public speeches delivered during the 2020 US Presidential campaign, such as the type of metaphor, the politicians, the source domain, the target domain, and Ideological Square strategies. Consequently, this initial hypothesis is materialized in the following 7 research hypotheses:

- a) Politician and Type of metaphor are mutually dependent variables.
- b) Politician and Ideological Square strategies are interrelated variables.
- c) Politician and Source domain are interdependent variables.
- d) Politician and Target domain are mutually related variables.
- e) Ideological Square strategies and Type of metaphor are interrelated variables.
- f) Ideological Square strategies and Source domain are mutually dependent variables.
- g) Ideological Square strategies and Target domain are interrelated variables.

In order to accomplish the general aim and verify the research hypotheses, it is necessary to pursue the following specific objectives:

- a) to identify conceptual metaphors in the political speeches delivered by the Presidential candidates Donald Trump and Joe Biden during their electioneering campaign;
- b) to classify the identified conceptual metaphors according to the type of metaphor, the source domain, the target domain, the Ideological Square strategies, and the politician who uses the metaphors;
- c) to verify whether the variable Politician is related to the variable Type of metaphor;
- d) to determine if the variable Politician is related to the variable Ideological Square strategies;
- e) to verify if the variable Politician is related to the variable Source domain;
- f) to check whether the variable Politician is related to the variable Target domain;
- g) to study whether the variable Ideological Square strategies is related to the variable Type of metaphor;
- h) to analyze whether the variable Ideological Square strategies is related to the variables Source domain and Target domain;
- i) to analyze the role and functioning of conceptual metaphors in the realization of the Ideological Square strategies in the corpus during the US Presidential electioneering campaign in 2020.

4.1.2. Description of the corpus

With a view to completing the specific objectives, the transcripts of campaign speeches delivered by presidential candidates Joe Biden and Donald Trump during the 2020 US Presidential electioneering campaign were collected. The transcripts were retrieved from the Transcript Library Rev (<https://www.rev.com/blog/transcript-category/2020-election-transcripts>) and The American Presidency Project (<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/>). Donald Trump's electioneering speeches cover the period from June 18, 2019 to November 4, 2020; while Joe Biden's are taken for the timespan from August 7, 2019 to November 7, 2020. These timeframes generally correspond to electioneering campaigns for the Presidency held in the United States.

The corpus of this research comprises transcripts of 99 electioneering speeches (522812 words) of Democratic and Republican candidates for the Presidency in the USA in 2020, namely Joe Biden (72 speeches, containing 243356 words) and Donald Trump (27 speeches, containing 279456 words). The average number of words in Donald Trump's speeches is 10350 words, while in Joe Biden's speeches the average number of words is 3380 words. An unequal number of speeches for each politician is attributed to the fact that political speeches delivered by Donald Trump are much longer than those delivered by Joe Biden. Therefore, such a quantity of political speeches was selected in order to obtain the approximately equal number of words in them and, thus, ensure trustworthy results of the analysis of conceptual metaphors in these speeches.

The conceptual metaphors were retrieved from the second edition of the Master Metaphor List elaborated by Lakoff, Espenson, and Schwartz (Lakoff et al., 1991), *Collins Cobuild English Guides 7: Metaphor*, created by Deignan (1995), and MetaNet Metaphor Wiki (2018), created by the International Computer Science Institute in Berkeley, California.

The corpus was compiled in such a way in order to analyze the scope of conceptual metaphors regarding the variables of the type of metaphor, the politicians, the source domain, the target domain, and Ideological Square strategies. Due to the fact that Donald Trump and Joe Biden are the only representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties that reflect the conservative and liberal ideologies, the variables of ideology and political party are not calculated.

4.1.3. Research stages

The research was conducted in the following seven stages:

- 1) Compilation of the corpus.

At this stage, the transcripts of campaign speeches given by presidential candidates Joe Biden and Donald Trump during the 2020 US Presidential electioneering campaign were collected.

2) Compilation and analysis of a relevant literature.

Specialized literature related to the area of the research, including books, journal articles, doctoral dissertations and other academic works (both in printed and digital formats) was gathered. At this stage, the main focus was placed on the material dealing with CMT and CDA, in particular the use of conceptual metaphors in political discourse.

3) Elaboration of the theoretical framework of the research.

At this stage of the research, the description of the theoretical basis of the doctoral thesis was elaborated. First of all, the notion of political discourse in present-day linguistic studies was defined. In particular, presidential elections was identified as a subtype of political discourse, with its characteristics having been provided. Moreover, since this doctoral dissertation is focused on the analysis of the functioning of conceptual metaphors on the material of political speeches, political speeches was determined as a realization of electioneering discourse. Beyond that, the notion of persuasion in politics was characterized. Owing to the fact that the presidential candidates address their speeches to the public, the role of the audience is considered a determining factor of a persuasion process. Apart from that, in order to provide a background for the studies of persuasion processes, rhetorical persuasion strategies were described. In addition, given the focus of the thesis on the realization of the Ideological Square by van Dijk (2000) using conceptual metaphors, the persuasion strategies in the context of ideology construction were specified.

Furthermore, conceptual metaphors are regarded as a persuasive tool in electioneering discourse. Firstly, a general outline of the studies of conceptual metaphors throughout history was provided, from the Antiquity to the 1980s when CMT was suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). In this regard, CMT was explained in detail. Specifically, the origins of conceptual metaphors were characterized; and conceptual metaphors types were identified. In addition, the criticism of CMT was considered. Finally, given the fact that Lakoff (1993, 2008) further elaborated the notion of conceptual metaphors in his latest versions of the theory, CTM and NTM were described.

4) Reading of relevant academic studies.

During the reading of relevant academic studies, the existing scope of academic works on the functions of conceptual metaphors in politics was analyzed.

5) Analysis of the scope of conceptual metaphors identified in the analyzed speeches.

At this stage, 3298 instances of metaphorical expressions corresponding to 118 underlying conceptual metaphors were identified in the corpus of 522 812 words, comprised by speeches delivered by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during the 2020 US Presidential electioneering campaign with the help of the MIP (Steen et al., 2010, p. 3) and the method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings (Drulák, 2008, pp. 106-107). Furthermore, conceptual metaphors were classified according to the type of metaphor (Appendix 1), the politicians, the source domain (Appendix 2), the target domain (Appendix 3), and Ideological Square strategies (Emphasize positive things about Us, Emphasize negative things about Them, De-emphasize negative things about Us, and De-emphasize positive things about Them). In addition, the functions of conceptual metaphors in the process of political persuasion during the 2020 US Presidential electioneering campaign were specified.

6) Analysis of the results and discussion.

The obtained analysis results were interpreted regarding the realization of Ideological Square persuasion strategies by means of conceptual metaphors during the 2020 Presidential Elections in the USA. In order to achieve this, the statistical software Statgraphics19 was used to apply chi-square tests in order to verify the hypothesis that the selected variables are related to each other in each of the cases. Apart from that, the raw frequencies of the use of conceptual metaphors in the analyzed speeches was calculated per 1000 words. Furthermore, the results were presented in the form of descriptions, detailed explanations, graphs, and tables. Finally, the results were analyzed in relation to the realization of the Ideological Square strategies with persuasive purpose using the identified conceptual metaphors.

7) Drawing conclusions and drafting of the final version of the doctoral thesis.

At the final phase of the research, the results of the study were verified, and the conclusions were drawn. In addition, all bibliography references that were consulted during the research were included in the reference list.

4.2. Research methods

The aim, objectives, and the hypothesis of the research stipulated the use of the following methods of linguistic analysis: discourse analysis, CDA, CMA (in the form of MIP and the method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings), a comparative method, a contextual analysis, and statistical methods. In this doctoral thesis, CDA, CMA, and the statistical methods were used as the main research methods and therefore will be described in detail.

First of all, with the help of discourse analysis, the structure, features and basic categories of political discourse were revealed. As Lakoff (2015, p. 293) points out, discourse analysis is

an interdisciplinary methodology of linguistic analysis. This statement is justified by the fact that it combines numerous techniques and aspects of studying language in use. Thus, Gee and Handford (2012, p. 1) regard discourse analysis as the interpretation of the meanings words acquire in specific contexts. Apart from that, discourse analysis is considered to be the analysis of language beyond a sentence, i.e., how sentences create meaning and coherence when combined (Gee & Handford, 2012, p. 1). In addition, since people live in society and are part of certain social groups, discourse analysis deals with types of social groups. Hence, discourse analysis is regarded to be both the study of language and a social practice (Gee & Handford, 2012, p. 5).

Furthermore, it should be mentioned that discourse analysis performs the function of studying the specific communicative purpose and meaning of a text in its context (Gee & Handford, 2012, p. 2). As Gee (2010, 2011) explains, a sentence, and subsequently a text, always have “a situated meaning” because language acquires situated meanings in different contexts (Gee & Handford, 2012, p. 3). Therefore, in this doctoral thesis, discourse analysis is applied as the study of the communicative purpose of political speeches in political contexts.

Moreover, it is important to mention that there are numerous types of discourse analysis. According to Fairclough (2003), they are distinguished on the basis of their goal. Hence, the type of discourse analysis that is focused on the links between language and politics is called *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) by Fairclough (2003).

Therefore, CDA as a method was employed to examine the ways the political discourse is constructed and the ways political persuasion is realized. Since this method was crucial for this research, it will be described below in detail. Furthermore, CMA, which was suggested by Charteris-Black (2004, p. 40), was used to investigate how conceptual metaphors facilitate political persuasion. It was conducted in two forms. The first one is MIP, initiated by the Pragglejaz Group (Steen et al., 2010, p. 3). It was adopted to identify metaphors in the political speeches under analysis. The second one is the method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings, which was used in order to reconstruct the conceptual mapping between the source domain and the target domain (Drulák, 2008, pp. 106-107). Given the focus of this doctoral thesis on the role of conceptual metaphors in the realization of persuasion strategies in political discourse, CMA will also be explained in a detailed way in next sections.

Apart from that, the comparative method helped to single out the characteristic features and compare the application of metaphors for the realization of the Ideological Square strategies in political speeches delivered by both Presidential candidates. In addition, the contextual analysis was used to identify a situational context that determines how conceptual metaphors

are applied in political discourse, embracing the cultural and social background against which a speech was delivered.

As Gee and Handford (2012, p. 4) highlight, the context is important in the analysis because any aspect of context can influence the utterance meaning. At the same time, the context is extremely wide and can range from minor features, such as bodily position and gestures, to people's values and large historical and cultural settings. Moreover, it is always possible to interpret the text with the help of some additional aspects of the context, which change the meaning completely (Gee & Handford, 2012, p.4).

Finally, during the research, several statistical methods were applied, namely the Chi-Square Test of Independence and the calculation of the raw frequency of conceptual metaphors. They were used to deal with collection, classification, analysis, and interpretation of numerical data with a view to confirm the research hypothesis. These methods will be discussed in detail in subsequent sections.

4.2.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Having been developed in the 1990s, CDA has become a well-proven approach, combining different theoretical models and research methods (Fairclough et al., 2010; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). However, some principles of CDA were established in the 1930s by the Frankfurt School (Agger, 1992; Rasmussen & Swindal, 2004).

At the end of the 1970s, CDA was derived from the idea expressed by Kress and Hodge (1979) and Fowler et al. (1979), who claimed that language displayed the hidden and inherent reality (Wilson, 1990). In turn, this idea was grounded on the functional linguistic theory developed by Halliday (1994). According to this theory, language was considered a “social fact”, with social and cognitive aspects being manifested in grammar structures. Consequently, politics and ideology were analyzed through grammar (Wilson, 2015, p. 781). In this regard, CDA can be seen as a response to the formal paradigms that dominated linguistic studies in the middle of the 20th century, such as structural linguistics and generative grammar (van Dijk, 2015, p. 467). Thus, Wodak and Meyer (2009, p. 2) maintain that CDA has shifted the linguistic paradigm from the purely linguistic to a “multi-disciplinary and multi-methodological level” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 2).

Hence, van Dijk (2015, p. 466) asserts that CDA is “discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”. In a similar vein,

Mayr (2015, p. 765) claims that CDA dwells upon revealing the implicit ideologies that are constructed in various discourses, in particular, the political one.

Moreover, Fairclough (2012, p. 9) defines that

[CDA] brings the critical tradition of social analysis into language studies and contributes to critical social analysis a particular focus on discourse and on relations between discourse and other social elements (power relations, ideologies, institutions, social identities, and so forth). (Fairclough, 2012, p. 9)

He explains that critical analysis is both normative and explanatory critique. It can be understood as normative because it evaluates reality regarding its compliance with certain values in society. Moreover, it is an explanatory critique because, apart from describing realities, it attempts to explain them as the effects of certain social structures, mechanisms or forces (Fairclough, 2012, p. 9).

Consequently, van Dijk (2015, p. 467) distinguishes the following properties of CDA:

- a) It is concentrated on social issues and politics and not on the simple analysis of discourse without contexts.
- b) It is critical multidisciplinary analysis of social problems, because it combines various approaches, methods, and techniques.
- c) It is aimed to describe and explicate discourse regarding social relations and structures.
- d) It studies how discourse functions, approves, legalizes, interprets, or changes power relations within society.

Apart from that, CDA deals with “the semiotic dimensions of power, identity politics and political-economic or cultural change in society” (Wodak, 2013, p. 38). In this regard, Fairclough (2012, p. 11) claims that CDA can be understood in three different senses as follows:

- a) meaning-making within society;
- b) a language used in some social areas, for example, political discourse;
- c) a means of construing social fields and surroundings.

Fairclough (2012, p. 11) applies the term ‘semiosis’ for the first sense, which deals with various “semiotic modalities”. He regards semiosis as a component of the processes occurring within society in relation to outside elements. These relationships are dialectical because they are separated, i.e., each component interacts with the others but is not reduced to them (Harvey, 1996). Thus, CDA deals not with semiosis itself but with relationships between semiotic and outside components, which are established by analysis (Fairclough, 2012, p. 11).

Since the social process is the interaction among three levels of social reality such as social structures, social practices, and social events (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999), CDA

focuses on two dialectical relations between two elements such as the structure and events. In addition, there are interrelations between semiotic elements and other elements within each type of dialectical relation. Apart from that, semiosis is linked with other components of practices and events in the three following ways: as an aspect of the activity, as the interpretation of the world, and as the construction of identity (Fairclough, 2012, p. 11).

Hence, there exist three semiotic categories corresponding to them, i.e., genre, discourse, and style (Fairclough, 2012, p. 11). Therefore, discourse is a means of “construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental) that can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors” (Fairclough, 2012, p. 11). In this definition, Fairclough (2012, p. 11) highlights an active interpretation of the surrounding world from a certain standpoint by preferring the word “construe” over “represent” (Fairclough, 2012, p. 11).

Hence, it can be concluded that within CDA discourse is viewed as social practice (Blackledge, 2012, p. 617; Mayr, 2015, p. 766). This presupposes “a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institution and social structure that frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 62). As part of social life, it comprises a range of economic, political, cultural practices, etc. At the same time, social practices can be regarded as permanent forms of social activity that always involve discourse. Consequently, the task of CDA is to define the role of discourse in social practices with the help of analysis (Blackledge, 2012, p. 617).

In addition, discourses can be regarded as “models of the world” (Foucault, 1977, p. 8). From this point of view, discourses are the manifestations of social values and attitudes and participate in “the (re)production of social life” (Mayr, 2015, p. 766). Thus, van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) claim that they render knowledge about a certain social practice.

Thus, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) summed up the basic principles of CDA, namely

CDA addresses social problems. Power relations are discursive. Discourse constitutes society and culture. Discourse does ideological work. Discourse is historical. The link between text and society is mediated. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. Discourse is a form of social action. (van Dijk, 2015, p. 467)

Furthermore, Wodak (2013, p. 41) singles out major areas of current research in CDA. Two of them are important for this thesis. Firstly, CDA is focused on combining cognitive linguistics approaches and CDA. Secondly, CDA analyzes and explains various phenomena in politics, which are caused by the media impact, the appearance of new global and local political events and phenomena. In this regard, it is necessary to mention that the introduction of the social cognitive approach into CDA was first proposed by van Dijk (1993), a central figure in

discourse studies and a founder of CDA, who identified the cognitive aspects of discourse on racism and ideology. Thus, the cognitive interaction between discourse structures and the social context is implicit and is manifested through ideology (van Dijk, 1998).

According to his socio-cognitive approach, van Dijk's (2001a; 2005) distinguishes three components of CDA, namely society, cognition, and discourse. This approach is illustrated by Figure 6.

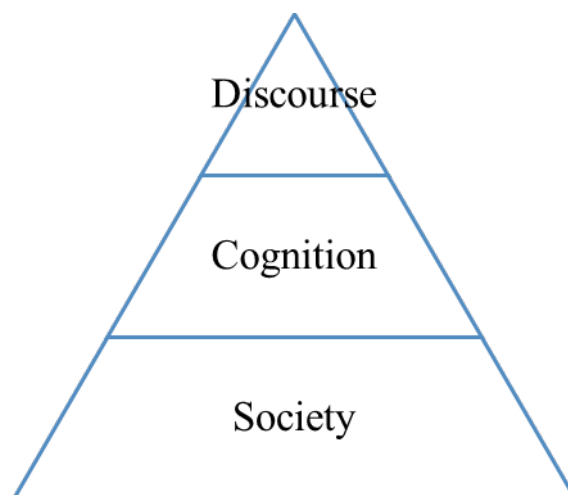


Figure 6. Components of CDA

Source: compiled by the author on the basis of van Dijk's (2001a; 2005).

Thus, society is located at the macro-level. It deals with power exercised by local language users and global social structures. As van Dijk (2002) explains it, social power is a tool of the mind control of groups and people. Discourse, in contrast, is situated at the micro-level. It involves different discourse structures that embrace ideologies. Finally, there is the mediating layer of cognition (ideology) between society and discourse. This means that cognition (ideology) is part of the social structure that controls the relations of power between social groups. In other words, cognition determines the 'mental' facet of society, groups or institutions in social (for example, political) context (van Dijk, 1998).

Hence, according to van Dijk (2015, p. 472), power is a key notion in CDA. In particular, it concerns the social power of groups and institutions. Generally, van Dijk (2008b) determines power as control. It means that social groups exercise their power only in case they dominate the minds of other people (van Dijk, 2015, p. 472). Such control involves a power base in the form of preferential access to resources, for example, money, social position, and information (Mayr, 2008). It is essential to highlight that it is essential to study the interconnection between

power and language, because power is usually construed by and manifested in language (Weiss & Wodak, 2003, p. 15).

Moreover, it is worth mentioning that social groups can exercise control in different degrees over other groups, or they may dominate over others only in some situations. For example, a presidential candidate controls his/her electorate only during the electioneering campaign. In addition, dominated groups can reject, agree with, disregard, collaborate or legitimate power. However, it is important that dominant social groups, i.e., “the symbolic elites” (van Dijk, 1993), exercise control over various kinds of discourse, for example the political one (van Dijk, 2015, p. 472).

Consequently, van Dijk (2015, p. 472) highlights that since control over text is the main form of power, then control over minds by discourse is the implicit though key manifestation of dominance. Thus, discourse controls people’s intentions, views, knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies in order to influence their actions. In this regard, according to van Dijk (2015, p. 472), the socio-cognitive approach in CDA is aimed to explore social structures of power through the analysis of the interconnection of discourse with cognition. Within this approach, cognition is the indispensable link of language usage and social communication with situations and patterns in society (van Dijk, 2008b).

Furthermore, when analyzing control over the mind, it is necessary to distinguish between personal memory and generic memory (Tulving, 2002). In other words, Johnson-Laird (1983) asserts that personal memory displays people’s experiences in the form of multimodal mental models. Van Dijk (2015, p. 472) defines them as “the subjective representation of the events, action, or situation a discourse is about” (van Dijk, 2015, p. 472). Consequently, interpreting discourse presupposes the creation of “a subjective model” of the discourse situation (van Dijk, 2015, p. 472).

At the same time, as van Dijk proves (2008a, 2009a), semantic situation models and pragmatic context models represent social situations and people’s beliefs and attitudes towards certain events. Discourse structures, i.e., topics, metaphors, and lexical units, determine contents and structures of mental models of the audience. In this respect, it is essential to highlight that conceptual metaphor is the most powerful tool to interpret abstract mental models in order to achieve certain political goals (van Dijk, 2015, p. 478), because metaphor is a “discursive manifestation of ideology” (van Dijk, 1998, p. 6).

This feature is widely used in political discourse, being a central notion within CDA (Dillard & Pfau, 2002; O’Keefe, 2002). In addition, members of powerful social groups seek to exercise control over the specific knowledge manifested in the mental models of the

audience, as well as over the general knowledge, beliefs, and ideologies common for all people (van Dijk, 2015, p. 472). In connection with this, it should also be emphasized that the control of discourse over mental models and social representations, i.e., group attitudes and ideologies, is determined both by the persuasive texts and contexts. As a result, the audience is prone to agree and comply with the beliefs and attitudes expressed by people they regard as authoritative and trustworthy unless such beliefs and attitudes contradict their personal opinions and experiences (Nesler et al., 1993).

It is necessary to mention that in academic literature, CDA is referred to as an approach to and a method of linguistic analysis (Wodak, 2013; van Dijk, 2015). Consequently, Wodak (2013, p. 40) puts forward that for CDA there is no established unified theoretical and methodological framework. On the contrary, CDA deals with some social problem, for example the ideological character of discourse (Fairclough, 1989). In addition, Martin and Wodak (2003) assert that CDA is not one specific theory or a method. As Blackledge (2012, p. 617) explains, CDA does not deal with language use as such, but is concentrated on the linguistic features of social phenomena. This concentration on social life and the role of discourse is the most characteristic feature of CDA (Blackledge 2012, p. 616).

In this regard, Titscher et al. (2000, p. 146) claim that CDA is characterized by plurality because it is focused on social problems. This plurality means that CDA is particularly concerned with the cross-disciplinary research into political or social discourse, analyzing both the language-related and social components of a certain social phenomenon, with the social one being considered not a simple contextual background but the determinant (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999; Weiss & Wodak, 2003; Mayr, 2015, p. 765). Accordingly, CDA analyzes discourses that deals with visible relationships of power and conflict (Wodak, 2001, p. 2).

Therefore, CDA provides both the methodology and the theory which allows to study a particular socially important topic. In turn, the choice of methods, i.e., the mode of analysis, is determined by the subject of the research (Titscher et al., 2000). Consequently, CDA embraces a variety of discourse analytic approaches, methodologies, and methods of linguistic analysis focused on social and political issues (Wodak, 2012, p. 528; Wodak, 2013, p. 40; Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

In addition, van Dijk (2015, p. 466) highlights that there exists a misinterpretation of CDA as a specific method of discourse analysis. However, CDA uses all the scope of discourse studies methods, along with other social science methods (Wodak & Meyer, 2009; Titscher et al., 2000). Hence, van Dijk (2015, p. 466) claims that CDA is not a direction of discourse research. Instead, CDA is “a critical perspective that may be found in all areas of discourse

studies” (van Dijk, 2015, p. 466). Otherwise speaking, CDA is a ‘discourse analysis with an attitude’ (van Dijk, 2001a, p. 96). Moreover, van Dijk (2001a) believes that CDA confronts the abuse of text aimed at legitimating the misuse of power. As van Dijk (2001a, p. 96) puts it, “CDA does not deny, but explicitly defines and defends its own sociopolitical position. That is, CDA is biased – and proud of it”. Therefore, CDA is profoundly political in nature (Blackledge, 2012, p. 616).

Thus, in this doctoral thesis, the viewpoint expressed by Fairclough (2012, p. 13) is adopted. He regards CDA as a methodology rather than a method of analysis because the methodology is an interdisciplinary procedure for developing the research object (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), which in turn determines specific research methods. In other words, CDA is the combination of the theory and the method (Fairclough, 2012, p. 13). In addition, Wodak (2012, p. 528) emphasizes that CDA as an approach and a methodology provides the ontological and methodological framework that allow to study political and social processes as manifested in hierarchy, values, beliefs, attitudes, symbols, strategies and discourses.

Fairclough (1989, p. 109) develops the method for CDA (Figure 7) that consists of three dimensions, namely

- a) description (text analysis), where the stylistic and formal characteristics of the text are analyzed;
- b) interpretation (processing analysis), where intertextuality and situational contexts are used to elicit the direct and indirect meanings with references to these contexts;
- c) explanation (social analysis), where the interconnections between discourse and the social context with language are established (Şükran, 2017, p. 9).

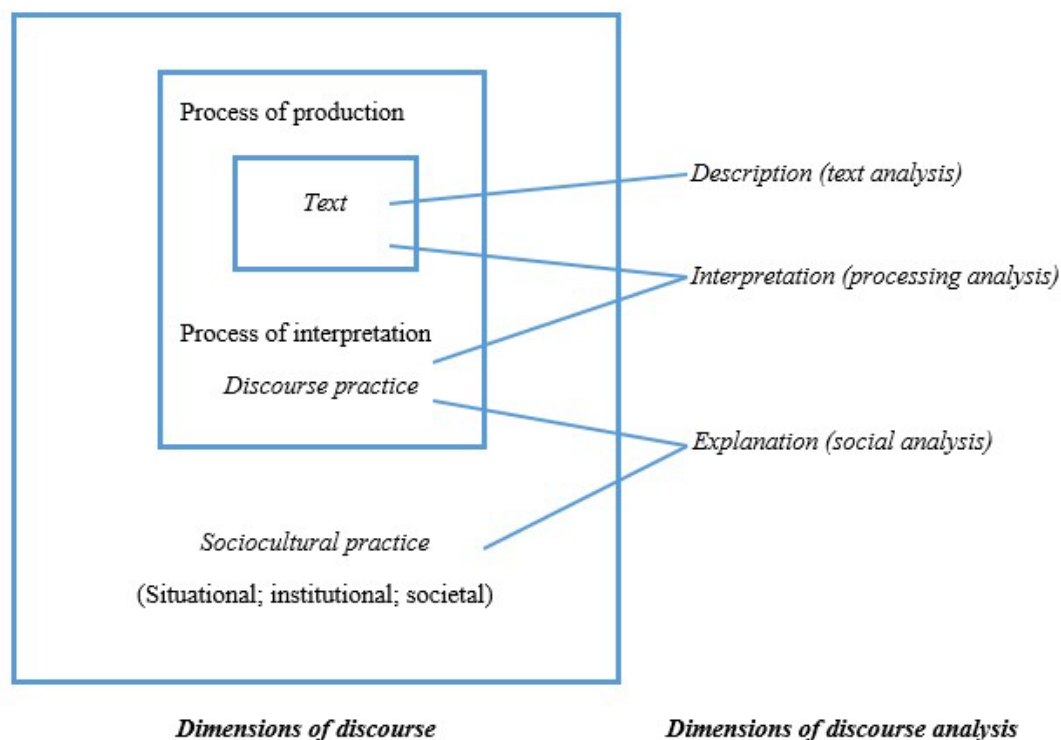


Figure 7. Three-dimensional method of CDA

Source: adopted from Fairclough (1995, p. 98)

As can be seen from Figure 7, at the level of description Fairclough (1989, pp. 112-138; 1995, pp. 97-99) suggests analyzing the text in terms of its vocabulary, grammar and structure. In particular, the vocabulary should be examined regarding the choices lexical units, collocations, ideological effects of words, positive or negative connotations, topics discussed in the text, synonyms, formality of style, and metaphors (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 113-120). Furthermore, it is necessary to analyze sentence structures in terms of their grammar, namely grammatical tenses, voices, the use of pronouns, modal verbs, syntax, emphatic constructions etc. (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 111, 120-132).

In this regard, Fairclough (1989, p. 112) also points out that there are four kinds of values in the text as follows: experiential value, interactional value, expressive value, and connection value. Thus, the experiential value involves the description of human experience in the text through stylistic devices and grammatical structures. Besides, the interactional value implies that social relations are represented in the text. Moreover, the expressive value involves that the reality created by the author of the text is revealed through the social and national identities. Finally, the connection value means that the text coherence is achieved by its internal links between simple sentences and larger parts of the text (Şükran, 2017, p. 10).

At the level of interpretation, as stated by Fairclough (1989, p. 140), the relations between the text and discourse practices (the social structures) should be defined by means of the analysis of discourse in a context. In other words, the text values function only within social processes and interaction. This implies that the text consists of the ideology because the text is compiled within certain social processes on the basis of common knowledge and personal experiences (Şükran, 2017, p. 10). These personal experiences are evoked by the formal textual features. Therefore, Fairclough (1989, p. 141) suggests the term *Member's Resources* to denote the result of the interaction between formal textual features and personal experiences. He explains that Member's Resources are "individual's presuppositions and frames of meaning for the world" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 11).

At the level of explanation, Fairclough (1989, p. 162) distinguishes two aspects of the analysis, namely power struggles (process) and power relations (structure). He claims that on the one hand, discourse can be analyzed in terms of social struggles and the impact they exercise over the structures. In such a way, the discourse creativity and its social effects are in the focus of the analysis. On the other hand, power relations within discourse can be examined as the consequences of social struggles. Thus, the discourse social determination and the result of social struggles are central to this analysis. Hence, Fairclough (1989, p. 162) emphasizes that power relations are manifested in social structures, while power struggles are displayed by social progress and practices. In this regard, Fairclough (1989, p. 163) confirms that at the level of explanation it is necessary to determine discourse as a social practice constructed by means of the social structures and that it can undergo changes in social contexts:

Social determinations and effects are 'mediated' by Member's Resources. Thus, social structures shape Member's Resources, in turn Member's Resources shape discourses and discourses sustain or change Member's Resources which in turn Member's Resources sustains or changes the structures. (Fairclough, 1989, p. 163)

Therefore, it can be concluded that CDA is concentrated on the means by which discourse exercises power over mental models and general social representations of the audience. In other words, CDA explores how the opinions and attitudes of the audience are manipulated (van Dijk, 1984; 1991; 1993; 2015, p. 473). Thus, in this doctoral thesis, CDA is used as an approach and a method to examine the ways in which conceptual metaphors facilitate discourse control over the audience's mind in political persuasion. It is necessary, then, to describe CMA approach in the following section.

4.2.2. Critical Metaphor Analysis

In order to analyze the persuasive functions and goals of conceptual metaphors in political discourse, it is essential to take into account the discourse context (Cameron, 2008a, 2008b). Hence, it can be asserted that CDA and CMA are interrelated in the study of political discourse. Consequently, as Cameron (2012, p. 348) claims, a socio-cognitive approach to conceptual metaphors is fundamental because it links a concrete metaphor usage with the situational discourse context, the general social context and cognitive processes such as thinking.

Therefore, in this doctoral thesis, the analysis of conceptual metaphors is combined with CDA. This combination of methods was called a metaphor-led discourse analysis by Cameron (2012, p. 349). Within this method, three core processes can be singled out, namely identifying, grouping, and tracking metaphors. In addition, it is supplemented by the analysis of the discourse dynamics of metaphors (Cameron, 2012, pp. 349-351). In other words, the function of conceptual metaphor in the current discourse is analyzed (Cameron, 2007b; Cameron et al., 2009).

First of all, to identify a metaphor, it is necessary to preserve a set of certain conditions that form metaphor to exclude/include irrelevant examples (Cameron, 1999b). Thus, Cameron adopts MIP by the Pragglez group (2007). It involves checking for metaphorical use in a word-by-word transcript of discourse. With the help of a corpus dictionary, basic meanings of words are compared to their contextual meanings in a particular discourse (Cameron, 2012, p. 352) This method will be described in detail further in the following section.

According to Cameron (2012, p. 352), having identified metaphors in the analyzed discourse, the discourse dynamics involves establishing metaphor use patterns in discourse. Thus, Cameron (2007a) uses the term *systematic metaphor* for groups of related metaphors, which are applied in communicative events to express main ideas in the discourse. However, it should be taken into account that a systematic metaphor is not a mere process of perception and interpretation, but a set of connected metaphors generated during the communicative event. This allows to analyze the way speakers use conceptual metaphors to build and cultivate ideas, attitudes, beliefs, and values in discourse (Cameron, 2012, p. 352).

At the same time, Cameron (2012, p. 353) emphasizes that it is not possible to analyze all aspects of a communicative event only with the metaphor analysis. Accordingly, there is a need for additional methods of discourse analysis in order to study how speakers justify their attitudes, criticize their opponents, and persuade the audience. Hence, the metaphor-led discourse analysis involves analyzing conceptual metaphors in discursive dynamics, i.e.,

functions performed by metaphors within the particular communicative event are examined (Cameron, 2012, p. 353).

In addition, Cameron (2010) explains further that the analysis of a discourse event is merged with the analysis of conceptual metaphors to establish the ways in which conceptual metaphors influence the discourse activity. However, it is important to mention that there is no procedure for combining metaphors and discourse analyses (Cameron, 2010). Therefore, when combining them, it is crucial to understand how metaphors are used to generate and shape ideas, and how their choice determines the cultivation of attitudes and values (Cameron & Maslen, 2010). Consequently, it is possible to speak about the interpretive synthesis, i.e., the interpretation of functions performed by metaphors (Cameron, 2012, p. 353), which will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

4.2.2.1. Metaphor Identification Procedure by the Pragglejaz Group

The MIP is a method for the identification of linguistic metaphors in discourse, which was created by the Pragglejaz Group (2007, pp. 1-4), consisting of Cameron, Cienki, Crisp, Deignan, Gibbs, Grady, Kövecses, Low, Semino, and Steen. It was later refined into its extended version called Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU) (Steen et al., 2010).

The MIP deals with the analysis of linguistic metaphors used in discourse. As Steen et al. (2010, p. 5) puts it, the MIP is aimed at providing a tool for establishing the scope of the linguistic metaphors in a certain discourse under analysis. The procedure consists of the following steps (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 3; Steen et al., 2010, pp. 5-6):

1. Read the whole discourse for a general notion.
2. Identify the words and phrases in corpus.
3. a. Establish the contextual meaning of all words and phrases in the discourse.
b. Define whether each word or phrase has a primary meaning in a different context.

It should be taken into account that the primary meaning can be concrete, embodied, and older. However, the primary meaning is not necessarily the most commonly used meaning of the word.

c. If the word or phrase has the primary meaning in a different context, determine whether its meaning in the context opposes its primary meaning but can be comprehended by comparing them.

4. If so, the word or phrase is metaphorical (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 3; Steen et al., 2010, pp. 5-6).

Steen et al. (2010, p. 6) explain that the MIP essence is that metaphorical meaning is considered to be indirect meaning, since it emerges from the contrast between the contextual and primary meanings of words and phrases, with the primary meaning being absent in the analyzed discourse. For example, if the word *attack* is found in the argumentation context, its meaning in that context involves verbal exchange. Hence, its indirect meaning can be opposed to their primary meanings in the different contexts, presupposing physical interaction between interlocutors. Therefore, the primary meaning maps onto the contextual meaning on the grounds of a certain figurative comparison. Accordingly, all instances of the word *attack* in the context of argumentation can be regarded as metaphors (Steen et al., 2010, p. 6).

Thus, it is possible to claim that the MIP offers a practical guidance for identifying all instances of metaphor usage in discourse (Steen et al., 2010, p. 6). Charteris-Black (2004, p. 37) also suggests the same explanation of metaphor identification although he has not formalized this approach. Moreover, Deignan (2005) maintains that this method allows to establish active and dead metaphor in discourse.

Nevertheless, the MIP has various drawbacks, which resulted in a refined version of this method, the MIPVU (Steen et al., 2010, p. 7). First of all, it is critical that MIP does not suggest any procedure to identify underlying conceptual mappings between domains. On the contrary, Steen et al. (2010, p. 8) affirm that its aim is to single out the linguistic metaphorical expressions in the analyzed discourse. As Crisp (2002, pp. 9-10) notices, in order to define words or phrases as metaphorical, it is often enough to establish that they have two meanings and that they may be compared on the grounds of figurative similarity. This is attributed to the fact that the MIP involves determining the primary meaning rather than the contextual one. Consequently, the MIP does not allow to determine the underlying conceptual mappings (Steen, 2007).

Furthermore, the Pragglejaz Group (2007) attempted to make the MIP compatible with the views on the conceptual metaphor as the element of cognition and its product. In other words, the MIP involves identifying linguistic expressions in discourse which are potentially metaphorical in cognition (Steen et al., 2010, p. 9). Steen et al. (2010, p. 10) explain that in such a case the linguistic analysis should demonstrate that a metaphorical meaning is an indirect meaning that is grounded on the cross-domain mapping. Thus, it requires the comparison between contextual and primary meanings in discourse. As a result, the conceptual analysis should prove that there are two distinct but comparable conceptual domains that are connected through a mapping between domains. In addition, the behavioral analysis should explore the manifestations of the linguistic metaphorical expressions and metaphors in cognition and language use (Steen et al., 2010, p. 10).

Another problem with the MIP is that the grounds for the identification of metaphors is reduced to establishing indirect meanings of words and phrases in discourse (Lakoff, 1986, 1993; Gibbs, 1994). However, Steen et al. (2010, p. 10) highlight that this criterion is insufficient for identifying metaphors in language because indirectness is too general and, at the same time, too specific. It is too general due to the fact that metaphors are not grounded merely in indirectness. It is too specific because the two domains that form the metaphor are distinct. So, they should be mapped by a semantic transfer, i.e., by similarity or comparison (Pragglejaz Group, 2007).

It is possible to summarize, then, that the MIP is based on the presupposition that metaphors can be singled out in discourse by identifying indirectly used words and phrases that should be later be compared with their primary meaning (Steen et al., 2010, p. 15). On the contrary, Steen et al. (2010, p. 15) proved that metaphors are also grounded on indirectness by similarity.

Therefore, given that the conceptual metaphor is understood as a mapping between domains, metaphors can be conceptualized directly or indirectly. This fact evokes a need to refine the MIP so that it includes the criterion of indirectness by similarity (Steen et al., 2010, p. 16). Consequently, the MIPVU was developed as an extension of the MIP. The main tenets of the MIPVU are as follows (Steen et al., 2010, p. 21):

a) The conceptual metaphor is regarded to be a mapping between domains in conceptual structure used in discourse. Nevertheless, in addition to indirect metaphorical expressions, direct (for example, simile, analogy, etc.) and implicit (for example, ellipsis) ones are also taken into account.

b) The metaphor is seen as grounded in indirectness by similarity or comparison.

c) The metaphorical meaning of words and phrases is not limited to the contemporary usage, but includes historical metaphors because the MIPVU is based on the discursive view on the relationships between words, concepts, and referents.

d) The data collection process in dictionaries is standardized in the MIPVU.

e) The MIPVU interprets linguistic metaphoric expressions in terms of the semiotic structure of language and does not establish the underlying conceptual structures of the metaphor.

Moreover, the MIPVU suggests the following steps for identifying metaphors in discourse (Steen et al., 2010, p. 26):

a) Single out metaphorical words in the text.

b) If the indirect meaning of a word is potentially grounded in a certain mapping between domains from its primary meaning, the word conveys an “indirect metaphor”.

c) If the direct meaning of a word is potentially based on a mapping between domains from the primary meaning in discourse, the word can be regarded as a “direct metaphor”.

d) If a word is applied as the lexical and grammatical substitution and if its direct or indirect meanings are potentially based on some mapping between domains from the primary meaning, the word can be considered an implicit metaphor.

e) If a word indicates a certain mapping between domains, the word can be regarded to express the metaphor.

f) If a word is a newly coined one, analyze the word starting from step 2 till step 5.

According to Steen et al. (2010, p. 26), the word ‘potentially’ is important in this procedure because it serves as a link between linguistic metaphorical expressions and conceptual metaphors identification.

However, since the MIP does not provide the guidance to identify the underlying conceptual cross-domain mappings, in this doctoral thesis the method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings developed by Drulák (2008, pp. 105-117) was adopted. This method was used in order to identify all relevant conceptual metaphors in the analyzed political speeches and establish their role in fulfilling persuasive goals of presidential candidates during the 2020 US Presidential Campaign.

4.2.2.2. Method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings by Drulák

Another method of metaphor analysis that was applied during the research is the method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings developed by Drulák (2008, pp. 105-117). As Drulák (2008, p. 105) explains, this method is aimed at establishing and analyzing the role and functions of all possible conceptual metaphors in the chosen discourse. Moreover, the method applies conceptual metaphor as an instrument to analyze political structures. Thus, it seeks to identify conceptual metaphors that are shared by politicians (in this study Joe Biden and Donald Trump) in their electioneering discourses. In turn, the analysis of the conceptual metaphor used by politicians allows to understand their political agendas (Drulák, 2008, p. 106).

The method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings is based on the studies of conceptual metaphor by the German cognitive linguist Jäkel (1997, pp. 153-170). He suggested the methodological guidance consisting of twelve steps (Jäkel, 1997, pp. 153-170). Drulák (2008, p. 107) provides these steps in English translation as follows:

a) the choice of the particular target domain within the analyzed discourse;

- b) the collection of the corpus containing the target domain;
- c) the identification of all relevant metaphorical expressions in the analyzed discourse;
- d) the differentiation of conventional metaphorical expressions from idiosyncratic ones;
- e) the classification of conventional metaphorical expressions by the source domains;
- f) the detection of the conceptual metaphors;
- g) the second corpus search for metaphorical expressions taking into account the identified conceptual metaphors;
- h) the modification of the identified conceptual metaphors after the second search;
- i) the analysis of the identified conceptual metaphors and their systemization on the basis of corresponding metaphorical expressions;
- j) the verification of the internal coherence within conceptual metaphors;
- k) the determination of conceptual metaphors for the particular target domain;
- l) the analysis of the aspects highlighted by each conceptual metaphor in the studied discourse.

Nevertheless, Drulák (2008, p. 107) distinguishes four problematic aspects of Jäkel's methodological guidance. The first problem is that the selection of the target domain for the analysis is determined by the specific speech community within which the analyzed discourse occurs. Consequently, there is need to consider the notion of a speech community in this context. The second problem is that conceptual metaphors can be singled out deductively by considering the target domain theoretically in the analyzed discourse. Therefore, it is necessary to combine the inductive (based on metaphorical expressions) and the deductive (based on considering the target domains) ways of metaphor identification. The third problem is that conceptual metaphors alternative to the ones which prevail in the discourse need to be addressed as they present a possibility of a radical discursive change. Hence, idiosyncratic metaphors should not be discarded from the analysis. Finally, the fourth problematic aspect is that this guidance does not involve quantitative evaluation of metaphors frequency in the analyzed discourse, although it is fundamental for understanding the contribution of metaphors in the discourse (Drulák, 2008, p. 107).

Having reconsidered Jäkel's methodological guidance, Drulák (2008, p. 107) proposed the following seven steps for the reconstruction of conceptual mappings:

- a) the choice of the target domain and of the speech community;
- b) the collection of the discourses containing the chosen target domain and the identification of conceptual metaphors in the analyzed discourse;
- c) the identification of all relevant metaphors in the analyzed discourse;

- d) the verification of the conceptual metaphors that were detected in the analyzed corpus;
- e) the determination of conceptual metaphors frequencies in the analyzed corpus;
- f) the comparison of various discourse sections in terms of the conceptual metaphors usage;
- g) the elaboration of practical implications of conceptual metaphors usage in the analyzed discourse (Drulák, 2008, p. 107).

This method was used in this doctoral thesis to analyze the conceptual metaphor in political speeches delivered by presidential candidates. Consequently, it is necessary to describe its procedure in detail.

1) The choice of the target domain and of the speech community:

This step consists of two parts and involves the differentiation of the analyzed phenomenon and the conceptual metaphors for the analysis. Firstly, it is fundamental to determine the target domain to be searched for in the corpus (Drulák, 2008, p. 108). Thus, since the area of politics provides a limitless number of target domains, 34 were chosen for the analysis in this research study: ACTIONS/EVENTS, CLIMATE CHANGES, COHERENCE, COMPARISON, CRIMES, DRUG ADDICTION, ECONOMY, EMOTIONS, HARM, HOPE, ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION, ILLNESS, IMPORTANCE, LIFE/DEATH, MACHINES, MONEY, MORALITY, NATION, PEOPLE, POLITICAL ADVERSARIES, POLITICS, POWER, PROGRESS, PSYCHOLOGICAL/MENTAL STATES, RACISM, RESPONSIBILITIES, SOCIAL INEQUALITY, SOCIETY, STATE, SUCCESS/FAILURE, TERRORISM, THOUGHT, TIME, and WELL-BEING.

Furthermore, it is important to determine the speech community in which the analyzed discourse occurs because, according to Cameron (1999b, p. 112), the linguistic analysis is always conducted in relation to certain types of discursive contexts. Therefore, Drulák (2008, p. 108) emphasizes that during the analysis of conceptual metaphors it is obligatory to bear in mind the norms of the particular speech community and the social, cultural, and political backgrounds of speakers. Reconsidering the definition of speech community provided by Gumperz (1968/1972, p. 219) as a group of people who share language use because of regular interaction within such a group, Drulák (2008, p. 108) claims that a speech community tends to have clearly defined social dimensions and corresponds to social units (for example, countries or political parties).

This doctoral thesis is concentrated on the target area of the USA political identity. The research involves the speech community of presidential candidates who delivered their political speeches during the electioneering campaign in 2020. They belong to the national speech

community determined by the English language as the official language in the USA. This implies that the candidates have shared specific vocabulary related to politics.

2) The collection of the discourses containing the chosen target domain and the identification of conceptual metaphors in the analyzed discourse:

Drulák (2008, p. 109) specifies that the corpus usually consists of texts that represent the discourse of the chosen speech community in terms of the target domain. In this regard, it is necessary to establish the selection criterion to create the corpus. It is especially important in cases in which there is a large number of target domains and texts, while the corpus can contain only a part of them. Therefore, it is reasonable to constrain the choice of the corpus by concentrating on the discourse of specific politicians or by focusing on specific discourse genres (Drulák, 2008, p. 109).

Accordingly, in this research the corpus consists of 99 speeches given by presidential candidates Joe Biden and Donald Trump during the 2020 US Presidential electioneering campaign. Joe Biden was represented by 72 speeches and Donald Trump by 27 speeches. In spite of the difference with regard to the number of speeches, the number of words is very similar for each of the presidential candidates. This choice is suitable from a political perspective because it demonstrates the political positions of the candidates and allows to analyze them in terms of the realization of Ideological Square strategies with the help of conceptual metaphors.

Furthermore, it is essential to identify all relevant conceptual metaphors within the selected corpus. Thus, Drulák (2008, p. 110) opposes the inductive approach to the identification of conceptual metaphors when they are singled out on the basis of metaphorical expressions related to the chosen target domain in the corpus. These conceptual metaphors can be considered empirical generalizations of conventionalized metaphors (Cameron, 1999a, p. 18). On the contrary, Drulák (2008, p. 110) puts forward that conceptual metaphors can be singled out in the corpus by deduction. Within this approach, possible source domains are construed by a conceptual consideration of the chosen target domains (Cameron, 1999a, p. 18).

Moreover, Drulák (2008, p. 110) justifies the application of deduction to the detection of conceptual metaphors in the analyzed corpus in the following way. First of all, the conceptual metaphors consist of the target and source domains. Thus, it is convenient to define more specifically what is to be searched for in the corpus. Besides, this approach is coherent because it singles out the conceptual metaphors from a range of abstract principles inherent in the particular target domain. It also allows to deduct new conceptual metaphors that are logically

possible though not having been identified yet. Finally, deduction permits to identify dead metaphors in case their metaphorical nature is not obvious.

Another fundamental aspect of the metaphor identification at this step is the number of conceptual metaphors that can be deduced in the corpus. First of all, Drulák (2008, p. 110) emphasizes that the number of conceptual metaphors is presupposed by the nature of a target domain. Accordingly, if the target domain is debatable or multi-faceted, it is likely to generate a larger number of conceptual metaphors. In addition, their number is determined by the level of abstraction of the conceptual metaphors. In other words, there is usually a lower number of more abstract conceptual metaphors. Therefore, the same level of abstraction should be preserved for the analysis (Drulák, 2008, p. 110).

Nevertheless, there are some limitations of the deductive approach to metaphor identification. Thus, Drulák (2008, p. 110) notices that deduction does not indicate what metaphors are relevant for the analysis. Moreover, it does not specify how conceptual metaphors are associated with concrete metaphorical expressions found in the corpus.

In this doctoral thesis 37 possible source domains were identified in the analysis, namely ANIMALS, BODY, BUILDINGS, BUSINESS, CLEANLINESS, CONTAINERS, CREATION/DESTRUCTION, DEPTH, FAMILY, FOOD, FORCES, HEAT/COLD, ILLNESS, JOURNEY, LANDSCAPE, LIFE/DEATH, LIGHT/DARKNESS, LIQUID, MACHINES, MATERIALS, MONEY, MOVEMENT/DIRECTION, NATURE, OBJECTS, PERSONIFICATION, PLANTS, POSSESSIONS, SEEING, SIZE, SPORT/GAMES, STATES, STRAIGHTNESS, UP/DOWN, VEHICLES, WAR, WEIGHT, and WHOLENESS.

3) The identification of all relevant metaphors in the analyzed discourse:

At this step it is essential to determine all the conceptual metaphors in the analyzed discourse. Drulák (2008, p. 111) maintains that it is extremely important to deduce not only metaphorical expression that correspond to the conceptual metaphors but also all others that do not possibly correspond to them.

4) The verification of the conceptual metaphors that were detected in the analyzed corpus:

At this stage it is necessary to verify the set of identified conceptual metaphors and corresponding metaphorical expressions. Thus, new source domains can be found that are not conceptualized by the conventional conceptual metaphors. Besides, the source domains can be changed, constricted or widened. This verification systematizes the identified conceptual metaphors because each conceptual metaphor should be associated with metaphorical expressions from the corpus to make it clear what metaphorical expression corresponds to one or more underlying conceptual metaphors (Drulák, 2008, p. 112). Thus, after the verification,

3298 relevant metaphorical expressions corresponding to 118 conceptual metaphors were identified in the analyzed corpus of political speeches.

5) The determination of conceptual metaphors frequencies in the analyzed corpus:

The conceptual metaphors frequency in the analyzed corpus is an important criterion for determining their functioning and role in political discourse (Cortazzi & Jin, 1999; Charteris-Black, 2004). As Drulák (2008, p. 112) explains it, the high frequency of a certain metaphor indicates its significance in the chosen speech community. Moreover, the frequencies of all conceptual metaphors identified in the corpus illustrate the discursive structure. In addition, the frequencies of the metaphors usage by different actors can be determined and compared in order to establish differences and similarities between them.

Furthermore, Drulák (2008, p. 112) distinguishes two levels of establishing frequencies, namely unit level and corpus level. At the unit level, each speech should be regarded as a basic unit for assessing the frequency of conceptual metaphors. In such a way, the context of the speaker and the text can be taken into consideration. Moreover, Drulák (2008, p. 113) explains that the frequencies of conceptual metaphors are established by the quantitative and qualitative analysis, i.e., by substituting the numbers with the descriptions of metaphors. In other words, conceptual metaphors are analyzed in terms of being prevalent in the analyzed discourse. On the other hand, at the corpus level, the frequency is calculated by summarizing all conceptual metaphors in the corpus. It allows to establish how many conceptual metaphors are prevalent or how important they are in the analyzed corpus. Moreover, the frequencies can also be established for particular sections of the corpus (Drulák, 2008, p. 113).

Accordingly, the raw frequencies of the distribution of conceptual metaphors in the political speeches delivered by Joe Biden and Donald Trump were calculated per 1000 words. Such calculations permitted to establish the most important conceptual metaphors in the analyzed discourses and explain their role in political persuasion, in particular, in the realization of the Ideological Square strategies.

6) The comparison of various discourse sections in terms of the conceptual metaphors usage:

According to Drulák (2008, p. 113), the comparison between the frequencies of conceptual metaphors in different discourse sections is aimed at finding out fundamental differences in the way of thinking of different speakers. As a result, the most frequent prevalent conceptual metaphors illustrate the thinking patterns (cognition) which construct the discourse. On the contrary, conceptual metaphors which are rarely used in the analyzed corpus do not build the way of thinking of the particular speech community (Drulák, 2008, p. 113). In this

regard, during the research the identified conceptual metaphors were compared in terms of their frequencies and significance for the realization of Ideological Square persuasive strategies in Joe Biden's and Donald Trump's discourses.

7) The elaboration of practical implications of conceptual metaphors usage in the analyzed discourse:

Drulák (2008, p. 115) emphasizes that the conceptual metaphor is a powerful tool that determines the way in which we conceptualize the world. Hence, at this step it is essential to specify the practical implications of all conceptual metaphors that were detected in the analyzed political discourse.

In this thesis, it was argued that the usage of conceptual metaphors in the analyzed political speeches is presupposed by the persuasive goals of the electioneering campaign, and in particular, is determined by the need to realize the Ideological Square strategies. For this purpose, the significance of conceptual metaphors used by the two presidential candidates was established and described.

4.2.3. Statistical methods

The main statistical method applied in this thesis is a Chi-Square Test of Independence (χ^2), which was performed using a specific statistical software: Statgraphics 19. With the help of the Chi-Square Test of Independence it was calculated if an interdependence between categorical variables existed or not. It determines if the analyzed variables are interrelated or independent (Kent State University Libraries, 2023). Hayes (2023) defines a categorical variable as a variable that consists of a certain selection of data, such as a politician, his/her political party, ideology, strategies, and types of metaphor. The basic principle of the Chi-Square Test of Independence is that it compares the 'null' distribution to the actual distribution of the variables in order to check whether two analyzed variables are independent (Levon, 2010, p. 74; Lapka, 2021, pp. 86-87).

In this research, the Chi-Square Test of Independence was used to verify whether the variables of the politician, which in this case may be identified with the political party or the ideology, and Ideological Square strategies are interrelated with the type of conceptual metaphor used in political speeches. Taking into account that the politician, the political party, and the ideology are represented by the same numerical data, as there is only one politician per political party and one political party per ideology, the test was carried out for the politician, Ideological Square strategies, and the type of metaphor variables.

The test was conducted using the following procedure:

- a) the creation of the table containing the observed and expected frequencies;
- b) the application of the Statgraphics 19 statistical software to obtain the critical chi-square value;
- c) the determination whether the P-value is less than 0,05. If this is the case, the null hypothesis (or the hypothesis that the variables are independent) can be rejected with the 95,0% confidence level (Hayes, 2023; Levon, 2010, p. 74; Lapka, 2021, p. 86-87).

The test uses a two-way frequency table for the data analysis. A two-way frequency table should be arranged in such a way that the data are classified in accordance with two categorical variables. One variable should be located in the rows, while others should be placed in columns. Moreover, every variable should have at least two categories, which contain the overall number of instances of categories (Kent State University Libraries, 2023).

The test is computed with the help of the following formula:

$$\chi_c^2 = \sum \frac{(O_i - E_i)^2}{E_i}$$

where c - Levels of freedom, O - Observed values, E - Expected values.

To carry out the calculation, degrees of freedom are used to determine if a particular null hypothesis can be rejected depending on the size of the sample and the number of variables (Hayes, 2023). Furthermore, the following requirements should be observed in order to obtain reliable results:

- a) there should be two categorical variables;
- b) two or more categories for each variable are necessary;
- c) the observations should be independent;
- d) the subjects in each group must not be related to each other;
- e) the categorical variables are not matched in any way;
- f) a large sample size is required;
- g) at least one frequency is expected for each cell;
- h) there should be at least 5 expected frequencies for the majority of the cells (Kent State University Libraries, 2023).

Moreover, Riazi (2016, p. 34) adds that since the Chi-Square Test is “a non-parametric statistical test of significance”, the data should be represented by the number or frequency of cases of the variable that is distributed into two or more categories. Besides, the Test does not presuppose the use of any population assumptions, such as normality.

At the same time, there are some limitations of the Chi-Square Test of Independence. It is necessary to mention that it is used to compare only categorical variables. The test does not

make comparison between categorical and continuous variables. Apart from that, the Test merely calculates the relations of association between categorical variables and does not assess the relations of causation between categorical variables. Besides, it requires a large size of the data to obtain trustworthy results about the relations between the variables (Hayes, 2023).

Apart from that, the raw frequency of conceptual metaphors used by the Presidential candidates in the analyzed speeches was calculated per 1000 words out. Hence, the technique of normalization was applied in order to adjust raw frequency counts of conceptual metaphors from the speeches given by Donald Trump and Joe Biden. The procedure for calculating the raw frequency is to divide the number of conceptual metaphors (for the source domain and the Ideological Square strategies) by the total number of words in each politician's speeches, and then multiply by 1000. This calculation allowed to make the counts comparable because the political speeches under analysis are not identical in length (Biber et al., 1998, pp. 263-264).

CHAPTER 5. RESULTS

5.1. Verification of the research hypothesis

The hypothesis of this research is that there are certain variables that influence the choice of conceptual metaphors in public speeches delivered during the 2020 US presidential campaign in order to fulfil the Ideological Square strategies. The following variables were analyzed: the type of metaphor, the politicians, the source domain, the target domain, and Ideological Square strategies. In order to confirm or reject the hypothesis, the Chi-Square Test of Independence was applied to check whether the row and column values were independent or not, using the Statgraphics19 statistical software. Tables 1 to 7 show the results of the tests related to the different variables.

The first test was carried out in order to determine if the Politician and Type of metaphor variables are related to each other or independent. Table 1 portrays the results of the Chi-Square test.

Table 1. Results of Chi-square Test of Independence for Politician by Type of metaphor

<i>Test</i>	<i>Statistic</i>	<i>Df</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Chi-Square	1022.944	119	0.0000

The results of the independence test demonstrate that the Politician variable is related to the Type of metaphor variable, because the P-value is less than 0.05. Therefore, the hypothesis that these variables are independent can be rejected with a 95% confidence level. Accordingly, it is possible to claim that the choice of the type of metaphor depends on the specific politician that uses the metaphors, Donald Trump and Joe Biden, in the US presidential elections in 2020.

The second test was conducted to establish the dependence of the Politician and Ideological Square variables.

Table 2. Results of Chi-square Test of Independence for Politician by Ideological Square strategies

<i>Test</i>	<i>Statistic</i>	<i>Df</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Chi-Square	5.573	4	0.2334

The results of the independence test shown in Table 2 demonstrate that the Politician and Ideological Square strategies variables are not related, because the P-value is higher than 0.05. Therefore, the hypothesis that these two variables are independent cannot be discarded at a 95.0% confidence level. As a result, it is possible to state that the choice and the application of

the Ideological Square strategies are not conditioned by the politicians during the electioneering campaign in the USA in 2020. Consequently, it can also be presupposed that both Donald Trump and Joe Biden use similar Ideological Square strategies to achieve their political goals.

The third test was carried out in order to determine whether the Politician and Source domain variables are related or not.

Table 3. Results of Chi-square Test of Independence for Politician by Source domain

<i>Test</i>	<i>Statistic</i>	<i>Df</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Chi-Square	513.115	37	0.0000

Table 3 shows that the Politician variable is related to the Source domain variable, because the P-value is less than 0.05. Hence, the hypothesis that these variables are not related can be rejected with a 95.0% confidence level. Therefore, it can be asserted that there are statistically significant differences with regard to the choice of the source domains by Donald Trump and by Joe Biden.

The fourth test was conducted in order to verify if the Politician variable is related to the Target domain variable.

Table 4. Results of Chi-square Test of Independence for Politician by Target domain

<i>Test</i>	<i>Statistic</i>	<i>Df</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Chi-Square	555.912	33	0.0000

Table 4 demonstrates that both Politician and Target domain are interdependent variables, since the P-value is less than 0.05. As a result, the hypothesis that these two variables are not related can be rejected with a 95.0% confidence level. Consequently, it is possible to claim that the choice of the target domains is conditioned by the specific politician, Donald Trump and Joe Biden.

The fifth test was carried out to verify whether the variable of Ideological Square is related to the variable of Type of metaphor.

Table 5. Results of Chi-square Test of Independence for Ideological Square strategies by Type of metaphor

<i>Test</i>	<i>Statistic</i>	<i>Df</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Chi-Square	2372.314	476	0.0000

Table 5 shows that the observed values for Ideological Square strategies are related to the values for Type of metaphor, because the P-value is less than 0.05. Consequently, the hypothesis that these two variables are independent, or null hypothesis, can be rejected with a 95.0% confidence level. Therefore, it can be affirmed that the choice of the metaphor type determines the realization of the Ideological Square strategies.

The sixth test was carried out to find out whether there exists an interdependence of the Ideological Square strategies and Source domain variables.

Table 6. Results of Chi-square Test of Independence for Ideological Square strategies by Source domain

<i>Test</i>	<i>Statistic</i>	<i>Df</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Chi-Square	936.005	148	0.0000

Table 6 shows that the observed value of Ideological Square strategies is related to the value of Source domain because the P-value is less than 0.05. As a consequence, the hypothesis that these variables are not related can be refused with a 95.0% confidence level. It is possible to claim, then, that the choice of the source domains and the Ideological Square strategies are interrelated.

The seventh test was conducted in order to verify whether the Ideological Square strategies and Target domain variables are related or independent.

Table 7. Results of Chi-square Test of Independence for Ideological Square strategies by Target domain

<i>Test</i>	<i>Statistic</i>	<i>Df</i>	<i>P-Value</i>
Chi-Square	1217.950	99	0.0000

Table 7 demonstrates that the observed values for Ideological Square strategies are related to the values for Target domain, since the P-value is less than 0.05. Accordingly, the hypothesis that these variables are independent can be denied with a 95.0% confidence level. Thus, it is possible to affirm that the choice of the target domain is conditioned by the Ideological Square strategies applied by Donald Trump and Joe Biden with persuasive goals to win the electorate’s support.

It is possible to conclude that the Chi-Square Test of Independence has proved that in six of the cases the variables analyzed are related or mutually dependent. Thus, the selection of conceptual metaphors is conditioned by the specific presidential candidate: Donald Trump and

Joe Biden, as well as the choice of source and target domains. On the contrary, there does not seem to be a relation of mutual dependence between the specific candidate and the use of the Ideological Square strategies. The Ideological Square strategies do depend on the conceptual metaphors used in their electioneering speeches, as well as the choice of source and target domains. This can be explained by the fact that both candidates use the same strategies through different conceptual metaphors. All the variables will be analyzed in detail in the subsequent sections.

5.2. Ideological Square strategies in the US 2020 presidential electioneering campaign

The conceptual metaphors in the transcripts of 99 campaign speeches given by Donald Trump and Joe Biden were analyzed in accordance with the general aim of this doctoral thesis. Hence, 3298 instances of metaphorical expressions corresponding to 118 underlying conceptual metaphors were identified in the corpus of 522 812 words (see Appendix 1).

Given the results of the Chi-Square Tests of Independence, the Ideological Square strategies determine the construction of political discourse by Donald Trump and Joe Biden through the use of conceptual metaphors. Therefore, the realization of the Ideological Square strategies is the focus of this doctoral thesis. It is paramount, then, to analyze the distribution of these strategies in campaign speeches by both presidential candidates. In this regard, the quantitative analysis of the strategies was carried out to determine the number of each Ideological Strategy, their percentage ratios, and their raw frequency per 1000 words in the analyzed speeches. The result of this analysis is presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Distribution of Ideological Square strategies in Donald Trump’s and Joe Biden’s speeches

Ideological Square	Donald Trump			Joe Biden			Total	
	Number of metaphors	%	per 1000 words	Number of metaphors	%	per 1000 words	Number of metaphors	%
Emphasize positive things about Us	1643	69.18%	5.88	611	66.20%	2.51	2254	68.34%
Emphasize negative things about Them	686	28.88%	2.45	294	31.85%	1.21	980	29.71%
De-emphasize negative things about Us	22	0.93%	0.08	11	1.19%	0.05	33	1.00%
De-emphasize positive things about Them	24	1.01%	0.09	7	0.76%	0.03	31	0.94%
Total	2375	100.00%	8.50	923	100.00%	3.79	3298	100.00%

Table 8 shows that 3298 instances of underlying conceptual metaphors are distributed unevenly in the campaign speeches delivered by Donald Trump and Joe Biden. Thus, 2254 (68.34%) metaphorical expressions are identified as fulfilling the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us, 980 (29.71%) metaphors are used to realize the strategy Emphasize negative things about Them. On the contrary, only 33 (1.00%) and 31 (0.94%) metaphors are identified for the strategies De-emphasize negative things about Us and De-emphasize positive things about Them, respectively. Therefore, it is possible to affirm that the Emphasize positive things about Us is the most commonly used strategy by both presidential candidates, followed by Emphasize negative things about Them.

When comparing the application of the Ideological Square strategies by Donald Trump and Joe Biden, it is necessary to mention that the number of metaphors in Donald Trump's (2375 instances) speeches is considerably higher than the number of metaphors used by his opponent, Joe Biden (923 instances). Similarly, the distribution of the Ideological Square strategies in their discourse is unequal. Thus, in the speeches by Donald Trump there are 1643 instances of conceptual metaphors for the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us, 686 metaphors for the strategy Emphasize negative things about Them, 22 metaphors for the strategy De-emphasize negative things about Us, and 24 cases of conceptual metaphors for the strategy De-emphasize positive things about Them. Meanwhile, in Joe Biden campaign speeches, the Ideological Square strategies are distributed in the following way: 611 instances of conceptual metaphors are used for the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy, 294 metaphors for the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy, 11 metaphors for the De-emphasize negative things about Us, and 7 for the De-emphasize positive things about Them.

Therefore, in order to ensure straightforward results of the analysis, it is necessary to compare the percentage ratios of these strategies. Hence, it is possible to affirm that despite such a significant difference in the number of identified metaphors between the two presidential candidates, the percentage ratios of the Ideological Square strategies in their speeches are approximately the same (Figure 8).

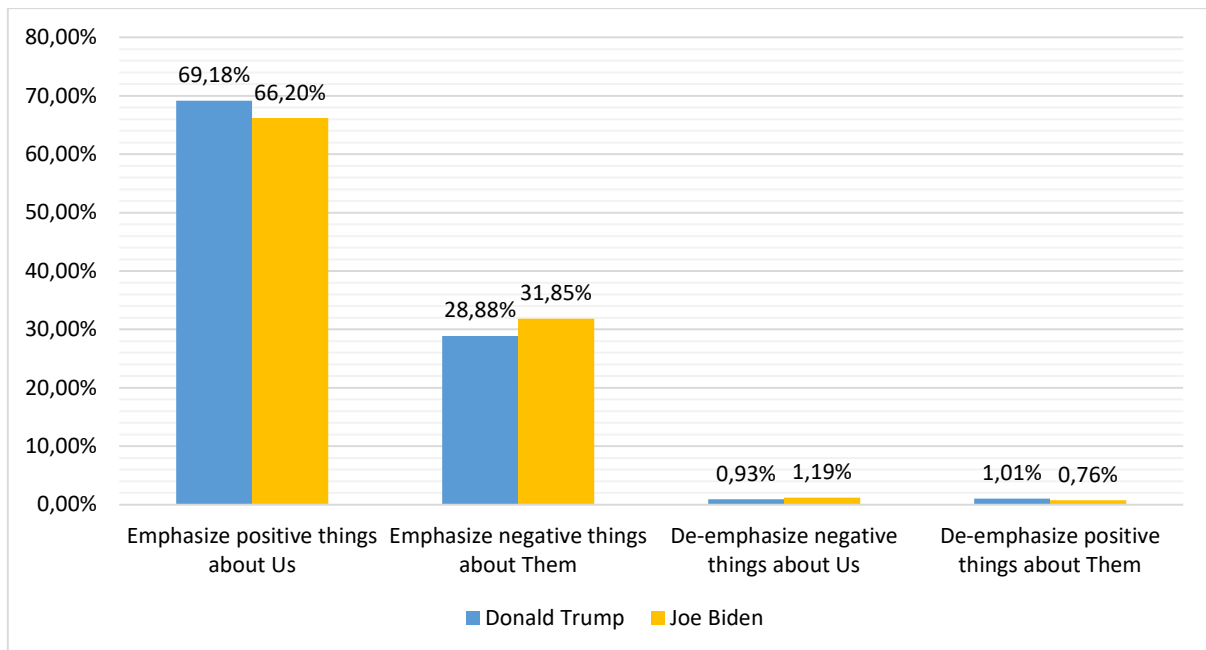


Figure 8. Ideological Square strategies in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's discourses

Thus, it can be argued that during their electioneering campaigns Donald Trump and Joe Biden apply the same strategies with similar distribution, namely the Emphasize positive things about Us (69.18% and 66.20% respectively) and Emphasize negative things about Them strategies (28.88% and 31.85% respectively) are predominant, followed by De-emphasize negative things about Us (0.93% and 1.19% respectively) and De-emphasize positive things about Them (1.01% and 0.76% respectively). In this regard, it can be mentioned that the percentage ratio of the Emphasize negative things about Them and De-emphasize negative things about Us strategies are slightly higher in Joe Biden's speeches than in Donald Trump's ones.

Furthermore, this uneven distribution of strategies is further reflected in the calculations of their raw frequencies per 1000 words in the analyzed speeches (Figure 9). Thus, the analysis of the raw frequencies also confirms that Donald Trump and Joe Biden resort to the same strategies, the Emphasize positive things about Us and Emphasize negative things about Them strategies being the main ones.

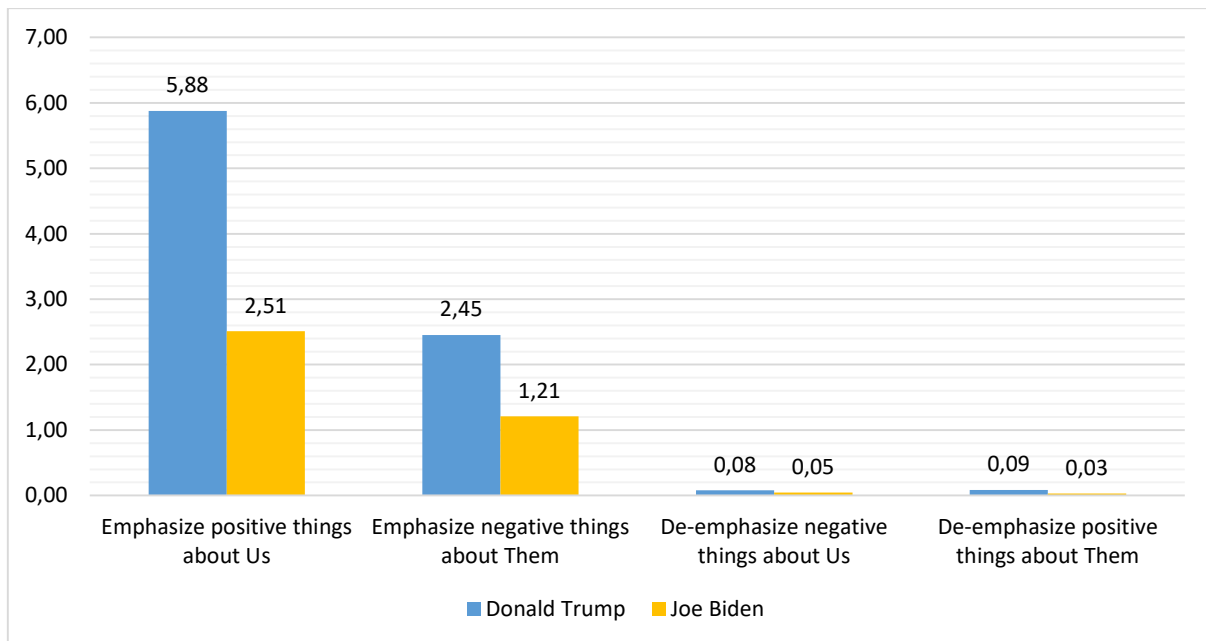


Figure 9. The raw frequencies of the Ideological Square in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's speeches

In this regard, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized with the frequency of 5.88 metaphors per 1000 words in Donald Trump discourse, while for Joe Biden this category is much lower, i.e., 2.51 metaphors per 1000 words. Furthermore, the strategy Emphasize negative things about Them is fulfilled by 2.45 metaphors per 1000 words in Donald Trump's speeches and by 1.21 metaphors per 1000 words in Joe Biden's speeches. The frequency of conceptual metaphors used to realize the strategy De-emphasize negative things about Us (0.08 metaphors per 1000 words for Donald Trump, and 0.05 metaphors per 1000 words for Joe Biden) is very close to the strategy De-emphasize positive things about Them (0.09 metaphors per 1000 words for Donald Trump, and 0.03 metaphors per 1000 words for Joe Biden).

5.3. Classification of conceptual metaphors by Ideological Square strategies

Since the choice of metaphors is dependent on the Ideological Square strategies, it is essential to analyze what underlying conceptual metaphors are used by the two presidential candidates in order to fulfil these strategies. Hence, 3298 instances of metaphorical expressions in the analyzed corpus were classified into 118 underlying conceptual metaphors that realize the Ideological Square strategies. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 9.

It is, then, necessary to highlight that the most frequent conceptual metaphor used during the electioneering campaign in 2020 in the USA is POLITICS IS A WAR (561 instances,

representing 17.01% out of all conceptual metaphors). The second most widely used conceptual metaphors are WELL-BEING IS UP (204 instances, or 6.19%) and POLITICS IS SPORT (204 instances, or 6.19%). The third place is occupied by the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor (129 cases, constituting 3.91%), followed by MORE IS UP (126 cases, or 3.82%). Other significant conceptual metaphors used by both presidential candidates are HARM IS DESTRUCTION (120 cases, or 3.64%) and CHANGE IS MOVEMENT (108 instances, or 3.27%). GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING (94 instances, or 2.85%), STATE IS A BUILDING (92 instances, reaching 2.79%), STATE IS A PERSON (73 instances, having 2.21%), TREATING ILLNES IS FIGHTING A WAR (71 instances, or 2.15%), or POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME (66 cases, constituting 2.00%) are other examples of conceptual metaphors come across in the corpus.

Thus, it is possible to claim that the majority of conceptual metaphors identified in the corpus are aimed to show the antagonistic and competitive nature of political activities, while demonstrating positive traits of ourselves in contrast to negative representation of others, i.e., the political opponent. In addition, the antagonism between construction and destruction is reflected in the use of metaphors such as GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING, STATE IS A BUILDING, and HARM IS DESTRUCTION. The usage of the identified conceptual metaphors by the two candidates will be further analyzed.

Table 9. Distribution of conceptual metaphors in Donald Trump’s and Joe Biden’s speeches by Ideological Square strategies

Conceptual metaphors	Donald Trump										Joe Biden										Total	
	Emphasize positive things about Us		Emphasize negative things about Them		De-emphasize negative things about Us		De-emphasize positive things about Them		Total		Emphasize positive things about Us		Emphasize negative things about Them		De-emphasize negative things about Us		De-emphasize positive things about Them		Total			
	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%		
ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION	9	0.38%	7	0.29%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	16	0.67%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	16	0.49%
AFFECTION IS WARMTH	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	2	0.06%
AMERICA IS A PROMISED LAND	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	2	0.06%
BADNESS IS DARKNESS	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	1	0.11%	9	0.98%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10	1.08%	14	0.42%
BELIEFS ARE LOVE OBJECTS	7	0.29%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8	0.34%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8	0.24%
BELIEFS ARE PLANTS	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	2	0.22%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.33%	4	0.12%
BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS	0	0.00%	3	0.13%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.13%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.09%
CHANGE IS MOVEMENT	96	4.04%	1	0.04%	2	0.08%	4	0.17%	103	4.34%	1	0.11%	4	0.43%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5	0.54%	108	3.27%
COHERENT IS WHOLE	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	0.65%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7	0.76%	7	0.21%
CONTROL IS UP	26	1.09%	2	0.08%	2	0.08%	8	0.34%	38	1.60%	9	0.98%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	11	1.19%	49	1.49%

CRIME IS A DISEASE	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%
DEALING WITH CLIMATE CHANGE IS FIGHTING A WAR	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9	0.98%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	11	1.19%	11	0.33%
DEALING WITH CRIMES IS A FIGHTING A WAR	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%
DEALING WITH INEQUALITY IS FIGHTING A WAR	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.03%
DEALING WITH RACISM IS FIGHTING A WAR	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.03%
DRUGS ARE LIQUIDS	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.12%
ECONOMY IS A BODY	8	0.34%	4	0.17%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	13	0.55%	8	0.87%	12	1.30%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	20	2.17%	33	1.00%
ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	12	0.51%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	13	0.55%	22	2.38%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	24	2.60%	37	1.12%
ECONOMY IS A MACHINE	14	0.59%	7	0.29%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	22	0.93%	8	0.87%	3	0.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	11	1.19%	33	1.00%
ECONOMY IS A PERSON	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%
ECONOMY IS A PLANT	25	1.05%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	28	1.18%	15	1.63%	4	0.43%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	19	2.06%	47	1.43%
ECONOMY IS A WAR	38	1.60%	11	0.46%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	49	2.06%	6	0.65%	3	0.33%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	10	1.08%	59	1.79%
ECONOMY IS SPORT	22	0.93%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	23	0.97%	1	0.11%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.33%	26	0.79%
EMOTIONS ARE FORCES	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%
EMOTIONS ARE LIQUID	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	3	0.09%
FAILURE IS BEING EATEN	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.03%
FAILURE IS DEATH	1	0.04%	7	0.29%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8	0.34%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8	0.24%
FASCISM / COMMUNISM / SOCIALISM IS A DANGEROUS ENEMY	9	0.38%	54	2.27%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	63	2.65%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%		0.00%	63	1.91%

FEAR IS COLD	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	2	0.06%
GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING	58	2.44%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	58	2.44%	36	3.90%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	36	3.90%	94	2.85%
GOOD GOVERNING IS DESTRUCTING	32	1.35%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	32	1.35%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	32	0.97%
GOODNESS IS LIGHT	6	0.25%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	0.25%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	0.18%
HARM IS BEING IN A HARMFUL LOCATION	4	0.17%	1	0.04%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	7	0.29%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	8	0.24%
HARM IS DESTRUCTION	1	0.04%	97	4.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	98	4.13%	0	0.00%	22	2.38%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	22	2.38%	120	3.64%
HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY	7	0.29%	35	1.47%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	42	1.77%	1	0.11%	20	2.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	21	2.28%	63	1.91%
HOPE IS LIGHT	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.43%	4	0.12%
IDEAL IS UP	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	3	0.33%	3	0.09%
IDEAS ARE BUILDINGS	3	0.13%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.13%	3	0.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.33%	6	0.18%
IDEAS ARE CHILDREN	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%
IDEAS ARE FOOD	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.03%
IDEAS ARE OBJECTS	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	2	0.06%
IDEAS ARE PLANTS	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	2	0.22%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.43%	6	0.18%
ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE DANGEROUS ANIMALS	0	0.00%	10	0.42%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10	0.42%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	11	0.33%
ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE ENEMIES	0	0.00%	10	0.42%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10	0.42%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	12	0.36%
ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS	1	0.04%	13	0.55%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	15	0.63%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	15	0.45%
IMPORTANCE IS DEPTH	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	2	0.06%
IMPORTANT IS BIG	53	2.23%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	55	2.32%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	56	1.70%
IMPORTANT IS HEAVY	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%

INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	19	2.06%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	19	2.06%	21	0.64%
INVESTMENTS ARE CONTAINERS FOR MONEY	10	0.42%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10	0.42%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10	0.30%
KNOWING IS SEEING	2	0.08%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	5	0.15%
LEFT IS AN EVIL FORCE	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%
LIFE IS A JOURNEY	37	1.56%	16	0.67%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	55	2.32%	54	5.85%	17	1.84%	2	0.22%	1	0.11%	74	8.02%	129	3.91%
LIFE IS A WAR	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.03%
MACHINES ARE PEOPLE	3	0.13%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.12%
MONEY IS A RESOURCE	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.06%
MONEY IS LIQUID	21	0.88%	5	0.21%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	26	1.09%	1	0.11%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	28	0.85%
MORAL ACTION IS A FINANCIAL TRANSACTION	7	0.29%	4	0.17%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	13	0.55%	1	0.11%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	15	0.45%
MORALITY IS A STRAIGHT PATH	1	0.04%	5	0.21%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	0.25%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	0.18%
MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS	5	0.21%	48	2.02%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	53	2.23%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	53	1.61%
MORALITY IS STRAIGHTNESS	1	0.04%	37	1.56%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	38	1.60%	2	0.22%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.33%	41	1.24%
MORE IS UP	45	1.89%	16	0.67%	1	0.04%	3	0.13%	65	2.74%	32	3.47%	29	3.14%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	61	6.61%	126	3.82%
NATION IS A BODY	17	0.72%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	17	0.72%	29	3.14%	8	0.87%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	39	4.23%	56	1.70%
NATION IS A BUILDING	4	0.17%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5	0.21%	17	1.84%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	17	1.84%	22	0.67%
NATION IS A FAMILY	29	1.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	29	1.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	29	0.88%
NATION IS A PERSON	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	1	0.11%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	3	0.09%
NATION IS A SHIP	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	3	0.09%
NATION IS FABRIC	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.33%	4	0.43%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7	0.76%	7	0.21%
OBLIGATIONS ARE CONTAINERS	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.06%

OBLIGATIONS ARE FORCES	2	0.08%	6	0.25%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8	0.34%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	8	0.24%
PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	2	0.06%
PEOPLE ARE BATTERIES	9	0.38%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9	0.38%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9	0.27%
PEOPLE ARE LIQUIDS	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%
PEOPLE ARE MACHINES	21	0.88%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	22	0.93%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	24	0.73%
PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.03%
PERSONALITY IS MATERIAL	14	0.59%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	15	0.63%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	16	0.49%
POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BODY	1	0.04%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.06%
POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BUILDING	45	1.89%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	45	1.89%	13	1.41%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	13	1.41%	58	1.76%
POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	3	0.13%	1	0.11%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	5	0.15%
POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BODY	1	0.04%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.13%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	5	0.15%
POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BUILDING	10	0.42%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	11	0.46%	5	0.54%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5	0.54%	16	0.49%
POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE	4	0.17%	5	0.21%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9	0.38%	1	0.11%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	11	0.33%
POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A PERSON	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.03%
POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A PLANT	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%
POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME	22	0.93%	11	0.46%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	33	1.39%	23	2.49%	10	1.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	33	3.58%	66	2.00%
POLITICS IS A SERVANT	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%
POLITICS IS A WAR	369	15.54%	98	4.13%	4	0.17%	1	0.04%	472	19.87%	68	7.37%	20	2.17%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	89	9.64%	561	17.01%
POLITICS IS BUSINESS	3	0.13%	12	0.51%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	15	0.63%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	16	0.49%

POLITICS IS SPORT	86	3.62%	42	1.77%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	128	5.39%	70	7.58%	5	0.54%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	76	8.23%	204	6.19%
PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD	20	0.84%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	24	1.01%	22	2.38%	4	0.43%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	27	2.93%	51	1.55%
PROPERTIES ARE DESIRED POSSESSIONS	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.43%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.43%	4	0.12%
PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES	0	0.00%	15	0.63%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	16	0.67%	2	0.22%	4	0.43%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	7	0.76%	23	0.70%
RACISM IS A DANGEROUS DISEASE	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.03%
RACISM IS A NATURAL DISASTER	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.03%
RACISM IS A PLANT	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.03%
SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS IS A RACE	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.03%
SOCIALISM IS A NIGHTMARE	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.06%
SOCIETY IS A BODY	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	2	0.06%
SOCIETY IS A BUILDING	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	20	2.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	20	2.17%	22	0.67%
SOCIETY IS A MACHINE	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.03%
STATE IS A BODY	6	0.25%	11	0.46%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	17	0.72%	28	3.03%	3	0.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	31	3.36%	48	1.46%
STATE IS A BUILDING	42	1.77%	6	0.25%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	48	2.02%	35	3.79%	9	0.98%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	44	4.77%	92	2.79%
STATE IS A MACHINE	5	0.21%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	0.25%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	7	0.21%
STATE IS A PERSON	66	2.78%	5	0.21%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	71	2.99%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	73	2.21%
STATE IS A SERVANT	4	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.12%
STATE IS A SHIP	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.08%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.06%
STRONG EMOTIONS ARE MADNESS	0	0.00%	18	0.76%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	19	0.80%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	19	0.58%
SUCCESS IS LIFE	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	3	0.33%	3	0.09%

TERRORISM IS EVIL	4	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.12%
TERRORISTS ARE DANGEROUS ANIMALS	10	0.42%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10	0.42%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	10	0.30%
TIME IS MONEY	2	0.08%	15	0.63%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	17	0.72%	1	0.11%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	19	0.58%
TIME IS SOMETHING MOVING TOWARD YOU	23	0.97%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	23	0.97%	2	0.22%	4	0.43%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	0.65%	29	0.88%
TREATING ILLNESS IS COMPETING	3	0.13%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.13%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.09%
TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR	20	0.84%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	20	0.84%	14	1.52%	33	3.58%	0	0.00%	4	0.43%	51	5.53%	71	2.15%
UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.22%	1	0.11%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.33%	3	0.09%
VOTES ARE PLANTS	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.33%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.33%	3	0.09%
WELL-BEING IS UP	188	7.92%	6	0.25%	0	0.00%	3	0.13%	197	8.29%	5	0.54%	2	0.22%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	7	0.76%	204	6.19%
WELL-BEING IS WEALTH	33	1.39%	1	0.04%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	34	1.43%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	34	1.03%
Total	1643	69.18 %	686	28.88%	22	0.93%	24	1.01%	2375	100.00%	611	66.20%	294	31.85%	11	1.19%	7	0.76%	923	100.00%	3298	100.00%

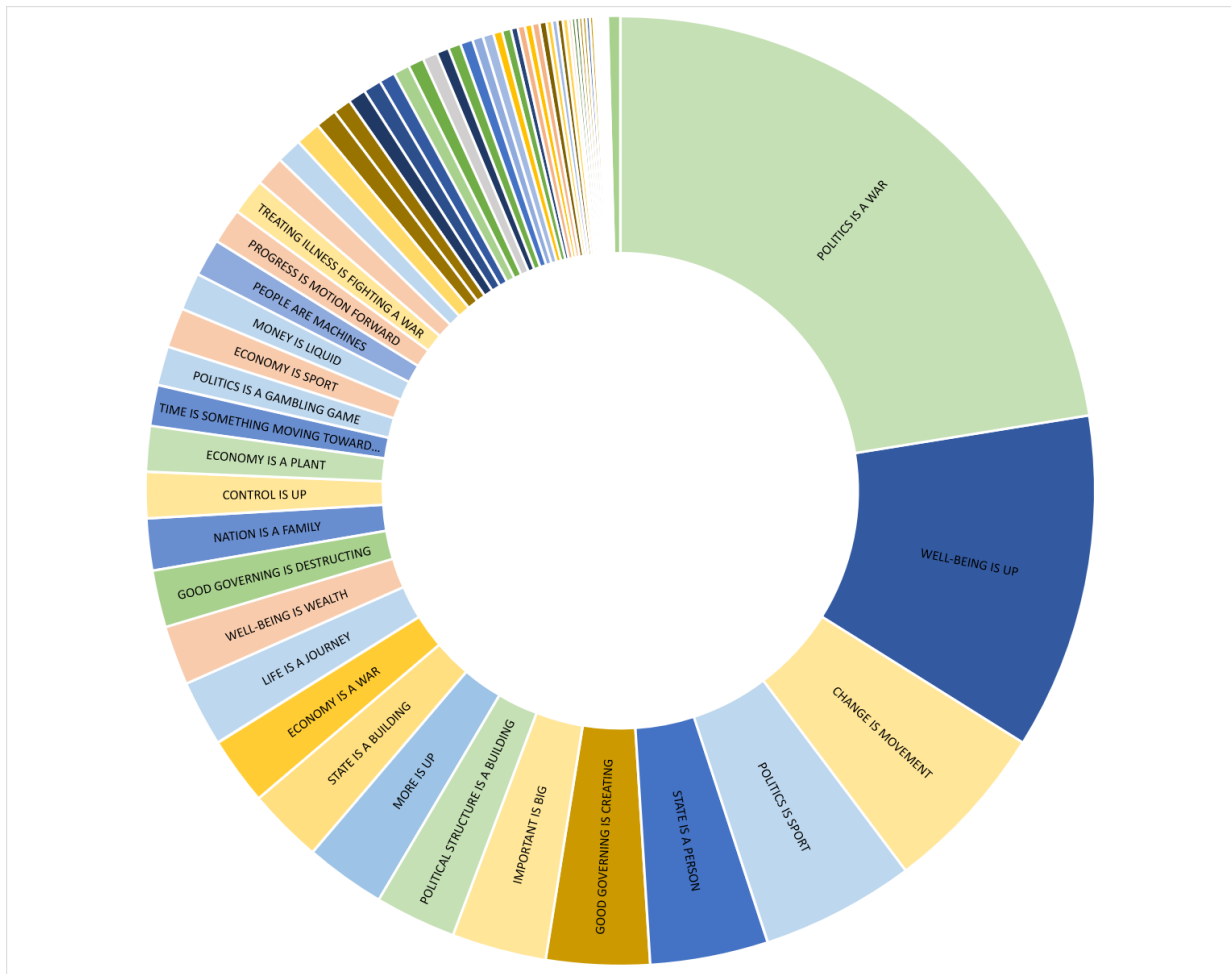


Figure 10. Conceptual metaphors that fulfil the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy in Donald Trump’s speeches

Figure 10 shows how conceptual metaphors aimed to accomplish the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us are distributed throughout Donald Trump’s electioneering discourse. In total, there are 1643 cases of conceptual metaphors that are used to realize this strategy, comprising 69.18% of all metaphors used by the Republican candidate. Thus, it should be mentioned that the predominant conceptual metaphor in this case is POLITICS IS A WAR (369 instances). It constitutes 15.54% out of all metaphors identified in campaign speeches delivered by Donald Trump. This can be explained by the aggressive rivalry of politics that he tried to convey to his electorate. The second most common conceptual metaphor in his speeches is WELL-BEING IS UP (188 instances, or 7.92%), while the third metaphor is CHANGE IS MOVEMENT (96 instances, which constitutes 4.04%).

Other important conceptual metaphors for Donald Trump’s discourse are POLITICS IS SPORT (86, or 3.62%), STATE IS A PERSON (66 instances, or 2.78%), GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING (58 instances, or 2.44%), IMPORTANT IS BIG (53 instances, or 2.23%),

POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BUILDING (45 instances, or 1.89%), MORE IS UP (45 instances, or 1.89%), STATE IS A BUILDING (42 instances, or 1.77%), ECONOMY IS A WAR (38 instances, or 1.60%), LIFE IS A JOURNEY (37 instances, or 1.56%), WELL-BEING IS WEALTH (33 instances, or 1.39%), GOOD GOVERNING IS DESTRUCTING (32 instances, or 1.35%), NATION IS A FAMILY (29 instances, or 1.22%), CONTROL IS UP (26 instances, or 1.09%), and ECONOMY IS A PLANT (25 instances, or 1.05%). The remaining instances of conceptual metaphors identified in his speeches constitutes less than 1%.

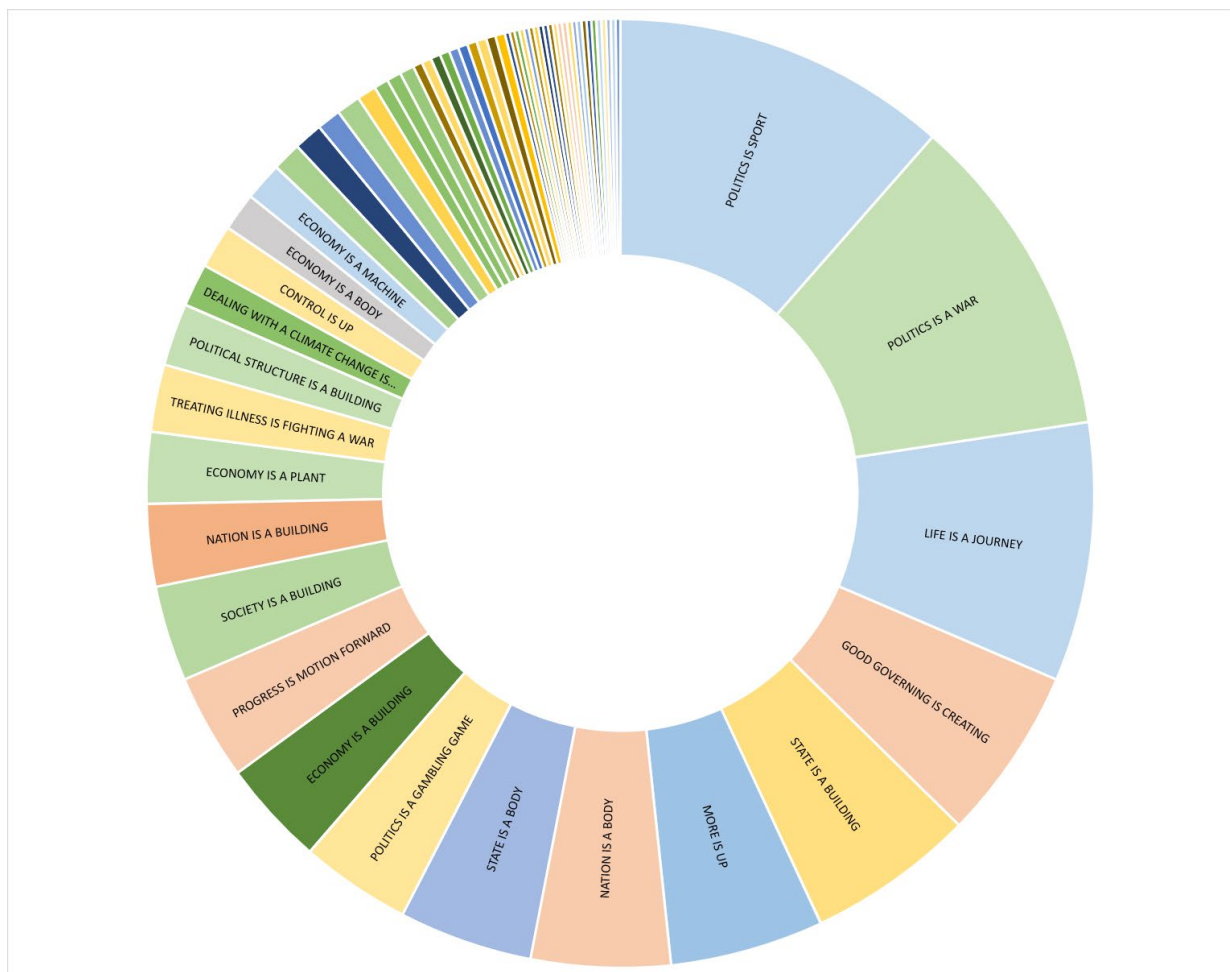


Figure 11. Conceptual metaphors that fulfil the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy in Joe Biden’s speeches

Meanwhile, Figure 11 portrays the distribution of conceptual metaphors in Joe Biden’s discourse used to realize the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us. There are 611 cases of metaphors identified in his speeches (66.20% of all metaphors used by Joe Biden). Thus, contrary to Donald Trump, the predominant conceptual metaphor in Jose Biden’s electioneering campaign is POLITICS IS SPORT (70 cases), which constitute 7.58% out of the total number of

metaphors resorted to by Joe Biden. This predominance of the sport metaphor can be explained by a competitive but non-violent character of Joe Biden's campaign. The second most common conceptual metaphor is POLITICS IS A WAR (68 cases, comprising 7.37%). It is followed by LIFE IS A JOURNEY (54 cases, or 5.85%).

Other conceptual metaphors that play a significant role in realizing the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us in Joe Biden's discourse are as follows: GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING (36 cases, or 3.90%), STATE IS A BUILDING (35 cases, or 3.79%), MORE IS UP (32 cases, or 3.47%), NATION IS BODY (29 cases, or 3.14%), STATE IS A BODY (28 cases, or 3.03%), POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME (23 cases, or 2.49%), ECONOMY IS A BUILDING (22 cases, or 2.38%), PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD (22 cases, or 2.38%), SOCIETY IS A BUILDING (20 cases, or 2.17%), NATION IS A BUILDING (17 cases, or 1.84%), ECONOMY IS A PLANT (15 cases, or 1.63%), TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR (14 cases, or 1.52%), and POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BUILDING (13 cases, or 1.41%). The remaining conceptual metaphors in Joe Biden's speeches represent less than 1%.

Thus, having compared the realization of the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us by the two candidates, it is necessary to mention that Donald Trump uses aggressive and belligerent metaphors to praise his own positive sides as a future president of the USA, highlighting the importance of wealth and control for prosperity of the country. In contrast, Joe Biden predominantly applies creative and constructive metaphors to emphasize the need to build the future of the USA. Moreover, by using the gambling game metaphor he demonstrates his capability to make risky decisions.

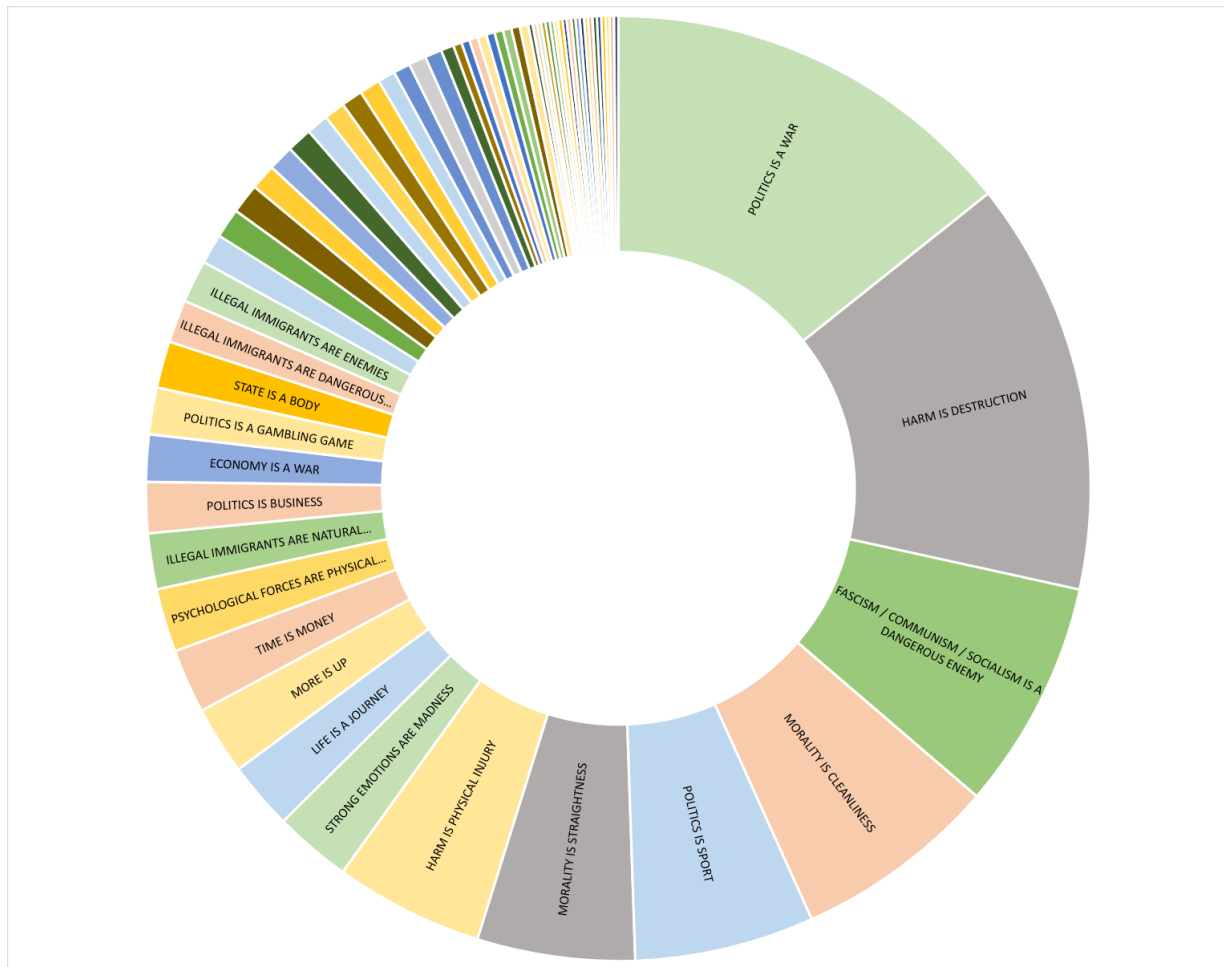


Figure 12. Conceptual metaphors that fulfil the Emphasize negative things about Them in Donald Trump’s speeches

Figure 12 represents the distribution of conceptual metaphors aimed at realizing the strategy Emphasize negative things about Them by Donald Trump. In total, there are 686 instances of conceptual metaphors identified in his discourse used to show his political opponent’s weaknesses. They constitute 28.88% of all metaphors identified in Donald Trump’s speeches. In this regard, it should be mentioned that the main conceptual metaphor in this case is POLITICS IS A WAR (98 instance, comprising 4.13%), followed by HARM IS DESTRUCTION (97 instances, constituting 4.08%) and FASCISM / COMMUNISM / SOCIALISM IS A DANGEROUS ENEMY (54 instances, or 2.27%). Such metaphors as MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS (48 instances, or 2.02%), POLITICS IS SPORT (42 instances, or 1.77%), MORALITY IS STRAIGHTNESS (37 instances, or 1.56%), and HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY (35 instances, or 1.47%) also facilitate criticizing his political rival. Other conceptual metaphors in Donald Trump’ speeches represent less than 1%.

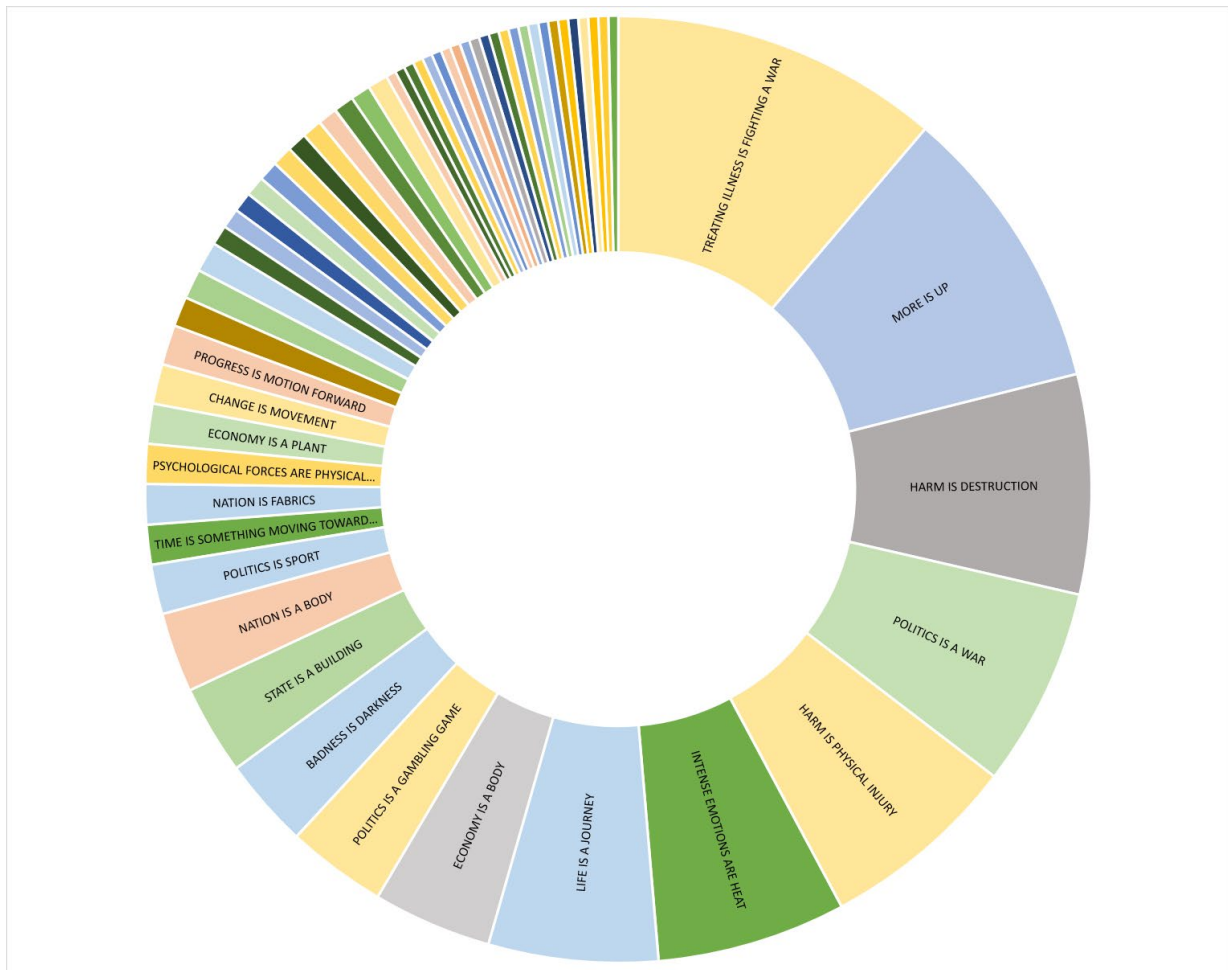


Figure 13. Conceptual metaphors that fulfil the strategy Emphasize negative things about Them strategy in Joe Biden’s speeches

Figure 13 shows that to fulfill the strategy Emphasize negative things about Them, Joe Biden uses 294 cases of conceptual metaphors (31.85% of all metaphors in his discourse). Thus, the most widely used metaphor is TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR (33 cases), which makes up 3.58%. He applies it to criticize Donald Trump’s managing of the pandemic. The second most widely used conceptual metaphor used by Joe Biden is MORE IS UP (29 cases, or 3.14%), while the third one is HARM IS DESTRUCTION (22 cases, or 2.38%). Moreover, other conceptual metaphors found in his speeches to serve this strategy are POLITICS IS A WAR (20 cases, or 2.17%), HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY (20 cases, or 2.17%), INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT (19 cases, or 2.06%), LIFE IS A JOURNEY (17 cases, or 1.84%), ECONOMY IS A BODY (12 cases, or 1.30%), and POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME (10 cases, or 1.08%). The remaining conceptual metaphors in Joe Biden’s discourse stand for less than 1%.

In summary, having compared the realization of the strategy Emphasize negative things about Them by Donald Trump and Joe Biden, it is possible to claim that both of them use belligerent destructive metaphors to represent each other as harmful and dangerous for the future of the USA. However, it is interesting to mention that the concept of morality is central to Donald Trump’s discourse; in this regard, he characterizes his opponents as lacking moral integrity and having violated moral principles. Meanwhile, Joe Biden is more unfriendly and even hostile when criticizing Donald Trump’s polices than when foregrounding his own positive features.

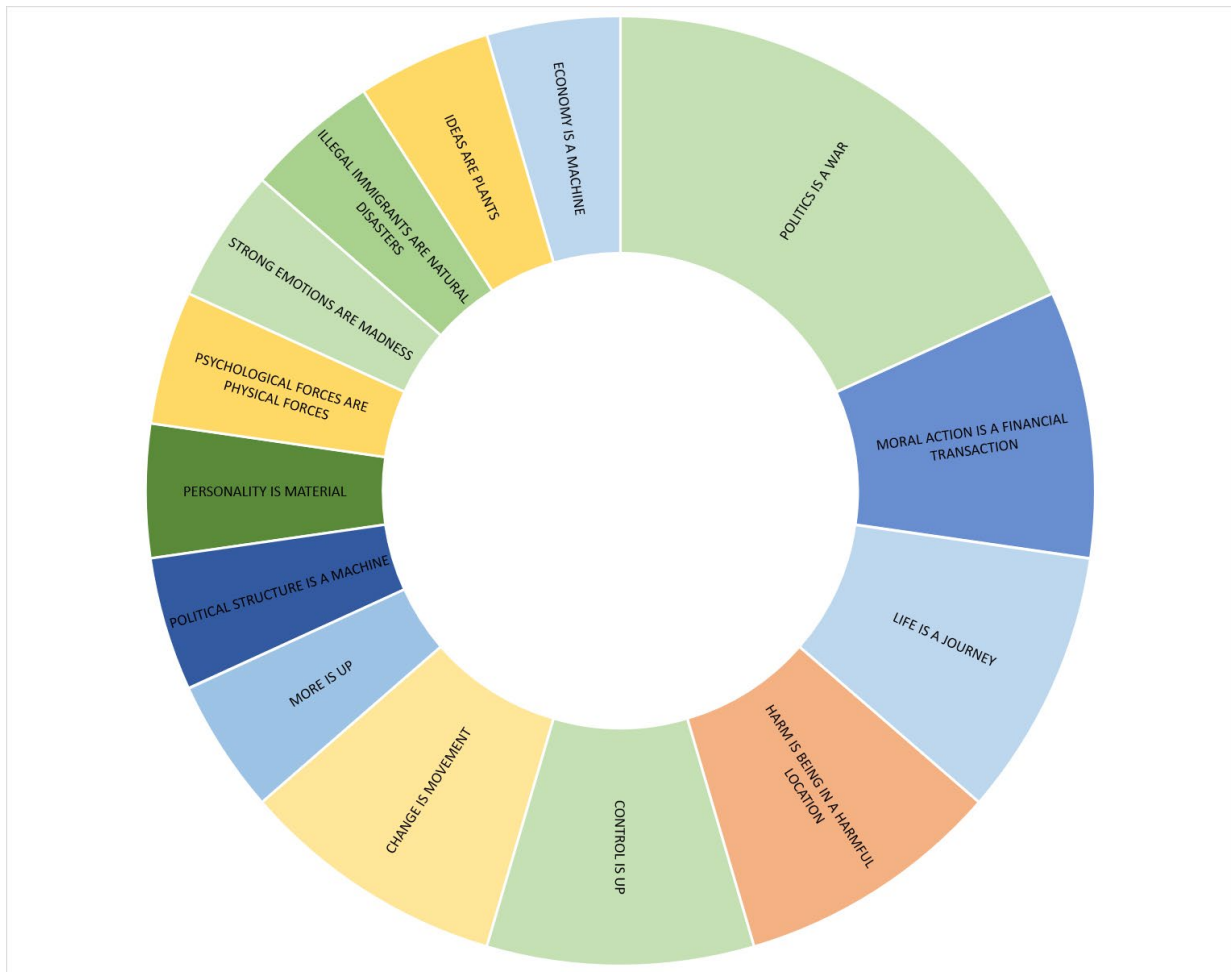


Figure 14. Conceptual metaphors that fulfil the De-emphasize negative things about Us strategy in Donald Trump’s speeches

Moving further to the analysis of realization of the strategy De-emphasize negative things about Us, Figure 14 shows that for this purpose Donald Trump uses 22 metaphorical expressions, which comprises 0.93% of all metaphorical expressions identified in his discourse. The POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor (4 instances), which constitutes 0.17%, is the predominant one to serve this strategy. Metaphors such as MORAL ACTION IS A FINANCIAL TRANSACTION, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, HARM IS BEING IN A HARMFUL LOCATION,

CONTROL IS UP, and CHANGE IS MOVEMENT are manifested by 2 metaphorical expressions each, which represents 0.08%.

Other conceptual metaphors used by Donald Trump to downplay his shortcomings are as follows: MORE IS UP, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE, PERSONALITY IS MATERIAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES, STRONG EMOTIONS ARE MADNESS, ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS, IDEAS ARE PLANTS, and ECONOMY IS A MACHINE. These metaphors are found in the number of 1 metaphorical expression each, constituting 0.04%.



Figure 15. Conceptual metaphors that fulfil the De-emphasize negative things about Us strategy in Joe Biden’s speeches

Figure 15, in turn, shows how conceptual metaphors used for the strategy De-emphasize negative things about Us are distributed in Joe Biden’s speeches. In total, there are 11 cases of conceptual metaphors which are used by Joe Biden to diminish some negative traits of himself. They constitute 1.19% of all metaphorical expressions used by Joe Biden, a higher percentage

than that reached in Donald Trump’s speeches. Thus, the conceptual metaphors SUCCESS IS LIFE, NATION IS A BODY, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, and IDEAL IS UP contain 2 instances each and each of them constitutes 0.22%. Moreover, there is only 1 instance (0.11%) of each of the following metaphors: POLITICS IS A WAR, POLITICS IS SPORT, and PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES.

Having compared the realization of the strategy De-emphasize negative things about Us by Donald Trump and Joe Biden, it can be asserted that Donald Trump is still more contentious and controlling than his opponent. In addition, he admits the need to make changes and progress in order to be successful. The MORAL ACTION IS A FINANCIAL TRANSACTION metaphor is interesting because Donald Trump feels obliged to pay debts to the country. Nevertheless, Joe Biden tries to create a successful picture of the future where it is necessary to live up to the ideal.



Figure 16. Conceptual metaphors that fulfil the De-emphasize positive things about Them strategy in Donald Trump’s speeches

Figure 16 demonstrates how Donald Trump uses conceptual metaphors in order to realize the strategy De-emphasize positive things about Them in his electioneering campaign. There are 24 instances of metaphors for this strategy identified in Donald Trump’s discourse (1.01% of all instances of conceptual metaphors identified in his speeches). In this regard, it is noteworthy that the predominant metaphor is CONTROL IS UP (8 instances), which comprises 0.34%. This reflects the controlling character of Donald Trump’s discourse. Moreover, there are 4 instances of the conceptual metaphor CHANGE IS MOVEMENT (0.17%) and 3 instances of the conceptual metaphors WELL-BEING IS UP and MORE IS UP (0.13% each). PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD and ECONOMY IS A PLANT are represented by the number of 2 instances each, (0.08%). Finally, there is 1 case of the conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS A WAR and ECONOMY IS A BODY (0.04% each).

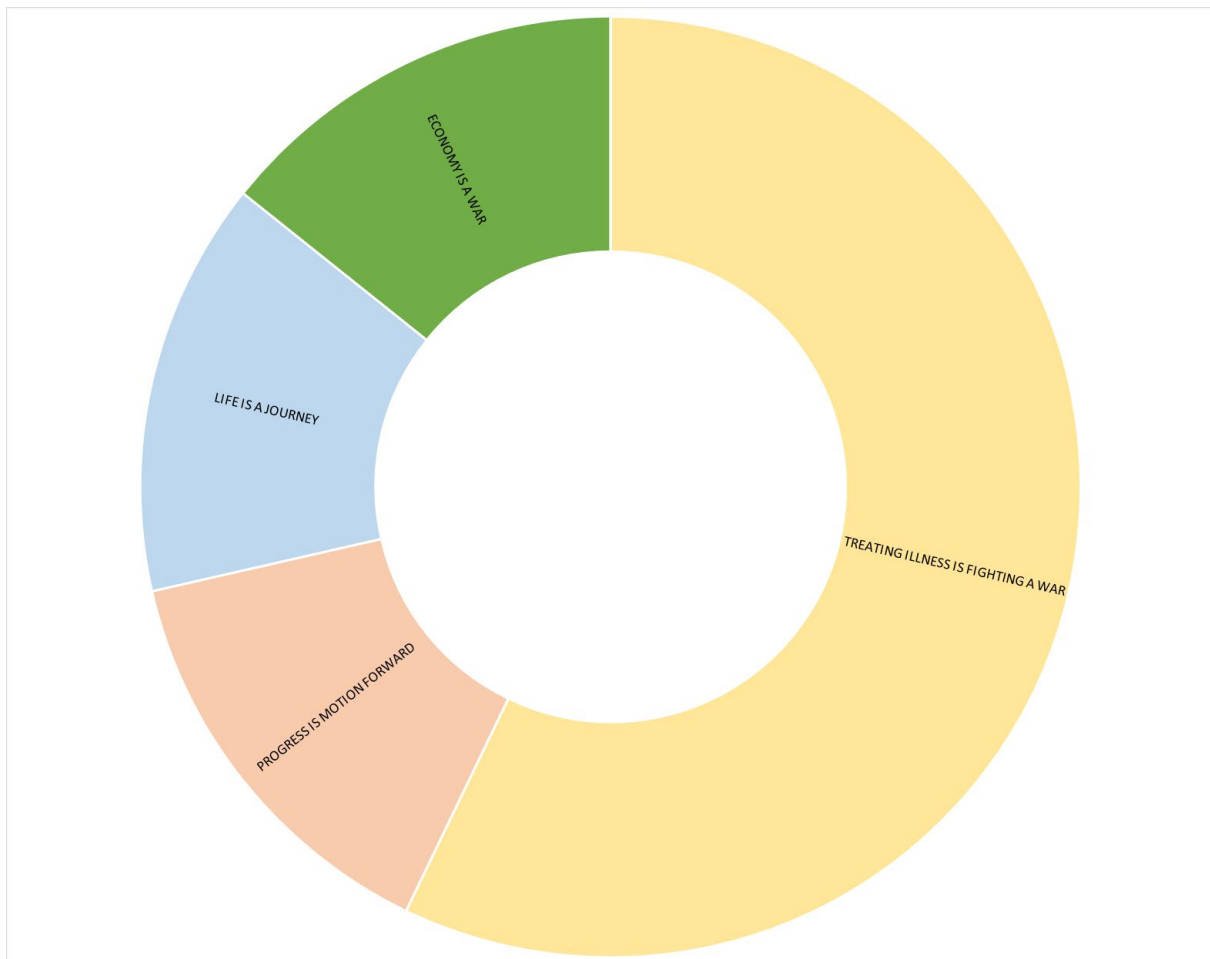


Figure 17. Conceptual metaphors that fulfil the De-emphasize positive things about Them strategy in Joe Biden’s speeches

Meanwhile, Figure 17 shows the distribution of conceptual metaphors used for the realization of the strategy De-emphasize positive things about Them in Joe Biden's discourse. The total number of metaphors for this strategy is 7 instances, representing 0.76% of all metaphorical expressions identified in his speeches. Out of them, the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR is the most commonly used (4 instances, or 0.43%). Other metaphors used by Joe Biden to diminish the achievements of his opponent are PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, and ECONOMY IS A WAR (1 instance each, or 0.11%).

Having compared the realization of the strategy De-emphasize positive things about Them by Donald Trump and Joe Biden, it is possible to claim that Donald Trump tries to represent himself as a controlling and dominant leader who is not willing to accept any superiority of his rival. At the same time, Joe Biden criticizes his opponent's actions during the pandemic in an unfriendly manner. Moreover, he depicts Donald Trump as a politician impeding the progress of the American nation on its way to success.

In addition, it is interesting to mention that the two presidential candidates have a scope of conceptual metaphors that is unique for their own discourse. For example, only Donald Trump applies the following metaphors: ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION, BELIEFS ARE LOVE OBJECTS, BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTION, CRIME IS DISEASE, DEALING CRIMES IS FIGHTING A WAR, DRUGS ARE LIQUIDS, ECONOMY IS A PERSON, EMOTIONS ARE FORCES, FAILURE IS DEATH, FASCISM / COMMUNISM / SOCIALISM IS A DANGEROUS ENEMY, GOOD GOVERNING IS DESTRUCTING, GOODNESS IS LIGHT, IDEAS ARE CHILDREN, ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS, IMPORTANT IS HEAVY, INVESTMENTS ARE CONTAINERS FOR MONEY, LEFT IS AN EVIL FORCE, MACHINES ARE PEOPLE, MONEY IS A RESOURCE, MORALITY IS A STRAIGHT PATH, MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS, NATION IS A FAMILY, OBLIGATIONS ARE CONTAINERS, OBLIGATIONS ARE FORCES, PEOPLE ARE BATTERIES, PEOPLE ARE LIQUIDS, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BODY, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A PLANT, POLITICS IS A SERVANT, SOCIALISM IS A NIGHTMARE, SOCIETY IS A MACHINE, STATE IS A SERVANT, STATE IS A SHIP, STRONG EMOTIONS ARE MADNESS, TERRORISM IS EVIL, TERRORISTS ARE DANGEROUS ANIMALS, TREATING ILLNESS IS COMPETING, and WELL-BEING IS WEALTH.

In the meantime, conceptual metaphors that are unique for Joe Biden are as follows: AMERICA IS A PROMISED LAND, COHERENT IS WHOLE, DEALING WITH CLIMATE

CHANGE IS FIGHTING A WAR, DEALING WITH INEQUALITY IS FIGHTING A WAR, DEALING WITH RACISM IS FIGHTING A WAR, FAILURE IS BEING EATEN, FEAR IS COLD, HOPE IS LIGHT, IDEAL IS UP, IDEAS ARE FOOD, IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, IMPORTANCE IS DEPTH, LIFE IS A WAR, NATION IS FABRIC, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A PERSON, PROPERTIES ARE DESIRED POSSESSSIONS, RACISM IS A DANGEROUS DISEASE, RACISM IS A NATURAL DISASTER, RACISM IS A PLANT, SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS IS A RACE, SOCIETY IS A BODY, SUCCESS IS LIFE, UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING, and VOTES ARE PLANTS.

By analyzing the use of conceptual metaphors in terms of the fulfilment of the Ideological Square strategies by the two presidential candidates, it is confirmed that the strategies Emphasize positive things about Us and Emphasize negative things about Them are the main ones used by them. This proves the general goal of politicians to emphasizes their own positive features, while highlighting shortcomings of their political rivals. In such a way, van Dijk's macrostrategies of positive self-representation and negative other-representation are realized.

It is also established that the political images created by Donald Trump and Joe Biden are quite opposite in nature. This opposition lies in different self-representations. Thus, Donald Trump presents himself as an aggressive, controlling self-made politician, for whom the main value in life is wealth. On the contrary, Joe Biden creates an image of a considerate politician whose aim is to build a successful nation in a prosperous America. However, he also demonstrates that he is ready to compete and fight if necessary.

5.4. Source domains in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's discourses

The conceptual metaphors that were identified in the corpus were also classified by the source domains. In total, there are 38 source domains (see Appendix 2), which are analyzed in terms of their number, percentage ratios, and raw frequency per 1000 words in the political speeches delivered by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during their electioneering campaigns. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 10.

Table 10. Distribution of source domains in Donald Trump’s and Joe Biden’s speeches

Source Domain	Donald Trump			Joe Biden			Total		
	Number of metaphors	%	per 1000 words	Number of metaphors	%	per 1000 words	Number of metaphors	%	per 1000 words
ANIMALS	20	0.84%	0.07	3	0.33%	0.01	23	0.70%	0.04
BODY	52	2.19%	0.19	94	10.18%	0.39	146	4.43%	0.28
BUILDINGS	127	5.35%	0.45	126	13.65%	0.52	253	7.67%	0.48
BUSINESS	15	0.63%	0.05	1	0.11%	0.00	16	0.49%	0.03
CLEANLINESS	53	2.23%	0.19	0	0.00%	0.00	53	1.61%	0.10
CONTAINERS	15	0.63%	0.05	0	0.00%	0.00	15	0.45%	0.03
CREATION / DESTRUCTION	188	7.92%	0.67	58	6.28%	0.24	246	7.46%	0.47
DEPTH	0	0.00%	0.00	2	0.22%	0.01	2	0.06%	0.00
FAMILY	29	1.22%	0.10	0	0.00%	0.00	29	0.88%	0.06
FOOD	0	0.00%	0.00	2	0.22%	0.01	2	0.06%	0.00
FORCES	26	1.09%	0.09	7	0.76%	0.03	33	1.00%	0.06
HEAT / COLD	3	0.13%	0.01	22	2.38%	0.09	25	0.76%	0.05
ILLNESS	62	2.61%	0.22	22	2.38%	0.09	84	2.55%	0.16
JOURNEY	61	2.57%	0.22	74	8.02%	0.30	135	4.09%	0.26
LANDSCAPE	0	0.00%	0.00	2	0.22%	0.01	2	0.06%	0.00
LIFE / DEATH	8	0.34%	0.03	3	0.33%	0.01	11	0.33%	0.02
LIGHT / DARKNESS	17	0.72%	0.06	14	1.52%	0.06	31	0.94%	0.06
LIQUID	32	1.35%	0.11	4	0.43%	0.02	36	1.09%	0.07
MACHINES	72	3.03%	0.26	18	1.95%	0.07	90	2.73%	0.17
MATERIALS	15	0.63%	0.05	8	0.87%	0.03	23	0.70%	0.04
MONEY	64	2.69%	0.23	4	0.43%	0.02	68	2.06%	0.13
MOVEMENT / DIRECTION	166	6.99%	0.59	38	4.12%	0.16	204	6.19%	0.39
NATURE	17	0.72%	0.06	1	0.11%	0.00	18	0.55%	0.03
OBJECTS	8	0.34%	0.03	2	0.22%	0.01	10	0.30%	0.02
PERSONIFICATION	146	6.15%	0.52	5	0.54%	0.02	151	4.58%	0.29
PLANTS	32	1.35%	0.11	31	3.36%	0.13	63	1.91%	0.12
POSSESSIONS	0	0.00%	0.00	4	0.43%	0.02	4	0.12%	0.01
SEEING	4	0.17%	0.01	4	0.43%	0.02	8	0.24%	0.02
SIZE	55	2.32%	0.20	1	0.11%	0.00	56	1.70%	0.11
SPORT / GAMES	187	7.87%	0.67	113	12.24%	0.46	300	9.10%	0.57
STATES	7	0.29%	0.03	1	0.11%	0.00	8	0.24%	0.02
STRAIGHTNESS	38	1.60%	0.14	3	0.33%	0.01	41	1.24%	0.08
UP / DOWN	300	12.63%	1.07	82	8.88%	0.34	382	11.58%	0.73
VEHICLES	4	0.17%	0.01	1	0.11%	0.00	5	0.15%	0.01
WAR	551	23.20%	1.97	166	17.98%	0.68	717	21.74%	1.37
WEIGHT	1	0.04%	0.00	0	0.00%	0.00	1	0.03%	0.00
WHOLENESS	0	0.00%	0.00	7	0.76%	0.03	7	0.21%	0.01
Total	2375	100.00%	8.50	923	100.00%	3.79	3298	100.00%	6.31

Table 10 shows that the WAR source domain is the predominant one in the analyzed corpus because there are 717 instances of this source, which stands for 21.74% of all source domains identified in the speeches of both Donald Trump and Joe Biden. The second most commonly used metaphorical source is UP/DOWN (382 instances, representing 11.58%), reflecting the spatial dimensions of metaphorical reasoning and striving for better life. The third most widespread source domain is SPORT/GAMES (300 instances, constituting 9.10%). Such results

indicate the conflictive and competitive character of elections, because the candidates compete for the Presidential post and try to persuade their electorate by establishing a polarization between ‘good’ Us and ‘bad’ Them.

Other important source domains for both candidates are BUILDINGS (253 instances, or 7.67%), CREATION/DESTRUCTION (246 instances, or 7.46%), MOVEMENT/DIRECTION (204 instances, or 6.19%), PERSONIFICATION (151 instances, or 4.58%), BODY (146 instances, or 4.43%), JOURNEY (135 instances, or 4.09%), MACHINES (90 instances, or 2.73%), ILLNESS (84 instances, or 2.55%), MONEY (68 instances, or 2.06%), PLANTS (63 instances, or 1.91%), SIZE (56 instances, or 1.70%), CLEANLINESS (53 instances, or 1.61%), STRAIGHTNESS (41 instances, or 1.24%), LIQUID (36 instances, or 1.09%), and FORCES (33 instances, or 1.00%). Other source domains identified in the analyzed speeches comprise less than 1%.

When comparing the distributions of the source domains in the campaign speeches of the two presidential candidates, it is observed that quantitatively the number of source domains in Donald Trump’s speeches is considerably higher than in Joe Biden’s discourse owing to larger political speeches given by Donald Trump. For example, there are 551 instances of the WAR source domain in Donald Trump discourse and 166 instances of this source domain in Joe Biden’s speeches. Therefore, given the discrepancy in the total quantity of source domains in their speeches, it is necessary to analyze their percentage ratios in order to ensure the rigorous results of calculations (Figure 18).

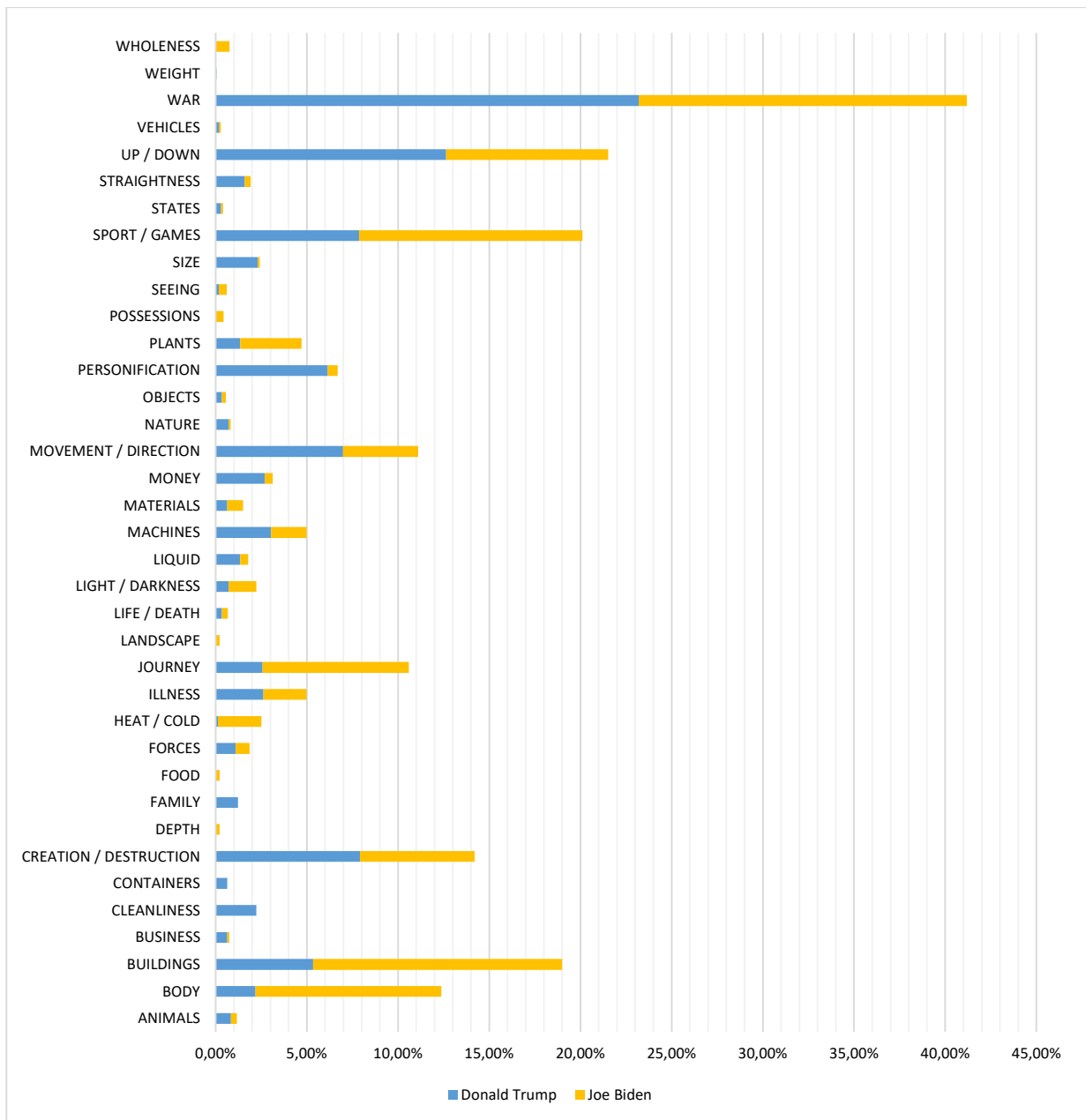


Figure 18. Source domains in Donald Trump’s and Joe Biden’s speeches

Accordingly, as Figure 18 portrays, Donald Trump resorts to the source domain of WAR more frequently (23.20%) than Joe Biden (17.98%) does. Nevertheless, for both Presidential candidates the WAR domain is the predominant one. The next important source domain for Donald Trump is the UP/DOWN source domain, which represents 12.63% (300 instances), while in Joe Biden’s discourse its percentage ratio is 8.88% (82 instances). Instead, Joe Biden makes use of the BUILDINGS source domain in an extensive way (13.65%, or 126 instance) as compared to Donald Trump’s speeches, where the BUILDINGS source domain constitutes 5.35% (127 instances).

Moreover, it is relevant to state that Joe Biden also uses the SPORT/GAMES source domain significantly more often (12.24%) than Donald Trump (7.87%). Apart from that, the BODY source domain is more important for Joe Biden's discourse (10.18%, or 94 instances) in comparison with 2.19% (52 instances) of this source domain in Donald Trump's speeches. Besides, the JOURNEY source domain is considerably more frequently used by Joe Biden (8.02%, or 74 instances) than by Donald Trump (2.57%, or 61 instances).

At the same time, it is noteworthy that the CREATION / DESTRUCTION source domain is quite widespread in speeches delivered by both Presidential candidates. Thus, 188 instances (standing for 7.92%) are identified in Donald Trump's speeches and 58 instances (6.28%) – in Joe Biden's discourse. In addition, Donald Trump's discourse is also characterized by the wide use of the MOVEMENT / DIRECTION source domain, constituting 6.99% (166 instances) as compared to Joe Biden's speeches, where this source domain comprises 4.12% (38 instances). PERSONIFICATION is another significant source domain for Donald Trump, being 6.15% (146 instances), while Joe Biden hardly applies it (5 instances, or 0.54%). Similarly, the MACHINES and MONEY source domains are used more frequently by Donald Trump (3.03% and 2.69% respectively) than by Joe Biden (1.95% and 0.43%).

There is also a scope of source domains that are unique for each of the two candidates. Thus, only Donald Trump applies the following source domains: CLEANLINESS, CONTAINERS, FAMILY, and WEIGHT. Meanwhile, the unique source domains for Joe Biden are as follows: DEPTH, FOOD, LANDSCAPE, POSSESSIONS, and WHOLENESS.

The distribution of the source domains is further confirmed by raw frequencies per 1000 words. In this regard, it should be mentioned that the WAR source domain is the biggest source domain for both candidates. It is used with the raw frequency of 1.97 in Donald Trump's discourse, while in Joe Biden's discourse it is used with a much lower raw frequency of 0.68. The indicator for UP / DOWN source domain in Donald Trump's speeches, in turn, is 1.07, while in Joe Biden's speeches it is 0.34. Besides, the raw frequency of the CREATION / DESTRUCTION source domain is considerably higher in Donald Trump's speeches (0.67) than in Joe Biden's discourse (0.24). Similarly, the source domain of SPORT / GAMES has a higher level of the raw frequency for Donald Trump (0.67) as compared to Joe Biden (0.46). On the contrary, for Joe Biden the BUILDINGS source domain is more important (0.52) than for Donald Trump (0.45). Similarly, the BODY source domain has a higher raw frequency in Joe Biden's speeches (0.39) than in Donald Trump's (0.19) speeches.

5.5. Target domains in Donald Trump’s and Joe Biden’s discourses

The identified conceptual metaphors were also classified according to the target domains. Thus, there are 34 target domains (see Appendix 3), which were analyzed in terms of their distribution by number, percentage ratios, and raw frequency per 1000 words in Donald Trump’s and Joe Biden’s discourse during their electioneering campaigns. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 11.

Table 11. Distribution of target domains in Donald Trump’s and Joe Biden’s speeches

Target Domain	Donald Trump			Joe Biden			Total		
	Number of metaphors	%	per 1000 words	Number of metaphors	%	per 1000 words	Number of metaphors	%	per 1000 words
ACTIONS / EVENTS	119	5.01%	0.43	9	0.98%	0.03	128	3.88%	0.24
CLIMATE CHANGES	0	0.00%	0.00	11	1.19%	0.04	11	0.33%	0.02
COHERENCE	0	0.00%	0.00	7	0.76%	0.03	7	0.21%	0.01
COMPARISON	65	2.74%	0.23	61	6.61%	0.22	126	3.82%	0.24
CRIMES	2	0.08%	0.01	0	0.00%	0.00	2	0.06%	0.00
DRUG ADDICTION	4	0.17%	0.01	0	0.00%	0.00	4	0.12%	0.01
ECONOMY	149	6.27%	0.53	87	9.43%	0.31	236	7.16%	0.45
EMOTIONS	27	1.14%	0.10	24	2.60%	0.09	51	1.55%	0.10
HARM	147	6.19%	0.53	44	4.77%	0.16	191	5.79%	0.37
HOPE	0	0.00%	0.00	4	0.43%	0.01	4	0.12%	0.01
ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION	35	1.47%	0.13	3	0.33%	0.01	38	1.15%	0.07
ILLNESS	23	0.97%	0.08	51	5.53%	0.18	74	2.24%	0.14
IMPORTANCE	56	2.36%	0.20	3	0.33%	0.01	59	1.79%	0.11
LIFE / DEATH	55	2.32%	0.20	75	8.13%	0.27	130	3.94%	0.25
MACHINES	4	0.17%	0.01	0	0.00%	0.00	4	0.12%	0.01
MONEY	38	1.60%	0.14	2	0.22%	0.01	40	1.21%	0.08
MORALITY	217	9.14%	0.78	54	5.85%	0.19	271	8.22%	0.52
NATION	54	2.27%	0.19	68	7.37%	0.24	122	3.70%	0.23
PEOPLE	47	1.98%	0.17	6	0.65%	0.02	53	1.61%	0.10
POLITICAL ADVERSARIES	67	2.82%	0.24	0	0.00%	0.00	67	2.03%	0.13
POLITICS	722	30.40%	2.58	227	24.59%	0.81	949	28.78%	1.82
POWER	38	1.60%	0.14	11	1.19%	0.04	49	1.49%	0.09
PROGRESS	24	1.01%	0.09	28	3.03%	0.10	52	1.58%	0.10
PSYCHOLOGICAL / MENTAL STATES	16	0.67%	0.06	7	0.76%	0.03	23	0.70%	0.04
RACISM	0	0.00%	0.00	4	0.43%	0.01	4	0.12%	0.01
RESPONSIBILITIES	10	0.42%	0.78	0	0.00%	0.00	10	0.30%	0.02
SOCIAL INEQUALITY	0	0.00%	0.00	1	0.11%	0.00	1	0.03%	0.00
SOCIETY	3	0.13%	0.01	22	2.38%	0.08	25	0.76%	0.05
STATE	148	6.23%	0.53	78	8.45%	0.28	226	6.85%	0.43
SUCCESS / FAILURE	8	0.34%	0.03	4	0.43%	0.01	12	0.36%	0.02
TERRORISM	14	0.59%	0.05	0	0.00%	0.00	14	0.42%	0.03
THOUGHT	12	0.51%	0.04	17	1.84%	0.06	29	0.88%	0.06
TIME	40	1.68%	0.14	8	0.87%	0.03	48	1.46%	0.09
WELL-BEING	231	9.73%	0.83	7	0.76%	0.03	238	7.22%	0.46
Total	2375	100.00%	8.50	923	100.00%	3.30	3298	100.00%	6.31

Table 11 reflects that for both Presidential candidates POLITICS (949 instances, which represents 28.78%) is the largest target domain because they address the questions from the sphere of political decisions and political activities in their campaign speeches. The second most common target domain is MORALITY (271 instances, or 8.22%), while the third one is WELL-BEING (238 instances, or 7.22%). These target domains indicate the importance of moral integrity and financial well-being for the American society. Other target domains that contribute to persuasion during the US electioneering campaign in 2020 are ECONOMY (236 instances, or 7.16%), STATE (226 instances, or 6.85%), and HARM (191, or 5.79%), because the issues related to the national economy, public administration and policies are fundamental for the survival and prosperity of each country.

In addition, the following target domains also participate in persuasion: LIFE/DEATH (130 instances, or 3.94%), ACTIONS/EVENTS (128 instances, or 3.88%), COMPARISON (126 instances, or 3.82%), NATION (122 instances, or 3.70%), ILLNESS (74 instances, or 2.24%), POLITICAL ADVERSARIES (67 instances, or 2.03%), IMPORTANCE (59 instances, or 1.79%), PEOPLE (53 instances, or 1.61%), PROGRESS (52 instances, or 1.58%), EMOTIONS (51 instances, or 1.55%), POWER (49 instances, or 1.49%), TIME (48 instances, or 1.46%), MONEY (40 instances, or 1.21%), and ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION (38 instances, or 1.15%). The rest of the target domains constitute less than 1%.

When comparing the use of the identified target domains by Donald Trump and Joe Biden, it is essential to guarantee the straightforward results of the analysis. In order to achieve this, the percentage ratios should be considered because the number of metaphors identified in the candidates' speeches differs significantly. Thus, the results of the analysis are presented in Figure 19.

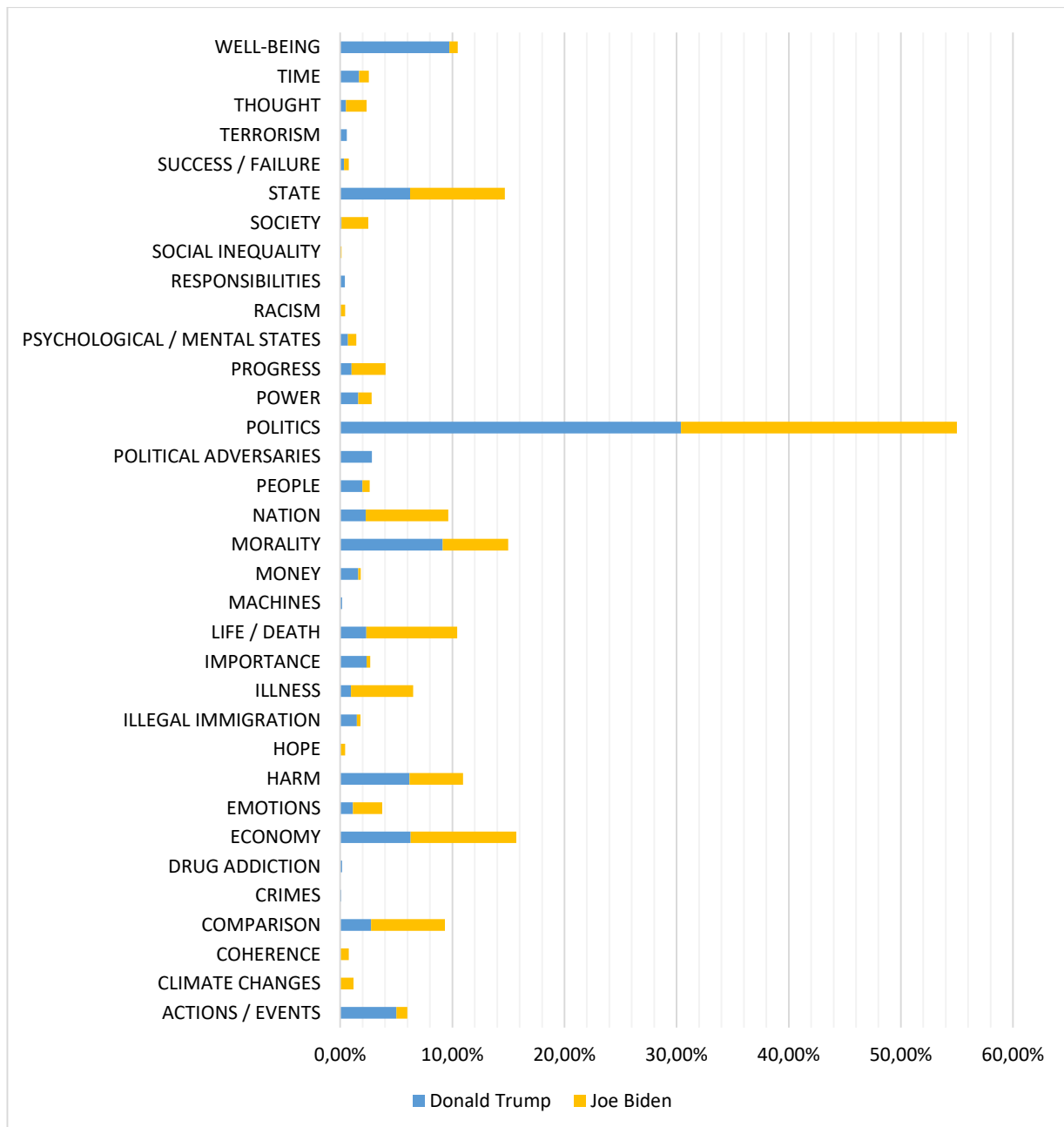


Figure 19. Target domains in Donald Trump’s and Joe Biden’s speeches

Figure 19 shows that the POLITICS target domain is the predominant one for both candidates, although its percentage ratio in Donald Trump’s discourse (722 instances, or 30.40%) is considerably higher than in Joe Biden’s speeches (227 instances, or 24.59%). Moreover, Donald Trump speaks about WELL-BEING as an essential part of living for the American citizens (231 instances, or 9.73%) as compared to Joe Biden (7 instances, or 0.76%), who scarcely resorts to this target domain. Another important domain for Donald Trump is MORALITY (217 instances, or 9.14%), while for Joe Biden (54 instances, or 5.85%) this concept is less significant. Moreover, Donald Trump’s discourse is also characterized by the use of the

target domain of HARM (147 instances, or 6.19%) in comparison with Joe Biden's speeches where this domain is applied with a percentage of 4.77% (44 instances). It is also worth mentioning that the target domain of ACTIONS/EVENTS is applied considerably more frequently in Donald Trump's speeches (119 instances, or 5.01%) than in Joe Biden's (9 instances, or 0.98%) discourse.

Other widespread target domain is ECONOMY. However, it is noteworthy that Joe Biden focuses more on the ECONOMY target domain (87 instances, or 9.43%) than Donald Trump (149 instances, or 6.27%). Similarly, the STATE target domain is used more frequently by Joe Biden (78 instances, or 8.45%) than by Donald Trump (148 instances, or 6.23%). In addition, Joe Biden often resorts to the concept of LIFE/DEATH (75 instances, or 8.13%), highlighting the value of life and progress for all people. In contrast, there are few instances of the LIFE/DEATH target domain (55 instances, or 2.32%) in Donald Trump's speeches. Joe Biden also resorts to the NATION target domain (68 instances, or 7.37%) in his campaign speeches, with a much higher rate than Donald Trump (54 instances, or 2.27%) does.

Furthermore, there are certain target domains that are unique for each candidate. Thus, for Donald Trump these target domains are CRIMES, DRUG ADDICTION, MACHINES, POLITICAL ADVERSARIES, RESPONSIBILITIES, and TERRORISM. Meanwhile, the target domains that are found only in Joe Biden's speeches are: CLIMATE CHANGES, COHERENCE, HOPE, RACISM, and SOCIAL INEQUALITY. Hence, such a discrepancy shows that the two presidential candidates have different views on important issues for American citizens. Accordingly, they build their political platform on the basis of different values, namely: Donald Trump plays a role of a coarse leader who is ready to impose strict measures to deal with crimes, drug addiction, and terrorism, who attacks his political rivals aggressively, while Joe Biden represents himself as a future president who is going to protect people from discrimination and inequalities by enhancing their social well-being, and who is going to tackle global problems as a leader of the democratic worlds.

In addition, such distributions of the target domains in the analyzed speeches are supported by the calculations of their raw frequencies per 1000 words. Accordingly, the POLITICS target domain is used with the raw frequency of 2.58 by Donald Trump and 0.81 by Joe Biden. The WELL-BEING target domain is also more frequently used by Donald Trump (0.83) than by Joe Biden (0.03). Moreover, the raw frequencies for the MORALITY target domain are 0.78 in Donald Trump's speeches and 0.19 in Joe Biden's ones. At the same time, although the ECONOMY and STATE target domains are more often applied by Joe Biden in terms of their percentage ratios, their raw frequencies are much higher in Donald Trump's

discourse. Thus, for the domain ECONOMY this indicator is 0.53 in Donald Trump’s discourse and 0.31 in Joe Biden’s speeches. Similarly, the target domain STATE has the raw frequency of 0.53 in Donald Trump’s speeches and 0.28 in Joe Biden’s ones.

5.6. Classification of source domains by Ideological Square strategies

The source domains identified in the corpus were also classified in accordance with the Ideological Square strategies. In this respect, van Dijk (2000, p. 44) groups them into two general macrostrategies, which are based on the polarization between Us and Them, namely: positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Accordingly, positive self-presentation combines the strategies Emphasize positive things about Us and De-emphasize negative things about Us, while negative other-presentation comprises the strategies Emphasize negative things about Them and De-emphasize positive things about Them. These macrostrategies were adopted as the criterion for classifying the source domains in this doctoral thesis (Table 12).

Table 12. Distribution of source domains by Ideological Square strategies

Source Domain	Donald Trump				Joe Biden				Total			
	Positive self-presentation		Negative other-presentation		Positive self-presentation		Negative other-presentation		Positive self-presentation		Negative other-presentation	
	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%
ANIMALS	10	0.60%	10	1.41%	0	0.00%	3	1.00%	10	0.44%	13	1.29%
BODY	33	1.98%	19	2.68%	70	11.25%	24	7.97%	103	4.50%	43	4.25%
BUILDINGS	118	7.09%	9	1.27%	115	18.49%	11	3.65%	233	10.19%	20	1.98%
BUSINESS	3	0.18%	12	1.69%	1	0.16%	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	12	1.19%
CLEANLINESS	5	0.30%	48	6.76%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	5	0.22%	48	4.75%
CONTAINERS	12	0.72%	3	0.42%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	12	0.52%	3	0.30%
CREATION / DESTRUCTION	91	5.47%	97	13.66%	36	5.79%	22	7.31%	127	5.55%	119	11.77%
DEPTH	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.16%	1	0.33%	1	0.04%	1	0.10%
FAMILY	29	1.74%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	29	1.27%	0	0.00%
FOOD	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.32%	0	0.00%	2	0.09%	0	0.00%
FORCES	3	0.18%	23	3.24%	3	0.48%	4	1.33%	6	0.26%	27	2.67%
HEAT / COLD	1	0.06%	2	0.28%	0	0.00%	22	7.31%	1	0.04%	24	2.37%
ILLNESS	8	0.48%	54	7.61%	1	0.16%	21	6.98%	9	0.39%	75	7.42%
JOURNEY	40	2.40%	21	2.96%	56	9.00%	18	5.98%	96	4.20%	39	3.86%
LANDSCAPE	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.32%	0	0.00%	2	0.09%	0	0.00%
LIFE / DEATH	1	0.06%	7	0.99%	3	0.48%	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	7	0.69%
LIGHT / DARKNESS	10	0.60%	7	0.99%	3	0.48%	11	3.65%	13	0.57%	18	1.78%
LIQUID	21	1.26%	11	1.55%	1	0.16%	3	1.00%	22	0.96%	14	1.38%
MACHINES	56	3.36%	16	2.25%	13	2.09%	5	1.66%	69	3.02%	21	2.08%
MATERIALS	15	0.90%	0	0.00%	3	0.48%	5	1.66%	18	0.79%	5	0.49%
MONEY	44	2.64%	20	2.82%	2	0.32%	2	0.66%	46	2.01%	22	2.18%
MOVEMENT / DIRECTION	151	9.07%	16	2.25%	25	4.02%	13	4.32%	176	7.70%	29	2.87%
NATURE	2	0.12%	15	2.11%	0	0.00%	1	0.33%	2	0.09%	16	1.58%
OBJECTS	7	0.42%	1	0.14%	1	0.16%	1	0.33%	8	0.35%	2	0.20%
PERSONIFICATION	84	5.05%	61	8.59%	2	0.32%	3	1.00%	86	3.76%	64	6.33%
PLANTS	28	1.68%	4	0.56%	24	3.86%	7	2.33%	52	2.27%	11	1.09%
POSSESSIONS	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.64%	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	0	0.00%
SEEING	2	0.12%	2	0.28%	3	0.48%	1	0.33%	5	0.22%	3	0.30%
SIZE	53	3.18%	2	0.28%	0	0.00%	1	0.33%	53	2.32%	3	0.30%
SPORT / GAMES	133	7.99%	54	7.61%	95	15.27%	18	5.98%	228	9.97%	72	7.12%

STATES	6	0.36%	1	0.14%	0	0.00%	1	0.33%	6	0.26%	2	0.20%
STRAIGHTNESS	1	0.06%	37	5.21%	2	0.32%	1	0.33%	3	0.13%	38	3.76%
UP / DOWN	262	15.74%	38	5.35%	48	7.72%	34	11.30%	310	13.55%	72	7.12%
VEHICLES	4	0.24%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.33%	4	0.17%	1	0.10%
WAR	432	25.95%	119	16.76%	100	16.08%	66	21.93%	532	23.26%	185	18.30%
WEIGHT	0	0.00%	1	0.14%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.10%
WHOLENESS	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	0.96%	1	0.33%	6	0.26%	1	0.10%
Total	1665	100.00%	710	100.00%	622	100.00%	301	100.00%	2287	100.00%	1011	100.00%

Table 12 reflects that in the analyzed corpus there are 2287 instances of source domains used to exercise positive self-presentation and 1011 instances of source domains that facilitate the creation of negative other-presentation. On the one hand, the positive self-presentation macrostrategy is realized predominantly through the use of the source domains WAR (532 instances), which constitutes 23.26% of the total number of source domains used for positive self-presentation (Figure 20). The second biggest source domain is UP/DOWN (310 instances or 13.55%), followed by the source domain of BUILDINGS (233 instances, or 10.19%). Such a distribution of source domains by strategies can be explained by the desire of candidates to highlight their willingness to fight for the future of the United States and ensure financial and social well-being for the American citizens by representing themselves as fighters and constructors.

Moreover, other important source domains for the realization of Ideological Square strategies are SPORT / GAMES (228 instances, or 9.97%), MOVEMENT / DIRECTION (176 instances, or 7.70%), CREATION / DESTRUCTION (127 instances, or 5.55%), BODY (103 instances, or 4.50%), JOURNEY (96 instances, or 4.20%), PERSONIFICATION (86 instances, or 3.76%), and MACHINES (69 instances, or 3.02%). In addition, the following source domains are applied by the two presidential candidates to create their positive political images: SIZE (53 instances, or 2.32%), PLANTS (52 instances, or 2.27%), MONEY (46 instances, or 2.01%), and FAMILY (29 instances, or 1.27%). Other source domains that serve for positive self-presentation stand for less than 1%.

Conversely, the negative other-presentation macrostrategy is mainly realized by the WAR source domain (185 cases, or 18.30%). The next key source domains are CREATION / DESTRUCTION (119 cases, or 11.77%), and ILLNESS (75 cases, or 7.42%). Other significant source domains used to present political rivals in the negative light are UP/DOWN (72 cases, or 7.12%), SPORT / GAMES (72 cases, or 7.12%), PERSONIFICATION (64 cases, 6.33%), CLEANLINESS (48 cases, or 4.75%), BODY (43 cases, or 4.25%), JOURNEY (39 cases, or 3.86%), STRAIGHTNESS (38 cases, or 3.76%), MOVEMENT / DIRECTION (29 cases, or 2.87%), FORCES (27 cases, or 2.67%), HEAT / COLD (24 cases, or 2.37%), MONEY (22 cases, or 2.18%), MACHINES (21 cases, or 2.08%), BUILDINGS (20 cases, or 1.98%), LIGHT /

DARKNESS (18 cases, or 1.78%), NATURE (16 cases, or 1.58%), LIQUID (14 cases, or 1.38%), ANIMALS (13 cases, or 1.29%), BUSINESS (12 cases, or 1.19%), and PLANTS (11 cases, or 1.09%). The remaining source domains used for negative other-presentation constitute less than 1%.

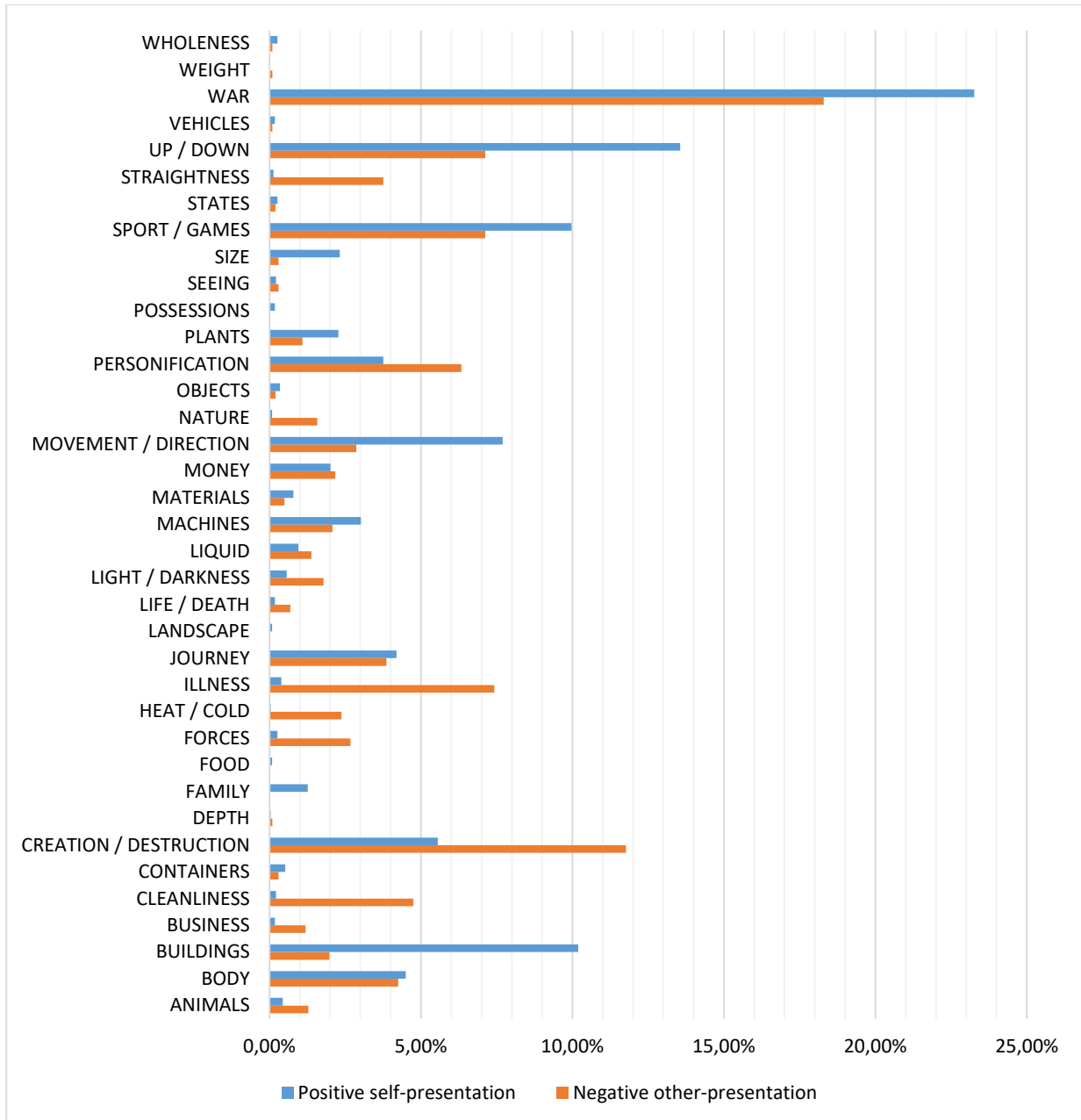


Figure 20. Source domains in relation to macrostrategies

Furthermore, it is necessary to compare the distribution of source domains in relation to positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation in the campaign speeches delivered by Donald Trump and Joe Biden (See Figure 21 and Figure 22).

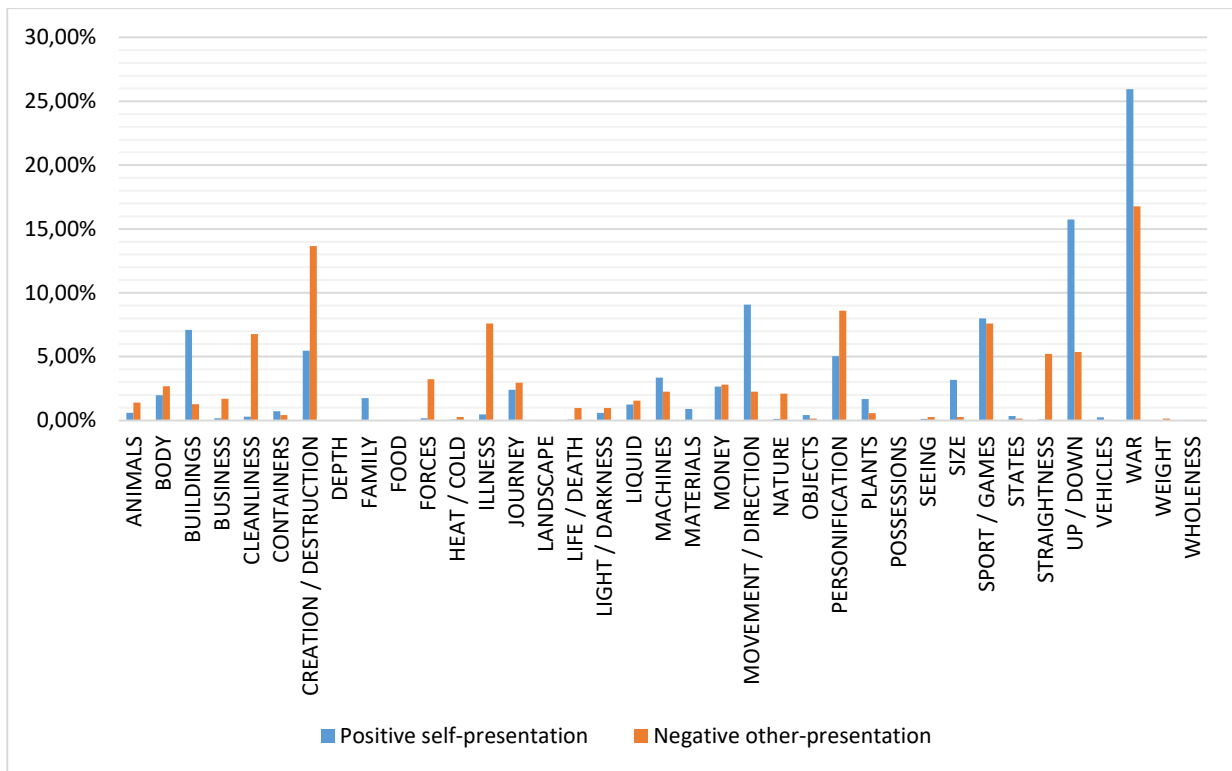


Figure 21. Source domains in relation to macrostrategies in Donald Trump's discourse

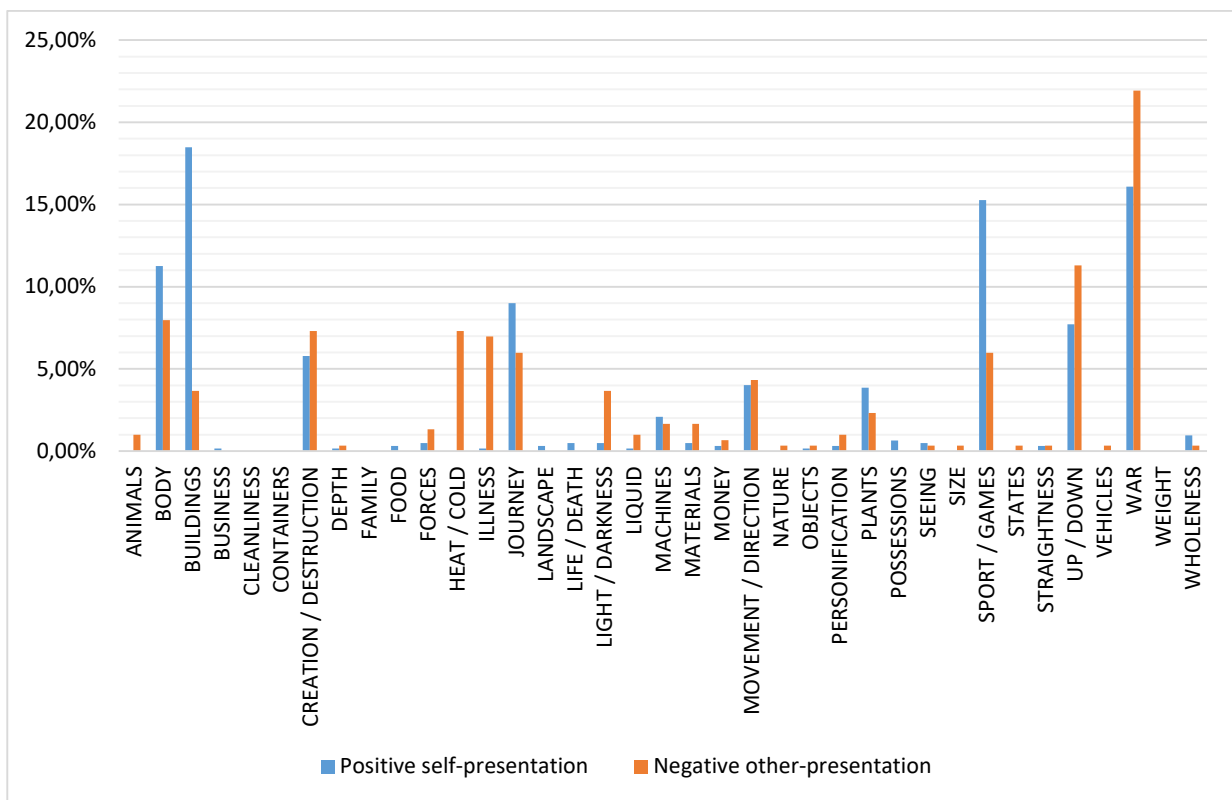


Figure 22. Source domains in relation to macrostrategies in Joe Biden's discourse

Figure 21 and Figure 22 show that Donald Trump and Joe Biden apply distinct source domains to realize the positive self-presentation macrostrategy. For instance, the predominant source domains for Donald Trump are WAR (432 instances, or 25.95%), UP / DOWN (262 instances, or 15.74%), and MOVEMENT / DIRECTION (151 instances, or 9.07%), as compared to Joe Biden, who resorts to these source domains less frequently (UP / DOWN – 48 instances, or 7.72%; MOVEMENT / DIRECTION – 25 instances, or 4.02%). At the same time, the predominant source domains for Joe Biden are BUILDINGS (115 cases, or 18.49%), WAR (100 instances, or 16.08%), and SPORT / GAMES (95 instances, or 15.27%).

It is also necessary to point out that there are some source domains that are only used by Donald Trump to conduct his positive political image, namely: ANIMALS, CLEANLINESS, CONTAINERS, FAMILY, HEAT / COLD, NATURE, SIZE, and VEHICLES. Meanwhile, the DEPTH, FOOD, LANDSCAPE, POSSESSIONS, and WHOLENESS source domains are unique for Joe Biden.

Regarding the realization of negative other-presentation, it is noteworthy that the main source domains used by Donald Trump are WAR (119 instances, or 16.76%), CREATION / DESTRUCTION (97 instances, or 13.66%), and PERSONIFICATION (61 instances, or 8.59%). It is interesting that for Joe Biden the source domain WAR is also the predominant one (66 instances, or 21.93%), which exceeds its frequency in Donald Trump's discourse. Other crucial source domains for Joe Biden to show his opponent's drawbacks are UP / DOWN (34 instances, or 11.30%) and BODY (24 instances, or 7.97%).

In addition, the BUSINESS, CLEANLINESS, CONTAINERS, LIFE / DEATH, and WEIGHT source domains are exclusive of Donald Trumps' construction of the negative image of his political rival. With the same goal, only Joe Biden applies source domains DEPTH, MATERIALS, VEHICLES, and WHOLENESS.

Such differences in the distribution of source domains can be attributed to the different political images created by the two presidential candidates. Thus, Donald Trump presents himself as a belligerent leader who constantly thinks about the development and progress of the United States, while portraying his opponent as a dangerous person for America whose destructive actions lead to deterioration of the US economy and society.

On the contrary, Joe Biden creates the image of himself as a responsible leader who builds a stable economy and social well-being for American citizens and is ready to fight for them; meanwhile, he presents his political rival as a person who led the country to a deep crisis in economy, international relations, healthcare, etc.

5.7. Classification of target domains by Ideological Square strategies

In addition, the target domains identified in the corpus were also classified by macrostrategies of positive self-representation and negative other-presentation (Table 13).

Table 13. Distribution of target domains by Ideological Square strategies

Source Domain	Donald Trump				Joe Biden				Total			
	Positive self-presentation		Negative other-presentation		Positive self-presentation		Negative other-presentation		Positive self-presentation		Negative other-presentation	
	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%	Number of metaphors	%
ACTIONS / EVENTS	107	6.43%	12	1.69%	5	0.80%	4	1.33%	112	4.90%	16	1.58%
CLIMATE CHANGES	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9	1.45%	2	0.66%	9	0.39%	2	0.20%
COHERENCE	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	6	0.96%	1	0.33%	6	0.26%	1	0.10%
COMPARISON	46	2.76%	19	2.68%	32	5.14%	29	9.63%	78	3.41%	48	4.75%
CRIMES	1	0.06%	1	0.14%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.04%	1	0.10%
DRUG ADDICTION	0	0.00%	4	0.56%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.40%
ECONOMY	120	7.21%	29	4.08%	60	9.65%	27	8.97%	180	7.87%	56	5.54%
EMOTIONS	2	0.12%	25	3.52%	0	0.00%	24	7.97%	2	0.09%	49	4.85%
HARM	14	0.84%	133	18.73%	1	0.16%	43	14.29%	15	0.66%	176	17.41%
HOPE	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.32%	2	0.66%	2	0.09%	2	0.20%
ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION	2	0.12%	33	4.65%	0	0.00%	3	1.00%	2	0.09%	36	3.56%
ILLNESS	23	1.38%	0	0.00%	14	2.25%	37	12.29%	37	1.62%	37	3.66%
IMPORTANCE	53	3.18%	3	0.42%	1	0.16%	2	0.66%	54	2.36%	5	0.49%
LIFE / DEATH	39	2.34%	16	2.25%	57	9.16%	18	5.98%	96	4.20%	34	3.36%
MACHINES	3	0.18%	1	0.14%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	3	0.13%	1	0.10%
MONEY	31	1.86%	7	0.99%	1	0.16%	1	0.33%	32	1.40%	8	0.79%
MORALITY	119	7.15%	98	13.80%	42	6.75%	12	3.99%	161	7.04%	110	10.88%
NATION	53	3.18%	1	0.14%	54	8.68%	14	4.65%	107	4.68%	15	1.48%
PEOPLE	45	2.70%	2	0.28%	3	0.48%	3	1.00%	48	2.10%	5	0.49%
POLITICAL ADVERSARIES	9	0.54%	58	8.17%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9	0.39%	58	5.74%
POLITICS	547	32.85%	175	24.65%	190	30.55%	37	12.29%	737	32.23%	212	20.97%
POWER	28	1.68%	10	1.41%	9	1.45%	2	0.66%	37	1.62%	12	1.19%
PROGRESS	20	1.20%	4	0.56%	22	3.54%	6	1.99%	42	1.84%	10	0.99%
PSYCHOLOGICAL / MENTAL STATES	1	0.06%	15	2.11%	3	0.48%	4	1.33%	4	0.17%	19	1.88%
RACISM	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	2	0.32%	2	0.66%	2	0.09%	2	0.20%
RESPONSIBILITIES	4	0.24%	6	0.42%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	4	0.17%	3	0.30%
SOCIAL INEQUALITY	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	1	0.33%	0	0.00%	1	0.10%
SOCIETY	3	0.18%	0	0.00%	21	3.38%	1	0.33%	24	1.05%	1	0.10%
STATE	125	7.51%	23	3.24%	64	10.29%	14	4.65%	189	8.26%	37	3.66%
SUCCESS / FAILURE	1	0.06%	7	0.99%	4	0.64%	0	0.00%	5	0.22%	7	0.69%
TERRORISM	14	0.84%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	14	0.61%	0	0.00%
THOUGHT	9	0.54%	3	0.42%	12	1.93%	5	1.66%	21	0.92%	8	0.79%
TIME	25	1.50%	15	2.11%	3	0.48%	5	1.66%	28	1.22%	20	1.98%
WELL-BEING	221	13.27%	10	1.41%	5	0.80%	2	0.66%	226	9.88%	12	1.19%
Total	1665	100.00%	710	100.00%	622	100.00%	301	100.00%	2287	100.00%	1011	100.00%

Table 13 shows that in the analyzed campaign speeches delivered by the two presidential candidates in total there are 2287 instances of target domains applied to facilitate positive self-presentation and 1011 cases of target domains that help create negative other-presentation. The distribution of target domains in the corpus is illustrated by Figure 23.

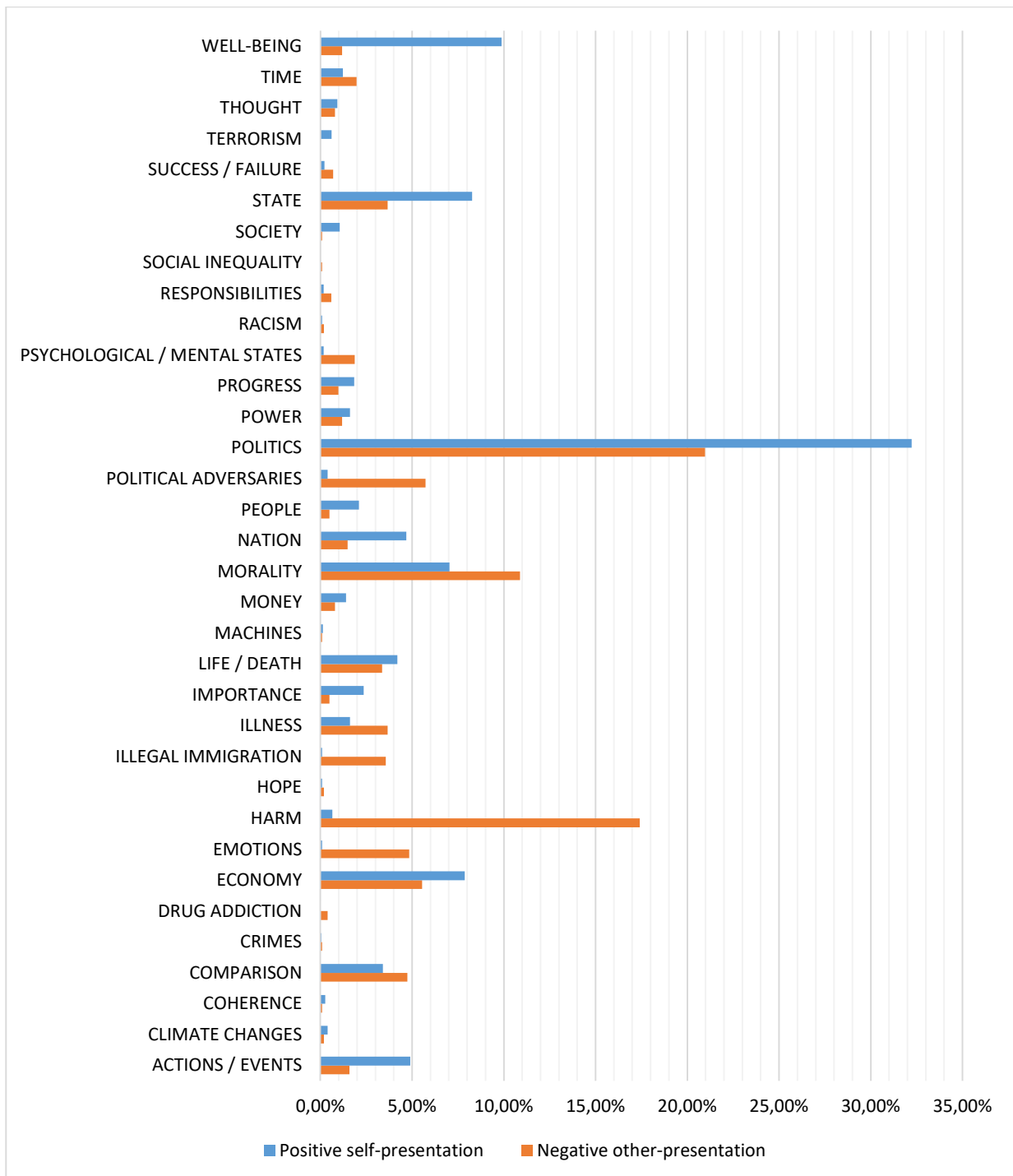


Figure 23. Target domains in relation to macrostrategies

Thus, as can be seen in Figure 23, the major target domain that serves to create a positive political image of the two candidates is POLITICS (737 instances or 32.23%), followed by WELL-BEING (226 instances, or 9.88%), and STATE (189 instances, or 8.26%). The choice of these target domains is attributed to the fact that the principal concerns of society are related to

the issued of political decisions, policies, welfare, social protection, financial security, national security, and the country's prosperity.

Other notable target domains in the electioneering campaign in 2020 that reflect the main topics for the American society are as follows: ECONOMY (180 cases, or 7.87%), MORALTY (161 cases, or 7.04%), ACTIONS / EVENTS (112 cases, or 4.90%), NATION (107 cases, or 4.68%), LIFE / DEATH (96 cases, or 4.20%), COMPARISON (78 cases, or 3.41%), IMPORTANCE (54 cases, or 2.36%), and PEOPLE (48 cases, or 2.10%). In addition, the following target domains have been found: PROGRESS (42 cases, or 1.84%), POWER (37 instances, or 1.62%), ILLNESS (37 instances, or 1.62%), MONEY (32 cases, or 1.40%), TIME (28 instances, or 1.22%), and SOCIETY (24 cases, or 1.05%). Other target domains used for positive self-presentation represent less than 1%.

Similarly, negative other-presentation is also chiefly realized through the of POLITICS target domain (212 instances, or 20.97%), because the issues related to policies, political structures, international relations are of major concern and are used to criticize the opponent's political platform. The second most frequent target domain, in turn, is HARM (176 instances, or 17.41%), while the third one is MORALITY (110 instances, or 10.88%). They are aimed at destructing the opponent's image by foregrounding his shortcomings in making political decisions and by questioning his moral integrity.

Besides, this macrostrategy is also fulfilled via such target domains as POLITICAL ADVERSARIES (58 instances, or 5.74%), ECONOMY (56 instances, or 5.54%), EMOTIONS (49 instances, or 4.85%), COMPARISON (48 instances, or 4.75%), STATE (37 instances, or 3.66%), ILLNESS (37 instances, or 3.66%), ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION (36 instances, or 3.56%), LIFE / DEATH (34 instances, or 3.36%), TIME (20 instances, or 1.98%), PSYCHOLOGICAL / MENTAL STATES (19 instances, or 1.88%), ACTIONS / EVENTS (16 instances, or 1.58%), NATION (15 instances, or 1.48%), POWER (12 instances, or 1.19%), and WELL-BEING (12 instances, or 1.19%). The remaining target domains do not arrive to 1%.

Apart from that, it is essential to compare what target domains Donald Trump and Joe Biden resort to during their electioneering campaign for Presidency (Figure 24 and Figure 25) in order to comprehend what problematic issues are crucial for their political platforms and what faults they perceive in their opponent's policies.

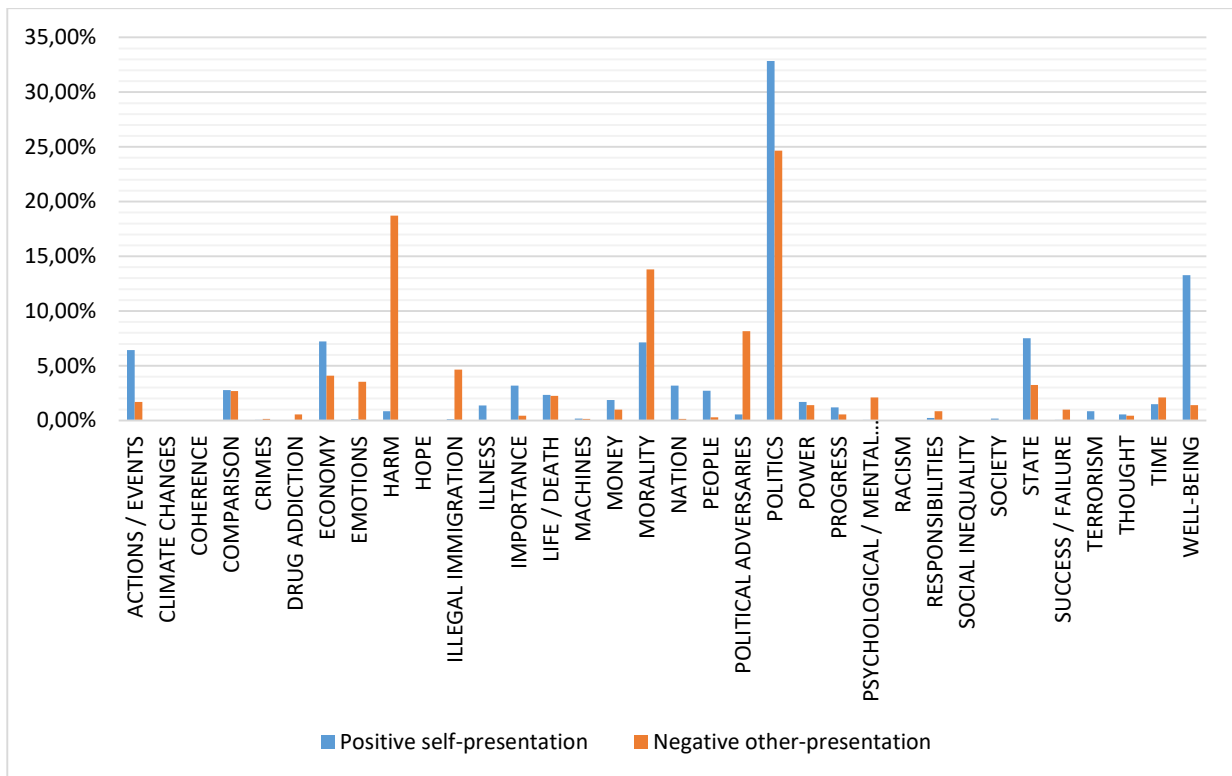


Figure 24. Target domains in relation to macrostrategies in Donald Trump's discourse

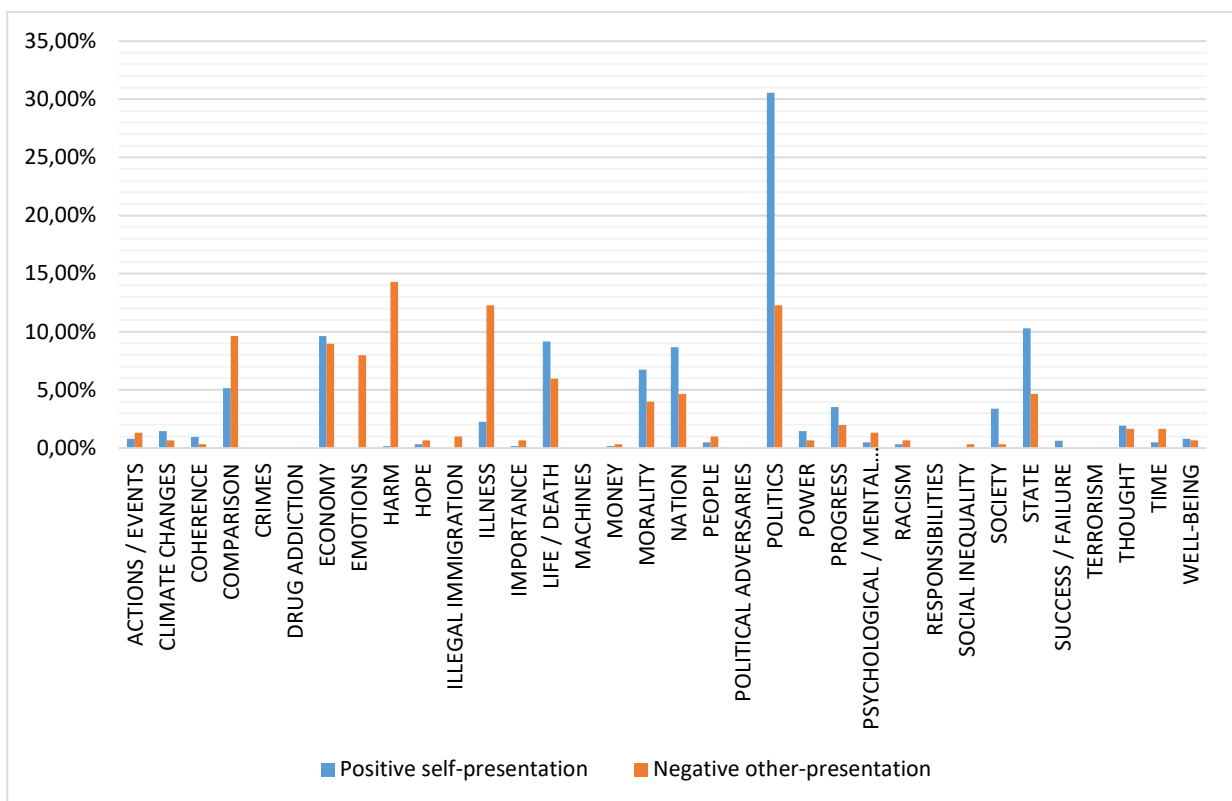


Figure 25. Target domains in relation to macrostrategies in Joe Biden's discourse

Figure 24 and Figure 25 portray that, in order to construct his positive political image, Donald Trump addresses the issues that fall within the POLITICS (547 instances, or 32.85%), WELL-BEING (221 instances, or 13.27%), and STATE target domains (125 instances, or 7.51%). The POLITICS target domain is also central to Joe Biden's discourse (190 instances, or 30.55%), because issues related to the political life of the country is of primary importance to American citizens. However, the WELL-BEING target domain (5 instances, or 0.80%) is not so widely represented in Joe Biden's speeches. Moreover, Joe Biden also resorts to the STATE (64 instances, or 10.29%) and ECONOMY target domains (60 instances, or 9.65%).

It is also necessary to mention that such target domains as CRIMES, EMOTIONS, ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION, MACHINES, POLITICAL ADVERSARIES, RESPONSIBILITIES, and TERRORISM appear in Donald Trump's speeches and are not used by his opponent to create positive self-presentation. Meanwhile, the unique target domains used to establish his positive image in Joe Biden's speeches are CLIMATE CHANGES, COHERENCE, HOPE, and RACISM.

When comparing the application of target domains by Donald Trump and Joe Biden in order to realize negative other-presentation, it should be stated that the predominant target domains for Donald Trump are POLITICS (175 instances, or 24.65%), HARM (133 instances, or 18.73%), and MORALITY (98 instances, or 13.80%). In contrast, Joe Biden's discourse is characterized by the application of such target domains as HARM (43 instances, or 14.29%), POLITICS (37 instances, or 12.29%), and ILLNESS (37 instances, or 12.29%), followed by COMPARISON (29 instances, or 9.63%).

Besides, there are certain target domains that are used only by either of the two candidates. Thus, on the one hand, Donald Trump is the only one who dwells of the issues related to the CRIMES, DRUG ADDICTION, MACHINES, POLITICAL ADVERSARIES, RESPONSIBILITIES, and SUCCESS / FAILURE target domains in order to criticize his political opponent. On the other hand, only Joe Biden resorts to CLIMATE CHANGES, COHERENCE, HOPE, ILLNESS, RACISM, SOCIAL INEQUALITY, and SOCIETY target domains.

Thus, such a distribution of target domains throughout Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's discourses can be explained by the different focus they place on certain topical issues that may be of interest to their electorate. Accordingly, it is possible to claim that Donald Trump portrays himself as a leader who pays particular attention to financial prosperity, moral character of the United States citizens and that considers the interests of the state paramount. At the same time,

he emphasizes his opponent's faults in making important decisions on such problems as illegal immigration, drug addiction or terrorism.

Joe Biden, in turn, describes himself as a thoughtful politician who is concentrated on the social side of the development of the United States, for example, tackling social inequality and racism, as well as on global issues concerning the whole humanity, such as climate change. Simultaneously, he criticizes his political rival as a person who led the country into a severe crisis and destroyed the US economy.

This polarization between 'good' Us and 'bad' Them serves as a means to represent oneself as the only political leader who is capable of leading the country out of problems in contrast to one's opponent who would only deepen the crisis. In this connection, the following chapter will dwell upon the discussion of the realization of this polarization by Donald Trump and Joe Biden with the help of conceptual metaphors.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION

6.1. Ideological Square strategies realization through conceptual metaphors in the US 2020 presidential electioneering campaign

Conceptual metaphors are applied by politicians with a view to convince their electorate to vote for them by demonstrating the expediency and practicability of their political platforms, as signaled by Fairclough (2003, p. 44). In this way, politicians can delineate their political images, which serves to distance them from those of their opponents to make it clear they do not have similar political views (Neagu, 2013, p. 4). This distancing is created by opposing Our group to Their group, which involves competing and foregrounding of opposing interests and values (Muntigl, 2002, p. 65). In order to accomplish this, politicians refer to Our group in favorable terms, associating it with confidence, security, and leadership and associate the opponents with negative features such as irresponsibility, indecisiveness, or immorality (Atkinson, 1984, pp. 37-45).

Moreover, conceptual metaphors make it possible for politicians to represent themselves as a leader who possess ethical qualities and right intentions to lead the nation. Hence, the politicians' self-representation as moral judges allows them to represent their followers as belonging to the same group, sharing moral values with themselves, while their opponents are portrayed as outsiders who have distinct beliefs and, thus, belong to Other group (Charteris-Black, 2009, p. 103).

Such a delineation between Our and Other is a cultural archetype because it is manifested in myths, religious beliefs, or philosophical ideas. Thus, self-presentation is necessary to legitimize the very existence of Our group. Meanwhile, the Other is necessary to see Us through Them. Therefore, in order to understand Ourselves, Other is needed (Lyuty, 2021, pp. 35-36). In other words, it is possible to comprehend Us completely only by looking at Ourselves from aside, i.e., from the standpoint of Other, and by competing with Other (Lyuty, 2021, p. 65, 87).

In this research, the polarization between Our group and Other group is realized via the macrostrategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. They, in turn, are also divided into two pairs of strategies on the basis of the binary opposition "positive – negative" (Levi-Strauss, 2000, p. 115), namely Emphasize positive things about Us and Emphasize negative things about Them, De-emphasize negative things about Us, and De-emphasize positive things about Them, forming the Ideological Square.

Linguistically, these strategies are realized through the conceptual metaphors that serve to highlight positive features of Our group, i.e., one's own political party, and foreground negative characteristics of Other group, the opponent's political party. In other words, this

polarization between the good and the bad is ideologically charged, reflecting norms, beliefs, and values of the Republican and the Democratic parties. Therefore, the choice of conceptual metaphors by Donald Trump and Joe Biden to fulfill the Ideological Square strategies reflects their belonging to distinct political parties and thus ideologies.

Thus, in the following sections, it will be discussed how the Ideological Square strategies are realized via the use of the predominant conceptual metaphors during the 2020 electioneering campaign in the United States. The metaphors are grouped in accordance with the source domains and analyzed in terms of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

6.2. WAR

The analysis demonstrated that the war-based conceptual metaphors are the main ones in the persuasion process during the US electioneering campaign in 2020. In the analyzed corpus, the WAR source domain is identified in the following conceptual metaphors: DEALING WITH A CLIMATE CHANGE IS FIGHTING A WAR, DEALING WITH CRIMES IS A FIGHTING A WAR, DEALING WITH INEQUALITY IS FIGHTING A WAR, DEALING WITH RACISM IS FIGHTING A WAR, ECONOMY IS A WAR, ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE ENEMIES, LIFE IS A WAR, POLITICS IS A WAR, and TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR.

The central theme of the war metaphor is the violent struggle that occurs when dealing with certain social, economic, and political problems, issues related to dealing with such important aspects as climate change, crimes, inequality, racism, or treating terminal illnesses. For example, the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR consists of the following set of conceptual mappings of the source domain (WAR) onto the target domain (ILLNESS) (MetaNet Metaphor Wiki, 2018):

- a) battlefield \Rightarrow body,
- b) army \Rightarrow doctors,
- c) generals \Rightarrow public authorities,
- d) enemy \Rightarrow illness,
- e) enemy conquest \Rightarrow spread of disease,
- f) weapons \Rightarrow medicines / public policies on healthcare,
- g) war strategy \Rightarrow treatment strategy,
- h) fighting \Rightarrow treating disease,
- i) victory \Rightarrow recovering from illness.

Both presidential candidates apply the war-based metaphors in their campaign speeches to persuade the electorate to vote for them via the Ideological Square strategies. Such result can be explained by the fact that the war metaphors are omnipresent in private and public spheres of human life (political campaigns, battles with cancer, wars against poverty, etc.) (Flusberg et al., 2018, p. 1).

Furthermore, the war metaphor is so important because all people have knowledge of a prototypical war. The war is a significant part of human life and everyday experience because the modern world was shaped as a result of numerous wars; a huge number of people have had a direct experience fighting in war or suffering from hostilities. Besides, everyone obtains information about important wars at history classes and the ongoing wars from the media (Flusberg et al., 2018, p. 4).

Since conceptual metaphors help understand complex things in terms of simple concepts (Gibbs, 1994; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Pinker, 2007; Thibodeau & Boroditsky, 2011), they are often used by politicians to dwell upon some unresolved important issue by evoking a mental model that already exists in human minds and fills in gaps in conceptual knowledge (Gibbs, 2017; Gibbs & Colston, 2012).

In this regard, in their campaign speeches, presidential candidates Donald Trump and Joe Biden focus on various problematic issues in politics, society, economy, international relations, etc. Thus, for instance, crimes are considered a huge sociopolitical problem by Donald Trump, who conceptualize it in terms of fighting a war in order to stop crimes in the United States.

(1) We are **fighting to reduce violent crime**. (Trump, August 15, 2019)

In example (1) the conceptual metaphor DEALING WITH CRIMES IS A FIGHTING A WAR is employed. The words *crime* and *violence* cause uncertainty and fear; they imply the existence of someone who poses a threat to society. Realizing this, Donald Trump adopts the image of a fighter since evil must be overcome. Consequently, this requires strength, struggle, and war. Although the war is evil, it serves as a means of realizing intentions aimed at good. Therefore, Donald Trump uses the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy by highlighting his exceptional role in solving the problem of crimes in the United States.

The problem of school choice is also a key one for Donald Trump's electioneering discourse. He refers to this important social issue in terms of fighting in order to emphasize his positive features as a leader.

(2) **Republicans are fighting for school choice** because no parent should ever be forced to send their child to a failing government school. (Trump, February 21, 2020)

In example (2) Donald Trump uses the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor when he talks about the opportunity to choose schools for American children because a person always strives for freedom of choice. This freedom makes it possible to live to the fullest, to choose and realize one's own aspirations and dreams, according to this candidate. In this connection, Donald Trump considers it his duty to ensure the right of parents to choose schools for their children and proposes to abolish the program of expensive state grants that would not affect the education of students from national minorities groups. By mentioning the burning issue of available education for American citizens, Donald Trump inspires hope in the voters that during his presidency the education system will change for the better because he is fighting for something that is important for the American people. Educated and competitive Americans are the foundation of the American prosperity; so, the education system should provide for the quality and the right of free choice of school at public expense. Thus, the war, or fight, is regarded by Donald Trump as being bound by the power of duty in order to ensure the society welfare.

(3) **My administration is fighting** to empower all Americans to reach their dreams and achieve their potential. (Trump, February 28, 2020)

In example (3) Donald Trump employs the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor in order to highlight his own advantages and achievements as the President of the United States. Donald Trump administration's struggle for the prosperity of the American nation, as expressed by the slogan "America First", requires extraordinary efforts to overcome all resistance from the opposition and implement new reforms. However, it is not always possible to achieve results quickly and fully. As a result, the President has to fight and win or lose because in politics there are no friends and a lot of enemies. Thus, by emphasizing the significant role of his administration, Donald Trump promises to continue working for the best of the American nation and motivates the voters to re-elect him as the President.

At the same time, the war-based conceptual metaphors are also used by Donald Trump in order to attack his opponent and criticize his political views. In such a way, the negative other-representation is realized in order to persuade the electorate to vote for Donald Trump.

(4) Democrats want, and you know this, **Democrats want to raid Medicare** to fund benefits for illegal immigrants. (Trump, January 28, 2020)

In example (4) Donald Trump realizes the Emphasize negative things about Them Ideological Square strategy via the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR. The word *raid* implies the aggressive seizure of social benefits entitled to the American citizens. Shifting the focus of attention to illegal immigrants as a threat to American society, Donald Trump highlights that the Democrats are going to provide illegal immigrants with benefits at the expense of the US citizens. Consequently, the immigrants are represented as a threat to social security and healthcare of the Americans and are used as an object of the struggle between the two political parties. Thus, Donald Trump creates negative metaphorical references to immigrants as people who personify the enemies that pose a threat to the well-being of the United States.

Furthermore, the war metaphors are so widespread in political discourse because they evoke emotions in the audience, especially, fear. According to Alexandrescu (2014), Coleman (2013), George et al. (2016), and Mirghani (2011), emotional appeal is the principal function of the war-based conceptual metaphors. Besides, such metaphors are hyperbolic in order to emphasize the danger that some socio-political and economic issues pose to society, such as crimes, terrorism, poverty, social well-being, healthcare, and drugs (Bartolucci, 2012, p. 568; Larson et al., 2005). Thus, the concept of war helps to grasp the electorate's attention and shift it to the important problems because the fear of war elicited by such metaphors makes them persistent in the human mind (Elwood, 1995; Mirghani, 2011).

(5) While the socialist Democrats are trying to destroy American healthcare and your social security, **my administration is protecting your social security**, your Medicare, and is **fighting to give you great healthcare**. (Trump, February 19, 2020)

In example (5) the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR is used to realize the strategies Emphasize positive things about Us and Emphasize negative things about Them by opposing the lexemes *destroy*, *protect*, and *fight*. This opposition gives a bright emotional color to the president's speech and emphasizes his role in this difficult, but, in his opinion, extremely important matter. Pointing to rivals and their desire to resist change and harm the American citizens, the candidate gives importance to his own administration, which is the driving force behind progressive transformations, something which is emphasized by the use of the hyperbolic phrase *great healthcare*.

Apart from that, it is necessary to indicate that Joe Biden also widely uses the war-based conceptual metaphors in his campaign speeches with a view to emphasizing his positive features as a political leader and convincing the audience in his responsibility, virtue, and thus his ability to rule the country.

(6) What is our mandate? I believe it's this: Americans have called upon **us to marshal the forces of decency**, the forces of fairness, **to marshal the forces of science** and the forces of hope **in the great battles of our time, the battle to control the virus, the battle to build prosperity, the battle to secure your family's healthcare, the battle to achieve racial justice** and root out systemic racism in this country. (Biden, November 7, 2020)

In example (6) Joe Biden applies a whole range of conceptual metaphors with different domains to fulfill the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy. Firstly, the POLITICS IS A WAR metaphor serves as a useful tool to justify a policy course. It illuminates new social policy and turns it into a priority. This policy is in demand by society because it is designed to protect people from the negative harm of the challenges of the modern world, such as the pandemic and racism. Emphasis on positive signs of actions based on the concepts of morality gives importance to the participants of the *great battles*, which represent the construction of the new or reconstruction of the old and the harmful. The amplification of the war concept through the tokens of *marshaling*, *securing*, *fighting*, and *controlling* enhances the emotional appeal of the speech by evoking the image of a cruel battle led by the skilled commander in order to conquer justice, equality, and prosperity. As a result, Joe Biden presents himself as a leader who is able to achieve prosperity for American society. In addition, in this example Joe Biden combines the war-based metaphor with the TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR, IDEAS ARE BUILDINGS, and IDEAS ARE PLANTS conceptual metaphors. By referring to treating the virus in terms of combating, Joe Biden appeals to the audience's fear of health problems and emphasizes the necessity to adopt strict war-like measures in order to take the pandemic under control. Moreover, conceptualizing the abstract concept of prosperity in terms of a building, he stresses the fact that the well-being of the nation can only be achieved through the difficult reforms and common effort of all people, in the same way as a building is constructed laying each brick. In contrast, such a negative phenomenon of the American society as racism is interpreted as a plant to show how deeply rooted it is and how difficult it will be to eradicate in from the United States.

(7) They don't need a president to go into court to deny them the healthcare they now have. They need a president who would go into the White House **and will fight like hell to** make sure they get the healthcare they need. (Biden, June 25, 2020)

In example (7) Joe Biden uses POLITICS IS A WAR as a means to fulfil the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy. The war metaphor is very beneficial and effective when a

politician seeks to convince voters of his own significance and importance in contrast with his opponent's incompetency to guarantee affordable healthcare services. Thus, fighting for the essential rights and social guarantees of every American is perceived as a struggle, a battle for maintaining high standards of healthcare. This is not easy, but it causes great sympathy for a fighter for justice. In this way, he creates an image of himself as a noble warrior who fights against evil. Such a political narrative contributes to the formation of a favorable public opinion about Joe Biden as a reliable and trustworthy politician.

(8) **I'm going to fight to protect your health care**, I promise you. Just like **I fight for my own family**. We can do this. I promise you, and I'm going to go do what I hope all of you do. (Biden, October 28, 2020)

In example (8) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR to show his determination to uphold the affordable healthcare services for all the Americans. This metaphor interprets protection as a component of military actions because the struggle, decisive and uncompromising actions are features of war. Joe Biden uses the war imagery to present himself as a leader who makes a promise to fight in peacetime with problems and challenges to society. In addition, the reference to his own family helps Joe Biden attract voters, makes them accomplices and participants in this political struggle. In this way, Joe Biden mobilizes society to ensure the victory of democratic forces through the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us.

At the same time, Joe Biden uses the war metaphors to criticize Donald Trump's actions in dealing with different challenges faced by American society. He presents Trump as a careless politician and even dangerous for America.

(9) They would live their lives caught in a vice between Donald Trump's twin legacies, his **failure to protect the American people from the coronavirus**, and **his heartless crusade** to take healthcare protections away from American families. (Biden, June 25, 2020)

In example (9) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR to highlight the negative impact of Trump's policies on health care. By conceptualizing the healthcare system suggested by the Republican candidate in terms of a crusade, Joe Biden shows the unjust and damaging nature of private insurances. Therefore, the strategy Emphasize negative things about Them is implemented.

(10) If Donald Trump refuses to end his **senseless crusade against health coverage**, I look forward to ending it for him and working quickly with Congress to dramatically ramp up protections to get America universal coverage and lower healthcare costs as soon as humanly possible. This is my promise to you. (Biden, June 25, 2020)

Similarly, in example (10) Joe Biden applies the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR in order to show the harm caused by Trump's inability to rule the country during the pandemic. He expresses readiness to stand up to the fight against Trump's senseless and dangerous policy on vaccination. By mapping the concept of a crusade onto political decisions, Joe Biden implies that private insurance companies raid the Americans with high prices. At the same time, he emphasizes his own ability to solve the problem in favor of ordinary Americans. Therefore, the strategies Emphasize positive things about Us and Emphasize negative things about Them are adopted in this case.

(11) President Trump can claim all he wants that **he's going to protect people** with pre-existing conditions. But the fact is **he's already fighting** to take those protections away as we speak. If he has his way, more than 100 million people with pre-existing conditions like asthma, diabetes, and cancer could once again be denied coverage. (Biden, September 27, 2020)

In example (11) Joe Biden employs the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR to highlight Donald Trump's destructive governing during the crisis. In this case, the war metaphor acts as a tool for blaming the Republican government for not being able to tackle the pandemic. Sick Americans are in danger because of Trump's actions. He acts as a hostile force based on deception, empty chatter and indifference to people. Patients are under attack, and therefore under threat of death. On the contrary, Joe Biden is ready to fight for these people and appears in the eyes of the voters as a defender and savior of those who find themselves in a difficult situation.

Apart from that, the sense of fear motivates citizens to pay attention to certain issues, change their attitudes, and as a result take necessary action to deal with these important problems (Petsko, 2001). In addition, the war metaphors function as motivation to undertake aggressive measures to tackle the problem as if there were a fight against the enemy (Flusberg et al., 2018, p. 8). Thus, the speeches on COVID-19 delivered by Donald Trump and Joe Biden are aimed to induce people to regard the presidential candidates as politicians who are able to cope with the situation. However, they reach this goal in different ways.

(12) My administration has also **taken the most aggressive action** in modern history to **protect Americans from the Coronavirus**. My job is to **protect the health** of American patients and Americans first, and that's what I'll do. (Trump, March 2, 2020)

In example (12) Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR in order to foreground his courageous decisions when dealing with the pandemic. Although he was criticized for his overly optimistic view of the state of the pandemic in the US, he announced his intention to use emergency military forces to help individual states and strengthen coordination in response to the threats of the spread of Covid-19. He ordered the deployment of the National Guard to the states that were most severely hit by the pandemic outbreak to help local authorities and also quickly applied the Military Production Act. Overcoming the spread of coronavirus and the consequences of the disease was a real test for the authorities, because they had to instantly apply aggressive decisions to improve the situation. Fighting a disease requires courage and determination because the fight against the disease is always a war where life and people's health are at stake.

In this connection, by conceptualizing diseases in terms of warfare, the political dimensions of illnesses are increased, while the medical and human aspects of treating them is diminished (Chiang & Duann, 2007; George et al., 2016; Nie et al., 2016). In the analyzed corpus, the war metaphors are often used to justify the increase in funding to launch programs aimed to find treatments of terminal diseases like cancer, Alzheimer's, HIV, etc. Donald Trump addresses the fundamental issue of public healthcare and reports the beginning of new governmental programs aimed at treating difficult diseases as if they were enemies.

(13) We've launched bold new initiatives **combating kidney disease and Alzheimer's disease**. (Trump, February 19, 2020)

In example (13) Donald Trump employs the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR in order to interpret the search for medical treatments as fighting a difficult war. This metaphor allows him to accomplish the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy. The words *new*, *bold*, *initiatives*, and *fight against diseases* are signs of a serious struggle, a war against a trouble, an illness or an evil. Consequently, the battle for people's health, which is also complicated by the resistance of the opposing rivals, is perceived by voters as a huge achievement and characterizes the president as a considerate leader who cares for the health of the American nation.

By contrast, in Joe Biden's discourse, the main issue of concern is the failure to cope with the pandemic by Trump's administration. Joe Biden uses the war metaphors to blame Donald

Trump for inaction during the crisis. In other words, the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR is the principal one to fulfill the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy.

(14) **I'll never surrender.** We're going to **beat this virus.** We're going to get it under control. (Biden, November 2, 2020a)

In example (14) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR along with the metaphor CONTROL IS UP to emphasize his virtues as a fighter for American people. Using narratives of invincibility and resilience, which are the components of the behavior of a warrior, Joe Biden shows determination to fight up to the end, until victory. Despite the danger and speed of the virus spread, and especially its lethality, he appears in the eyes of the frightened Americans as the country savior. By creating conceptual mapping of the WAR source domain onto the ILLNESS target domain, where disease is synonymous with death and danger pertaining to the domain of war, Joe Biden takes on an extremely responsible mission in overcoming the danger that can be defeated through the incredible efforts of special control. This is also enhanced by the CONTROL IS UP conceptual metaphor because controlling the situation implies being above it. Therefore, it is only Joe Biden who is ready to assume such responsibility and attract the voters' sympathy.

(15) Doctors, nurses, EMTs and public health officials, as well as **the frontline emergency workers** like firefighters and dedicated folks working to keep the shelves stocked in the grocery stores. (Biden, March 17, 2020)

In example (15) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR to praise the efforts of medical professionals in fighting against the pandemic. Transferring the concept of the front line, which is the feature of hostilities, to the field of health care, he seeks to show how dangerous and difficult the work of all those involved in the salvation and protection of human lives life is. This metaphor helps Joe Biden show respect for healthcare workers and demonstrate the recognition to their own work. Such a respect attracts the voters who are willing to support a leader who respects and appreciates professionals who save lives.

(16) Democrats in Congress have put forward legislation to reward and **protect our brave frontline workers.** (Biden, July 2, 2020)

In example (16) Joe Biden applies the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR to emphasize the struggle of the Democrats to reward doctors, nurses, and

other medical professionals who fight against Covid-19. Being in constant danger due to the threat of infection, working overtime, desperately fighting for every human life, doctors fought a real battle with the virus. This is realized via the noun *frontline*, indicating the emergency of the situation. Being a Democratic candidate, Joe Biden shows his intention to honor doctors, which serves as a motivation to support him in the election.

(17) You know, tackling this pandemic is a national emergency, akin to **fighting a war** and it's going to require leadership and cooperation from every level of government. (Biden, March 17, 2020)

In example (17) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR to show that coping with such a danger as the pandemic requires decisive actions and strong leadership. The fight against such an emergency is similar to war, but the enemy is especially insidious and invisible, because the virus kills quickly and ruthlessly from within. Thus, Joe Biden tries to unite society in the fight against the pandemic. Criticizing the current government for weakness, he calls for increased responsibility, combining efforts of all levels of government for help and salvation. He unites around him all those who seek to save themselves and save their loved ones. Therefore, Joe Biden is perceived of as the politician who can tackle the pandemic like the military commander defeats the enemies.

(18) Early in this pandemic some of you have had to cover me for a long time, Trump called himself **a wartime president fighting a war against an invisible enemy**. I've been saying for months as you well know that **he waved the white flag** all the way back then. He wasn't doing much at all. (Biden, October 26, 2020)

In example (18) Joe Biden applies the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR to criticize Donald Trump for failing to lead the country successfully through the fight against the virus. The war metaphor involves fighting, armies, victory or defeat. The fight against the disease requires an accurate diagnosis, a clear treatment protocol, decisive, urgent actions, effective systemic treatment and the availability of medicines. According to Joe Biden, Trump only waved the white flag, surrendered positions in this war against the pandemic, did not take the necessary measures as the head of state, and did not fight enough, not deserving the voters' support. Accordingly, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is adopted in this case.

(19) Think about it. Look, **Donald Trump has waved the white flag of surrender.**

Remember he said, “**I’m the commander-in-chief, and I’m going to fight this fight.**”

Give me a break. **He waved the white flag of surrender.** (Biden, November 2, 2020a)

In example (19) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR to present Donald Trump as somebody who is incapable of fighting against such a dangerous enemy as the pandemic. The white flag is a sign of surrender on the battlefield. When used in connection to dealing with the pandemic, the metaphor contributes to increasing attention to the personality of the leader who is unable to cope with the challenges of the difficult situation which had to be faced. War is a process in which it is impossible to stop and rest, where a stop leads to loss of position, surrender and defeat. Condemning this position of Trump, Joe Biden emphasizes his ineffectiveness and inability to effectively tackle any serious challenges. Therefore, example (19) serves to illustrate the adoption of the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy by Joe Biden.

(20) **Donald Trump has waved the white flag**, abandoned our families and surrendered to this virus. But the American people don’t give up. They don’t give in and surely they don’t cower and neither will I. I will put in place a plan to deal with this pandemic responsibly, bringing this country together with testing, tracing, masking. (Biden, October 27, 2020a)

In example (20) Joe Biden employs the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR to emphasize Trump’s inefficiency in dealing with the pandemic. Only courageous people who do not give up are able to win the war. Therefore, Joe Biden positions himself as a fearless warrior, and a leader capable of leading the fight. At the same time, he accuses Donald Trump of failure to lead the people and win the war against the virus. Accusing Trump of waving the white flag, refusing to fight, Joe Biden evokes strong negative reactions among the public towards Donald Trump. At the same time, he tries to light the hearts of voters with the light of hope that by electing him, they will be able to fight and win, because he knows exactly how to win this war.

(21) He promised a healthcare plan, but never even offered his own bill as he continues to try to wipe out Obamacare in the middle of a pandemic. Instead, **he’s fought** repeatedly to take healthcare away from tens of millions of people who didn’t have it before, and over a hundred million people who were covered because they had preexisting conditions now that they couldn’t have gotten coverage for before. (Biden, July 9, 2020)

In example (21) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR to criticize Donald Trump for harming healthcare system by replacing the federal healthcare program with private insurances. By referring to Trump's decisions in terms of fighting, Joe Biden evokes the war metaphor because fighting is a component of any hostilities. Since having unrestricted access healthcare services during the pandemic is vital for all people, he blames Trump for depriving people with low income or difficult diseases of this right. Joe Biden emphasizes that instead of fighting the virus, his opponent has chosen to fight ordinary Americans. This imagery rises concern of the audience and make people perceive Trump as a dangerous politician who will only harm them. In such a way, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is pursued.

(22) And when it comes to COVID-19, after months of doing nothing other than predicting the virus would disappear or maybe if you drank bleach you may be okay, Trump has simply given up. **He's waved the white flag.** He's **walked away** and his failures come with a terrible human costs and deep economic toll. (Biden, July 9, 2020)

In example (22) Joe Biden applies the conceptual metaphors TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR and LIFE IS A JOURNEY in order to highlight Donald Trump's inability to become a true leader during such difficult period as the pandemic. Waving the white flag means surrendering, giving up fighting. Therefore, Joe Biden indicates that Donald Trump is not able to continue this battle with the disease, leaving people to their own fate. Such a negative presentation is enhanced by the journey metaphor. In this case, the journey metaphor is manifested by the phrasal verb *walk away*, implying that Trump has left people alone in a difficult situation and has neglected the danger posed by the pandemic. Since life is understood as a road, it involves a series of trials, achievements and losses that lead to a certain goal. The journey metaphor makes it possible to compare all more or less significant changes in human life with journeys, representing them as a transition to a new state, new qualities, new life, etc. In this case, Joe Biden highlights that Donald Trump walked away the road, i.e., made mistakes in dealing with the pandemic and gave up a decisive struggle with Covid-19. Accordingly, these metaphors facilitate the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy.

(23) We can't afford four more years of a president who instead of **fighting the virus, attacks doctors**. I can't get over the guy. **He attacked doctors** claiming their over-reporting COVID cases because they want to make more money. (Biden, October 28, 2020)

In example (23) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR to portray Donald Trump as a harmful president who only damages the country. The war metaphor is manifested in the verbs *fight* and *attack*, which belong to the military sphere. It reveals Donald Trump's aggressiveness towards doctors, who save lives. Joe Biden accuses him of making enemies of people instead of taking measures to overcome the virus. As a result, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is followed.

(24) Some **survivors** will experience lasting health impacts like lung scarring and heart damage and if Donald Trump prevails in court, insurers would be allowed once again to strip away coverage, jack up premiums, simply because of **the battle they survived in fighting coronavirus**. (Biden, June 25, 2020)

In example (24) Joe Biden applies the TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR conceptual metaphor to emphasize the need to prevent Donald Trump from harming people after they are cured from Covid-19. By referring to curing the disease as fighting a battle, Joe Biden rises the public awareness of the injustice that can be caused to American people by dishonest insurers and courts working under Donald Trump's influence and protection. This imagery evokes the fear among people of being left alone with their health issues if Donald Trump remains in power. Therefore, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is fulfilled.

(25) **Donald Trump just had given up**. He's not even trying to secure the public health anymore. He'd rather go back to the campaign rallies. He's not interested in uniting us in **this fight of a common threat we face**. He's decided he's more, has more to gain by dividing this country for his own political purposes. (Biden, July 2, 2020)

In example (25) Joe Biden accuses Donald Trump of neglecting care for people's health and focusing on the forthcoming elections with the help of the TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR conceptual metaphor. The words *give up*, *fight*, *threat* alert the audience against the danger posed by the pandemic, and in this sense enhance the sense of fear and anxiety in the public. Accusing Trump of capitulating to problems and threats, hinting at his cunning maneuver and intention to re-enter the election race, making empty promises, Joe Biden attracts citizens' sympathy and gets support from them in the elections through the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy.

(26) **Donald Trump's failure to fight the coronavirus** with the same energy and focus that he uses to troll his enemies on Twitter has cost us lives and is putting hope for an economic recovery at risk. (Biden, June 17, 2020)

In example (26) Joe Biden applies the TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR and ECONOMY IS A BODY conceptual metaphors to emphasize Donald Trump's inability to fight the coronavirus and deal with economic and human losses as signs of illness. Joe Biden accuses him of the fact that instead of taking care of the country, he only offers promises and trolls his enemies, contributing to the destruction of the economy, which is the state basis. Moreover, the reference to the economic recovery as though the economy were a body inflicted with a disease allows Joe Biden to show that the economy is in a deep crisis and needs decisive actions. In this case, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is fulfilled.

Drug addiction is another social problem that is in the focus of Donald Trump's discourse. In the analyzed corpus, it is conceptualized in terms of the war against the opioid epidemic. This can be explained by the fact that the fear of drug spread provoked by the war-based metaphor can heighten in the electorate the sense of threat this problem implies by creating panic and bolstering negative stereotypes (Alexandrescu, 2014; Elwood, 1995).

(27) And we're very importantly **combating the opioid epidemic**. Drug overdose deaths. (Trump, February 19, 2020)

In example (27) Donald Trump applied the TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR conceptual metaphor to highlight his achievements in containing the spread of drugs in the United States. Addiction to painkillers and heroin is a problem in many communities in the United States. Any disease is a condition that requires special attention and treatment. The word *epidemic* pertaining to the lexical field of disease in combination with the war-related word *combating* triggers the emotions of compassion, pity, fear, and threat. Donald Trump is desperately trying to color his own rhetoric with such semantically related, but at first glance, not quite similar concepts. To combat this disease, Donald Trump promises to impose a state of emergency to get federal funding. Dealing with the problem of drug spread is also a kind of a battle, a war that leads to victory, and therefore cure. In such a way, he emphasizes his positive decisions as a leader who cares for the health of his nation.

(28) **We are aggressively combating the opioid epidemic** and we've done great ... (Trump, January 14, 2020)

Similarly, in example (28) Donald Trump uses the TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR conceptual metaphor to foreground his crucial role in solving the problem of drugs in the United States and thus to fulfil the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy. He resorts to the domain of war in combination with the domain of illness. The words *combating* and *epidemic* evoke the image of a dangerous disease that requires severe war-like measures to cure it. Following this course of actions, Donald Trump introduced a health emergency regime in the country due to the epidemic of opioid abuse aimed at combating the spread of opioids. This was an important step towards overcoming the drug crisis in the United States since the death rate from the use of synthetic opiates was dramatically increased in comparison with deaths in fire and traffic accidents; the crisis affected every segment of the American society. As a strong leader, Donald Trump began a battle with the pharmaceutical system, with the opposition of the drug addicts themselves, and launched an explanatory campaign.

In contrast to Donald Trump, the characteristic feature of Joe Biden's discourse is climate change, which is a global problem that concerns the whole humanity. By referring to this issue, Joe Biden enhances the leadership of the United States in protecting the environment and preventing climate change, in accordance with the Democratic values.

People regard climate change as a pressing issue if it is interpreted in terms of an enemy in a war (Flusberg et al., 2017). Consequently, Joe Biden tries to motivate people to change their attitudes towards climate change and induce them to adopt environmentally friendly behavior. In this case, the war metaphor is used by Joe Biden to create positive self-presentation.

(29) We'll purchase clean energy technologies, **fight climate change**, building materials, including steel products, like those produced here, stockpiles of critical goods and equipment and advanced technologies to modernize our government and enhance our national security. (Biden, July 9, 2020)

In example (29) Joe Biden employs the DEALING WITH CLIMATE CHANGE IS FIGHTING A WAR conceptual metaphor to raise people's awareness of the urgent need to deal with such a global threat as climate change. By mapping the concept of the war on dealing with natural forces, the consequences of natural disasters, Joe Biden describes himself as a fighter for the salvation of the planet and a successful manager of the state program for the introduction of clean and advanced energy technologies. He considers such a war against climate change a struggle for America's national interests, for strengthening the national security of the world's most powerful state. Such a positive position encourages voters to join

the Democratic candidate in saving the planet and humanity. Thus, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is implemented.

(30) **We can combat climate change** with American ingenuity and manufacturing, creating millions of new high paying union jobs. (Biden, November 2, 2020a)

In example (30) Joe Biden uses the DEALING WITH CLIMATE CHANGE IS FIGHTING A WAR conceptual metaphor in order to show that he is ready to assume leadership in tackling climate issues. The word *combat* implies that dealing with climate change requires decisive measures characteristic of military actions. In this case, Joe Biden is willing to lead the nation in this just war against global threats. Therefore, example (30) is a good illustration of the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy.

(31) And **the fight against climate change**, we have to rally the rest of the world to act and act now. Rejoin the Paris Climate Accord on day one. (Biden, March 10, 2020)

In example (31) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor DEALING WITH CLIMATE CHANGE IS FIGHTING A WAR to show his intention to fight against environmental problems and lead this fight on to the global scale. He emphasizes the need to return to the Paris Agreement after Donald Trump left it. The climate crisis is reminiscent of hostilities in which the American nation must unite not only itself, but also involve the rest of the world to act together in order to improve the environmental situation on the planet. These good intentions are the reflection of the Democratic principles, which attract the voters who are worried about climate change. Thus, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is followed.

(32) Senator Sanders and I may disagree on **tactics**, but we share a common vision for the need to provide affordable healthcare for all Americans, reducing income inequity that has risen so drastically. To tackling the existential **threat of our time, climate change**. (Biden, March 17, 2020)

In example (32) the conceptual metaphor DEALING WITH CLIMATE CHANGE IS FIGHTING A WAR helps Joe Biden highlight the unity of Democrats when it comes to fighting against issues of concern and threats to society and the world. The war metaphor is invoked by the military lexeme *tactics*, which means “the organization and use of soldiers and equipment in war” (*Cambridge Dictionary*, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/tactics>). It indicates that Joe Biden and his team have a well-developed plan to improve healthcare, overcome racism, and fight against climate change. Global climate change, which is one of the most acute environmental problems of the modern world, is dangerous and requires military

actions. Joe Biden highlights that even if their tactics vary, the Democrats have a common vision on how to overcome the challenges of this time. Therefore, the idea of unity in front of the common enemy attracts the voters.

Apart from that, racism is another serious problem addressed by Joe Biden in his electioneering campaign. This is one of the key components of the Democratic values who advocate for racial equality in America.

(33) And finally, we've seen with horrifying clarity, the cost of systemic racism, the need for a comprehensive agenda for racial equality in our country. It isn't just about police reform. It's about dealing with the deep wound of systemic racism in this nation. For too long **the battle for racial equality** has divided America. It should be used now to unite us. (Biden, July 9, 2020)

In example (33) Joe Biden applies the NATION IS A BODY and DEALING WITH INEQUALITY IS FIGHTING A WAR conceptual metaphors to emphasize his readiness to ensure equality in society and eradicate racism from America. The noun *battle*, which pertains to the military sphere, invokes the image of racism as an enemy, which implies that it is necessary to fight against it with all might. In addition, the noun *wound* entails that racism is a serious problem that causes suffering to the body of the state. Therefore, Joe Biden presents himself as a leader who will fight for every American's equality and dignity and heal this terrible blot on society. In this example, thus, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is shown.

(34) And so it is, together as one nation under God, indivisible. **Let us join forces to fight the common foe of injustice and inequality**, hate and fear. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (34) the conceptual metaphor DEALING WITH INEQUALITY IS FIGHTING A WAR allows Joe Biden to call the citizens for unity in the fight against racism. The metaphor is evoked by military vocabulary such as forces and fight. Thus, Joe Biden encourages all Americans who seek justice and equality to join the fight against the common enemy for the proclaimed ideals and together, without fear, desperately stand on the side of good. In this way, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

(35) And as my late friend John Lewis reminded us, freedom is not a state, freedom is an act. **We have to defend it.** We have to vote. (Biden, November 1, 2020)

In example (35) Joe Biden resorts to the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR to emphasize his intentions to promote equality in America. The reference to civil rights defender

John Lewis underpins Joe Biden's determination to fight for racial equality. He is ready to defend the rights of the African Americans with actions, not just with words.

Another essential trait of the war conceptual metaphors, which are identified in campaign speeches delivered by Donald Trump and Joe Biden in 2020, is that they create the sense of opposition to conceptualize a clash between two Presidential candidates as a violent warfare. Such a conceptualization works because of a prototypical image of war that exists in human minds. This image implies a battle between opposing forces that clearly delineate two distinct groups, namely; Us ("good") and Others ("evil"). They participate in a fight to achieve their own political objectives; they have their own strategic visions of this fight; they make decisions to harm their opponents and defend themselves. The voters are seen as passive participants in war as they do not fight directly although the outcome of the warfare will affect them. In addition, the prototypical war usually consists of many battles which involves a long period of struggle with sacrifices. This, in turn, conveys the feelings of risk, fear to lose lives and home, and anxiety, resulting in the urgent desire to destroy enemies and win the war faster (Flusberg et al., 2018, p. 4). This characteristic of the war-based metaphors is widely applied by both Presidential candidates during the 2020 US elections.

(36) **We're fighting** against the same far-left **politicians that ravaged our great cities** and crushed the dreams of African-American middle class. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (36) Donald Trump uses the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to demonstrate the political confrontation between the Republican and Democratic parties. Here, this metaphor facilitates the realization of two Ideological Square strategies, namely Emphasize positive things about Us and Emphasize negative things about Them. In other words, positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation are achieved simultaneously. Donald Trump fights a severe battle with his rivals whom he pictures as bandits raiding peaceful American cities and harming the benevolent citizens. This image evokes the emotions of fear and indignation among the voters who are supposed to see Donald Trump as a savior of the United States.

(37) We're joined tonight by many **great patriots who fight right by our side**. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (37) with the help of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR, Donald Trump depicts himself and his supporters as the only patriots of the United States who can rule the country efficiently. They are seen as a big army that lead the endless battle in which a huge

role is played by brave, courageous and persistent fighters who are motivated to win. Therefore, America is a community of those patriots who are united around their leader, who has a clear goal and vision of the future. Donald Trump implies that his supporters have been growing in number and have become a powerful political force who is capable of acting decisively for the best of the United States. In this way, the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy is accomplished.

(38) **Republicans are fighting for citizens** from every background and from every race, religion, color, and creed. (Trump, January 30, 2020)

In example (38) Donald Trump resorts to the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR to interpret the Republican struggle for equality for all American citizens in terms of a violent war against discrimination in the American society. In recent years the issue of anti-white racism has been defended by Trump and many of his supporters. There is a gradual restriction of opportunities for the white population, they claim, through greater financial, social, and governmental support for people of color. Following the course he announced, Donald Trump waged a real war in the field of interracial relations. He spared no bad words for African American athletes who kneeled to protest racial injustice, for African American and Muslim female politicians who disagreed with him, and for non-white immigrants and asylum seekers. During Donald Trump's Presidency, white nationalism flourished in the United States; and his decrees and directives were aimed at limiting programs to support racial diversity and equality. Propaganda against minorities increased dramatically and obtained the dimensions of war against Muslims in order to track Islamist threats. However, Donald Trump is disingenuous when he says that he is *fighting* to empower citizens *from every background, every race, religion, color and creed*. He pretends to protect everyone. After all, his rhetoric and his inability to overcome racial inequalities, his personal rejection hides behind the need to fight those who allegedly pose a threat to the white population of the country. Therefore, Donald Trump uses exactly those concepts that are associated with struggle, battle, and confrontation. In such a way, he appears as a defender in the eyes of the electorate despite using aggression.

(39) **We are defending your right** to keep the doctor and to keep your plan of choice. (Trump, February 28, 2020)

In a similar vein, example (39) contains the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor, used to fulfill the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy. The application of the word *defend* that belongs to the domain of war enhances the sense of threat to the national healthcare

system posed by Donald Trump's political opponents. Trying to replace the Obamacare program, which was introduced by Obama's administration, Donald Trump expands the available options for the Medicare medical insurance, changes the conditions of provision and cost of prescription drugs, helps eliminate the practice of issuing unreasonable bills for treatment, and simplifies bureaucratic processes in medicine, accelerating the introduction of innovations. These measures implemented by Trump's administration are aggressive to the liking of American citizens. They are construed in terms of a war for the welfare of citizens because carrying out changes in politics and reforms is always a war against the opposition. This policy elevates the authority of President Trump and his administration.

In addition, Donald Trump emphasizes his essential role in upholding the Constitution of the United States as the main law of the highest legal force that prescribes the basic rights and freedoms of the American citizens.

(40) We support, **protect and defend the Constitution** of the United States. (Trump, March 2, 2020)

In example (40) Donald Trump applies the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to create positive self-presentation by highlighting his struggles to endorse the main law of the United States. In order to achieve this, he relies on the use of the lexemes *protect* and *defend* that belong to the domain war, demonstrating his intention to clearly adhere to the constitutional norms. In Donald Trump's opinion, the American Constitution is a sacred document that guarantees the rule of freedom and the rule of law in the country. Americans tend to support politicians who act in accordance with norms and laws. Thus, Donald Trump unites the American people, regardless of the political party.

(41) **At stake in our present battle is the survival of the nation.** (Trump, January 14, 2020)

In example (41) the combination of the POLITICS IS A WAR, POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME, and NATION IS A BODY conceptual metaphors facilitates the realization of the Emphasize positive things about Us and Emphasize negative things about Them Ideological Square strategies. The use of the WAR and GAME conceptual domains as components of the struggle for the survival of the nation, for welfare and order in the state makes it possible for Donald Trump to position himself as a wise leader of the American people. Moreover, he portrays himself as an experienced gambler who is ready to risk in order to save the country from the enemies. By interpreting the elections in terms of a gambling game, he also recreates the intense atmosphere at the gambling table in order to convey the importance

to reelect him as the President of the United States. Apart from that, by referring to the American nation as a body under danger, Donald Trump evokes the feelings of despair in the audience and motivate them to urgent actions to prevent the “death” of the nation. In this sense, the nation for which Trump is fighting is, in his rhetoric, his cornerstone and highest goal.

At the same time, Donald Trump also utilizes the war-based conceptual metaphors in order to present his political rival in a negative light by foregrounding Joe Biden’s shortcomings as well as the faults of the Democratic party.

(42) **Our patriotic movement has been under assault** from the very first day. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (42) Donald Trump applies the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to evoke the feeling of fear and despair in his electorate before the possibility of the democrats coming to power. The phrase *to be under assault* implies a danger and constant attacks in the fight against strong dangerous enemies. Thus, the political confrontation between two parties is conceptualized in terms of the war of patriots with pseudo-patriots. Such an indirect opposition strengthens the perception by the American society of those negative phenomena which Trump’s administration is struggling with.

(43) **They're just fighting** with each other. (Trump, July 17, 2019)

In example (43) the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR is used to demonstrate the lack of unity in the Democratic party where internal disagreements and confrontation prevail. In this way, Donald Trump emphasizes the negative features of the Democrats who struggle for influence at a cost of harming the American citizens. The word *fighting* facilitates the conceptualization of political relations between the opponents as a war. Since in the consciousness of ordinary people the concept of war is associated with the atrocities, death, sufferings, and losses, then they are supposed to perceive a disagreement within the Democratic party as dangerous behavior of irresponsible politicians.

(44) They could stay back and **fight the hoax of impeachment** or they could be here and **bask in the glory of victory**. (Trump, July 17, 2019)

Following the line of the Ideological Square strategy Emphasize negative things about Them, in example (44) Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR conceptualizing the procedure of impeachment initiated by the Democrats against him as a fight. Their actions are described as intrusion, encroachment; so, the encroachers appear as strangers, and therefore as enemies in a war. In addition, the use of the war metaphor here

discredits Donald Trump's opponents by contrasting the Democrats' intention to deprive him of power to Trump's call for uniting both parties. This contrast attracts the voters by making them see Donald Trump as a positive fighter with injustice.

(45) **Bernie and the radical left cannot protect your family and they cannot protect our country**, nor do they want to, I think. (Trump, January 14, 2020)

In example (45) Donald Trump combines the metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR with the metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY to increase the electorate's awareness of Democratic candidates being incapable of ruling the country. In this case, the transfer of attention to the family as an unprotected and vulnerable unit allows it to be used as an object for a struggle between the "weak" and "strong" political forces. Donald Trump portrays the Democrats as the left-wing party. As a result, they are unwilling or unable to act for the good of American society and, what is more, unwilling to give this mission to those who are capable to complete it. Consequently, Donald Trump explains the need for an uncompromising war with them and their policies, by emphasizing negative things about Them.

(46) By the way, **our second amendment is under siege**. (Trump, January 28, 2020)

In example (46) Donald Trump realizes the Ideological Square strategy Emphasize negative things about Them through the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR by evoking the image of democratic freedoms pertaining to American citizens as a fortress under siege. The Second Amendment, which enshrines the right of citizens to freely store and carry firearms, is seen as threatened by the Democratic party who wants to limit the right to have personal guns. In order to highlight the desire of the Democrats to deprive the Americans of their fundamental right, Donald Trump implies that this situation carries threats and is an evil that he will resolutely try to fight. The interpretation of the Second Amendment as the cause of the war in the political field is achieved via the use of the military lexeme *siege*. It helps paint a portrait of the Democrats in the negative light and expose them as enemies of the American nation who encroach on the inherent rights and freedoms of the Americans. Accordingly, a decisive and violent war against them is justified.

(47) You know **it's under siege**, religious liberty, and the right to keep and bear arms. **We will defend it. It's under siege. It's under siege**. (Trump, February 19, 2020)

Similar conceptual metaphor is observed in example (47). The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR functions here to Emphasize negative things about political rivals by eliciting the image of the fortress that is raided and attacked by the enemies. The war metaphor

is used by Donald Trump as a dramatic tool to justify his political course: to fight for the preservation of the rights and freedoms of the American citizens that are now *under siege* by the Democrats. Using a word *siege* that belongs to a military terminology, he accuses the Democrats in attempting to block the enjoyment of citizens' rights for a long period of time and thus to achieve their political goals by exhausting Donald Trump's forces like the troops laying siege to a castle. Meanwhile, Donald Trump present himself as a courageous warrior who will raise the siege of the democratic values of the American citizens, despite any difficulties or possible losses.

(48) **They fight all over the world.** (Trump, July 17, 2019)

In example (48) the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR is applied to emphasize the inability of the Democrats to establish friendly relationships with other countries. Thus, Donald Trump shows his intentions to solve problems in relations with other countries, while his opponents do not. Obviously, this suggests that they are bad state builders, since their political system has a serious malfunction, because the Democrats, according to Donald Trump, cannot establish normal relations with neighbors, but only fight with other countries. In this regard, the metaphorical mapping of the WAR domain to other countries paints Donald Trump's rhetoric with purely negative shades, portraying his opponents as carriers of threat, danger, and inevitable losses, and therefore their political activity as harmful to American society.

Moreover, Joe Biden also widely employs the war conceptual metaphors in order to create the opposition between the in-group (Us) and the out-group (Them) by contrasting the achievements of his administration with the faults of Donald Trump's presidency.

(49) **The battle to restore decency, defend democracy,** and give everybody in this country **a fair shot.** That's all they're asking for: **a fair shot.** (Biden, November 7, 2020)

In example (49) Joe Biden uses the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to conceptualize the struggle to maintain the democratic order in the United States and guarantee equal opportunities for all citizens in terms of a severe war with the opposition. The use of this metaphor in the context of the battle for justice for all and democratic values makes Joe Biden the bearer of virtues and aspirations that attract the voters. Therefore, the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy is pursued. Joe Biden appears as a leader who is able to honestly and openly lead democratic forces to the victory in this cruel battle. According

to him, it should be an open and honest struggle, which is the personification of the good, and the good always has total support in society.

(50) Well, folks, we stand **at an inflection point**. We have an opportunity to **defeat despair, to build a nation** of prosperity and purpose. We can do it. I know we can. (Biden, November 7, 2020)

In example (50) the realization of the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy is achieved through the combination of various conceptual metaphors, namely: POLITICS IS A WAR, NATION IS A BUILDING, and LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The path to the desired future is not easy, and Joe Biden presents the nation as a structured system of interaction between different forces. On this journey of the nation to the prosperity, there are stops and obstacles, accompanied by success or defeat. Therefore, by introducing the domain of WAR in the meaning of battle into this complex metaphorical model, the struggle against those who inhibit, hinder, and destroy, Joe Biden tries to convince voters of the possibility of overcoming all the troubles in this thorny life path of the nation. He highlights that this struggle can be led by only him and his political party.

(51) I've long talked about **the battle for the soul of America**. We must restore the soul of America. Our nation is shaped by **the constant battle between our better angels and our darkest impulses**, and what presidents say in **this battle** matters. It's time for our better angels to prevail. (Biden, November 7, 2020)

In example (51) Joe Biden fulfills the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy with the help of a range of conceptual metaphors such as POLITICS IS A WAR, BADNESS IS DARKNESS, STATE IS A BUILDING, and STATE IS A PERSON. The transfer from the real world to the spiritual world, where the eternal struggle between the best angels and the darkest impulses continues, and the eternal war of the world of evil and good, requiring heroes, elevates Joe Biden's desire to work for the best of America to the highest level of moral intentions. In politics, which is seen as a kind of battle arena, there are two main warring parties: the Democrats and the Republicans. Besides, the country is conceptualized as a living being with a soul, which evokes the image of this eternal spiritual struggle of Christians for the salvation of the soul. Therefore, the paramount character of this continuous battle for the well-being of society is enhanced. In addition, Joe Biden resorts to the conceptual domain of BUILDING to interpret the abstract concept of a state and, in this way, encourages the American society to

unite with a view to creating a fair and tolerant society in America around his political force, which he leads.

(52) We may be opponents but **we're not enemies**, we're Americans. (Biden, November 6, 2020)

In example (52) Joe Biden uses the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to demonstrate that he will be the President for all Americans because he does not divide the US citizens into Democrats and Republicans. The lexeme *enemies* evokes in the minds of the electorate the image of a war between the two main political parties. The war metaphor here is aimed at showing the antagonism of the American politics and Joe Biden's desire to unite the nation irrespective of their political beliefs. He highlights that his political opponents are perceived as opponents and not as enemies. In this way, Joe Biden diminishes the rivalry between the party and highlights that they are all one American nation. This allows him to create a positive political image of himself as a leader who will work for the best of the whole American society. In this way, the Emphasize positive things about US strategy is fulfilled.

(53) Instead of treating each other's party as the opposition, we treat them as the **enemy**. This must end. We need to revive the spirit of bipartisanship in this country. A spirit of being able to work with one another. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (53) Joe Biden uses the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to emphasize the need to be united to maintain democracy. The noun *enemy* implies that political opponents perceive themselves as antagonists to be defeated instead of partners in their struggle. Since politics is always a struggle for power, it is worth mentioning that in this struggle the winner is usually the one who owns better communicative weapons. However, in this speech, Joe Biden aims to change the audience's ideas about political reality and to emphasize the need to re-conceptualize the political world. According to him, attitudes between rival politicians should be changed to reconcile the supporters of both politicians. This demonstrates Joe Biden's ability to achieve flexibility in politics and facilitates the realization of the Emphasize positive things about US strategy.

(54) Too many among us spend more time shouting than listening, more time **fighting** than working together, more time demonizing and denigrating others than lifting them up. (Biden, October 27, 2020b)

In example (54) Joe Biden uses the POLITICS IS A WAR and WELL-BEING IS UP conceptual metaphors to call the Americans for unity. By contrasting rivalry with cooperation,

shouting with listening, degradation with growth, he alludes to Trump's irresponsibility and vanity. In this sense, Trump is presented as somebody who neglects the Americans' needs in his fight with the Democrats. Thus, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is exemplified in this excerpt.

(55) My buddy Congressman Mike Doyle, Governor Tom Wolf, thank you for standing with me and **fighting for the dignity of working people**. (Biden, November 2, 2020a)

In example (55) Joe Biden accomplishes the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor in order to highlight the role of the Democratic party in protecting the rights of laborers. Being related to the protection of the weaker, the offended, to the struggle for the dignity of the working people, especially when you are not alone, but in a group of like-minded people, friends who are known and respected in society, means to participate in a kind of war, a battle consisting in the skillful application of tactics and strategy, to use cunning and sometimes aggressive methods of struggle. Joe Biden is grateful to those who, as fellows on the battlefield, stand next to him in this battle for the well-being of American workers, who represent the highest moral virtues in American society, i.e., diligence, industry and hard work. Thus, this conceptual metaphor helps Joe Biden apprise the American worker as the foundation of America and persuade American voters to support the Democrats in this political war.

(56) No one's going to take our democracy away from us, not now, not ever. America's come too far. **America's fought too many battles**. America's endured too much to ever let that happen. (Biden, November 4, 2020b)

In example (56) Joe Biden the POLITICS IS A WAR and LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphors in order to praise the endurance of the American people and warn them against supporting the Republican candidate, who would continue to harm America. The perception of war in collective historical memory includes the attack of the enemy, the mobilization of the nation, etc. The reference to the political struggle in terms of a battle shows that in order to preserve democracy, many efforts should be made. Moreover, Joe Biden highlights that America has come a long path towards the victory and now it is necessary to maintain gains, survive, and get stronger.

(57) **Donald Trump has turned this country into battlefield** [inaudible 00:19:39] by old resentments and fresh fears. (Biden, June 2, 2020)

In example (57) Joe Biden applies the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to present Donald Trump as an aggressive politician who divides the nation instead of uniting it.

Perceiving the political arena as a battlefield where a large number of threats and dangers have been created due to Trump's poor management, Joe Biden warns the Americans against voting for Trump. On the contrary, he motivates them to choose a new progressive democratic leader who is ready to fight faithfully for a happy future for the American society. Thus, Joe Biden applies the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy.

(58) My fellow Americans, we're facing **formidable enemies**. They include not only the Coronavirus and a terrible impact on the lives and livelihoods, but also the selfishness and fear that have loomed over our national life for the last three years. And I choose those words advisedly, selfishness, and fear. **Defeating those enemies** requires us to do our duty. (Biden, June 2, 2020)

In example (58) Joe Biden uses the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to emphasize the need to overcome the inequality that exists in American society. He explains that racism is due to the fear and selfishness promoted by Donald Trump, which can lead America to destruction and disaster. In addition, he highlights the urgent need to fight this evil by using the words belonging to the military sphere and presents himself as a leader who is ready to assume this responsibility.

(59) Hello, hello, hello. Hello, Philadelphia. It's great to these everyone. Thank you, thank you, thank you. [...] And for all of you, all of you, all you do to **fight for the people of Philadelphia** and every single day in Congress. (Biden, November 1, 2020)

In example (59) Joe Biden employs the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to demonstrate his readiness to work for the well-being of all the Americans. Using the concept of war in the sense of political activities, he emphasizes how difficult it is to achieve political goals and how many efforts it requires. Therefore, he creates positive self-presentation via the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy.

(60) **I'm ready to fight for you** and for our nation every day, without exception, without reservation, with a full and devoted heart. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (60) Joe Biden applies the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to show his determination to work hard for the American people. The electoral process is always accompanied by a struggle between different political parties, which involves a variety of weapons. Joe Biden is ready to use all the available weapons in this fight for presidency. The politician consciously and persistently chooses the path of struggle, which might convince

voters to cast their votes for him and his political force. This metaphor, then, facilitates the realization of the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy.

(61) And if I have the honor of becoming president, **I'll be fighting for you every single day**. And I promise you, hear me now, you will have a seat at the table at the White House. No fundamental decisions will be made without you sitting in literally not figuratively. Literally, that's a word. You have my word on it. (Biden, September 30, 2020a)

In example (61) Joe Biden uses the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to show that he is willing to be a leader standing on the principles of democracy. Transferring the features of military actions to the sphere of politics, Joe Biden refers to the fact that there is still a difficult battle ahead, in which he will represent ordinary Americans, listen to their opinions, and stand on their defense. Thus, he positions himself as a commander who knows how to keep his word, take responsibility and resolutely go to the goal. Using the huge public demand of society for justice and protection, he motivates the voter to choose him.

Another noteworthy aspect of the war-based metaphors is the idea that any war ends in victory or defeat. This implies that when a war on some burning social or political issues is declared, there is an expectation in the public that the fighting will not last forever. However, in the political context, the limitations of the war conceptual metaphors consist in the fact that such expectations may be unrealistic and overestimated, because such social problems as poverty or inequality cannot be conquered at once (Petsko, 2001; Fuks, 2009). This is illustrated by the following examples from the analyzed speeches.

(62) With your help, with your love and your devotion, and with your drive, we are going to keep on working, **we are going to keep on fighting and we are going to keep on winning, winning, winning**. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (62) Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR to convey his abilities to continue being a leader for America and assure his electorate that his administration will make new achievements and new victories. Positive results can be achieved only through the intense struggle and devotion of all the citizens. The reference to this struggle in terms of fighting evokes the image of Donald Trump's policy as a battle in which he acts as a warrior for the interests of the American people. Moreover, the repetition of the verb *win* intensifies his certainty in his own strength to be a winner and imbues the audience with his confidence. In this way, the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us is realized.

(63) The first step to **victory** in November is tomorrow. [...] We're thrilled to be joined tonight by many great leaders from across this state and this country, great national leaders. I want to thank our tremendous Vice President, Mike Pence, who spoke earlier this evening. And also with us, **our warrior senators**, the two people that wanted to be here. They're going to be here tomorrow. [...] And very highly respected, Senators Lindsey Graham and Rand Paul. Great guys. **Warriors, they're warriors.** Hey, Lindsay and Rand. (Trump, February 10, 2020)

In example (63) Donald Trump resorts to the conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS A WAR and LIFE IS A JOURNEY to present himself as a candidate who is sure of the future victory in the elections. He is depicted as a self-sufficient leader who will struggle for the well-being of America, accompanied by the brave warriors, i.e., his supporters who fight for the Republican values. Elections here are identified with war and are accompanied by competition, disputes and conflicts. Pre-election races are similar to hostilities because they involve the existence of a winner and a loser. This war is being carried out for the victory of the strongest candidate, who will be able to protect the American citizens. Therefore, everyone who gives one's vote for a particular candidate chooses the path along which one will travel in the future. In this regard, Donald Trump is urging voters to take a step towards victory in the near future.

(64) We the people will not be silenced. We the people will not be bullied. **We the people will not surrender.** My friends, I'm confident **we'll emerge victorious.** But **this will not be my victory alone or our victory alone. It'll be a victory** for the American people, for our democracy, for America. And there will be no blue states and red states **when we win**, just the United States of America, God bless you all and may God protect our **troops.** Thank you. (Biden, November 4, 2020b)

In example (64) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR to demonstrate his certainty in the close victory of the American democracy and motivate the voters to defeat Donald Trump together. A conceptual metaphor transfers the signs of war to the plane of politics, where the battle will necessarily end in victory, and only one of the participants can become the winner, while the other will necessarily be defeated. By sharing this victory with all the Americans, Joe Biden presents himself as a leader whose aim is to unite the nation. Thus, the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us is accomplished.

(65) At our best, **the American ideal wins out.** But it's never a route, it's always **a fight and the battle is never fully won.** (Biden, June 2, 2020)

In example (65) Joe Biden applies the conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS A WAR and LIFE IS A JOURNEY to emphasize the difficulties that accompany political struggles. The combination of war and journey conceptual metaphors helps him explain to the voter that the electoral process and political activity are not a pleasant and safe walk along a well-equipped wide and straight road. This is a path full of constant threats, skirmishes and unpredictable turns. It requires, then, a constant readiness to resolve disputes, scandals, and a rearrangement to be adapted to new conditions. However, Joe Biden expresses his certainty that the democratic values will prevail.

In addition, the war-based metaphors perform the function of emphasizing the opposition between the two rival parties in the context of economy and business. In particular, the concept of war is widely used in the context of price wars and economic rivalry between countries (Koller, 2002; Whysall, 2001). Such an interpretation of economy in terms of war traces back its origin to the principles of the military strategy described in Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* (2021). In addition, the language of war is applied by politicians to explain and justify their risky and aggressive measures they have adopted in order to guarantee the economic stability of the country (Eubanks, 2000; Audebrand, 2010; Flusberg et al., 2018). In the analyzed corpus of campaign speeches, both Presidential candidates, Donald Trump and Joe Biden, think and talk about the US economy in terms of warfare.

(66) **We've ended the war on American energy**, and the United States is now the number one producer of oil and natural gas on planet earth. And these maniacs want to close it up. (Trump, December 19, 2019)

In example (66) Donald Trump conceptualizes the economy with the help of the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A WAR. In this way, he intends to emphasize his huge efforts in the battle for the American full energy independence and economic dominance. The word *war* in this context implies a threat that foreign producers of oil pose to the American economy. He is convinced that energy scarcity is a myth and that America can keep primacy in oil and gas production. Consequently, Donald Trump withdrew the United States from the Paris Agreement and canceled Obama's decree restricting gas and coal production, which allowed their export abroad. Having convened a consultation at which specialists were instructed to revive the ailing nuclear power industry, Donald Trump imposed a ban on laying a pipeline that transported oil and oil products from Canada to Mexico through the United States. He also tried to block the Nord Stream 2 project, expressing fears that the new gas pipeline under the Baltic Sea would make NATO allies and European countries as a whole more vulnerable to Russian

influence. Denying Obama's progressive decisions, Donald Trump uses a kind of aggressive-positive aspects of the warfare, pointing out that the best solutions are a kind of political war for the sake of America's economic progress. Ideally, he sees America as completely energy independent country, which cannot but please the voter.

(67) We've ended the last administration's **cruel and heartless war on American energy**.
(Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (67) Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR to implement the strategy of highlighting his contribution to the well-being of the American society in contrast with his opponent's harmful decisions. This metaphor acts as a manipulation of consciousness and a way of categorizing and evaluating, because it implies the presence of a battlefield (energy), soldiers (Trump's administration), and weapons (political decisions), enhanced by the emotionally charged words *cruel* and *heartless*. Such a political narrative with symbolic techniques contributes to the formation of public opinion about the political decisions made by the Democrats and the Republicans and motivates potential voters to support that who, according to the Republican candidate, is on the side of good.

(68) **We won a victory** for every mom and dad who lost a job because **our leaders waved the white flag of economic surrender**, you've seen that too much. **We won a victory** for American self-government, self-rule, and self-determination. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (68) Donald Trump employs the metaphor ECONOMY IS A WAR as a way to demonstrate the faults of the Democrats in the economic policy which resulted in the severe crisis. Justifying his own sharp actions in the war with his opponents, which he was forced to begin due to the harm they cause to America, Donald Trump points to the consequences in the policy of his predecessors. As a result of their detrimental actions, every American suffers since the economic development of the state is the most important prerequisite for the welfare of society. Donald Trump resorts to the war-based metaphor to show the terrible consequences of the policy carried out by the Democratic administration. The lexeme *economic surrender* vividly and figuratively characterizes the harmful activities of those politicians who *waved the white flag* and left ordinary citizens face-to-face with their problems. Appealing to the voters to improve welfare and promising the economic growth, he presents himself as the best candidate to the electorate. The fact that his predecessors, Donald Trump's opinion, led to the deterioration of the economic development of the country is a hint of his role as a fighter of the economic front.

(69) While others allowed China to freely **loot the US economy**, \$500 billion a year, not million, not million, billion with a B. [booing] We've made it clear that the theft of American jobs and American wealth is over. (Trump, August 15, 2019)

Similarly, in example (69) Donald Trump applies the metaphor ECONOMY IS A WAR to demonstrate the harmful influence of China on the American economy. Donald Trump defends that he worked hard and decisively to contain the economic and geostrategic influence of China, which he accused of unfair trade behavior. This led to a direct economic war with China. Both countries entered the duel of alternately increasing tariffs and ineffective trade negotiations to establish a new regime of economic relations. Here, the concept of war is evoked through the verb *loot*, meaning "to steal things, especially from shops or homes that have been damaged in a war or riot" (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English Online*, <https://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/loot>). This creates the image of America being raided by Chinese pirates or bandits. Donald Trump accuses the Democrats of causing such a situation who let China make benefits at the expense of the American economy. In contrast, Donald Trump acts as a savior trying to stop the raid. Therefore, this metaphor allows him to invoke the sense of fear and danger in the voters and persuade them to support him.

(70) Yet today, the Wall Street Journal editorial board, and some others, continue to publish [sic] foolish articles that demonstrate that they understand nothing about trade or business. Nothing. They advocate only **economic surrender**. (Trump, August 15, 2019)

In example (70) Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A WAR to conceptualize the economic competition in terms of a war. In particular, the stagnant economy is conceptualized in terms of military defeat and surrender. The war metaphor is actualized through the verb *surrender*, which means "to stop fighting and admit defeat" (*Cambridge Dictionary*, <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/surrender>). In this case, the capitulation is perceived as a defeat, a forced loss, the cause of which is a destructive policy that leads to a terrible catastrophe, the loss of the economic power of the state, and therefore of the economic well-being of each American citizen. In this speech, Donald Trump appears as a fighter who, despite huge threats, is ready for a decisive and brutal battle for the best life of all Americans. He is a warrior, fighter, defender and against the background of his image, his political rivals are seen in an extremely negative light. At the same time, this metaphor allows Donald Trump to emphasize his positive impact on the revival of the national economy, while demonstrating the detrimental effects of his opponent's economic policy. As a strong leader, Donald Trump takes the liberty to follow his own path and be guided primarily by America's

national interests and ensure America's independence and maximum freedom of action by weakening the state regulation of business. In his opinion, international trade is a battle where there is only one winner and America must constantly win thanks to its own power, while partners must lose.

The economic development of the United States is also crucial for Joe Biden. He resorts to the war metaphors to create a positive political image of himself and foreground Donald Trump's mistakes in the economic policy, as may be seen in the following example.

(71) **I'll fight for American jobs** with the dignity of work and make the wealthy and corporations began to pay their fair share. (Biden, September 30, 2020b)

In the example (71) Joe Biden employs the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A WAR to convey his readiness to create working places for ordinary Americans and achieve justice for them in taxation policies. The struggle to defend their own achievements have features in common with the concept of war, because they require aggressive and decisive actions. This struggle involves a certain strategy and tactics of action. Here, Joe Biden promises voters to fight for a fair distribution of material goods, for the honor and dignity of workers, and for their right and opportunity to work and receive a fair reward. Therefore, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is followed in this example.

(72) Mr. President, open everything now isn't a strategy for success. It's barely a slogan. Quit pushing the false choice between **protecting our health and protecting our economy**. All it does is endanger our recovery **on both fronts**. (Biden, July 14, 2020)

In example (72) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A WAR in order to criticize Donald Trump for his mistakes in policies on healthcare and economy. The noun *front*, coming from the military sphere, evokes the war imagery in the minds of the audience. By referring to Trump's mistakes in terms of war, Joe Biden points out the fallacy of the decisions of the current administration, which are a threat to the state. Just as war destroys previous possessions and provokes huge losses, in a similar way bad governing destroys the state. Accordingly, he explains that, in order to change this situation, it is necessary to change those who govern the state by winning this war.

(73) Farmers all across the country have been gutted by the president's broken promises and **reckless trade war**. (Biden, October 10, 2020)

In example (73) Joe Biden uses the ECONOMY IS A WAR conceptual metaphor to show harmful effects of Donald Trump's governing on American farmers. Mapping the features of

the war onto economy, Joe Biden accuses Trump of making thoughtless vital decisions in the economic sphere and characterizes the current economic situation as warfare, as it involves prohibitions, restrictions and rivalry. In such a way, the strategy Emphasize negative things about Them is adopted.

Having analyzed the application of the war-based conceptual metaphors in the corpus of campaign speeches, it is possible to conclude that they perform a number of functions. First of all, the war metaphors are common in political discourse because they fall within widely shared schematic knowledge about wars as a violent struggle between two rivaling sides. Secondly, they evoke the vivid emotional images related to the war that in turn activate a feeling of urgency and fear in people's minds while encouraging them to act. This especially concerns such important issue as inequality, racism, drug addiction, poverty, climate change, economy, etc. Thirdly, the war metaphors demonstrate the antagonistic and aggressive nature of political activities, in particular, the elections, where the polarization between the opposing groups (Us vs. Them) is enhanced. Finally, the war metaphors imply the end of the confrontation or the defeat of the one side, which gives the audience the hope for the end of the war. In addition, in the analyzed campaign speeches, the war-based conceptual metaphors are used by both candidates to create positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, Emphasize positive things about Us and Emphasize negative things about Them being the main Ideological Square strategies employed.

6.3. UP/DOWN

In the analyzed corpus, the spatial conceptual metaphors are also significant for political persuasion by Donald Trump and Joe Biden. The following special conceptual metaphors containing the source domain UP/DOWN are identified in their speeches: CONTROL IS UP, IDEAL IS UP, MORE IS UP, and WELL-BEING IS UP. For example, the conceptual metaphor WELL-BEING IS UP consists of the set of conceptual mapping of the source domain (UP) onto the target domain (WELL-BEING) (MetaNet Metaphor Wiki, 2018):

a) a high position on a vertical scale \Rightarrow well-being (economic, physical, social, psychological),

b) a low position on a vertical scale \Rightarrow ill-being (economic, physical, social, psychological).

Within the conceptual metaphors that involve an upward/downward movement along the vertical scale or a high/low position on this scale, height is the source that conveys positive qualities. Thus, UP implies good, while DOWN means bad. Apart from meaning quality, these

metaphors express the concept of morality, i.e., moral deeds are always located high on the vertical scale, which is expressed by prepositions such as *over*, *above* or *up*. In this regard, the source domain UP/DOWN is also related to high or low prices, living standards, etc. (Goatly, 2007, p. 165). Furthermore, these conceptual metaphors serve to express power and dominance. UP, thus, indicates an important position in society. Therefore, height is perceived as a symbol of political or economic power, importance or success (Goatly, 2007, p. 36).

In the analyzed campaign speeches, the UP/DOWN metaphors are used by Donald Trump and Joe Biden to conceptualize the issues related to the economic or social development of the United States, achievements in dealing with poverty and unemployment, or the US authority in international affairs. With the help of these metaphors, the presidential candidates create positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. Unemployment is one of the issues of concern for Donald Trump, and he often resorts to this problem in his electioneering campaign.

(74) **We have lifted** more than six million Americans off of food stamps, and we're getting off of welfare and back into the workforce, and they're so happy. They are so happy.
(Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (74) Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor WELL-BEING IS UP to emphasize his positive impact on improving conditions of low-income Americans. The verb *lift* used to evoke the conceptual metaphor implies that the poorest groups of society finally obtained the possibility to live better thanks to Trump's administration. Being lifted along the vertical scale means to achieve a higher position and, thus, to achieve well-being and prosperity. This falls within Trump's slogan *America First*, which involves providing stability for every American and only then worrying about the fate of people from other countries, which in turn reflects the Republican values of individualism and responsibility for one's own life. Donald Trump is proud of letting these poor people earn their living by creating jobs for them, because according to the Democratic principles, a person who works hard will earn a lot of money and achieve the highest position in society. Therefore, he emphasizes that his administration creates opportunities for the citizens with low incomes to earn more money.

(75) **Wages are rising** quickly. Now I can say for the first time in 20 years, **wages are rising**.
(Trump, August 15, 2019)

In example (75) the conceptual metaphor WELL-BEING IS UP allows Donald Trump to highlight his positive role in improving living standards for the Americans. Wage growth leads

to improved well-being of the population. The verb *rise* demonstrates the upward movement of salaries because being above means having more, which is a positive motivation for the action of all voters, regardless of their political worldview or racial and religious background. This enhances the significance of the President and his merits.

Social welfare programs funded by the federal government are another issue of concern for Donald Trump as the Republican candidate. According to the Republican values, social programs do not bring benefit to American citizens because they do not motivate them to work and earn their living. Therefore, they in general oppose the introduction of these programs in contrast to the Democrats, who are in favor of providing governmental support and aid to those in need.

(76) **We've lifted 10 million people** off federal welfare programs. (Trump, January 14, 2020)

In example (76) Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor WELL-BEING IS UP to criticize social programs, which the Republicans see as harmful for hard-working people and individual development. Thus, he implies that reduction in spending on the social sphere leads to the success of all. Hence, Donald Trump attacks the retirement and unemployment insurance program, tightening requirements for recipients of federal social security subsidies and reducing their financing. In this way, Donald Trump wants to show his supporters that he does not want to feed people who do not want to work hard in order to have a decent pension. Such a position falls within the mindset of the Republicans' supporters.

(77) **To lift up forgotten communities** that need investment, and these are really communities that need it the most, we created Opportunity Zones. (Trump, February 19, 2020)

In example (77) Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor WELL-BEING IS UP, evoked by the verb *lift*, in order to emphasize his role in bringing economic stability to low-income areas in the United States via investments, and thus promoting economic growth. By promoting the expansion of the Opportunity Zone program, which began after the 2017 tax reform, Donald Trump aims to promote investment in economically backward areas by exempting capital sales tax. According to this reform, the return of producers to their homeland is proposed to allow a complete write-off of investments in capital assets (instead of gradual depreciation) for some industries, which will allow enterprises to reduce pre-tax income by increasing investment. Donald Trump sees tax policy as a means of achieving global goals by supporting the free market and a limited interference of the state in the economy. Accordingly, more money invested in business will provide conditions for the well-being of the Americans.

In addition, since the Democrats support social welfare programs financed by the federal government, Joe Biden pays particular attention to the issues of social guarantees in his discourse in order to increase his chances to be elected. Thus, the Democratic candidate employs the UP/DOWN source domain to talk about healthcare problems. In particular, dealing with the pandemic occupies a significant place in his electioneering discourse, as is illustrated by the following example.

(78) FDR came looking for a cure, but it was the lessons he learned here that he used to **lift a nation**. [...] **Lifting us out of a great depression**, defeating tyranny, saving democracy. (Biden, October 27, 2020b)

In example (78) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor WELL-BEING IS UP to emphasize the need to work hard to achieve improvement in the economy and overcome the crisis caused by the pandemic. Progress is the direction of development from the lowest to the highest, a gradual movement forward to the best. Each member of society has the goal of living in a progressive country because being up, having comfortable living conditions is better than feeling fear for the future. The crisis caused by the pandemic, as a negative phenomenon, is down. Therefore, to overcome it and raise the life of American society up is the primary task that a wise and experienced leader has to complete. In addition, the historical allusion to the 32nd President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was successful in dealing with the Great Depression and defeating the Nazi regime during the Second World War, Joe Biden wants to draw an analogy with the COVID-19 pandemic that led to a severe economic crisis. This allusion makes the audience perceive Joe Biden as a loyal follower of President Roosevelt and inspires the confidence that he will achieve the same good result.

In addition, it is noteworthy that in Joe Biden's electioneering discourse the special metaphors are also important to realize the Ideological Square strategy De-emphasize negative things about Us.

(79) Once again, fight for the proposition that we hold these truths to be self-evident. That all men and women are created equal, endowed by the creator with certain inalienable rights. We say it all the time, but **we've never fully lived up to it**. (Biden, March 3, 2020)

In example (79) Joe Biden resorts to the conceptual metaphor IDEAL IS UP to recognize possible errors committed by the American politician when trying to endure equality in the United States. In this case, the strategy De-emphasize negative things about Us is realized. The

spatial metaphors contribute to the formation of the image of Joe Biden as a political leader who sees patriotism as a unifying force for the Americans of any origin and religion. Being up means achieving this ideal; however, he admits that the complete equality has not been achieved yet. At the same time, the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR, created by the verb *fight*, implies that there is much to be done to become a society free from racial prejudices and discrimination. Such honesty attracts the voters and imbues them to join in the effort to defeat racism together with Joe Biden.

(80) Go back to the beginning, Thomas Jefferson wrote what many believed to be the most important civil document in human history, but he was a slaveholder. **We've never lived up to our American ideals**, Jefferson himself didn't. (Biden, August 7, 2019)

Similarly, in example (80) the conceptual metaphor IDEAL IS UP helps Joe Biden accomplish the De-emphasize negative things about US Ideological Square strategy. The up/down metaphor implies that the ideal is located on the highest position. The ideal for Joe Biden is to eliminate racism in the United States. The historical allusion to the 3rd President of the United States and one of Founding Fathers, Thomas Jefferson, who is considered the absolute authority for the Americans in politics, underpins the assumption that achieving the ideal is extremely difficult because he also owned slaves and therefore was not ideal.

Having analyzed the usage of the up/down metaphors during the US electioneering campaign by Donald Trump and Joe Biden, it is possible to conclude that both Presidential candidates apply these metaphors with persuasive goals. However, for Donald Trump the up/down metaphors play a significant role in creating a positive image of himself, while for Joe Biden these metaphors are mainly used to create a negative image of the opponent. In addition, the focus of the two candidates lies on different problematic issues, which is conditioned by their belonging to the Republican and the Democratic parties respectively. Thus, Donald Trump dwells upon unemployment, the harm of social programs, economic development, taxation, dealing with drug addiction, and healthcare. Meanwhile, Joe Biden concentrates on overcoming the pandemic and its consequences, providing social care for vulnerable social groups, and rising taxes for the rich. In addition, Joe Biden uses the spatial metaphors to realize the strategy De-emphasize negative things about US in order to hide possible mistakes in guaranteeing the equality for all the Americans and, in such a way, to promise to work further to improve the situation.

6.4. SPORT/GAMES

The conceptual metaphors based on sport or games are one of the prominent ones in the analyzed corpus. The SPORT/GAMES source domain is observed in the following conceptual metaphors: ECONOMY IS SPORT, POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME, POLITICS IS SPORT, SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS IS A RACE, and TREATING ILLNESS IS COMPETING. Both presidential candidates apply these metaphors to create positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. However, the sport/games metaphors are typical of Joe Biden's discourse. The most frequently used conceptual metaphor in this group is POLITICS IS SPORT, which contains the set of conceptual mapping of the source domain (SPORT) onto the target domain (POLITICS) (MetaNet Metaphor Wiki, 2018):

- a) politicians / candidates \Rightarrow competitors / racer / game players,
- b) voting \Rightarrow sport / race / game event,
- c) office \Rightarrow prize.

Sport is an activity that involves a competition between opposing sides, tactics, and results in the victory or defeat. The main theme of the sport/games metaphors, competition, presupposes being faster or stronger than the opponent (Goatly, 2007, p. 56). The sport metaphors foreground the importance of having a common ground and a common goal. Moreover, the teamwork is another important feature of sport or games that are made conspicuous in these metaphors (Flusberg et al., 2018, pp. 4-5). The concept of team is particularly explored in the electioneering discourse because teams are unities joined together by a common goal and vision (Honohan, 2008, p. 77).

Thus, in Donald Trump's campaign speeches, the sport/games metaphors are used to highlight his own political advantages as well as to emphasize his opponent's faults. With the help of these metaphors, Donald Trump talks about the issues related to political activities, elections, economic development, and scientific progress.

(81) Our economy is the envy of the world, perhaps the greatest economy we've had in the history of our country. [Cheers and applause.] And, as long as **you keep this team in place**, we've a tremendous way to go. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (81) Donald Trump applies the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS SPORT, along with the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, to highlight the need to be united in achieving the economic prosperity of the United States. The sport/games metaphor is evoked by the noun team and shows that the Americans should be one team with a common purpose. Like in sport, political activities require consolidation and close collaboration between party members and

society in general. This image is further underpinned by the journey metaphor, which indicates that there is still much to do in order to achieve well-being, because the concept of journey presupposes stops, changing routes, and even accidents on the way to the destination. Therefore, via the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us, Donald Trump shows that he is capable of uniting the nation and lead it to economic dominance.

(82) **We have set 141 records** on the stock market, highest levels ever in recorded history. **141 records.** That means, in less than three years, for 141 days, **we set a record.** Think of it, **we've said 141 records.** (Trump, January 14, 2020)

In example (82) Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS SPORT to emphasize his success in the election and convince his supporters of the victory. To give his words a special pathos, Donald Trump uses the numerical indicators of the country's economic growth, emphasizing that in comparison with his predecessors and opponents, his government's policy has been gaining high record results for 141 days, which are presented as a marathon distance. It's like a marathon, long and difficult, but victorious. The word *record*, pertaining to the domain of sport, hints at a large number of positive winning attempts, as in sports. As a result, the voters get the impression that economic policy and the growth of the stock market are possible only because of his achievements in domestic politics.

(83) More than two million millennials have gotten jobs and their wages have grown by nearly 5% every year, **which is a record.** (Trump, January 28, 2020)

In example (83) Donald Trump applies the conceptual metaphors ECONOMY IS SPORT and ECONOMY IS A PLANT to show progress in economic development, which is achieved, according to him, by the efforts of Trump's administration. Thus, he associates positive changes for the young generation, who has received work and tangible wage growth, with a sports record. Therefore, Donald Trump motivates the audience to set new goals and make new records. In such a way, the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us is accomplished.

(84) Thanks to our tireless efforts to secure the border, we have reduced illegal border crossings for eight straight months in a row, which will soon be **a record.** (Trump, February 19, 2020)

Since illegal immigration occupies a central place in Donald Trump's speeches, in example (84) he employs the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS SPORT to demonstrate the results of his efforts to reduce the numbers of immigrants from Mexico. The sport lexeme *record* indicates that these results are significant and emphasizes the competitive nature of

politics. Since in sports there is a huge crowd of people united by their interest in a team, they feel involved in the victory or records achieved by their team. This metaphor allows Donald Trump to portray himself as a winner in this sport event, i.e., policy on migration, and as a leader who can unite people and lead them to new records.

(85) If don't always **play by the rules of the Washington establishment**, it's because I was elected to fight for you harder than anyone has ever fought for you, which is true. (Trump, October 19, 2020b)

In example (85) Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS SPORT to emphasize his intentions to oppose his rivals for the best of the Americans. By referring to his rivalry with the Democrats in terms of not playing by the rules, he resorts to the spot imagery, which involves applying cunning tactics, risking, making unexpected movements to deceive the opponent, etc. When mapped onto political activities, it implies that Donald Trump is ready to take responsibility and make risky decisions in order to achieve his goals. Such determination and perseverance attract the audience to Donald Trump as a strong leader. Therefore, the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us is followed.

(86) We're **pursuing new advances** in neonatal research to care for America's youngest patients and **breaking all records** in so doing. (Trump, February 28, 2020)

Achieving scientific progress is another significant theme in Donald Trump's discourse. Thus, in example (86) he applies the conceptual metaphor TREATING ILLNESS IS COMPETING to highlight notable achievements in science made under his governing. The phrases *pursue new advances* and *break all records* point at the fact that Donald Trump pays particular attention to medical research to protect newborn babies from illness, of whose results he is proud of. He conceptualizes the research process as a competition to highlight that the cure should be found as quickly as possible to save more lives. As a result, part of the electorate perceives him as a leader who cares for the health of the nation and provides funding for scientific research in this area. Accordingly, the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us is adopted.

(87) But I don't know, I think sleepy Joe may be able **to limp across the finish line**. (Trump, August 15, 2019)

In example (87), in turn, Donald Trump applies the POLITICS IS SPORT conceptual metaphor to present his opponents in a negative light. He conceptualizes elections as sport races to show the inability of the Democratic candidate to win the election, i.e., to cross the finish

line first. This metaphor creates a pathetic image of Trump's rival in contrast to the robust strong figure of the Republican candidate, who believes himself to be a true leader who always wins. By degrading his opponent, Donald Trump accomplishes the Emphasize negative things about Them Ideological Square strategy and tries to persuade potential voters to support him instead.

(88) There wouldn't even be **a competitive election**. (Trump, February 19, 2020)

In example (88) Donald Trump uses the POLITICS IS SPORT conceptual metaphor to criticize the Democrats for breaking the rules of a fair competition. When elections are interpreted as sport competitions, it is implied that both political and sport events are characterized by such common features as tough confrontation between the opponents, rivalry, competition, and thirst for victory. Such antagonism as a manifestation of a constant competition between the two parties becomes a point of contact between political and sport discourses. In this regard, Donald Trump emphasizes that only Republicans can maintain the true spirit of the competition, while blaming the Democrats for not adhering to fair play rules. Therefore, the strategy Emphasize negative things about Them is followed by the Republican candidate in this case.

(89) And **your second amendment is at stake**, remember that. And your second amendment, you like the second amendment, it's [inaudible 00:52:52]. But with Cory and with me, **they're not going to play with your second amendment**. (Trump, February 20, 2020)

In example (89) Donald Trump uses the POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME conceptual metaphor to criticize the Democrats for their intention to limit the right to bear arms. According to the Republican principles, the right to carry firearms is an indispensable right because it allows Americans to defend themselves. The phrase *to be at stake*, taken from the sphere of gambling games, foregrounds such an ability of gamblers as taking risks and venturing, which are equally important for politicians. Consequently, this metaphor portrays Donald Trump as a politician who is ready to take any change and risk in order to protect the fundamental rights of the American citizens.

(90) If we don't win in 2020, everything that we've done--seriously, though, everything that we've done, your 401s, they're going to crash, the whole thing it's going to come down like **a stack of cards**. (Trump, July 17, 2019)

In example (90) Donald Trump applies the POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME conceptual metaphor to present possible defeat in the elections as failure of a thoroughly

planned game strategy. The card game presupposes a strategy, tactics, skills, smartness, and experience; similarly, candidates should possess the same characteristics. Moreover, the card game involves excitement and tension. Therefore, Donald Trump emphasizes that these emotions are also inherent in political activities because the outcomes of the elections are unpredictable. In this regard, Donald Trump presents himself as a leader who is able to take these risks and play this political game. Such rhetoric gives confidence and motivates the voters to support Donald Trump.

At the same time, the sport/games metaphors are amongst the predominant ones in campaign speeches delivered by Joe Biden. They play an essential role in creating positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. In particular, he applies the sport/games metaphors in relation to the Presidential elections and the electioneering campaign.

(91) We don't have a **final declaration of victory** yet but the numbers tell us it's clear. They tell us a clear and convincing story **we're going to win this race**. (Biden, November 6, 2020)

The POLITICS IS SPORT metaphor is the main one in emphasizing Joe Biden's positive features as a political leader. Thus, in example (91) he uses this conceptual metaphor to imbue the audience with confidence in winning the elections. By conceptualizing elections in terms of a race, Joe Biden highlights the competitiveness of this event. Since the victory comes to the strongest sportsman, in order for the winner to be determined and declared, the competition must come to its end, and only then, the final results and the winner will be announced. Such indicators of his success are used by Joe Biden as motivation, an optimistic setting for success, acting as a kind of inspiration in this race. At the same time, he asks his supporters to wait till the final results are known. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is pursued by the Democratic Party's candidate in this example.

(92) Just look at what has happened since yesterday. 24 hours **we were behind** in Georgia, now **we're ahead and we're going to win that state**. 24 hours ago **we were behind** in Pennsylvania and **we are going to win Pennsylvania**. And now we're ahead but **we're winning in Arizona, winning** in Nevada, and in fact **our lead just doubled** in Nevada. **We're on track** to over 300 electoral votes, electoral college votes. And look at the national numbers. **We're going to win this race** with a clear majority with the nation behind us. We've gotten over 74 million votes. Let me repeat that, 74 million votes, that's more than any presidential ticket has ever gotten in the history of the United States of America. (Biden, November 6, 2020)

In example (92) Joe Biden applies the POLITICS IS SPORT conceptual metaphor to show his close victory in the elections. Considering politics, in particular electoral races, as a sport competition where strict rules of fair competition are needed and victory comes to the strongest, he conveys the image of a vivid race between two candidates, which is characterized by competitiveness. Moreover, numerical values indicating the time and the number of votes emphasizes the convincing advantage of the Democratic candidate. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized, because this metaphor highlights the significance of Joe Biden's victory.

(93) I'm here to tell you tonight, we believe **we're on track to win this election**. We knew because of the unprecedented early vote and the mail-in vote it was going to take a while. (Biden, November 4, 2020a)

In example (93) Joe Biden applies the POLITICS IS SPORT conceptual metaphor to demonstrate that he is winning the Presidency. The metaphor is evoked by the metaphorical expression *be on track*, which implies that he is right in his intentions and actions. By transferring the competitive nature of the sport event onto the electoral process, Joe Biden draws attention to how successful he will be in this competition. In elections, like in sports competitions, there is one winner who is the strongest and fastest competitor. Hence, this conceptual metaphor helps Joe Biden depict himself as the strongest, the most skilled leader who will be able to outcompete any rival. Thus, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

(94) **We're beating Donald Trump** by over 4 million votes, and that's a margin that is still growing as well. (Biden, November 6, 2020)

In example (94) Joe Biden employs the POLITICS IS SPORT conceptual metaphor to emphasize the close victory in the elections. Taken from the sphere of sport competition, the verb *beat* implies that Donald Trump outcompetes his rival in this race. Thus, he makes his success conspicuous against the background of Trump's failure. Moreover, this metaphor increases the excitement of voters due to the fact that their candidate will win in such a tough competition. Creating such an image of sport competition, Joe Biden unites around himself voters who support him like fans of sports teams, waiting for unconditional success.

(95) We want a nominee who will **beat Donald Trump**, but also also keep Nancy Pelosi, the Speaker of the House, **win** back the United States Senate. If that's what you want, join

us. You want a nominee who's a Democrat, a life long Democrat, a proud Democrat, an Obama Biden Democrat. Join us. (Biden, March 3, 2020)

In example (95) Joe Biden applies the POLITICS IS SPORT conceptual metaphor to highlight the need to defeat Donald Trump and not allow him to continue harming people. The elections here are conceptualized as a sport competition where there are athlete participants and fans who support their team. The verb *beat* demonstrates the competitive nature of elections that requires skills, experience and agility. Therefore, the audience will perceive Joe Biden's speech as a call for unity in front of the danger posed by Trump. At the same time, it will allow Joe Biden to present himself in positive colors and thus convince voters in his trustworthiness. In addition, personal pronouns such as *we* and *you* enhance the active involvement of the citizens into political decision-making.

(96) We're going to **win Pennsylvania** and we're going to show the world what America stands for. (Biden, November 2, 2020b)

In example (96) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS SPORT to convey his certainty in close victory to the audience. Since the electioneering campaign is a kind of race or competition in which political competitors try to outcompete each other, this metaphor helps Joe Biden inspire the audience with the sense of the close victory in this highly competitive race. Trying to win over the largest number of voters, he imbues them with the desire to participate in the race and join this movement. In such a way, he portrays himself as a leader capable of risky decisions in order to win.

(97) There's no state more consequential than Georgia in that fight. **You have two competitive races here at stake.** (Biden, October 27, 2020a)

In example (97) Joe Biden uses the range of conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS SPORT, POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME, and POLITICS IS A WAR to show the importance of voting and participating in public life of the country. The whole range of metaphors are aimed to highlight the features that war, sport, and gambling game have in common, i.e., there is always only one winner and one loser. At the same time, the war metaphor implies the aggressiveness of the election, the game metaphor foregrounds the ability to make risky decision that are necessary in politics, while the sport metaphor underpins the competitiveness of elections.

Economic development is another pressing issue dwelt upon in Joe Biden's campaign speeches. According to the Democratic values, Joe Biden considers social equality the foundation of the economic prosperity.

(98) I promise you I will stand up to China's trade abuses, and I will invest in the American worker, because I know no one, **nobody can outcompete an American worker** when **they've gotten a fair shot**, nobody in the world. (Biden, October 12, 2020a)

In example (98) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS SPORT to praise the Americans laborers and emphasize his intentions to defend them in the competition with other countries. The lexemes *outcompete* and *a fair shot* evoke the sport/games metaphor that conceptualizes economic rivalry in terms of sport event. The existence of countries with powerful economies necessarily leads to competition. However, in order to ensure a fair competition, it is necessary to provide equal conditions for all parties, without any bias. Given the effectiveness and capabilities of the American worker, who is motivated by wages and social conditions, Joe Biden promises to protect American laborers and to counter all threats from China's expansive economic policies, trying to take the position of a fair judge in this economic competition.

(99) And so folks, we're going **to level the playing field** for you and for your families. (Biden, September 30, 2020a)

In example (99) Joe Biden uses the POLITICS IS SPORT conceptual metaphor to emphasize his plan to provide equal opportunities for all Americans. This metaphor is evoked by the idiom *to level the playing field*, which means to create equal opportunities for all. Here, such features of political activities as aggressive competition and cunning behavior between rivals or humiliation and accusations do not come to the fore. On the contrary, such elements as equality of conditions and the presence of clearly defined rules, compliance with sports ethics and tolerance, support, and sports honor are highlighted. Thus, Joe Biden promises to conduct policy according to the principles which are characteristic of sports, to create equal chances for all Americans, and therefore to be a fair and wise leader of the nation. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

(100) My good friends, Congressman, excuse me, G.K. Butterfield and David Price, who represent the first and fourth districts with decency and honor, they can tell you we're doing both, working hard and **we're competing** like we never did before because **so**

much is at stake for this nation. The very soul of the nation is **at stake.** (Biden, October 18, 2020)

In example (100) Joe Biden applies the conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS SPORT and POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME to show that these elections can decide the fate of all the Americans and the future of the country. Here, politicians are transformed into players, the political activity is understood as a playing field, and society is seen as the spectator in political processes. These players work hard, compete, and make efforts to create a strong and united nation. The concept of a gambling game mapped onto the elections highlights that the democracy in America is under threat and Joe Biden, together with the American citizens, will save it from any encroachment. Therefore, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is fulfilled.

(101) I ain't a socialist. I ain't a plutocrat. I'm a Democrat. I'm a Democrat. Okay? And I'm proud of it. Look, you got to remember what made you become a Democrat in the first place. Basically, you thought **everybody just deserves a shot.** I really mean it. **Just a shot, an even playing field.** Just give us a chance. We can do anything at all, in the neighborhoods I come from and a lot of you come from. Anything at all. (Biden, February 22, 2020)

Social equality is also a paramount problem addressed by Joe Biden in his discourse. Thus, in example (101) he employs the POLITICS IS SPORT conceptual metaphor to emphasize his plan to unite the nation around the President on the basis of equality and opportunities for all. Perceiving the political struggle as a sport event, which involves equal conditions for participants, well-established rules and judicial presence, Joe Biden portrays himself as a politician who is ready to preserve these rules and provide equal opportunities for all the Americans. This political platform motivates the electorate to support Joe Biden in his fair competition.

(102) The Chinese are spending multiple billions of dollars trying to own the technology of the future while we sit with our thumb in our ear. That means fighting unfair trade practices, curbing the threat of intellectual property by countries like China. **America can't sit in the sidelines in a race to the future.** (Biden, July 9, 2020)

In example (102) the POLITICS IS SPORT and ECONOMY IS A WAR conceptual metaphors allow Joe Biden to demonstrate his plan to deter abuse committed by China in relation to American industry and technology. Comparing the efforts and actions of the

American authorities with China's steps towards technological development, Joe Biden accuses Trump's administration of failing to create favorable conditions for American business and to develop and implement new technologies quickly and efficiently. Accordingly, he uses the war metaphor to show that the economic relations with China are tense and require an urgent solution. Moreover, the sport-related lexemes *to sit in the sidelines* and *race* evoke the sport/games metaphor, which raise the public awareness of the need to develop the latest technologies in order to be able to compete Chinese companies. Such a progressive vision of the future presents Joe Biden as a leader who cares for the economic prosperity of the United States and increases citizens' confidence in him. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is accomplished.

(103) And **we're still in the game** in Georgia, although that's not one we expected. (Biden, November 4, 2020a)

In example (103) Joe Biden applies the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME to show that he is winning in these elections, in particular, in Georgia. Since the concept of a gambling game includes elements of risk, randomness and unpredictability, the results of the elections may also be unforeseeable and unexpected. None of the participants in the game can predict the result in advance even though an experienced player always studies the strategy and tactics of the game. Therefore, as an experienced and skilled player, Joe Biden continues this game, leads confidently the nation towards victory and positive changes in the future.

(104) Ladies and gentlemen, this is about more than just an election this time out. **There's an awful lot at stake**, and of course you're going to send Conner back. (Biden, November 2, 2020b)

In example (104) Joe Biden uses the POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME conceptual metaphor to emphasize the urgent need to preserve democracy in the United States via the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy. He applies the terminology of gambling to the electoral process, reinforces the importance of struggling for democratic values and winning this game. This game requires a well-thought plan, involving calculating the best moves, getting the most advantageous positions and the most cunning traps for the opponent, not being afraid to make risky decisions. Thus, Joe Biden presents himself as a strong leader who has such a plan and is willing to implement it. Such a resolute leader is likely to obtain the electorate's support.

(105) What happens now, what happens tomorrow is going to determine what this country looks like for a couple generations. And that's not a joke. I really generally believe that. **There's so damn much at stake.** We know **the stakes have never been higher.** We know **they've never been higher.** (Biden, November 2, 2020b)

In example (105) Joe Biden applies the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME to emphasize the paramount importance of voting for the Democratic candidate through the Emphasize positive things about US strategy. Such a card term as *at stake* is mapped onto the plane of the game and evokes in the addressees' minds the imagery of gambling that involves sharp ups and downs, unexpected or illusory expected results, painful loss of everything that the player had before the game. The adverbial phrases *now*, *tomorrow*, and *after several generations* create the perspective of time ahead. They help Joe Biden highlight that winning or losing these elections will have serious implications in the future because if something is at stake, the unity and effort of all the Americans are needed.

(106) We all know **the stakes couldn't be higher.** That's why it's no time for the divisive politics we're hearing more about today. Donald Trump may believe that pitting Americans against Americans will benefit him. I don't. We have a health crisis, an economic crisis, a racial justice crisis, a climate crisis. (Biden, July 9, 2020)

Similarly, in example (106) Joe Biden resorts to the POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME conceptual metaphor to highlight the crucial need of society to be united in order to overcome crises faced by America. The mapping of a gambling game onto the elections indicates the danger of confrontation between political players and the prudence of Joe Biden's policy as opposed to Donald Trump's actions. This game metaphor is used by Joe Biden to negatively assess the actions of his political opponent because it underlines the danger caused by Trump's dealing with the economic, social, environmental, and health crises. In addition, the game metaphor here includes elements of risk and unpredictability. None of the participants in the electoral game can predict and guarantee a successful outcome in advance, but an experienced player should always anticipate the possible risks. Hence, as an experienced and wise player, Joe Biden is cautious and prudent, because he does not devalue any opportunity for the opponent to take the initiative. He continues the game and motivates the potential voters to support him.

(107) Folks, each and every one knows that deep in our bones that everything this day he stands for is **at stake.** And I really mean it. (Biden, February 4, 2020)

In example (107) Joe Biden uses the POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME conceptual metaphor to highlight the need for winning the elections because Trump's return to the office is dangerous. Thus, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is fulfilled. In this regard, the card terminology used in relation to the political activities facilitates understanding the fact that if the most valuable thing is at stake, then it is in a risky position and requires courage from players. Such a conceptualization allows the voter to feel the threat coming from Trump's governing and comprehend the seriousness of the choice they should make.

Having analyzed the use of sport/games metaphors in campaign speeches delivered by Donald Trump and Joe Biden, it is possible to conclude that both Presidential candidates apply them to gain the Presidency by emphasizing their positive traits and highlighting mistakes of their opponents. Donald Trump applies the sport/games metaphors to demonstrate his certainty in winning the elections and presents himself as a politician who is able to create his own rules in the political game. This source domain is especially significant for Joe Biden's discourse, who mainly resorts to these metaphors to create positive self-presentation. Such a distribution can be explained by the fact that the SPORT/GAMES domain foregrounds the peaceful competitiveness of political activities, strict rules of fair competition, certain unpredictability, and risks. Thus, as a Democratic candidate, Joe Biden creates an image of himself as a leader who defends democratic values, equality, and justice, who support the principles of fair play and equal opportunities for all the Americans irrespective of their social, economic or racial background.

6.5. BUILDINGS

Another important source domain identified in the analyzed corpus is BUILDINGS. It is found in the following conceptual metaphors: ECONOMY IS A BUILDING, IDEAS ARE BUILDINGS, NATION IS A BUILDING, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BUILDING, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BUILDING, SOCIETY IS A BUILDING, and STATE IS A BUILDING.

In the analyzed electioneering speeches, the building metaphors are mostly used to realize the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy because the process of construction is associated with positive and promising changes for society. Such results can be explained by the fact that the building conceptual metaphor implies the creation of a well-structured, durable and permanent complex system or structure. This metaphor entails three functional and structural aspects of buildings, namely: construction, structure / foundation, strength, and stability, which are used to interpret certain abstract concepts. Therefore, the

image of a strong, well-founded building is evoked in the minds of the audience (Kövecses, 2010, p. 159).

For instance, the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A BUILDING contains a set of conceptual mappings of the source domain (BUILDING) onto the target domain (NATION) (Kövecses, 2010, p. 159):

- a) the entire building \Rightarrow nation,
- b) building residents \Rightarrow citizens,
- c) building stability \Rightarrow state of nation,
- d) building structure \Rightarrow nation pattern,
- e) building foundation \Rightarrow base for the existence of nation.

The popularity of the BUILDINGS source domain is based on the metonymic relations between a political entity and the dynastic place of residence (for example, the House of Windsor) or parliamentary institutions (for example, the House of Commons). In turn, its origin is traced back to the ancient symbol of a religious community that was understood as a house for the community's God (for example, the house of Israel) (Musolff, 2004, p. 8).

Apart from that, the building metaphor presupposes the existence of the parts of the prototypical house that are familiar to everybody, i.e., a foundation, doors, windows, rooms, corridors, stairs, a roof, a cellar, a chimney, etc. In addition, a building can be demolished as a result of an attack; it can be rebuilt if there are enough construction materials; keys are needed to enter a house; repairing is required to maintain a house in order. Mapping these features of buildings on distinct social, economic and political issues, it is clear that they can be reconstructed as if they were buildings, with the help of social, economic policies, and decisive actions (Gong et al., 2008, pp. 9-12).

(108) Accordingly, Donald Trump resorts to the building metaphors to emphasize his positive traits as a nominee of the Republican party who upholds the Republican values. In his discourse, Donald Trump dwells upon the political issues that are important for American citizens. Together we stared down a corrupt and **broken political establishment**, and **we restored government** of, by, and for the people. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (108) Donald Trump employs the POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor in combination with the POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor in order to emphasize the achievement of his administration in establishing order in the US government, while highlighting the negative consequences of Obama's Presidency. Conceptualized as a machine, the political system is a set of state and

non-state political and legal institutions of society linked by orderly connections. In this system, every cog and every link should be aimed at the successful and coordinated work of the entire mechanism of the state, which serves everyone. Moreover, the interpretation of a political structure in terms of a building allows Donald Trump to create the image of forming a strong government with well-grounded foundation and strong walls that would give a shelter to all American citizens before the outside enemies. By referring to the government in terms of restoration, Donald Trump enhances his decisive role in maintaining the political order in the United States.

(109) **We broke down the doors of Washington back rooms** where deals were cut to close our companies, give away your jobs, shut down our factories, and surrender your sovereignty and your very way of life. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (109) Donald Trump applied the POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor to depict his struggle against, in his view, deep rooted shortcomings of the Democratic Party. He evokes the image of a political system of the United States as a strong building, having doors, windows, etc. By referring to *the door of Washington back rooms*, Donald Trump makes an allusion to the criminal elite that makes fraudulent transactions that harm the American society. The use of the words *closure* and *shut down* enhance his accusations of predecessors of destroying the well-fare of the American citizens, its main components being the right to work, sovereignty and lifestyle. In addition, the POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphor underpins the image of Donald Trump as a fighter against what he considers the evil forces represented by the Democrats who encroach on the US sovereignty.

(110) **Our movement is built** on love, and it is, and we love our family. (Trump, August 15, 2019)

In example (110) the combination of the POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BUILDING and NATION IS A FAMILY conceptual metaphors serves to emphasize positive things about the Republican party and, in such a way, to convince the electorate to vote for the Republican candidate. Donald Trump creates the image of the Republican Party as a comfortable home for every American by evoking the association with home and family as symbols of a homely kind atmosphere in the mind of the audience. America, as he calls his country, is seen as a big family where every citizen can receive love and support from other family members. This image seems to accumulate strong core concepts that are based on the common values of home and family as the most valuable elements in the life of all people. Accordingly, Donald Trump portrays

himself as a leader who unites the family, which represents the nation, in order to build a prosperous country.

Furthermore, military spending is another key theme in Donald Trump's speeches, since the Republicans support the increase in military funding. In addition, he pays considerable attention to public safety in American cities.

(111) After years and years of devastating defense cuts, **we have fully rebuilt the United States military**. (Trump, January 9, 2020)

In example (111) Donald Trump uses the POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor in order to emphasize the achievements of his administration in maintaining the military forces of the United States and thus realize the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy. The principal function of the President of the United States is to defend the American nation from its enemies, and in this regard the American military forces play a key role. By conceptualizing them in terms of a building, Donald Trump shows that the armed forces are substantially funded, which involves a foundation of the building. The hierarchy in the army, representing the structure of the building, is strong as never before. Given the shrinking of the US army presence in Afghanistan and corresponding decline in the funding of the army, Donald Trump considers it necessary to underpin the power of the American military forces in the eyes of the audience through the homely image of the building. This implies that the primary task of the army is to ensure national security and maintain its international status. Thus, by focusing his politics on the security of the United States, he provokes sympathy because people perceive the world around them through the prism of their own security, well-being, rights and freedoms.

Apart from that, the US economy, and in particular, its recovery from the crisis is another crucial theme in Donald Trump's campaign speeches. As a Republican nominee, Donald Trump advocates for limited governmental control over the economic development that involves creating favorable conditions for business, promoting competition, reducing governmental spending on social programs, and market-regulated wages. In his opinion, the American economy will benefit from these policies.

(112) Together **we're building the world's most prosperous economy** and the most **inclusive society** anywhere. (Trump, February 19, 2020)

Similarly, in example (112) Donald Trump pursues the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy through the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING and SOCIETY IS A BUILDING

conceptual metaphors. Donald Trump does not hide the fact that he considers himself a brilliant head of state who manages his country as an enterprise, and therefore concludes only profitable deals. This should lead to the construction of a solid foundation, with a reliable structure built on it. This construction should serve every member of the American society, which has its own principles, rights, freedoms, and achievements. It is this most inclusive and progressive society that Donald Trump claims to build for his nation. He seeks to build the most powerful, most developed state, in which the economy is being constructed on the foundation of American values in order to ensure citizens' economic welfare. Donald Trump wants to achieve this by creating conditions for the free market development and awarded jobs, which reflects the Republican principles. The use of superlative adjectives emphasizes his high aspirations. By evoking such positive images of equality and prosperity, Donald Trump tries to obtain the support of the electorate.

(113) Proud citizens like **you helped build this country** and together we are taking back our country. (Trump, October 20, 2020)

In example (113) Donald Trump refers to the American citizens with the help of the STATE IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor. The identification of the country with a building implies an integral organization of society where individual, group and public interests are protected. This metaphor demonstrates that the country is a structured construction built with the efforts of all Americans. Donald Trump accolades the participation of every American in building the United States in the past and the present, implementing democracy and freedom. Therefore, this metaphor creates a positive attitude towards Donald Trump's political platform because the voters are pleased by the recognition of their active civil activity and their role in the process of building the country. As a result, the Emphasize positive things about US Ideological Square strategy is fulfilled.

(114) We are stronger, we are better, but while **we are building a great future**, the radical left Democrats in Washington are trying **to burn it all down**. (Trump, February 28, 2020)

In example (114) Donald Trump uses the IDEAS ARE BUILDINGS conceptual metaphor to create positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation simultaneously. He contrasts Us vs. Other through the use of the lexemes *build* vs. *burn it all down*. Such a polarization implies the antagonism between the Republican and the Democratic parties. In this way, Donald Trump exploits the polarization of American society (white vs. colored, Americans vs. immigrants, Republicans vs. Democrats), where each candidate appeals to his

own audience prioritizing solving completely different problems. He means that it is worth putting into the basis of policy those ideas that will help build a solid economic foundation and cement the American society, and therefore make Americans the most powerful and greatest nation. Trump is convinced that Americans will benefit from healthy economic selfishness and a demonstration of strength, so he strongly opposes the Democrats who, in his opinion, are hindering the US progress. He offers ideas, puts them into practice, believing that they are the basis of building a strong and powerful structure called America. In contrast, his opponents are depicted as those who only destroy the achievements, impede the development of the economy, *burn down* the building of America. Therefore, voters are supposed to choose the leader who builds rather than the politician who destroys America.

At the same time, it is essential to mention that the building metaphors are highly characteristic of Joe Biden's discourse. The BUILDING source domain is a predominant one in Joe Biden's speeches. He mainly employs these conceptual metaphors in order to create his positive political image through the Ideological Square strategies and to portray himself as a leader who cares for the economic recovery of the country. Since Joe Biden is a representative of the Democratic party, his political platform is built on the Democratic principles. Thus, political issues, such as elections, migration policy, or democracy, constitute one of the important themes in his campaign speeches.

(115) All those who supported us, I'm proud of **the campaign we built** and ran. I'm proud of the coalition we put together, the broadest and most diverse coalition in history. Democrats, Republicans, independents, progressives, moderates, conservatives, young, old, urban, suburban, rural, gay, straight, transgender, white, Latino, Asian, Native American. (Biden, November 7, 2020)

In example (115) Joe Biden uses the POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor to realize the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy. The conceptual metaphor, which involves the mapping of the source domain BUILDING on the abstract target domain POLITICAL SYSTEM, is associated with a positive prototypical image: a house is a shelter, a hiding place from life's troubles, a family hearth, a symbol of fundamental moral values, etc. This image is well known to every person because it constitutes the circle of eternal human interests and values. This concept is mapped onto the concept of the political system and creates the image of America as a home for every citizen from all social, economic, religious, racial, and political backgrounds. By using this conceptual metaphor, Joe Biden emphasizes his efforts to unify all citizens. He uses the personal pronouns *I* and *we* together to embrace all those who

share the national American values in one “house” that was built by the Democrats. This creates the picture of great strength and unity of the American society, where everyone wants to feel involved in a common victory of the democracy.

(116) No, I’m talking about something different, something deeper. Too many Americans seek not to overcome our divisions, but to deepen them, we must seek **not to build walls, but bridges**. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (116) Joe Biden uses the NATION IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor to show his intention to revise the immigration policy, which in his view is the reason for the division between the Americans. By mapping the aspects of architectural objects onto society, nation, and political system, Joe Biden contrasts the Democratic and Republican views on immigration with the help of the contextual antonyms *walls* and *bridges*. Thus, while the Democrats support mild immigration legislation and strive to make American an open country, the Republicans fiercely oppose welcoming illegal immigrants in the United States. The noun *walls* points at Trump’s intention to build the wall on the Mexican border in order to prevent new flows of illegal immigrants from Mexico to the United States. In order to prove the correctness of his ideas, Joe Biden evokes the image of bridges, which is one of the oldest engineering structures, designed to connect riverbanks and overcome obstacles. He speaks about building bridges to present himself as a leader whose aim is to unite all the Americans and overcome the differences and misunderstandings in American society. The *bridge* here is a unifying feature that Joe Biden believes to be the basis for the prosperity of the United States. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy is accomplished.

(117) Let’s conduct ourselves as Americans who love each other, who love our country, **who will not destroy, but will build**. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (117) Joe Biden applies the NATION IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor to emphasize his positive intentions to unite the American nation in contrast to Trump’s attempts to destroy and divide the United States. This contrast is created by the conceptual metaphor dwelling upon the metaphorical images of a destroyed building and a newly constructed edifice. Moreover, by conceptualizing nation in terms of the building, Joe Biden emphasizes aspects of buildings such as strength, resilience or reliability. In this way, he portrays himself as a political leader who will make America a comfortable home for all the American citizens. Consequently, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is fulfilled.

(118) Early on, first time that I ran, people who laid the tracks and the pipelines, who operate the cranes and shape the skyline, who **build the foundations** of everything we rely on. (Biden, September 30, 2020a)

In example (118) Joe Biden employs the STATE IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor to praise the contribution of workers to the foundation and the development of the United States. The building metaphor here foregrounds such an element of the edifice as the foundation, which implies that the state should have a solid foundation in order to function properly. Hence, according to Joe Biden, the workers are seen as this foundation that sustains the whole building of the United States. In this way, he intends to gain the support of American laborers via the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy.

Moreover, economy is another issue of concern for Joe Biden. Being a Democratic candidate, he supports the governmental interference in business that seeks financial gains while neglecting social interests, advocates for differentiated taxation on the grounds of incomes, increased minimum wages, protection of laborers' rights, governmental assistance to low-income families, etc. Accordingly, the building metaphors help him create positive self-presentation as a caring leader who will work for the benefit of the hard-working Americans.

(119) We can **build back better** with an economy that rewards work not wealth. (Biden, October 27, 2020a)

In example (119) Joe Biden uses the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor to emphasize his intentions to make economy a worker-oriented activity where labor is rewarded. In this case, the US economy is perceived as a destroyed building which Joe Biden is going to rebuild. This metaphor hints at the negative consequences of Trump's economic policy for American workers and Joe Biden's ability to overcome them and create a just economic environment for the Americans.

(120) We're going to address systemic racism and **build real rural economic opportunity and equality** for the Black community. (Biden, November 1, 2020)

In example (120) Joe Biden uses the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor to present his ambitious plan to revive the rural communities. He widely addresses the issues of racism and social equality for the Black community in the United States. In addition, he conceptualizes the economy in terms of the building that is yet necessary to build. According to Joe Biden, the rural areas require governmental support in order to obtain opportunities to develop the industrial areas. The building metaphor here evokes positive associations with the

progress and better living standards for African-American farmers. In this way, he tries to gain support from them.

(121) We're going to give black and minority families a real shot to own a home, start a small business, send a child to college debt free so they can **build wealth** and pass on opportunity through the generations like everybody else who's moved to the middle class has been able to do. (Biden, October 27, 2020a)

In example (121) Joe Biden also dwells upon racial equality with the help of the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor. As a Democrat, he opposes systemic racism and discrimination on the grounds of skin color. Joe Biden sees African-Americans and minorities families as lacking opportunities for decent life, i.e., a home, work, life without debts, education for children, medical care, etc. In this case, the building metaphor helps him create an image of well-being as a building which is built by laying bricks one by one. Such rhetoric positively sets up the electorate to vote for Joe Biden as a leader who will take care of those who suffer from racism in America.

(122) Well I got news for him, you already know it, **Wall Street didn't build America, middle class did and unions built the middle class. Unions built the middle class.** That's a fact. That is a natural fact. (Biden, November 2, 2020b)

In example (122) Joe Biden applies the STATE IS A BUILDING and SOCIETY IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphors to emphasize the role of the middle class and professional associations in the formation of the United States, denying the role of political elites in this process. This affects the consciousness of the voters with a working background, who hearing that it is thanks to them, their help, and their efforts, that the process of building America takes place and helps Joe Biden to attract these voters to his side. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

(123) Ordinary people doing extraordinary things. **The qualities that built this country**, that created and sustain the middle class. And by the way, as I said twice earlier today, **unions built the middle class.** (Biden, November 2, 2020a)

Similarly, in example (123) Joe Biden uses the STATE IS A BUILDING and SOCIETY IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphors to praise and honor the efforts of ordinary Americans who participated in founding the United States and developing the country. One of the most traditional components for political speeches is the image of a home, a building, because social realities are metaphorically represented as the construction and creation of something new,

strong and fundamental. This image appeals to the emotions of the audience because the Americans feel appreciated for their efforts and hard work. People are not isolated, they are united in a single structure, a building representing a trade union. At the same time, this successful and united, and therefore strong in its basis middle class is the basis and foundation of society itself. Such positively unifying narratives in Biden's rhetoric motivates the voters to support him.

(124) The second reason we ran is we've got to **restore the backbone of the country**. You all know it. The middle class **built this country**. Wall Street didn't **build it**, the middle class **built it**. And **Unions built the middle class**. (Biden, November 3, 2020)

In example (124) Joe Biden applies a range of conceptual metaphors, such as STATE IS A BODY, STATE IS A BUILDING, and SOCIETY IS A BUILDING, in order to express his support for the middle class as a foundation of the United States. Considering the state from various perspectives, namely as an economic foundation and as a structured organization of human society (BUILDING), as well as the backbone of the state created by the middle class (BODY), Joe Biden demonstrates the role of workers in the development of the United States. By uniting and leading this building of the state, he will be able to protect the American laborers and achieve new goals. In this way, the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy is accomplished.

(125) This crisis, we have I think though an enormous opportunity to **build back better**. (Biden, October 9, 2020)

In example (125) Joe Biden uses the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor to emphasize that there is a possibility to overcome the crisis and restore the US economy. The economic crisis caused by Covid-19 has weakened the country, posed new challenges, and created difficulties. By referring to economy in terms of a building, he tries to convince the audience that he is able to lead the country out of these difficulties like an experienced builder who repairs an edifice and makes it look even better than before. The adjective *enormous* underpins this point by implying that the chance should not be missed because the nation led by a wise builder can quickly restore everything that is destroyed and give new impulses to the development of the nation. Therefore, the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy is realized.

(126) In the weeks ahead, I'll be laying out a plan to mobilize American talent and hearts to **build a 21st century caregiving and education workforce**. (Biden, July 9, 2020)

In example (126) Joe Biden applies the STATE IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor, along with the POLITICS IS A WAR metaphor, in order to convey his progressive plan to create new jobs in education and caregiving services. The dire need to increase the number of workers in these spheres is expressed through the war metaphor. This metaphor is evoked via the verb *mobilize* and the noun *workforce*, coming from the military sphere. At the same time, the verb *build* elicits the building metaphor, which indicates Joe Biden's intention to support affordable healthcare and quality education for all citizens. As a result, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is fulfilled.

(127) Despite the crisis we face, we have enormous opportunity **if we just build**. We can **build back better**. We just got to stand up and take it back. Look, we can **build an economy** that gets everyone a fair return on their work, an equal chance to get ahead. (Biden, October 18, 2020)

In example (127) Joe Biden applies the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor to demonstrate that it is possible to tackle the crisis caused by the pandemic by creating equal opportunities for everyone. As a Democratic nominee, Joe Biden supports social equality for all the American citizens irrespective of their social, religious or economic background. Therefore, he presents himself as a builder who lays a brick after a brick in the building of a country where everyone has an opportunity to prosper. Such a positive image will be likely to attract the middle class and low-income families who want to feel supported and protected.

(128) Next week, I'll be laying out an updated blueprint of how we can **build a modern, safe, sustainable infrastructure and the clean energy economy**, and how to make sure that the communities that have suffered the most from pollution are the first to benefit from this investment, how to strengthen the union movement, how to make sure that **unions are building America**, just like **they built the middle class**. (Biden, July 9, 2020)

Climate change is another issue of concern that distinguishes the Democrats from the Republicans. In example (128) Joe Biden applies the ECONOMY IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor to stress upon the need to create the environmentally friendly industry that would bring benefits to the communities without polluting the environment. This position reflects the Democratic principle that climate change is a paramount problem that should be solved immediately by strict restrictions on the industry. In such a way, Joe Biden is perceived as a leader who cares for the future and wants to build a society of people with ecological awareness.

In order to achieve this, he relies on the middle class as a foundation of the United States because the workers are those who suffer most from industrial pollution in the urban areas.

In addition, the affordable healthcare for all is another fundamental theme for Joe Biden. Different governmental programs introduced by the Democrats limit the possibility of private insurance companies to discriminate the Americans on the basis of their income, religion, ethnicity, etc.

(129) I'll not only **restore healthcare**, I'll **build on it**. (Biden, November 2, 2020a)

In example (129) Joe Biden applies the POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor in relation to the United States healthcare system. By conceptualizing it as a building, he indicates that it needs restoration due to Trump's policy on healthcare that prioritizes private insurances over the federal healthcare programs. Realizing how important the affordable healthcare is, Joe Biden emphasizes that he is going not merely to restore it but to improve and modernize the system. He positions himself as an experienced architect and builder who understands how to build, create, optimize, and improve what did not work due to inept maintenance of the building. The promise to preserve, and most importantly, to develop the health care system attracts the voters. In this case, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

(130) Look, if we all get out and vote, you'll not only **restore Obamacare**, but we'll strengthen it and **build on it** so you can keep your private insurance or choose a Medicare-like public option. (Biden, October 27, 2020a)

In example (130) Joe Biden also uses the POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphor in order to highlight his plan to revive the healthcare program introduced by Obama's administration and even to modernize it to meet new challenges. By mapping the features of a building on the healthcare system, Joe Biden shows that healthcare, as any building, should be built in such a way that it is comfortable for its residents. In order not only to restore the lost achievements, but also to build something new that will give an opportunity to choose medical services between private insurances or federal programs, Joe Biden upholds democracy and portrays himself as a leader who is going to become President for all Americans and raise their living standards. In addition, the construction of a building presupposes the existence of a well-calculated plan. Therefore, the building metaphor here implies that Joe Biden is going to act in accordance with the well-thought plan that takes into account the interests of all Americans.

Having analyzed the use of the building metaphors in the campaign speeches delivered by both Donald Trump and Joe Biden, it is possible to conclude that these metaphors are especially typical of Joe Biden's discourse. With the help of these metaphors, Joe Biden interprets issues related to political problems, equal opportunities, economic recovery, or affordable healthcare. In his speeches, the building metaphors are used to create positive self-presentation as a leader who cares for the prosperity of the nation, since constructing buildings is associated with creating a solid trustworthy structure with a reliable foundation and walls that would last for a long time and with positive changes and improvements in ordinary people's lives. Such results are explained by his belonging to the Democratic party, which is founded on the progressive ideas. The Democratic rhetoric is mainly targeted at the urban population of the United States. Therefore, the image of a building is familiar to them and evokes positive associations with progress, development, better living standards, and equal society.

6.6. MOVEMENT/DIRECTION

In the analyzed corpus, the MOVEMENT/DIRECTION source domain is identified in the following conceptual metaphors: ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION, CHANGE IS MOVEMENT, PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD, and TIME IS SOMETHING MOVING TOWARD YOU. These metaphors belong to the Event Structure Metaphor because they all conceptualize abstract notions such as states, changes, progress, and actions in terms of motion, forces, or space (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999).

It is noteworthy that these metaphors are characteristic of Donald Trump's discourse and are not so significant for the persuasion process in Joe Biden's speeches. Such a distribution can be explained by the political image of Donald Trump as an active energetic self-made man who is going to lead his country towards prosperity. Thus, the conceptual metaphor ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION involves stepping as a kind of general movement and contains the following set of mappings of the source domain (SELF-PROPELLED MOTION) onto the target domain (ACTION) (Kövecses, 2010, p. 166):

- a) a manner of self-propelled movement \Rightarrow a manner of action,
- b) a stage of movement \Rightarrow a stage of action,
- c) speed of movement \Rightarrow speed of action,
- d) careful movement \Rightarrow careful action,
- e) synchronized movement \Rightarrow similar action,
- f) sequence of movement \Rightarrow sequence of actions,
- g) conditions that prevent movement \Rightarrow impediments to action.

In this regard, it is necessary to mention that this conceptual metaphor is observed only in Donald Trump's speeches. He applies it to emphasize his positive qualities of the leader and the success of his policies as well as to criticize the Democratic party and blame the Democrats for not being able to be true leaders of the American nation.

(131) TPP would have gutted the American auto industry. **Our auto industry is coming back** so strong. (Trump, August 15, 2019)

In example (131) Donald Trump uses the ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION conceptual metaphor to highlight the positive effects of his decisions on the American automobile industry. The verb *come back* evokes the image of the return from a decline to previous good indicators. American automobile companies, such as Ford, GM, and Chrysler increased investments in the industry. Donald Trump believes that thanks to the removal of the United States from the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the American auto industry showed better results, and GM and Chrysler paid off government loans. Thus, Donald Trump counts this improvement as his personal achievement, which allows him to attract voters.

(132) And right here in Pennsylvania, we've created 160, 000 brand new beautiful jobs, and you have **companies moving in and moving back**. (Trump, December 10, 2019)

In example (132) Donald Trump applies the ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION conceptual metaphor to emphasize the improvements in the economy thanks to his decisions. As a result, new working places were created and new companies appear in Pennsylvania. This imagery is evoked through the verbs *moving in and moving back*. This allows Donald Trump to realize the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy.

(133) I've just come from a meeting with North Carolina officials representing communities hit by Hurricane Dorian and I expressed the unwavering solidarity of the American people, we are behind you 100%. 100%. [...] We pledged the full support of the federal government through **every step** of the rebuilding process. (Trump, September 9, 2019)

In example (133) Donald Trump uses the ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION conceptual metaphor to praise his active participation in overcoming the consequences of the Hurricane Dorian. According to the Republican values, the federal government provides support for citizens in times of serious cataclysms and downturns. Therefore, Donald Trump presents himself as a leader who meticulously pays attention to every detail in dealing with the outcomes of the hurricane and in providing support for the hurt people. This image is

underpinned by the phrase *every step* that points at a thorough process of reviving areas that suffered from this natural disaster.

(134) But we are going to achieve new breakthroughs in science, medicine, finding new cures for childhood cancer and ending within 10 years the AIDS epidemic in America. That's shocking to hear that but we can do it, we're going to do it, definitely. Incredible, **the strides that we have made**. (Trump, September 9, 2019)

In example (134) Donald Trump conceptualizes the scientific advances in terms of strides that have been made by the American scientists during his Presidency with the help of the ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION conceptual metaphor. Since the noun *stride* involves the concept of long steps when walking, making strides in medicine implies a giant progress in finding treatment for children's terminal diseases. In such a way, Donald Trump highlights the support of the Republican government to science and accomplishes the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy.

The PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD conceptual metaphor is applied by both presidential candidates in their electioneering campaign to highlight their positive features as political leaders who will create necessary conditions for the economic, scientific and social development of the United States. This conceptual metaphor contains the following set of mappings of the source domain (MOTION FORWARD) onto the target domain (PROGRESS) (MetaNet Metaphor Wiki, 2018):

- a) moving forward towards a destination \Rightarrow making progress in achieving a goal,
- b) distance towards a destination \Rightarrow the amount of progress made to achieve a goal,
- c) arriving to a destination \Rightarrow achieving a goal,
- d) speed of movement forward \Rightarrow speed of progress,
- e) factors that slow down movement forward \Rightarrow difficulties in making progress,
- f) the lack of direction towards a destination \Rightarrow the lack of a goal.

Hence, progress is regarded to be a kind of a travel towards a certain goal. Since progress involves changes, it is conceptualized in terms of a motion ahead, which involves a certain improvement or development of a previous situation (Goatly, 2007, p. 52; Kövecses, 2010, p. 165).

(135) **We're making tremendous progress, and we're pursuing new advances** in neo-medical research. (Trump, February 19, 2020)

In example (135) Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD to talk about the scientific progress in the field of medical research. The image is created by the phrases *make progress* and *pursue advances*, enhanced by the hyperbolic adjective *tremendous* and *new*. This image evokes in the mind of the audience the association with positive changes and innovations that are aimed at overcoming incurable diseases and making people's life easier. In this case, Donald Trump presents himself as a leader who promotes and supports investments in scientific innovations. Therefore, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

(136) We're way **ahead of schedule**. In my first three years, we increased family income by over \$6,000, more than five times ... Think of this. (October 19, 2020a)

In example (136) Donald Trump actualized the PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD conceptual metaphor through the phrase *ahead of schedule*, which indicated a high speed of making progress in the scheduled economic recovery. Progressive movement forward is always progress, the achievement of something new that has not happened before, something perfect, more powerful. Therefore, by referring to improvements in living standards during his presidency, Donald Trump emphasizes the effectiveness of the measures taken by him leading to a faster result that was planned beforehand. In this way, Therefore, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is fulfilled.

(137) I'll be a president who **pushes toward the future**, not one who **clings to the past**. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (137) Joe Biden uses the PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD conceptual metaphor to emphasize his intentions to work for a better future for the Americans. People, no matter how they live, always dream of a better future and will more easily support progressive actions and measures. Not to cling to the past, to be able to forgive, to show tolerance are the features that Joe Biden wants to demonstrate to his voters. Therefore, he presents himself as a wise leader of the nation and an experienced politician who is ready to become the engine of progress. This image is created via the verb phrase *push towards the future*, which is contrasted with the Republicans who *cling to the past*. Based on this metaphor, the politician achieves the goal of attracting as many voters as possible.

(138) If I'm elected president, I will Marshall the ingenuity and Goodwill of this nation to turn division into unity and bring us together because I think people are looking for that. We

can disagree about how as **we move forward**, we must **take the first steps**. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (138) Joe Biden resorts to the PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD conceptual metaphor, along with the POLITICS IS A WAR metaphor, to convey to the audience his plan to unite the nation and promote American interests abroad. Referring to making progress in terms of *moving forward* and *taking the first steps*, Joe Biden presents his election promise on the way of uniting American society, and insists on unity as a fundamental component in building a truly fair and happy life, which everyone wants. In his personal opinion, every step forward on the path to progress will not be easy and will require decisiveness from him and goodwill from every American because it will be necessary to overcome insurmountable obstacles and show remarkable perseverance to achieve results. The allusion to the Marshall Plan that involved the economic assistance to European countries that were harmed by the Second World War allows Joe Biden to emphasize that the federal government is going to provide the economic aid for everyone who needs it. In such a way, he tries to persuade potential voters into uniting for a common goal. Thus, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is fulfilled.

Having analyzed the use of motion/direction conceptual metaphors in campaign speeches delivered by Donald Trump and Joe Biden, it can be concluded that although both Presidential candidates use them, these metaphors play a more considerable role in Donald Trump's discourse. They are among the prominent metaphors that facilitate the realization of the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us. Such results can be explained by Donald Trump's intention to create conditions for economic, scientific development of the United States. These metaphors allow him, then, to create positive self-presentation as a leader who thinks about the nation's health, financial well-being, individual rights, jobs. In addition, they show that changes and progress sometimes can take a great quantity of time and efforts to be achieved because of the obstacles created by the rivals.

6.7. PERSONIFICATION

In the analyzed corpus, abstract concepts are conceptualized in terms of persons. The following conceptual metaphors containing the source domain PERSON are identified in the speeches delivered by Donald Trump and Joe Biden: ECONOMY IS A PERSON, FASCISM / COMMUNISM / SOCIALISM IS A DANGEROUS ENEMY, IDEAS ARE CHILDREN, MACHINES ARE PEOPLE, NATION IS A PERSON, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A PERSON,

POLITICS IS A SERVANT, STATE IS A PERSON, and STATE IS A SERVANT. The personification is applied to conceptualize the international relations based on mutual respect or enmity between the United States and their allies and enemies, and to attribute human features to structures such as political system, economy, or the industry. Thus, the most numerous conceptual metaphor STATE IS A PERSON consists of the set of conceptual mapping of the source domain (PERSON) onto the target domain (STATE) (Musolff, 2016, pp. 101-104):

- c) a person \Rightarrow a state,
- d) friendship between people \Rightarrow good relations between states,
- e) romantic relations / marriage \Rightarrow states that are allies.

Therefore, if a state is perceived in terms of a person, then the neighboring countries are interpreted as neighbors. Accordingly, the relations with neighbors can be friendly, inimical or neutral, while counties can be strong or weak, respected or disrespected by their neighbors. In this case, strength means military strength and economic wealth (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 68-69). Regarding the international relations, the conceptualization of states or nations in terms of personalities have a strong persuasive effect in politics. It allows politicians to speak on behalf of their people and not only as representatives of power in their states (Musolff, 2016, pp. 101-104).

Moreover, the personification metaphors allow to attribute an individual personality to the state with. In addition, they create the public image of the country on the international arena as a unified collective voice that acts as an independent agent that can carry out an independent foreign policy. In this regard, positive self-presentation of one's own nation and negative other-presentation of other states play a central role. In other words, one's state should be described in the best positive light, while other nations should be vilified as the enemy (Musolff, 2016, pp. 101-104).

Furthermore, the concept of friendship is central to the personification metaphors because it allows to conceptualize the relationships between different countries. Unlike family, friends can be chosen on the basis of common interests and goals. Similarly, countries sign treaties and agreements, make allies on the grounds of certain common political and economic interests (Honohan, 2008, p.76).

The conceptual metaphors based on personification are significant for the process of persuasion by Donald Trump because for the Republicans the concept of individualism is a key one. Accordingly, interpersonal relations between individual independent states are one of the main themes of Donald Trump's discourse.

(139) We've repaired **America's friendship with** our cherished ally, **the State of Israel**.
(Trump, August 01, 2019)

In example (139) Donald Trump applies the STATE IS A PERSON conceptual metaphor to emphasize his own achievements on the international arena. In this particular case, he conceptualizes the allied relations with Israel in terms of a close *friendship*. During Trump's administration, the United States recognized Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights and Jerusalem. Donald Trump presents himself as a loyal friend and a defender of Israel because it is attacked by Arab countries. Such a position creates a positive image of the United States as the country that stick to their allies and supports them in difficult times.

(140) Because together we will make America wealthy again, **we will make America strong again, we will make America proud again**, we will make America safe again, and we will make America great again. (Trump, December 10, 2019)

In example (140) Donald Trump creates his mottos with the help of the scope of conceptual metaphors such as WELL-BEING IS WEALTH, STATE IS A PERSON, and IMPORTANT IS BIG. The use of words with positive semantics (*wealthy, strong, proud, safe, great*) contributes to setting up the audience for perceiving Donald Trump in a positive light and inspires faith in the possibility of implementing these slogans in life. By referring to the key Republican values such as free-market and wealth, Donald Trump targets the Americans' desire to be able to earn money and achieve well-being. At the same time, he applies human characteristics, such as being *proud* and *strong*, to the United States. This image invokes in the voters the sense of pride for their country and may help persuade them to support Donald Trump. Moreover, Donald Trump rises the issue of national security, which is a key aspect of the American policies because proving safety to the citizens is a principal task of the state. He also conceptualizes the greatness or importance of America in terms of its size, because the bigger the stronger. As a result, he imbues the electorate with a sense of pride and security and thus gains its support.

(141) I got NATO to pay an extra hundred billion dollars. They weren't paying. **They were delinquent**. Many nations were, except for seven. (Trump, August 15, 2019)

In example (141) the conceptual metaphor STATE IS A PERSON helps Donald Trump to conceptualize the NATO allies as criminals who avoided payments of the shared defense costs to the Alliance. Donald Trump is known for criticizing the NATO members for not increasing the military spending up to 4% GDP. He accused the NATO of negligence and

inability to provide safety to Europe and the world and threaten to withdraw the United States from the Alliance. Therefore, referring to the NATO members as *delinquents* here serves to excuse such intentions and present Donald Trump as the only political leader in the world who uphold the Alliance. In this way, the Emphasize positive things about Us and De-emphasize negative things about Us strategies are realized.

(142) And as long as I'm President, **America will never bow to a foreign nation** like we were for so many years. (Trump, August 15, 2019)

In example (142), with the help of the NATION IS A PERSON conceptual metaphor, Donald Trump creates an image of America as a person who was in a subordinate position to other countries, but thanks to his political decisions has restored its dignity and does not bow to anyone. This metaphor is manifested in the verb *bow*, because it implies the relations of subordinations or servitude to those who occupy a high social position. In such a way, he creates positive self-presentation as a leader who is able to defend the American interests on the international arena and will not allow other nations to take an advantage of the United States.

(143) Right now **we have a love affair with Mexico** because the Democrats, the Democrats wouldn't give us what we needed and I got Mexico, they're great. (Trump, January 30, 2020)

In example (143) Donald Trump employs the conceptual metaphor STATE IS A PERSON to present the relations between the United States and Mexico in positive light. In this way, he adopts the De-emphasize negative things about Us Ideological Square strategy, because he tries to hide the problems with Mexico under the positive image of romantic relationships. In addition, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is identified here because Donald Trump intends to foreground his ability to negotiate and pursue the US interests in the world. Thus, the STATE IS A PERSON metaphor falls within the love-marriage-family scenario, actualized by the phrase *to have a love affair*. The image of countries having a romantic relation means that they are caring loving partners who do not quarrel. However, Donald Trump is known for his negative attitude towards immigrants from Mexico. He called to build a wall on the border with Mexico to prevent them from coming to the United States. Donald Trump blames the Mexican authorities for not being able to control the flow of migrants. Such unfriendly position towards Mexico is based on the Republican principles of limiting immigration.

(144) And **our relationship with China is fantastic**, and great things are happening. (Trump, October 17, 2019)

In example (144) Donald Trump uses the STATE IS A PERSON conceptual metaphor to de-emphasize failures and mistakes he made in relations with China. During Trump's Presidency, the pressure on China was increased due to the competition between the United States and China in trade. Donald Trump imposed sanctions on Chinese politicians for numerous human rights violations and unfair trade agreements that benefited the Chinese business over the American companies, trying to win the support of the electorate. In addition, during Donald Trump's presidency, the United States shifted from the cooperation with China as an ally because there is a threat of the Chinese expansion to other countries. Therefore, by referring to the relationships with China in positive tones, Donald Trump tries to hide his mistakes in the relations with this country behind the appearance of friendship, as well as emphasize his diplomatic talent in solving difficult problems in the relations with other countries.

Apart from that, it is possible to claim that the concepts of *ally* and *enemy* are key concepts of political discourse. The enemy here is not just a side of a conflict but a personal rival who another person hates and confronts (Schmitt, 1996, pp. 27-28). In addition, friends are persons who have a common enemy. This, in turn, means that the sense of solidarity between friends is enhanced by polarization between Us and Them, which is reinforced by a shared enemy (Honohan, 2008, p. 76). In his speeches Donald Trump resorts to the contrast between the allies and enemies, whereas he also depicts allies as disloyal friends who harm America.

(145) **We're no longer the laughingstock** that gets taken advantage by every country, including by the way, **our allies**, who in many cases take a bigger advantage than **our enemies**. (Trump, February 19, 2020)

In example (145) Donald Trump uses the STATE IS A PERSON conceptual metaphor to emphasize the positive results of his effort to restore the respect for America on the international arena and at the same time to portray its allies as equal or even worse than its enemies. Applying the emotionally colored pejorative word *laughingstock* in relation to the United States, Donald Trump highlights an unserious and mocking attitude towards his country from their allies. This is related to the problems in the friendship between countries. Donald Trump contrasts his own success with negative assessments of allies, who betrayed their friendship, and enemies. He underpins this implication by speaking in the first person plural to make the whole society share this achievement.

(146) We stand on the shoulders of American heroes who crossed the ocean, blazed the trail, sailed the continent, tamed the wilderness, dug out the Panama Canal, laid down the railroads, revolutionized industry, won two world wars, **defeated fascism, and communism**, and made America the single greatest nation in the history of the world, and we are making it greater every single day. (Trump, March 2, 2020)

Continuing to dwell upon the existence of many enemies with whom the United States have to fight, in example (146) Donald Trump applies the conceptual metaphor FASCISM / COMMUNISM / SOCIALISM IS A DANGEROUS ENEMY, which is unique only for his electioneering discourse. With the help of this metaphor that generalizes the threats that the ideologies of fascism, communism and socialism pose to the whole world, Donald Trump makes the analogy with the Democrats and motivates potential voters to consciously confront them as a threat to American democracy. He points to what he sees as the common most significant feature of these ideologies, which is a danger to Americans because it destroys the foundations of American society and leads to economic slavery. By means of this metaphor, then, he strengthens the semantics of danger, hostility, harmfulness, and destruction. Therefore, Donald Trump considers the growth of the greatness and power of the United States on the world stage to be a huge achievement of the American people, who defeated the evil regimes and made America the leader of the democratic world.

In addition, in Donald Trump's discourse, the conceptual metaphors based on personification are used with regard to inanimate objects or structures, such as the military forces, equipment, industry, etc. By humanizing them, Donald Trump attributes human features to them, such as emotions or fatigue, in order to show the need to maintain the state in a proper condition, to care for it as if it were people.

(147) Our military was totally depleted. When I took over, **our military was sad**. We weren't flying half of our planes, they were old. **They were tired. Our equipment was tired**. Our people weren't tired, though. (Trump, August 15, 2019)

In example (147) Donald Trump employs the conceptual metaphor MACHINES ARE PEOPLE to criticize the Democratic administration that led America to such a deplorable state. The adjectives *sad* and *tired* used in relation to military machinery emphasize the role of people as a driving force in political processes. Although mechanisms are characterized by the unity and integrity of components, the personification of equipment allows him to show the neglect that in his opinion the Democrats demonstrate towards military spending. He contrasts the tiredness of the machinery with the restless spirit of the American people who strive for a strong

army. This contrast serves as a vivid accusation of rivals. Thus, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is realized.

(148) As a result of our actions, **steel mills** all across Ohio, you know this better than I do, **are roaring back to life!** (Trump, January 9, 2020)

In example (148) Donald Trump uses the MACHINES ARE PEOPLE conceptual metaphor to emphasize what he considers his role in reviving the American economy. To do this, he humanizes steel mills and conceptualizes them as people who were almost dying due to neglect and now are getting back to live. In this case, Donald Trump wants to appear as a caring leader whose achievement is creating conditions for business development, with a special emphasis on the manufacturing industry. In this way, he tries to hide his failure to boost economic growth and employment boom and presents his mistakes as a successful policy. Therefore, the De-emphasize negative things about US strategy is realized.

Having analyzed the use of the personification metaphors in the corpus, it can be concluded that these types of metaphors are mostly characteristic of Donald Trump's electioneering discourse. Such a tendency can be explained by the fact that the Republican Party is founded on the principles of individualism, limited governmental control, and the promotion of American interests, which means limited interventions abroad. Hence, the emphasis of the Republicans is on strong military forces in order to counter threats from foreign countries, in contrast to the Democrats' support for peacekeeping in other countries. Moreover, one of the central ideas of the Republican party is to limit the access of illegal immigrants to the United States and deport those who have already arrived to America. Thus, the personification metaphors allow Donald Trump to highlight his own positive traits as a politician, while emphasizing the disadvantages of the Democrats.

6.8. BODY

In the analyzed corpus, abstract concepts are also conceptualized as human bodies. The following conceptual metaphors containing the source domain BODY are identified in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's campaign speeches: ECONOMY IS A BODY, NATION IS A BODY, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BODY, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BODY, SOCIETY IS A BODY, and STATE IS A BODY. They are used to conceptualize the problematic issues that exist in economy, social and political life in terms of particular aspects of the human body. For example, the STATE IS A BODY conceptual metaphor contains the set of conceptual mapping

of the source domain (BODY) onto the target domain (STATE) (MetaNet Metaphor Wiki, 2018):

- d) body \Rightarrow entire state,
- e) body organs \Rightarrow state institutions,
- f) functions of body organs \Rightarrow duties of state institutions,
- g) bodily capacity \Rightarrow functionality of the state,
- h) bodily health \Rightarrow functioning of the state,
- i) a healthy/unhealthy body \Rightarrow a well-functioning/non-functioning state.

The body metaphor has its origins in the Medieval Church. Primarily, it was applied to the Church, which had devised two bodies, i.e., temporary (when a person is alive and still on earth) and ethereal (when a person is in heaven). Accordingly, Jesus Christ was responsible for the Church in heaven, while the Pope cared for the Church on earth. However, in the Renaissance period, when the state started to be perceived as a sovereign entity, the body metaphor was secularized. As a result, it acquired a political meaning and the king became the source of power and order (Ringmar, 2008, p. 58).

The popularity of the body metaphor can be explained by the fact that it interprets the social order problem. It implies that society and the political system are perceived as parts of the human body, which are internally related and unified. Thus, each social class relates a certain organ of the body. Another aspect of the body metaphor that is foregrounded is that it is highly hierarchical. It means that different bodily organs perform different functions in order to maintain social order in the state. Thus, distinct social groups depend on each other similarly to bodily organs and are ruled by the head, i.e., the governor. Nevertheless, diversity is permitted because it prevents social upraise and conflict within society. Moreover, the state of health of each bodily organ ensures proper functioning of the whole organism, and it is the ruler's duty to provide necessary conditions for the citizens to be healthy (Ringmar, 2008, p. 59).

Since the Enlightenment to present day, the body metaphor has been focused on illness-treatment-recovery scenario, i.e., on the health of the organism (Musolff, 2004, p. 97). Therefore, the main theme of the body metaphor is the existence of proper conditions for a correct functioning of the system that are conceptualized as healthy conditions of the human body (Kövecses, 2010, p. 158). In this regard, the country is conceptualized as a body (an organism) affected by certain illnesses, which requires treatment. Such metaphors are used to demonstrate that a political system, economy or society are in crisis and to suggest a plan for its recovery (Musolff, 2004, p. 97).

In the analyzed corpus of campaign speeches, the body metaphor is concentrated on physiological conditions of the organism, psychological problems, illnesses of musculoskeletal and blood systems, intoxication, and the progress in recovery after a serious disease. It is noteworthy that the two presidential candidates use the illness-treatment-recovery scenario differently. Thus, Donald Trump emphasizes the bad conditions of the state due to a serious disease, while Joe Biden places a special emphasis on treating the illness and the recovery of the country's health.

(149) We stared down the **unholy alliance of lobbyists, and donors**, and special interests who made **a living bleeding our country dry**, that's what we've done. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (149) Donald Trump uses the STATE IS A BODY conceptual metaphor to show the detrimental result of the Democratic administration and emphasize his efforts in overcoming this crisis. He evokes the image of a body without any blood left in the veins with the words *bleeding* and *dry* placed in a close proximity. The word *donors* implies that too much blood was taken from the body of America because all those whom the United States help take advantage of their goodwill. Such an image allows him to emphasize the negative aspect of the abuse of power by predecessors that he has to deal with now. Therefore, in order to recover the health of the country suffering from this dangerous wound, an urgent treatment is needed that can only be provided by Donald Trump. In addition, the negative picture of his opponents is enhanced by the historic reference to *unholy alliance*, meaning the unnatural or undesirable union between rivaling parties. This phrase used in the context of the union of the European countries with the Ottoman Empire against Russia, and later was re-contextualized by the 26th president of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, to denote the alliance between corrupt businessmen and politicians.

(150) The Democrats have tax and regulated jobs and opportunity out of these cities and out of existence. **They've squeezed the blood out of 'em**. (Trump, August 01, 2019)

In example (150) Donald Trump also applies the STATE IS A BODY conceptual metaphor to emphasize the negative things about his opponents and the harm they bring to the United States. The Republican party's platform is based on limiting the influence of state on the economy and cutting taxes, prioritizing business interests over the environmental issues, social protection, healthcare and retirement benefits. In this regard, Donald Trump emphasizes the repercussions of the policies implemented by the Democratic presidents by evoking the image of America as a full-blooded body, from which *blood was squeezed*. This image makes

his speech emotionally charged and facilitates influencing mass consciousness. As a result, a negative attitude and perception of the Democrats as anti-heroes who need to be removed from governing the United States is enhanced.

(151) **Their party is afflicted with an ideological sickness** that protects foreign borders, but refuses to protect our own borders. (Trump, July 17, 2019)

In example (151) Donald Trump uses the POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BODY conceptual metaphor to foreground the negative sides of the Democratic party and portray the Democrats as politicians who are not able to protect the Americans from illegal immigrants. The issues of immigration are a cornerstone of the Republican and Democratic parties. While the Democrats advocate for soft legislation on immigration and seek to make the United States open to those who want to live there, the Republicans oppose granting immigration status to those who cross the border illegally. In this connection, the mapping of *sickness* on the Democratic party allows him to conceptualize the Democratic ideology as dangerous to the United States. The Democratic Party is perceived as a living organism which is afflicted by a disease that does not permit them to protect the US border from illegal immigrants instead of protecting other countries. These accusations provoke strong negative reactions among the public. In this situation, Donald Trump is presented as the candidate that points to this situation as if diagnosing and becoming the healer of the nation and its citizens, although he does not offer any specific solutions. However, it is implied that since this disease is ideological, the treatment should also come from ideology.

(152) It was the radical left's pathetic attempts to nullify your ballots, **poison our democracy**, and overthrow our entire system of government. (Trump, February 19, 2020)

In example (152) Donald Trump employs the POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BODY conceptual metaphor to highlight the harm caused by the Democrats to the American democracy. Using the phrase *poison our democracy*, Donald Trump activates the body metaphor in the minds of the electorate and in turn evokes the image of the American democracy being in danger, as its very existence was threatened by the Democrats' attempt to kill it with a poison. However, by using the adjective *pathetic* in relation to this attempt, Donald Trump emphasizes that the Democrats are too weak to do much harm in contrast to his own power to maintain the health of the state. Contrasting his own power with the weakness of his rivals, Donald Trump asserts his own significance and superiority.

(153) And don't let them try and **take credit**, because if they came in, we would have ended up in a massive recession or worse, **the D word, depression**. (Trump, February 19, 2020)

In example (153) Donald Trump resorts to the ECONOMY IS A BODY conceptual metaphor to emphasize the danger posed by the Democratic party and the efforts taken by Donald Trump to prevent this danger. The body metaphor interprets economy as the human body that can suffer from severe psychological problems such as depression. If the body is deprived of the necessary conditions and a comfortable environment, it will get depressed and will require a serious medical treatment. Therefore, Donald Trump warns voters against trusting the promises of the Democrats, who carry with them the threat of recession, depression and decline of the economy, which is the basis of the well-being of society. In addition, with the help of the MORAL ACTION IS A FINANCIAL TRANSACTION metaphor, which conceptualizes moral actions in terms of financial transactions, he discredits the Democrats in the eyes of voters, presenting them as a destructive force that only brings harm to the Americans.

(154) We're fixing our country, **we're healing our country**. (Trump, December 10, 2019)

In example (154) Donald Trump uses the STATE IS A BODY along with the STATE IS A MACHINE metaphor in order to demonstrate his tremendous efforts to revive all the spheres of life that are in a deep crisis. The image of a wounded country is created by the verb *heal* that points at some physical injury causing terrible sufferings. Perceiving the state as a living organism that lives, gets ill or wounded, and recovers, Donald Trump indicates that the process of the recovery has already started and has shown positive results. Simultaneously, the state is conceptualized in terms of a mechanism that needs repairing. Using the machine metaphor together with the body metaphor, Donald Trump points out that the work of this machine depends on the activities of many people because like any mechanism that tends to break, the state can function if failures are fixed. It is precisely those economic policies advocated by the Republicans, such as limiting the government's interference in the US economy, tax cuts, free market, etc., that are the means of establishing a kind of body treatment and repair. In this way, Donald Trump emphasizes that the actions of his government restored a weak economy and improved American strength.

Joe Biden, in contrast, applies the body metaphors to uphold his image as a leader who will work hard to solve the problematic issues that exist in American society, paying particular attention to the recovery of a deep crisis in economy, the social sphere or the political system.

(155) I sought this office to restore the soul of America, **to rebuild the backbone of this nation**, the middle class, and to make America respected around the world again and to unite us here at home. (Biden, November 7, 2020)

In example (155) Joe Biden uses the NATION IS A BODY conceptual metaphor, together with the NATION IS A BUILDING metaphor. The nation is conceptualized through the domains of human body and building. The word *backbone* evokes the image of a strong stable structure that should be rebuilt because the backbone is the part of the human skeleton that sustain the whole body in an upward position. Within this conceptual blending, two input spaces are distinguished: building (architectural human-made system) and body (natural system). With this metaphorical expression, Joe Biden strengthens the need to reconstruct the unity of the nation, which suffers from serious problems, emphasizing his efforts to cure the United States.

(156) The Bible tells us to everything, there's a season, a time to build, a time to reap and a time to sow, and **a time to heal**. This is the time to **heal in America**. (Biden, November 7, 2020)

In example (156) Joe Biden applies the NATION IS A BODY conceptual metaphor to emphasize the urgent need to solve the problems that tear the nation apart. The body metaphor, reinforced by the use of the Bible as a principal moral law for the Americans, indicates the vulnerability of the nation similarly to the human body. It is time to treat this sick organism, correct all errors and eliminate the damage and shortcomings that existed in the work of Trump's administration. Here, Joe Biden acts as a caring and experienced doctor who knows the diagnosis and can clearly determine the methods of treatment and, therefore, attracts the voters and encourages them to join the Democratic candidate.

(157) With full hearts and steady hands, with faith in America and in each other, with love of country, a thirst for justice, let us be the nation that we know we can be, a nation united, a nation strengthened, **a nation healed**, the United States of America. (Biden, November 7, 2020)

In example (157) Joe Biden similarly employs the NATION IS A BODY conceptual metaphor to present himself as a caring leader who is going to *heal* the American nation from its diseases. Like a human body, America lives, develops, gets sick, and recovers thanks to the efforts of the American nation and its political leaders. Therefore, Joe Biden call on voters to entrust the recovery of the health of the nation to him because he believes that only by uniting all the Americans, their patriotic feelings, faith, and zeal, is it possible to strengthen the country

and ensure its health. Strengthening and uniting the nation are highly moral tasks, and therefore paint Joe Biden in an extremely positive light.

(158) Our economic plan will put a focus on **a path to a strong recovery**. (Biden, November 6, 2020)

In example (158) Joe Biden uses the ECONOMY IS A BODY and LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphors to present his optimistic plan for economic recovery. This economic recovery is the cornerstone in Joe Biden's rhetoric because the level of economic development determines the welfare level of the state and society. By conceptualizing the American economy as a living organism afflicted by a disease, he emphasizes his effective plan, which will lead the way to *recovery* and economic prosperity. By using the journey metaphor, manifested through the noun *path*, Joe Biden evokes the image of a long way that is necessary to come along in order to achieve the desired goal. This path is not easy and requires time and a considerable effort.

(159) It's time for us to come together as **a nation to heal**. It's not going to be easy, we have to try. (Biden, November 6, 2020)

In example (159) Joe Biden applies the NATION IS A BODY conceptual metaphor to focus the audience's attention on the pressing need to unite the Americans and eradicate the existing social problems that impede the development of the country. The verb *heal* indicates that the nation, identified with a living organism, is deeply wounded and requires medical care. This imagery serves to demonstrate the disunity of the nation. Consequently, Joe Biden directly calls on the Americans to unite in order to bring the social organism into a state of full functioning, because only in this way, in his opinion, can the desired result be achieved for all citizens.

(160) I chose Western Pennsylvania for my first stop as a candidate, and now for my last stop before Election Day, because you represent **the backbone of this country**. Hard work and families. (Biden, November 2, 2020a)

In example (160) Joe Biden applies the STATE IS A BODY conceptual metaphor in relation to hard-working American families since the Democratic rhetoric is targeted at the working class living in cities. Using the body imagery, Joe Biden seeks to show his belonging to the American strong family, because he perceives America as a single organism, which is sustained by an indestructible backbone, namely working families, who are the basis for the development and functioning of the country. With the help of the reference to the backbone as

the basis of the human skeleton, Joe Biden makes an analogy between the strength and stability of the spine and the strength of the state. He prizes hard work and diligence as innately American traits and highlights the role of American workers in the development of the United States. Such a complementary positioning in relation to his voters helps to confirm his positive political image, but also helps assert society in the correctness of the choice and readiness for hard consistent work for the sake of joint success.

(161) I honest to God believe the vast majority of Americans are done with the chaos, the corruption, the failure, the irresponsibility, the indifference to American lives, the indifference to America's dignity. We've got a lot of work to do. Not division and distraction, but real, real, **real healing of this country**. (Biden, November 2, 2020a)

In example (161) the STATE IS A BODY conceptual metaphor is used by Joe Biden to contrast the deplorable state of America with his promises to solve all the pressing issues that exist in the American society. By referring to the country in terms of *healing* it after a severe disease, Joe Biden points to those social and economic problems –such as chaos, corruption, irresponsibility, or indifference to the life and dignity of Americans– that were caused by Trump's administration and expresses the readiness to work hard to solve these serious issues. He promises to put all his efforts to unite the people in cooperation in order to improve the social system, and to overcome division and discord. In this way, Joe Biden presents himself as a wise and caring father of the nation, the medical professional who cares for a strong and healthy body of America, for whom the welfare and happiness of the Americans are of primary importance.

(162) If you elect me your president, I'm going to **heal this country**, and we're going to act. (Biden, November 2, 2020a)

Similarly, in example (162) the STATE IS A BODY conceptual metaphor helps Joe Biden present his promise to eradicate the division that exists in society. In order to convince his electorate of his serious intentions, he evokes the image of a sick human organism that needs to be cured. Thus, Joe Biden positions himself as a healer, a wise and experienced doctor, who knows how to overcome this illness, but who, in order to achieve this, needs to be elected President of the United States. His intention is to be president for all the American people, who are united as cells of the state organism and who should act in close cooperation with other members of society for its good and prosperity.

(163) Folks, we're going to support our military. **They're the backbone and spine of this country.** (Biden, November 2, 2020a)

In example (163) Joe Biden dwells upon another fundamental issue for the United States, i.e., military financing. By using the STATE IS A BODY conceptual metaphor, he highlights that the piece for the Americans and the US strength on the international arena are achieved by the military forces. The US army is perceived as a *spine* and *backbone* that upholds the whole body of the country and provides respect for America. By evoking these images in the audience's minds, Joe Biden emphasizes the positive intentions of the Democratic Party to continue spending on the military forces and, in this way, he intends to persuade the people to support him as a Presidential candidate.

(164) I think about that. I think about what it takes for a black person to love America. That is a deep love for this country. That has for far too long, never been recognized. What we need in America's leadership that seeks to deescalate tensions, to open lines of communications, to bring us together, **to heal**, to hope. As president, that's precisely what I will do. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (164) Joe Biden applies the STATE IS A BODY conceptual metaphor to lay stress on his efforts to unite all members of American society, irrespective of the color of their skin, religion, economic background, etc. By conceptualizing America as a human organism in need of treatment, he shows the need to tackle racism and promote equality for all Americans, because the African-Americans should also feel protected and accepted as members of the American society. For this, Joe Biden calls on everyone to work together, negotiate, seek compromises, tolerate people of different faiths, or different skin colors and views, and he also promises to do everything necessary to unite the nation.

(165) I was reminded of that earlier today when I was up in Warm Springs, reflecting on Franklin Roosevelt, taught us about the need **to heal our nation.** (Biden, October 27, 2020a)

The issues of equality and discrimination are paramount for the Democratic Party. Therefore, in example (165) Joe Biden resorts to the NATION IS A BODY conceptual metaphor to emphasize the efforts he is going to make to overcome the division and discrimination that torment American society. The body metaphor helps to interpret these social problems in terms of a serious disease that does not allow the nation to develop and be prosperous. In addition, this image is underpinned by the reference to the 32nd President of the

United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt as an untimely authoritative personality for the Americans, who became one of the most influential political figures of the 20th century, fighting with the biggest economic crisis of the United States in history and leading the country through the Second World War. President Roosevelt is also known for his new progressive ideas about reforming the political system into its present-day format, providing aid for the unemployed and reviving the economy. In turn, Joe Biden portrays himself as a follower of Franklin D. Roosevelt and spokesman for the same positive intentions and changes. Therefore, such positioning may attract voters and induce them to support Joe Biden.

(166) In the second inaugural Lincoln said, “With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we’re in to build up **the nation’s wounds, bind up the nation’s wounds.**” [...] Now, we have our work to reunite America. **To bind up our nation’s wounds.** (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (166) the NATION IS A BODY conceptual metaphor is first found in the words pronounced by the 16th President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, who is one of the prominent figures in the United States history. The reference to President Lincoln’s famous words returns the voters to the milestone event in America’s past: the Civil War and the abolition of slavery. By evoking such historical images, Joe Biden shows that he is able to become a loyal follower of Abraham Lincoln and tackle racial discrimination. The body metaphor in this case helps Joe Biden to show that he can overcome all adversity, and taking into account the interests of all Americans, become the leader who can heal and unite the nation. Conceptualizing the nation as having deep bleeding wounds, he presents himself as a healer and a doctor trying to treat the society that is weakened by dangerous wounds caused by inequality and discrimination. Treating such intractable wounds requires extraordinary joint efforts, intelligence and ingenuity of the entire nation. Therefore, to save the body and heal its wounds, it is necessary to strengthen the spirit of the nation that will give strength and endurance, and therefore the opportunity to win. Since this task requires hard work from all the Americans, the feeling of involvement in an important matter can make voters support Joe Biden.

Having analyzed the usage of the body metaphors by both presidential candidates, it is possible to conclude that the body metaphor is very prominent for Joe Biden’s speeches. This can be explained by the fact that the political platform of the Democratic candidate is built on the recovery of economy, social programs, political system after the coronavirus pandemic and

the economic crisis it caused. Therefore, Joe Biden creates his positive political image with help of the body metaphors, i.e., he pursues the macrostrategy of positive self-presentation. Meanwhile, although Donald Trump applies them to a lesser extent, he lays stress upon the negative consequences of the previous administration's policies and emphasizes how severe the crisis is. In other words, he mainly uses the body metaphor to criticize his opponent through the macrostrategy of negative other-presentation. Such result can be attributed to the principles on which the two main political parties in the United States are founded: while the Democrats support affordable healthcare for all, the Republicans promote health insurance by private insurance companies. Hence, Joe Biden's emphasis on the nation's health is prominent in his campaign speeches, which is manifested in the interpretation of distinct social, economic and political problems in terms of bodily illness and its treatment, with a special emphasis on social equality and discrimination.

6.9. JOURNEY

In the analyzed corpus, the journey metaphors contribute significantly to the realization of persuasion strategies. The following conceptual metaphors containing the JOURNEY source domain are identified in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's discourses: LIFE IS A JOURNEY and MORALITY IS A STRAIGHT PATH. These metaphors are applied by the presidential candidates to interpret different political, economic, and social problems in terms of a journey or a path. For example, the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor consists of the set of conceptual mapping of the source domain (JOURNEY) onto the target domain (LIFE) (Kövecses, 2010, p. 9):

- a) a journey event \Rightarrow a lifespan,
- b) a path \Rightarrow a way of life,
- c) a means of a journey \Rightarrow a lifestyle,
- d) a traveler \Rightarrow a person that lives,
- e) a companion on the journey \Rightarrow a companion / friend / partner in life,
- f) a journey destination \Rightarrow the main goal in life,
- g) stops on the journey \Rightarrow interim targets in life,
- h) locations on the journey \Rightarrow stages in life,
- i) obstacles on the journey \Rightarrow difficulties in life,
- j) vehicles on the journey \Rightarrow relations in life.

In this regard, it is noteworthy that within this metaphor events are conceptualized in terms of paths, which implies that it belongs to the group of the Event Structure metaphor. The understanding of the word *through* requires the notion of path. Therefore, the journey metaphor embraces different types of paths, locations, or stops that happen on the journey (Kövecses, 2010, p. 166).

In the analyzed corpus, Donald Trump and Joe Biden apply the journey metaphors to emphasize their positive personal characteristics as political leaders as well as to criticize their opponents. Thus, in Donald Trump's discourse, these metaphors facilitate conceptualization of issues related to foreign affairs, democracy, economy, and healthcare.

(167) **We're charting a path to stability and peace** in the Middle East. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (167) Donald Trump uses the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to emphasize his role in regulating the tense relations in the Middle East. During Trump's presidency, the relationship between Israel and the UAE was improved: the UAE recognized the state of Israel and the countries agreed on comprehensive and peaceful cooperation. Such an agreement is perceived as a huge success of Trump's administration through the use of the journey metaphor. The noun *path* evokes the concept of a long road with stops and obstacles, leading to stability and peace. Thus, Donald Trump presents himself as a guide along this road who knows the way and leads his people towards prosperity. Thus, he realizes the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy.

(168) We believe that faith and family, not government and bureaucracy, are **the true American way**. (Trump, July 17, 2019)

In example (168) Donald Trump applies the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to highlight that as a Republican candidate, he upholds the traditional American values, such as faith, family and personal liberty, and will defend them against the governmental control. Here, the traditional way of life is conceptualized in terms of a long journey along the path, where a traveler can face difficulties, meet other people, stop for a break, etc. Therefore, the journey is perceived as an interesting and useful movement towards a destination, i.e., freedom and democracy. Such a position corresponds to the Americans who stick to conservative morality and motivate them to vote for a candidate who promises to protect these values.

(169) **But it was going in the wrong direction, and now we are turning it around. It is going better than ever before, and we're going to keep it that way. We're going to keep it that way.** (Trump, July 17, 2019)

In example (169) Donald Trump uses the MORALITY IS A STRAIGHT PATH conceptual metaphor to highlight that he corrected the errors committed by Obama's administration. Thus, the Emphasize positive things about Us and Emphasize negative things about Them strategies are adopted in this case. Within the journey metaphor, the best way to achieve the goal in any activity is to go along a direct, clear and transparent path. Consequently, if someone goes in the wrong direction or chooses a wrong road, then his/her good character and morality are questionable. Therefore, by hinting at the false steps of his predecessors, Donald Trump shows himself in the best possible light because he chooses the right path of success based on moral principles.

(170) We are creating a **pathway to buy drugs** from Canada, that are much, much cheaper, in Florida. (Trump, January 28, 2020)

In example (170) Donald Trump applies the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to emphasize his intentions to provide the American citizens with affordable medicines. Human life is a long way, on which there are joyful events and serious diseases. These diseases may require expensive medicines. Therefore, Donald Trump proposes mass export of prescription drugs manufactured in Canada. The President promises that the export of cheaper Canadian medicines will help the people with serious illnesses. In such a way, he is perceived as a leader who cares for the health of the nation, and the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is pursued.

(171) Under my leadership prosperity will surge, patriotism will soar, optimism will boom, the pandemic will soon end. **It's rounding the corner.** (Trump, October 19, 2020a)

In example (171) Donald Trump employs the WELL-BEING IS UP and LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphors to emphasize his leadership qualities, which will ensure well-being of the American citizens. Having achieved some positive results during his first term, Donald Trump inspires society with optimism that this process will move forward. Hence, by conceptualizing this progress in terms of a journey, Donald Trump shows that thanks to wise leadership, possible obstacles can be overcome and this journey can become easier. Accordingly, he wants to appear certain about achieving well-being and curing Covid-19 because *rounding the corner* means that the job is almost completed. Therefore, his positive features are enhanced in this speech.

(172) Illegal mass migration brings in millions of low wage workers to compete for jobs, wages, and opportunities against the most vulnerable Americans cutting off their **path to the American dream**. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

Since illegal immigration is the principal issue for Donald Trump, in example (172) he applies the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to highlight the danger posed by immigrants and thus criticize the Democrats for letting them deprive American workers of their jobs. The idea of the American dream embraces the belief that every American can achieve success thanks to personal qualities such as hard work, diligence, perseverance, courage, or virtue. The path to success and prosperity is long and difficult, because it requires a lot of efforts and skills. Hence, if some strangers get in the way of this progress to the American dream, they encroach on the very principles of American liberty. Thus, when interpreting their efforts to achieve it in terms of the journey, the audience may regard the illegal immigrants as a threat. Therefore, Donald Trump can be perceived as a defender of American values and savior of American workers.

(173) We're not going to let our country ever **go down the route of socialism**. (Trump, August 01, 2019)

In example (173) Donald Trump uses the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor, along the WELL-BEING IS UP metaphor, to show how vile the Democrats are and to highlight his decisiveness to stand against them. In this case, the metaphor serves to realize the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy. Within the Republican worldview, social protection programs, the governmental healthcare system or social responsibility are immoral traits that are inherent in the Democratic Party. Donald Trump calls the Democrats socialists and directs the audience's attention to the negative meaning of going in a downward direction because being down means being in a harmful condition. Therefore, the road that goes downwards is regarded as threatening the traditional principles that guide the Republicans. In such a way, the voters may become motivated to resist those who propose such a wrong path.

(174) But I want to tell you something, the Democrats are being so vile and so vicious **moving so far left**. (Trump, July 17, 2019)

Similarly, in example (174) Donald Trump applies the MORALITY IS A STRAIGHT PATH conceptual metaphor to demonstrate the immorality of Democrats and their malicious intentions to destroy the American democracy. In Trump's view, the Democrats are moving towards a crisis because they are pursuing policies that are not in the interests of citizens; they

are approaching socialism which will only harm America. In this regard, morality is understood as going along a straight path. Consequently, going astray means lacking moral virtue. Hence, Donald Trump warns the electorate against voting for the candidate who does not possess moral character and supports a left-wing ideology that would harm America.

(175) Democrats have never been **further outside of the mainstream**. (Trump, July 17, 2019)

In example (175) Donald Trump also uses the MORALITY IS A STRAIGHT PATH conceptual metaphor to present the Democrats in a negative light. This metaphor implies that one cannot get off the straight path or turn in order to act right. Thus, he shows that they are moving away from politics for the benefit of America and are heading to a crisis. In such a way, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is fulfilled.

At the same time, Joe Biden widely uses the journey metaphors to create positive self-presentation. These metaphors are one of the predominant ones in his campaign speeches because they help Joe Biden appear as a progressive politician who cares for the prosperous future where all Americans have equal opportunities to develop their talents irrespective of their ethnic, racial, religious, social background.

(176) We believe one of the nets has suggested we've already won Arizona, but we're confident about Arizona. **That's a turnaround**. (Biden, November 4, 2020a)

In example (176) Joe Biden applies the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to show his confidence in winning the elections. Since the journey metaphor embraces changes and transformations for better in human life, the interpretation of the elections in terms of the road through the noun *turnaround* implies that the biggest and the most difficult part of the road has been already passed. This imagery inspires the electorate with the confidence in the victory of the Democratic candidate. Thus, the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us is realized.

(177) And this is the most important election of our lifetimes. **We're at an inflection point**. (Biden, November 1, 2020)

In example (177) Joe Biden resorts to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to highlight the importance of voting in the elections to prevent Trump's return to office. Since the concept of journey has a specific route with stops, turns, traffic jams, traffic light, turns, or bypasses. Some points on this route become extremely important. Therefore, these elections are an important stage, which is the finish line on the way to victory. The journey, organized by experienced leaders, carefully thought out, will necessarily give a positive result, because a thoughtful route, taking into account possible challenges and obstacles on the way will make it

possible to successfully achieve the final destination and the desired goal. This traveler is the American nation with equal opportunities and democratic values. Hence, Joe Biden appears as the guide who leads the nation towards a better future.

(178) We're going to have the plan to **get our economy back on track**. Not to get the back where we were, but to build back better, to make sure everyone is dealt in on a full scale share of the American dream. (Biden, November 1, 2020)

In example (178) Joe Biden employs the LIFE IS A JOURNEY and ECONOMY IS A BUILDING conceptual metaphors to present his plan for the economic recovery that is certain to bring positive results. The interpretation of life in terms of the journey implies changes and progress. Thus, by presenting life in the form of a road, where the traveler goes forward to reach the desired destination, Joe Biden emphasizes that he is ready to lead this movement towards the economic recovery. He hints at his ability to create such a plan for building the American dream and bring society to its realization because he positions himself as the true leader of the nation.

(179) We cannot and will not **walk away from our obligation** to at long last, face the wrecking on race and racial justice in this country. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (179) Joe Biden applies the LIFE IS A JOURNEY and POLITICS IS SPORT conceptual metaphors to demonstrate his determination to tackle racial discrimination in the United States. The journey metaphor here allows Joe Biden to portray himself as a man of his word who complies with his obligations and fights for his ideals. Moreover, the sport metaphor emphasizes the competitiveness of political activities on the way to victory. Accordingly, Joe Biden emphasizes the need to go along the straight road in order not to lose this political race. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is accomplished.

(180) We must vote. We will vote. No matter how many **obstacles are thrown in our way**, because once America votes, America will be heard. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (180) Joe Biden applies the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to highlight the need to vote and choose democracy. He presents the electoral process as a difficult, unpredictable and dangerous path, on which, as in the journey, sharp and dangerous turns, obstacles, and storms await the traveler. Therefore, in order to reach the final destination of the journey it is necessary to overcome the obstacles, which requires determination and courage from the traveler. In addition, by involving voters in such a journey with the help of the

pronouns *we* and *our*, Joe Biden tries to convince voters of the correctness of their choice and involves them in decision-making.

(181) Make no mistake about it. This campaign will **send Donald Trump packing. This campaign is taking off.** Join us. (Biden, March 3, 2020)

In example (181) the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor allows Joe Biden to express his firm intention to defeat Donald Trump in the elections. His certainty in the victory is conveyed via the image of the plane that takes off. By suggesting Donald Trump to pack his baggage, which is a sign of the journey, Joe Biden indicates that his opponent has virtually lost the elections and has to leave the office. At the same time, when the plane takes off, then the journey starts. Accordingly, the Americans may understand that the travel towards victory has begun and that they are active participants in this process.

(182) I told y'all that you can launch a candidacy. You launched Bill Clinton, Barack Obama to the Presidency. Now you launched our campaign **on the path to defeating Donald Trump. This campaign has taken off.** (Biden, February 29, 2020)

Similarly, in example (182) Joe Biden applies the LIFE IS A JOURNEY and POLITICS IS A WAR conceptual metaphors to praise the voters for supporting the Democratic candidates and thus upholding democratic values in past years. By referring to the elections in terms of a journey to the victory, Joe Biden evokes the image of the plane taking off with the travelers on board. In this way, he emphasizes that this journey has begun and will end in the defeat of the Republican candidate. Furthermore, this augmentation is underpinned by the war metaphor, involving a battlefield, powerful armed support, soldiers, and a commander who must be victorious or defeated. The combination of these metaphors implies that during the journey the travelers may face enemies and have to fight in order to achieve their destination.

(183) We have six more days left in this election and the American people have it in their hands to **put this country in a vastly different path.** (Biden, October 28, 2020)

In example (183) Joe Biden uses the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to emphasize the influence of ordinary Americans on the fate of the whole country and thus to motivate them to vote for him. By interpreting the elections as a journey, he shows that it is the Americans that decide the direction of the United States by voting for the Democratic or the Republican candidate. Since Joe Biden offers the Americans an entirely different vision of the economic development, he persuades the voters to make an extremely important turn and to direct America on the path of recovering, improving and prospering.

(184) There's nothing we can't do. This is about the future. It's not about the past. It's about our children and our grandchildren. **It's about leading this country and leading the world once again.** (Biden, March 3, 2020)

In example (184) Joe Biden uses the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to emphasize the ability of America to be the world leader. The journey metaphor implies the existence of a guide who leads the travelers along the road towards a destination. Therefore, Joe Biden argues that he is ready to lead everyone who seeks to go along a path to a happy future and his team can be effective in building a new, modern and powerful economic space that guides the world. Thus, he intends in this way to convince the Americans of his ability to lead the nation in this journey.

(185) Folks, as we celebrate tonight, here in Columbia, let me talk directly to Democrats across America especially those who will be voting on Super Tuesday. This is the moment to **choose the path forward for our party.** This is the moment and it's arrived. (Biden, February 29, 2020)

In example (185) Joe Biden uses the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to show the need to support him in the primaries to be the Democratic candidate. He refers to common Democratic hope and dreams in order to remind his compatriots of the fundamental values of America, thanks to which it became the world leader. Such a positive imagery, aimed at returning to the former great glory of the country, motivates the Democrats to support Joe Biden as their Presidential candidate on this path towards the final victory.

(186) Now, **we're going to provide a pathway, a pathway for 11 million citizens.** If the other guy had voted for the, well, I don't know if she can get into that. I won't get going. Look, the ironworkers, the steel workers, the boilermakers, the plumbers, the electrical work. These are the people that have been forgotten. (Biden, March 3, 2020)

Social equality is one of the key themes in Joe Biden's electioneering campaign, Thus, in example (186) he resorts to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor in order to emphasize his intention to create equal opportunities for all the Americans. As a Democratic candidate, he supports fair awards for work, opportunities for development, and governmental support for working people. By interpreting life in terms of a journey, Joe Biden shows that each person follows his/her own path to the goal and overcomes obstacles that may arise not because of a person's faults but due to external circumstances, such a discrimination, low incomes, lack of education, etc. In this regard, it is the duty of the federal government to

eliminate the circumstances that hinder the progress of any person towards the well-being. As a result, Joe Biden calls for supporting him in the elections as a leader who will clear the way to a happy life for all the Americans. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

(187) Hispanic voters, especially right here in Florida, can help **put our nation on a path moving forward**. There are now 49 days left to election day. I'm asking for your vote. (Biden, September 15, 2020)

In example (187) Joe Biden resorts to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor in order to highlight the role of the Hispanic Americans in building the democratic society in the United States. By interpreting the elections as a journey along the path, he presents it as a movement to a better future, a chance to change life for better. On this path, Joe Biden is accompanied by Hispanic voters who give him remarkable support because it is always easier to go through the difficult path together. In such a way, he tries to unite the voices of these voters in order to arrive at the final destination, i.e., the victory.

(188) And more than any other time, the Hispanic community, Latino community holds in their palm of their hand, the destiny of this country. You may not want to hear it, but it's true. It's true. You can decide **the direction of this country**. (Biden, September 15, 2020)

Similarly, in example (188) Joe Biden applies the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to praise the participation of the Hispanic Americans in decision-making. Pointing to the discrimination against Latin Americans in the United States, Joe Biden enhances their role on the path to building a prosperous country. The concept of path here implies that certain difficulties arise on the way, and in such cases the traveler needs additional resources to overcome obstacles. According to Joe Biden, such assistance and support is provided by Hispanic voters in Florida who are interested in a progressive movement forward along the way towards a better future. Thus, the metaphor portrays him as a leader who is capable of uniting all the Americans around the common goal of achieving equality and prosperity. Thus, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

(189) We're going to reverse Trump's roll backs of 100 public health and environmental rules, and then **forge a path to greater ambition**. (Biden, July 14, 2020)

Healthcare and environmental protection are also fundamental issues for Joe Biden's rhetoric, reflecting the Democratic Party values. Hence, in example (189) he applies the LIFE IS A JOURNEY POLITICAL and SYSTEM IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphors to criticize

Donald Trump for his mistakes in dealing with the pandemic and tackling climate change. At the same time, Joe Biden emphasizes his positive intentions to correct these mistakes and lead the American nation towards new and more ambitious goals. Moving along the path of life to the destination, a person undergoes certain changes, stops for a break, etc. The traveler can also use some vehicle to move faster. However, the machine may break and as a result may need repair. Using a combination of these metaphors, Joe Biden explains that he is able to correct the mistakes made by his predecessors by canceling harmful decisions and creating a more progressive and fair society. Thus, he motivates potential voters to support the Democrats' candidacy through the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us.

(190) We're going **to get back into the Paris Agreement**, back into the business of **leading the world**. (Biden, July 14, 2020)

In example (190) Joe Biden employs the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor to emphasize his plan to return to the Paris Agreement and lead the global fight against climate change. This metaphor brings voters closer to understanding that Biden is determined to correct Donald Trump's mistakes. As a wise and experienced leader, Joe Biden demonstrates readiness for hard work on the path to American leadership in the world.

(191) We can unleash American ingenuity and manufacturing and build a stronger, more climate-resistant nation, creating millions of new high paying jobs. We can change **the path we're on**. (Biden, October 29, 2020a)

In example (191) with the help of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor, Joe Biden addresses the problematic issue of the environmental pollution caused by factories. Since life is a movement from the start to the destination, which involves changes on the path, Joe Biden highlights the possibility to change the attitude regarding environmental issues and tackle global warming. Accordingly, he realizes the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy in this case.

(192) To me and to many Americans this is **very worrisome turn in the path** and severity of the virus and the president didn't even address it. Yesterday he reiterated his belief that the virus was going to disappear. (Biden, July 2, 2020)

The characteristic feature of Joe Biden's campaign speeches is to blame Donald Trump for failing to deal with the pandemic. In order to do this, in example (192) he uses the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor. The concept of a journey presupposes turns that open up new opportunities or create obstacles. Hence, Trump's abandonment of the decisive fight

against Covid-19 is perceived as the dangerous turn that could cause tragedy. Since Joe Biden sees such a danger signal, he presents himself as a leader who can overcome this obstacle and successfully reach the destination. At the same time, the adjective *worrisome* points to Trump as a leader who does not know how to govern wisely and allows Joe Biden to show his opponent as a politician who does more harm to American society than good. Therefore, Biden seems to hint that these elections are the most difficult and important turn of American life where the fate of the country is decided.

(193) I have no illusion how **tough the road ahead** is going to be for our country, but I'm an optimist for one reason above all others. (Biden, July 9, 2020)

In example (193) Joe Biden resorts to the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor in order to show his resolution and determination to provide equal opportunities for all the American citizens, whatever might be the difficulties and obstacles. Thus, the journey metaphor here allows him to explain to voters how long and difficult this journey to progress and prosperity will be. The Democratic candidate praises the perseverance and courage of the American people and motivates them to join him in this hard work because the road is easier if one is accompanied by friends. Therefore, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is accomplished.

Having analyzed the usage of the journey metaphors by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during their electioneering campaigns in 2020, it is possible to conclude that these metaphors are especially important for the realization of Ideological Square strategies in Joe Biden's speeches. He resorts to these metaphors primarily to create a positive image of himself as a progressive leader. Such a distribution can be explained by the fact that as a Democratic candidate he advocates for progress and movement forward, which embraces the ideas of social and racial equality, federal social programs or affordable healthcare. Therefore, interpreting these progressive values, the journey metaphors point to the existence of dangers, adventures and problems on the way to the destination. Nevertheless, the trip can be made easier if the traveler is accompanied by supporters and friends. In the political context, these features enhance the importance of the unity of the nation around a common goal.

6.10. MACHINES

The machine metaphors trace their origins back to the technological revolution in the seventeenth century. The general interest of society in different machinery was provoked by a rapid spread of mechanical equipment into industry and everyday life (Ringmar, 2008, p. 63).

This involvement of the machine metaphors in daily life resulted in them being a powerful means of political persuasion (Lipset, 2014, p. 4). Therefore, political discourse applies the lexemes from the sphere of mechanics in order to portray politics as a well-organized mechanism, with all its parts working together (Pikalo, 2008, p. 41).

In the analyzed corpus, the MACHINE source domain is found in the following conceptual metaphors: ECONOMY IS A MACHINE, NATION IS A SHIP, PEOPLE ARE BATTERIES, PEOPLE ARE MACHINES, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE, SOCIETY IS A MACHINE, STATE IS A MACHINE. The machine metaphors are used by Donald Trump and Joe Biden to think and talk about issues related to social organizations, political systems and structures, society, state, economy, and human beings, which are understood in terms of mechanical constructions such as mechanisms, tools and instruments, machinery, vehicles, means of transport, etc. (Lapka, 2023, p. 65).

For example, the POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor contains the following set of conceptual mappings of the source domain (MACHINE) onto the target domain (POLITICAL SYSTEM) (Goatly, 2007, p. 10; Kövecses, 2010, pp. 160-161; Lapka, 2023, p. 65):

- a) a machine \Rightarrow the political system,
- b) a machinery \Rightarrow aspects of the political system,
- c) a mechanism \Rightarrow functioning of the political system,
- d) wheels \Rightarrow factors in the functioning of the political system,
- e) tiny cogs \Rightarrow unimportant parts of the political system,
- f) tools/instruments \Rightarrow methods of dealing with political issues,
- g) proper working of a machine \Rightarrow proper functioning of the political system,
- h) slow working of a machine \Rightarrow ineffective functioning of the political system,
- i) maintaining/fixing a machine \Rightarrow maintaining/reforming the political system.

Consequently, the focus of the machine metaphors is the functioning of a certain system, its effective operation. People have common knowledge about how old machinery (for example, ploughs or carriages) work and how it was constructed. These simple machines have wheels and cogs that are essential to make the machine move (Kövecses, 2010, p. 161).

The machine metaphors foreground several important aspects of the concept of machine that used to conceptualize some abstract notions. The first aspect is the hierarchy inherent in machine metaphors. Since any mechanism consists of different parts and elements, the unity of

these parts is essential to ensure its effective functioning. Similarly, different groups of society should be united and cooperate with each other to achieve their common goals. Hence, within the machine metaphors, if the state or society is interpreted in terms of a machine, then their constituent parts are conceptualized as the levers and cogwheels of the machine. As a result, the collective interest is emphasized because a single cog cannot achieve the same results as the whole mechanism (Ringmar, 2008, p. 64; Lapka, 2023, p. 71).

In the analyzed campaign speeches, Donald Trump uses the machine metaphor to depict America as a properly working machine or mechanism where every citizen, like a wheel or a small cog, works to accomplish the common aim, i.e., to build a prosperous country. In such a way, he fulfils the Emphasize positive things about Us and Emphasize negative things about Them Ideological Square strategies.

(194) Under this administration, **America is working** again. (Trump, September 16, 2019)

In example (194) Donald Trump applies the STATE IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor to enhance his own role in maintaining the system in order. The United States are conceptualized in terms of a machine that functions under the supervision of Donald Trump. The CONTROL IS UP conceptual metaphor in this case implies that the machine of America was stopped during Obama's presidency, and it is Donald Trump who finally started it again. The machine is a mechanism, the main characteristic of which is its constant movement thanks to its engine and steering. Therefore, the machine metaphor allows the Republican candidate to convey to the electorate the idea that the mechanism of economic development works only when moving.

(195) We have them working at the companies, and we have people getting great health care.

It's been so long. **It's finally working** and they want to destroy it. (Trump, January 28, 2020)

Similarly, in example (195) Donald Trump uses the ECONOMY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor to show the effectiveness of the economic policy carried out by his administration. In order to achieve this, he conceptualizes economy as a kind of machine because it has its own design, engine, mechanisms, and principles of work. Every worker of such a structure is important for its successful activity, so their health should be taken care of. By cutting certain health care social programs for retirees and other categories of the population, Donald Trump did not cut any of the health insurance programs for workers, which are essential elements of the US economy. In addition, he polarizes the Republican and Democratic parties

by emphasizing the achievements of Donald Trump and highlighting malicious intentions of the Democrats through the contrast Us vs. Them. This could motivate the electorate to vote for a politician who cares for the well-being of the Americans.

(196) With your help and your devotion, **with your drive**, we are going to keep on working.
(Trump, January 28, 2020)

In example (196) the word *drive* indicates that Donald Trump conceptualizes American society in terms of a machine that is started and works. Therefore, the SOCIETY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor is identified in this case. Understanding the principles of the electoral process, Donald Trump relies on the support of like-minded people. Thus, he tries to explain his own plans and complimentarily encourages Americans to unite and become an integral part of civil society, which works as a mechanism. *We* and *you* together are the creators of America's success. By uniting himself with people, Donald Trump shows that only with the help of ordinary citizens can this success be achieved. In this way, he creates a positive image of himself as a leader who is ready to cooperate with the citizens to "make America great again".

Another aspect of the machine metaphors that is widely applied by Joe Biden is the perception of a political leader as an engineer who creates, supervises and manages the functioning of the machine, fixes operation failures of broken machinery. Accordingly, the political leader should supervise the functioning of authorities, conduct reforms and adjust policies in order to maintain the machinery of the state in working conditions (Ringmar, 2008, p. 64).

(197) We have to unite the country. This is not who we are and we can. We've done it so many times in our history. We've begun to a new. If we get control of this virus, we can. We can reward work. **We can fix the healthcare system.** (Biden, September 21, 2020).

In example (197) the word *fix* points to the POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor, which is used to show that the national healthcare system is undergoing a deep crisis and requires urgent measures. The healthcare system is an indispensable component of the state because it cares for the health of the citizens. Therefore, analogically to the engineer, Joe Biden promises to repair care services as if they were some part of machinery equipment that is broken and therefore prevents the whole machine to function properly. By highlighting his progressive political platform aimed at guaranteeing affordable healthcare for all the Americans, Joe Biden accomplishes the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy (Lapka, 2023, p. 72).

(198) We can get this pandemic under control so **we can get our economy working** again for everyone. But this cannot be a partisan moment, it must be an American moment. (Biden, October 2, 2020)

In example (198) Joe Biden applies the ECONOMY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor to demonstrate that he is capable of overcoming the pandemic and reviving the economy. In such a way, he persuades the electorate in his trustworthiness and willingness to work for the improvement of the US economy. By conceptualizing economy in terms of a mechanism that is broken and needs being started again, Joe Biden presents himself as a skilled engineer who supervises the equipment and repairs it if necessary.

(199) But there's something bigger going on in this nation than just our **broken politics**. Something darker, something more dangerous. I'm not talking about ordinary differences of opinion, competing viewpoints give life and vibrancy to our democracy. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (199) Joe Biden uses the POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor, along with the BADNESS IS DARKNESS metaphor, in order to show that democracy in the United States is under threat due to Trump's mistakes. Joe Biden refers to democracy in terms of a broken mechanism neglected by the engineer whose duty is to supervise correct functioning of the machine. The severity of a political crisis is enhanced by its interpretation in terms of a darkness that is looming and threatening the very existence of democracy. In this way, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is realized.

(200) Amazingly he still hasn't grasped the most basic fact of this crisis. **To fix the economy**, we have to get control over the virus. Say it again, **to fix the economy**, we have to get control over the virus. He's like a child who can't believe this has happened to him. (Biden, June 25, 2020)

In example (200) Joe Biden employs the ECONOMY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor to show that the US economy suffers from a deep crisis caused by the pandemic and to criticize Donald Trump for failing to resolve the crisis. This metaphor facilitates imposing the consequences of the destructive force of the pandemic on the life of society and allows voters to imagine how the coordinated work of a mechanism can be interfered with even the smallest destructive particle. Shutdown and closure of businesses as well as illness and death of thousands of workers led to problems in the economic development. Pointing to the purpose of the machine as a mechanism designed to ensure every component of the economic structure

of the state and organize the smooth operation of all links, Joe Biden blames his opponent for bad governing during the pandemic and presents himself as the only leader who can get the situation under control.

Furthermore, vehicles such as cars and ships can also be regarded as belonging to the MACHINE source domain because they consist of certain mechanical equipment, they have engines, they move people and goods in space. The ability of vehicles to move is central to the conceptual metaphor. For example, the car is a human-made individual means of transport, fueled by gas, oil, etc. Hence, the car is used by politicians to interpret issues related to social and economic policies, social life and development of the state (Lipset, 2014, p. 7).

One possible reason why the machine metaphors involving the car are perceived well by the American audience is that the car is associated with adventure and freedom. It gives a sense of going to unknown places, passing the frontier even when driving in one's native suburbs (Lutz & Lutz Fernandez, 2010, p. 17). In this connection, as a symbol of freedom, the car also implies that governmental regulations of speed limits, safety belts use, oil prices and road taxes are a governmental interference that should be opposed because it constraints freedom (Lipset, 2014, p. 9).

Apart from that, the car indicates national identity (Edensor, 2004, p. 103). In the United States, the car is considered a means of independence from timetables and will of others; the car is the epitome of American self-reliance. Getting the first drivers' license is viewed by the Americans as the initiation to an adult independent life, while not having a car is seen as the incapacity of earning money and thus, being independent (Lutz & Lutz Fernandez, 2010, p. 15).

During their electioneering campaigns, Donald Trump and Joe Biden resort to the car imagery to emphasize their own positive sides while highlighting faults of their opponents. The opponents are depicted as trying to inflict a serious damage to the machinery of the state, while the politicians themselves are portrayed as wise supervisors over the machine operation or careful drivers that run the car along the road.

(201) Every leading Democrat has pledged abolish **the American oil, coal, and natural gas industries that are fueling our economic boom.** (Trump, August 15, 2019).

In example (201) the economy is conceptualized in terms of a car that can function properly if it is *fueled* with some kind of combustibles. Thus, the ECONOMY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor is used by Donald Trump to show that economy should work as a well-constructed machinery, with all the components working together and enabling the car to move forward. Donald Trump withdrew the United States from the Paris Agreement and repealed

regulations restricting coal and gas production in order to be able to actively export it. He decided to revive the ailing nuclear power industry. In this he sees the prerequisite for creating a large number of new jobs and the guarantee that America will become the leader in energy export. Considering the energy shortage to be a myth, Donald Trump associates economic power and development with the shale revolution, with technical progress, which will be facilitated not by restrictions, but by the intensification of the work of oil, gas wells, mines, and power plants. This huge economic machine without stops and restrictions should work for the well-being of Americans. Yet, with the verb *abolish* Donald Trump hints that the Democrats try to impede the US economic development by depriving it of the fuel. Thus, this conceptual metaphor helps to exercise the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy.

(202) **We took on a political machine** that tried to take away your voice and your vote. (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (202) Donald Trump uses the POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor to emphasize his power in ruling the country. He is perceived as driving a political car without any limitations. Changing the established norms and structure of public administration in the United States, delaying the appointment of officials, filling the courts with conservative judges, and openly putting pressure on the central bank and prosecutors, Donald Trump demonstrates that the operation of the machinery of political system depends on his will and power. He pictures himself as a rebel, dispersing the sleepy kingdom of bureaucrats who have forgotten about the ordinary people and deprived them of their fundamental rights. In this way, Donald Trump tries to attract voters' sympathy.

(203) And let me tell you, if for some reason I wouldn't have won the election, **these markets would have crashed**. (Trump, August 15, 2019)

In example (203) Donald Trump uses the ECONOMY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor. It is manifested through the verb *crash*, hinting at a car accident. Its negative connotation serves to underpin Donald Trump's success in governing the country. As the Republican candidate, he presents himself as a skilled driver in contrast to the Democrats, who, according to him, would have led the US economy to a catastrophic situation. In this way, Donald Trump, emphasizing his own significance, intends to convince the electorate that it is the President that is the driving force for success, consisting in the progressive movement of society in the economic sphere.

(204) So, these Congresswomen, their comments are helping **to fuel the rise of a dangerous militant hard left.** (Trump, July 17, 2019)

In political discourse, the political system is often presented as an established mechanism or, conversely, one that systematically breaks and slows down. In example (204) Donald Trump uses the POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor in order to show that the Democrats only bring harm to America and, thus, to adopt the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy. This metaphor is created by the verb *fuel*, which allows Donald Trump to evoke the image of a car that needs combustibles to run. Therefore, he claims that the political views of the Democrats are *fueled* (like a gasoline machine) by the Congress moving towards socialism.

Similarly, Joe Biden employs the concept of car to deal with the economic and social situation in the country. With the automobile imagery, he creates a positive image of himself as a progressive leader and at the same time criticizes Trump's administration for having led the country into a deep crisis.

(205) President Obama and I stopped a depression in 2009. We took a bad economy that was falling and **turned it around.** Trump took a good economy and **drove it back into the ditch.** (Biden, August 31, 2020).

In example (205) Joe Biden represents the American economy by means of a car that got into an accident due to unskilled driving by Trump's administration. This image of a car crash, created by the phrase *drive it back into the ditch*, refers to the ECONOMY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor, used to reinforce the negative effects of Donald Trump's policies in the economic sphere, which resulted in the economic decay in the United States. At the same time, Trump's failure is opposed to Obama's and Biden's success in reviving the economy after the economic crisis of 2008. Thus, the Democrats are depicted as experienced drivers who managed to stop the economic system from crashing caused by the Republicans. This contrast between the two political parties facilitates the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy.

(206) Look, **Donald Trump crashed the economy** that Barack and I left him. Like everything else he's left and inherited, he squandered it. (Biden, October 27, 2020a).

In example (206) Joe Biden applies the ECONOMY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor to underline the incapacity of Donald Trump to continue a successful economic policy started by previous Democratic administrations. This conceptual metaphor is manifested via the verb *crash* and serves to realize the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy. The

falling economy is interpreted in terms of a car that suffers from a car accident, which in turn underpins the severity of the economic crisis caused by Donald Trump.

(207) I mean it from my heart. You are family. Family and faith are **what's driven this community** and is going to **drive this country**. (Biden, October 9, 2020)

In example (207) Joe Biden uses the POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor to highlight the role of American families and faith in the development of the country to lead society forward. Joe Biden conceptualizes the political system as a machine consisting of many acting parts that should be kept in order to function properly. The focus is put on the foundations of American society – family and faith. A happy and well-to-do family built on family values, religious norms and postulates becomes a reliable part of the state, an important detail of the working process of a large national engine: the political system that is built in the country. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

(208) We're going to have to find a way **to keep our economy running** as we bring the number of cases down. The president wants us to believe there is a choice between the economy and public health. (Biden, June 25, 2020)

In example (208) Joe Biden uses the ECONOMY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor to describe the unity and integrity of components in the country's economy, since the economic system is presented as an established mechanism that systematically breaks and slows down. For the mechanism to work, it needs to be maintained. Similarly, sustainable economic development requires healthy, able-bodied and motivated workers. Accordingly, Joe Biden creates a positive image of himself as a Democratic leader who will care for citizens' health and the revival of the US economy. In contrast, he portrays Donald Trump as a politician who prefers to focus on the economy at the expense of public health. Such polarization is based on the difference between the Democratic and the Republican parties regarding healthcare and economy.

Apart from the car, a ship is another concept which is related to the domain of machines, in particular, vehicles. The ship functions as a symbol of moral order and sovereignty of the state. The ship also implies the unity of the group of people since it evokes the image of the crew that is located on the enclosed territory in the middle of the ocean, involved in the same activity. Moreover, if the nation is conceptualized as a ship, then the citizens are perceived as a crew. In such a situation, the belonging to a group is especially important, with a view to

adhering to shared goals. In addition, if the ship gets wrecked, it is implied that there are certain difficulties, uncertainties or crisis in the development of the country (Lipset, 2014, p. 4).

The ship-based metaphors are used in speeches by Donald Trump and Joe Biden in their electioneering campaign to conceptualize the American nation. In this way, they present themselves as skillful sea captains who stir the ship of the nation through the waters of life. This metaphor is also employed to criticize the opponent as a careless seaman who wrecked the ship of the nation due to his bad decisions.

(209) We love our nation. Our nation is great today. It's going to be much greater. Every year, it's getting better and better. **We have turned this big, beautiful, mighty ship. We have turned it around.** It's getting better, better, better. [cheers and applause] (Trump, July 17, 2019)

In example (209) Donald Trump uses the NATION IS A SHIP conceptual metaphor to emphasize positive changes in the economy and other areas of life that were achieved through the unity of the nation. This unity is presented as Donald Trump's main reason to be proud of his task, which is enhanced by the use of the adjectives *big*, *beautiful*, *mighty*. The metaphor creates an atmosphere of well-being, and highlights pride in the involvement of American society, and the might of power the United States possess in the world. This image corresponds to values advocated by the Republican party. The metaphorical image of the ship in relation to the nation inspires the voter to a somewhat romantic pathos of perception of what is happening in the country. The ship headed by Donald Trump for two years, is rapidly moving towards a bright future; it is following a newly elected course; it is large and beautiful, like the country itself. This ship is successful because it is driven by an experienced and loyal captain, Donald Trump. Therefore, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is fulfilled.

(210) And even though we had fake witch hunts on our back and all the other things that we had 'ta go through, **we have taken this big beautiful ship**, and it's being turned around very quickly. [cheers and applause] Three years ago, we campaigned across the country on a pledge to make America great again. And that's exactly what we've done. [cheers and applause] (Trump, August 15, 2019)

In a similar vein, in example (210) Donald Trump employs the NATION IS A SHIP conceptual metaphor to emphasize his extraordinary abilities as a leader of the country who leads the nation towards prosperity. Conceptualizing the nation in terms of a ship, Donald Trump dwells upon an image of himself as a sea captain who sails overcoming difficulties. The

ship of American nation is large, strong and beautiful. It symbolizes the ability to move, change course and move forward to the general well-being.

(211) We're facing too many crises. We have too much work to do. We have to bright a future **to have it shipwrecked on the Shoals** of anger and hate, and division. (Biden, October 6, 2020)

In example (211) Joe Biden applies the NATION IS A SHIP conceptual metaphor to emphasize negative consequences of Trump's presidency for the Americans. The metaphor evokes the image of a ship that runs aground and cannot move further because the sea captain did not manage to find a save route. This allows Joe Biden to blame Donald Trump for provoking the division of American society, an increase in racism and discrimination. Since racial equality is one of the key problems addressed by the Democratic party, such an emphasis on tackling racism attracts those voters who share the same beliefs. In this, regard, Joe Biden promises the electorate to tackle these problems and rescue the ship of the nation so that it could go to sea again. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us and negative things about Them strategies are pursued.

Finally, both Donald Trump and Joe Biden use the MACHINES source domain to conceptualize the American people. These metaphors are applied in order to interpret the relations between people and their surrounding environment, as well as relations between groups of people (Notar, 2014, p. 135). Since machines are an inseparable part of daily life, in American political discourse the machinery is seen as an extension of human bodies (Katz, 2000).

(212) We're going to send all those people that can't see a doctor, we just can't get them to see a doctor. We're going to send them down the road to private doctors and we're going to pay the bill and **they're going to get fixed up.** (Trump, January 28, 2020).

In example (212) Donald Trump uses the PEOPLE ARE MACHINES conceptual metaphor to demonstrate that a human body is a living mechanism and therefore requires constant care for its health. This conceptual metaphor helps to accomplish the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy. Donald Trump presents his plans for the reforms of the healthcare system for the benefits of ordinary Americans. He conceptualizes a person as a machine that is broken and needs to *get fixed up*. He blames Obama's administration for forcing the Americans to purchase obligatory insurances. Instead, describing himself as a caring and responsible leader, Donald Trump is planning to create all necessary conditions for repairing

the citizens' health by canceling fines for denial to buy health insurance, allowing to choose lower insurance prices (Lapka, 2023, p. 72). He promises to give a priority to private insurance companies because being the Republican candidate Donald Trump advocates personal freedom and limited intervention of the federal government into private lives of the Americans.

(213) **You're a powerhouse of a leader** and you've helped shape and support this campaign from the earliest days. So, I want to thank you, Mayor Bottoms, for your vision, your partnership, and your commitment to the campaign and the people of Atlanta. (Biden, October 27, 2020a)

In example (213) Joe Biden resorts to the PEOPLE ARE MACHINES conceptual metaphor. He uses the noun *powerhouse* in relation to the mayor of Atlanta, Ms. Bottoms, to express gratitude to those who support his plans. Since the powerhouse is a plant where a lot of energy is produced, the reference to Biden's supporters in terms of the powerhouse reinforces the optimistic, upbeat, sanguine, vivacious Democratic politicians. In this case, the machine is a symbol of movement, action, and progress that should be associated with the Democratic Party.

Having analyzed the machine conceptual metaphors used by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during their electioneering campaign in 2020, it can be concluded that they perform a number of functions, namely: to demonstrate that the country and society function as a coordinated and organized mechanism where all citizens work for the well-being of the country, supervised by the President as an engineer; to prove that the economic and political systems are in a deep crisis, and to suggest a plan for economic recovery. Apart from that, Donald Trump and Joe Biden apply the machine metaphors to create positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation by highlighting their own positive sides, while reinforcing the shortcomings of their opponents by referring to them in term of machinery (Lapka, 2023, p. 73). Such results can be explained by the specificities of the Republican and Democratic parties. Thus, the Republicans represent the conservative wing in favor of free market, market-regulated taxes and wages, less governmental control of the economy. The Republicans believe that the high position in society can only be achieved by hard work and diligence. Meanwhile, the Democrats advocate the governmental support of social programs, affordable healthcare, social responsibility, environmental protection. Accordingly, since the machine metaphors imply hard work, strength, and industry, and at the same time repair and constant maintenance, they are applied by both political parties.

6.11. PLANTS

In the analyzed corpus, the PLANT source domain also participates in political persuasion during the US electioneering campaign. It constitutes the following conceptual metaphors: BELIEFS ARE PLANTS, ECONOMY IS A PLANT, IDEAS ARE PLANTS, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A PLANT, RACISM IS A PLANT, and VOTES ARE PLANTS. Thus, the plant metaphors are used to convey to the electorate issues related to economic development, political systems, ideas and beliefs, social problems, and political processes.

In other words, the focus of the plant metaphors is abstract complex systems, while the central theme of this metaphor is the development of this system, which is interpreted in terms of the natural growth of a plant (Kövecses, 2010, p. 162). For example, the ECONOMY IS A PLANT conceptual metaphor contains the following set of conceptual mappings of the source domain (PLANT) onto the target domain (ECONOMY) (Kövecses, 2010, p. 162):

- a) the plant \Rightarrow the economic system
- b) a part of the plant \Rightarrow a part of the economic system
- c) growth of the plant \Rightarrow development of economy
- d) cutting off a part of the plant \Rightarrow slowing down the economic development
- e) roots of the plant \Rightarrow the origin of the economic system
- f) the blossoming \Rightarrow the best period of the economic development
- g) the fruits or harvest \Rightarrow the beneficial results, profits

Thus, parts of the plant have a systematic correspondence to parts of the abstract system (Kövecses, 2010, p. 10). The lexemes from the sphere of botany are employed to conceptualize social and economic issues, ideas, etc. In this regard, the general knowledge about plants consists in the fact that when plants grow, they get bigger, sometimes they are cut or pruned. Analogically, this knowledge about biological development of plants structures knowledge about the development of abstract complex systems (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 127-129).

In the analyzed campaign speeches, the plant metaphors are used to create positive self-presentation by Donald Trump, through the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy. Being the Republican candidate, he resorts to the PLANT source domain to think and speak about the economic development, social well-being and what he sees as extremism.

(214) But under the Trump economy, the lowest paid **earners are reaping the biggest, fastest, and largest games.** (Trump, January 28, 2020)

In example (214) Donald Trump combines three conceptual metaphors: ECONOMY IS A PLANT, ECONOMY IS SPORT, and CONTROL IS UP, with a view to persuading his electorate in his capacity to guarantee the prosperity of the United States. The phrase *under the Trump economy* implies that he controls the situation and successfully leads the country out of the global crisis in contrast to previous administration. Moreover, the economic stability is understood in terms of gathering huge harvests (*reaping*), meaning that even workers with the lowest wages have started to earn much more money during Trump's Presidency. The word *games* in this context means hunting of large number of animals as a sport. Hence, it is implied that the best results are achieved through the struggle and competition on the labor market; and the reward for work is conditioned by the number of efforts made. This metaphor highlights that Donald Trump provides favorable conditions for hard-working resilient citizens who are the foundation of economic development in the United States.

(215) We will not make the mistakes made in European countries, that allow a violent **ideology to take root** in our country, on our shores. We're not going to allow it to happen. (Trump, October 10, 2019)

In example (215) with the help of the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS, Donald Trump presents himself as a wise leader who will make the same mistake as the European politicians did. He contrasts himself not only with the Democratic Party but also with European political leaders, since, according to Donald Trump, white supremacists and extremists, who are prone to violent actions, pose a danger to American society. In order to emphasize this danger, he conceptualizes extremists' ideology in terms of a plant that has strong roots. A plant is held upright owing to its roots going deep in the soil. Therefore, serious measures are required to eliminate this dangerous phenomenon from American society, in the same way as weeds are grubbed up out of the ground. With the help of the plant metaphor, Donald Trump gives confidence to voters, create a sense of security, and therefore sow in the minds of Americans the seeds of trust and support.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Joe Biden also employs the plant metaphors to create positive self-presentation by emphasizing that his administration will show positive results if he is finally elected. Racism and discrimination are central issues in Joe Biden's discourse, which generally reflects the principles advocated by the Democratic Party. Therefore, he resorts to the plant metaphors to represent racism as a deeply entrenched phenomenon in the American society that should be eradicated.

(216) We have a chance to **rip the roots of systemic racism** out of this country. (Biden, July 4, 2020)

In example (216) Joe Biden uses the RACISM IS A PLANT conceptual metaphor to emphasize his ability to fight against racism in America and eliminate it completely. The political ideology that justifies racial inequality grows and expands in American society when there are comfortable conditions for its germination and reproduction. Like a plant, racism takes on strong roots that are difficult to dig out. Hence, by such a conceptualization, Joe Biden states that he is ready to tackle this problem that harms American society and destroys its spirit and unity, but he needs support from the Americans. Thus, the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy is realized.

(217) Quite simply, we have to make the same commitment as a nation **to root out domestic terrorism** that we have stopping international terrorism. (Biden, August 7, 2019)

In example (217) Joe Biden uses the BELIEFS ARE PLANTS conceptual metaphor to emphasize the urgent need to stop terrorism in the United States as well as on a global scale. By evoking the image of terrorism as a weed, he highlights that terrorism poses danger to American society. If weeds are neither controlled nor pulled out, then the weeds will grow to a threatening scale and harm the harvest. Therefore, Joe Biden believes that these terrorist ideas should be eradicated as a weed that prevents the country from blooming. Attempts to eradicate terrorism in the United States and stop the spread of international extremism evoke trust and respect in the eyes of voters, and therefore stimulates to vote for Joe Biden.

Having analyzed the use of the plant metaphors by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during their electioneering campaign in 2020, it is possible to conclude that these metaphors are more characteristic of Joe Biden's' speeches. He applies them to picture positively the development of the United States. Since the plant is a living organism that is born from the seeds, develops, and grows high under favorable conditions, the plant metaphors emphasize the developmental aspects of the country's life. The supremacy of life is emphasized and the positive image of the future is created. Being the Democratic candidate, Joe Biden presents himself as a liberal progressive politician in favor of economic growth, social programs, environmental protection, and an eradication of inequality and racism. In this regard, the plant metaphors represent this struggle for development and a better life for American laborers.

6.12. Miscellaneous conceptual metaphors

In this section, conceptual metaphors with the CREATION/DESTRUCTION, CLEANLINESS, ANIMALS, NATURE, LIQUID, FAMILY, and MATERIALS source domains are discussed. These metaphors are not numerous in the corpus and are manifested through similar metaphorical expressions. Despite these facts, they are conspicuous in terms of their persuasive role during the US electioneering campaign.

First of all, it is essential to mention the creation/destruction metaphors. This source domain is found in the following conceptual metaphors: GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING, GOOD GOVERNING IS DESTRUCTING, and HARM IS DESTRUCTION. They are used by Donald Trump and Joe Biden in their campaign speeches in order to create positive self-presentation and especially to make negative other-presentation. The creation/destruction metaphors are among the predominant ones in Donald Trump's discourse when he criticizes his opponents' actions.

(218) On Tuesday, two Japanese companies, Toyota and Aisin, announced a combined investment of almost \$800 million, which will **create over 900 new jobs** right here in Texas. (September 23, 2019)

In example (218) Donald Trump uses the GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING conceptual metaphor in order to emphasize his role in reviving the US economy. As a Republican candidate, he supports a free market based on competitiveness that provides opportunities for business. In this regard, the creation of new workplaces by Trump's administration is perceived as the positive change and restoration of economic and trade fairness to the United States. Investments are means of stimulating economic development, and the Japanese companies brought new jobs and money to the US automobile industry. All these factors contribute to the financial well-being of the Americans living in Texas. Thus, the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy is realized.

(219) But in my first week in office I proudly withdrew the United States from that **job-destroying catastrophe**. (Trump, August 15, 2019)

In example (219) Donald Trump uses the HARM IS DESTRUCTION conceptual metaphor to say that he saved the Americans from destructive consequences of previous administrations' decisions. By referring to the TPP as a *job-destroying catastrophe*, he regards the Trans-Pacific Partnership as harmful to the US economy because it gives opportunities to

other countries in trade. Therefore, to get the support of people, he presents himself as the savior of the nation. In such a way, the strategy Emphasize positive things about Us is fulfilled.

(220) **We killed the individual mandate**, which is the most unbelievable, horrible. (Trump, February 28, 2020)

In example (220) Donald Trump applies the conceptual metaphor GOOD GOVERNING IS DESTROYING in order to emphasize his efforts in providing quality healthcare and fair taxation for the Americans. By cancelling the obligatory purchase of a minimum insurance within the Affordable Care Act, Donald Trump canceled the tax penalties for refusing to buy insurance. He said that his plan would give the Americans the freedom to choose insurance plans that best suit them and their families. Moreover, insurance costs will be deductible from taxes, and small companies will be able to merge and offer their employees more affordable health insurance options. Therefore, using the verb *kill* with a positive connotation, Donald Trump enhances the possible danger he prevented and portrays himself as a savior of the American people and a guardian of American democracy.

Joe Biden also resorts to the CREATION / DESTRUCTION metaphors in order to emphasize his achievements and accuse his opponent of harming the Americans. In this regard, the HARM IS DESTRUCTION conceptual metaphor is one of the most commonly used in his speeches to criticize the actions of Trump's administration.

(221) Today, I'm here at Wilmington to talk about a second plank, how we could **create millions of high paying union jobs** by building a modern infrastructure and a clean energy future. (Biden, July 14, 2020)

In example (221) Joe Biden applies the conceptual metaphor GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING to describe his plan to create the environmentally friendly economy and simultaneously create working places for the Americans. In this case, having a plan implies that Joe Biden is an experienced and conscientious manager who knows how to develop this plan and implement it into reality. Thus, he presents himself as a progressive leader who cares for ecology and employment for people through conceptualization of good governing in terms of creation. This metaphor facilitates presenting the plan on creating an economic and industrial base that will be built on compliance with environmental standards. Joe Biden raises the desire to create a clean and competitive industry. Such a determination to become the leader in fighting against the global problem of climate change may attract voters to support him.

(222) And now Trump and the Republicans, they jam through a Supreme Court nominee for one overwhelming reason: they wanted to **destroy the Affordable Care Act**. (Biden, November 2, 2020a)

In example (222) Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor HARM IS DESTRUCTION, along with the PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES metaphor. Combining the concepts of physical force and destruction in relation to healthcare, Joe Biden indicates a special danger of the actions of opponents. He relies on the psychological impact, the tragic experience of voters' perception of the possible harm and destruction, the negative impact of which people have already felt before with the help of the verbs *jam through* and *destroy*. Since these verbs imply physical forces with a destructive outcome, the metaphor allows Joe Biden to evoke fear of losing everything that made it possible to preserve health, and ultimately life. Therefore, he positions himself in the role of a brave and wise leader who can prevent destruction and disaster caused by the Republicans. In such a way, he adopts the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy.

(223) They've added to the Court of Justice who criticized Chief Justice, Roberts' previous decision to uphold the Affordable Care Act in hopes that **they can destroy the Affordable Care Act** once and for all through the courts. No matter how many **Americans they hurt** in the process. (Biden, October 28, 2020)

In example (223) Joe Biden employs the conceptual metaphors HARM IS DESTRUCTION and HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY in order to emphasize a harmful impact of the Republicans on the healthcare system. Referring to the possible disastrous consequences of abolishing the Affordable Care Act for ordinary people and depriving them of social benefits and guarantees, he emphasizes the level of harm. He points out that the actions of the Republicans can lead to physical losses and even to deaths of many Americans. Such an emphasis on Trump's negative actions evokes the emotions of fear and emergency because the loss of important things is always perceived by people as harm and destruction. Therefore, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is accomplished. As a result, potential voters are encouraged to join democratic forces in the struggle to defend and protect their social benefits.

Furthermore, the cleanliness metaphors are characteristic of Donald Trump's campaign speeches. This source domain is found in the MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS conceptual metaphor, which is used to create the negative other-presentation via the emphasize negative things about Them strategy and presents Donald Trump as a savior of the country who wants

to create moral political establishment. The cleanliness metaphors imply the link between the moral virtues and cleanliness. A clean surface can be spoilt by dirt, meaning the lack of morality. Therefore, in order to possess moral integrity, one needs to be physically clean.

(224) Only in this way can we save the America we love and **drain the Washington swamp** once and for all. (Trump, January 9, 2020)

In example (224) Donald Trump uses the MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS conceptual metaphor to present the Democrats as immoral politicians who need to be removed from the Congress. Since the word *swamp* refers to a dirty wet area covered with water, the audience perceive the Democratic party in negative lights. In this way, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is realized. The Americans are guided by principles of morality and thus they are willing to vote for a candidate who upholds moral values.

(225) Only this way can we save the America we love and **clean up Washington corruption** once and for all. (Trump, December 10, 2019)

In example (225) Donald Trump applies the MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS conceptual metaphor in order to show his intentions to eliminate corruption in the US government. By referring to corruption in terms of dirt that is necessary to *clean up*, Donald Trump draws up the link between corruption and morality. Therefore, the Americans perceive corruption as a highly immoral action. Corruption always harms the normal functioning of society, since important decisions are made on the basis of ulterior motives without taking into account the interests of the public. Accordingly, promising to cleanse America of the dirt that corruption represents, Donald Trump presents himself as a leader whose aim is to preserve morality in society and politics and criticizes the Democratic Party of lacking moral integrity.

Moreover, the animal metaphors are identified in the speeches delivered by both presidential candidates. They are predominantly used, though, by Donald Trump in his electioneering campaign. The ANIMALS source domain is observed in the following conceptual metaphors: ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE DANGEROUS ANIMALS, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, and TERRORISTS ARE DANGEROUS ANIMALS. In Donald Trump's speeches these metaphors are applied in order to portray terrorists and immigrants as dangerous wild beasts who pose threats to the Americans. In other words, features of predators such as strength, aggression or ability to kill are mapped onto terrorists and illegal immigrants to show them as dangerous people. Such an imagery facilitates positive self-presentation of Donald Trump and negative other-presentation of his opponent.

Thus, dwelling about the fight against terrorism, which is one of the fundamental issues for the Republican Party, Donald Trump sharply condemns evil, murder, and terrorism. By drawing up the image of terrorists as animals, he dehumanizes them and justifies their elimination.

(226) The **animal known as al-Baghdadi** is dead and the wicked caliphate is 100% destroyed.
(Trump, January 14, 2020)

With regard to the ANIMALS source domain, in example (226) Donald Trump applies the TERRORISTS ARE DANGEROUS ANIMALS conceptual metaphor to convey his negative attitude towards the ISIS as a terrorist organization. This is enhanced by giving the names of the ISIS leaders and pointing to their elimination. Moreover, the word *wicked* implies the evil the United States fight against. The defeat of the evil organization makes Donald Trump appear in a heroic glow. Since terrorism evokes in the minds of the audience a sense of danger, violence, fear, and intimidation, the pride of defeating the terrorist organizations is more pronounced. Thus, leading an aggressive policy on terrorism, Donald Trump demonstrates that he is ready to act decisively and uncompromisingly in the fight against terrorism, and therefore uses the slightest opportunity to protect peace in the world. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

Regarding the issue of illegal immigrants, Donald Trump turns to the concept of wildlife and attributes the features of wild animals to immigrants. Within this imagery, wild beasts cannot be tamed, and therefore they are a threat, potential killers and enemies. Pointing to the problems that his predecessors allegedly created, despite the threats posed by illegal immigrants, Donald Trump emphasizes his role in regulating the immigration issues.

(227) Most of those indicted were in our country illegally, 19 to be exact, 19 of 22. Think of that. They want to protect--**these are savage beasts**. (Trump, August 01, 2019)

In example (227) Donald Trump uses the ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE DANGEROUS ANIMALS conceptual metaphor to convey his views on illegal immigrants who come to the United States. According to the Republican principles, migration legislation should be strengthened, because illegal immigrants are believed to deprive the American citizens of their rights. As a Republican candidate, Donald Trump regards the problem of illegal immigration as extremely important. Thus, by conceptualizing immigrants as animals, he dehumanizes them and deprives them of everything human. In Trump's rhetoric, immigrants are *savage beasts* who pose a danger for the Americans. Trump's hyperbolic hatred of illegal

immigrants is expressed through emotionally charged vocabulary because the adjective *savage* implies the highest degree of vice, while the noun *beast* refers to a big and dangerous animal. Therefore, they are perceived as evil, and the Democrats, who advocate milder laws on immigration, are seen as evil as well. This conceptual metaphor helps Donald Trump attract a large number of voters to his camp because his supporters want to preserve their social guarantees, jobs and insurances.

Both presidential candidates apply the nature metaphors, in addition, in their campaign speeches in order to criticize the actions of their opponents. Thus, Donald Trump resorts to this source domain to conceptualize the issue of illegal immigration, while Joe Biden applies it to dwell upon such a social problem as racism. The NATURE source domain is found in the following conceptual metaphors: ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS, MONEY IS A RESOURCE, and RACISM IS A NATURAL DISASTER.

(228) They would strip Americans of their constitutional rights while **flooding the country with illegal immigrants** in the hopes it will expand their political base, and they'll get votes someplace down the future. That's what it's about. [Booing.] (Trump, June 18, 2019)

In example (228) Donald Trump uses the ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS conceptual metaphor to show what he considers the detrimental effects of letting the immigrants live in the United States. He blames the Democrats of encroaching the fundamental rights of American citizens by granting social protection to illegal immigrants. The verb *flood* implies that a large amount of water inundates land and damages houses and farmlands. Water is a huge force that is difficult to control. Therefore, by conceptualizing illegal immigrants in terms of a flood, Donald Trump conveys the idea that an excessive number of immigrants arrive to the United States. In this way, he dehumanizes them in order to present them as threatening to American society. Since the Democrats advocate for a more tolerant attitude towards illegal immigrants, Donald Trump highlights that it is them that put the American well-being under threat. In such a way, the Emphasize negative things about Them Ideological Square strategy is realized.

(229) And these open borders would **drain public services**, and **flood communities** with poisonous drugs. (Trump, August 01, 2019)

In example (229) Donald Trump applies the ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS conceptual metaphor to criticize the migration policy conducted by the Democratic administration. He sees it as a harmful policy for American society. In order to

show the danger posed by illegal immigrants to his electorate, Donald Trump depicts them in terms of natural disasters such as draught and flood, which cause huge damages and ruin people's life. These natural phenomena cannot be controlled by people. Using this imagery, Donald Trump points to the particular danger of immigrants not only do they empty the state treasury pertaining to American citizens, he says, but they also bring drugs to the United States that harm Americans' health. Such an emotional coloring activates the voters' readiness to confront those who lead to disaster. Thus, in the eyes of a Republican voter, the Democrats become accomplices of those who want to harm ordinary people. In such a way, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is accomplished.

The only instance of the nature metaphors in Joe Biden's discourse concerns such a negative social phenomenon as racism.

(230) We have a problem with **this rising tide of white supremacy** in America, and we have a president who encourages and emboldens it. (Biden, August 7, 2019)

In example (230) Joe Biden uses the RACISM IS A NATURAL DISASTER conceptual metaphor to raise awareness among the audience of the threat of racism in America. This metaphor is expressed by the noun *tide*, which implies movement of an uncontrollable huge current of water flooding the United States. Therefore, Joe Biden depicts white supremacy as threatening democracy and equality, because such a rush of water is difficult to stop. In addition, this metaphor allows him to emphasize Trump's negative impact on the rise of racism in the United States. In such a way, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is fulfilled.

Moreover, the LIQUID source domain is used by Donald Trump and Joe Biden in their electioneering campaign in order to create positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This is achieved by emphasizing their own positive traits and highlighting mistakes of their opponents. In the analyzed corpus, this source domain is found in the following conceptual metaphors: DRUGS ARE LIQUIDS, EMOTIONS ARE LIQUID, MONEY IS LIQUID, and PEOPLE ARE LIQUIDS.

(231) **Jobs and investment are now pouring into** 120 newly designated opportunity zones right here in Wisconsin. (Trump, January 14, 2020)

In example (231) Donald Trump uses the MONEY IS LIQUID conceptual metaphor in order to emphasize beneficial impact of his economic policies on well-being of the Americans. By conceptualizing working places and investments in terms of liquid that pours in a certain container, the amount of money and the speed of their filling in the economy are enhanced. In

this way, Donald Trump praises himself for creating favorable conditions for businesses to develop in the free market economy, in accordance with the Republican political ideas. Therefore, the Emphasize positive things about Us Ideological Square strategy is realized.

(232) Massive tariff and **tariff money is pouring in and has poured in, poured in** by the billions and billions. (Trump, February 10, 2020)

In example (232) Donald Trump applies the MONEY IS LIQUID conceptual metaphor to highlight his role in stimulating economic growth since, according to the American values, money is a measure of social status and well-being. Money, like water, flows through the vessels of the economy and feeds it. In this regard, Donald Trump conceptualizes money received from a tariff competition with European countries as liquid that flows in order to demonstrate that imposing tariffs on iron and aluminum facilitated accumulating cash resources and improving the economic situation in the United States. Therefore, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is accomplished.

(233) There's so much more to do. Testing and tracing, **we should be pouring billions of dollars into** determining how we get rapid testing, rapid testing. (Biden, October 26, 2020)

In example (233) Joe Biden, in contrast, applies the MONEY IS LIQUID conceptual metaphor to show how much should be done in order to provide people with a vaccination against COVID-19 as soon as possible. Therefore, by referring to investments in research in terms of money that is poured into a reservoir, he indicates the huge amount of money necessary to carry out medical research successfully. In this sense, Joe Biden accuses Trump of neglecting the urgent need to develop the vaccine rapidly. Thus, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is realized.

Furthermore, the family metaphors are also applied by Donald Trump in his campaign speeches. The source domain FAMILY constitutes the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY, which is used to demonstrate the unity of the American nation as a natural thing because family unites its members by their kinship and common goals. Family members support and care for each other. Moreover, the concept of family is linked to the concept of home.

(234) We are one movement, one people, **one family**, and one glorious nation under God. (Trump, August 28, 2020)

In example (234) Donald Trump employs the NATION IS A FAMILY conceptual metaphor to emphasize that the Americans are linked to each other as members of one family. Hence, America is perceived as a home for them because it provides a reliable shelter, protection, love, and support. The use of the word *family* raises the audience's awareness of the need to keep united around a strong leader protecting the whole family. Donald Trump tries to persuade voters to see such a leader in him. Therefore, the personal pronoun *we* helps him create the sense of belonging to one family and being involved in decision-making. In such a way, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

(235) **We are one people in one family**, saluting one great American flag. We all share the same home. We all share the same heart. (Trump, August 01, 2019)

In example (235) Donald Trump applies the NATION IS A FAMILY conceptual metaphor to enhance the sense of belonging of all the Americans to one nation and thus to accomplish the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy. By referring to the nation in terms of a united caring family, Donald Trump shows that as the Republican candidate he is the leader who will preserve the traditional values and who is able to unite all people.

In addition, material metaphors are identified in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's electioneering discourses. The MATERIALS source domain are observed in the NATION IS FABRIC and PERSONALITY IS MATERIAL conceptual metaphors. These metaphors are used by both candidates to praise the strength and tough character of the ordinary Americans and political leaders in building the country as well as to emphasize the danger posed to the American society by division and disunity.

(236) What brings us together as Americans is so much stronger than anything that **can tear us apart**. So let me be clear. I, we, are campaigning as a Democrats, but I will govern as an American president. (Biden, November 4, 2020b)

In example (236) Joe Biden uses the NATION IS FABRIC conceptual metaphor to warn the electorate against supporting Trump, who would divide the nation. Instead, Joe Biden promises to unite America. It is very difficult to tear apart a strong and well-woven cloth, unlike a single thread that breaks easily. Therefore, by conceptualizing the nation in terms of fabrics, he shows that it is impossible to destroy a cohesive, educated, tolerant society that is united by the idea of building a prosperous state.

(237) **The only thing that can tear America apart** is America itself. (Biden, October 18, 2020)

Similarly, in example (237) Joe Biden applies the NATION IS FABRICS conceptual metaphor in order to prove the importance for the Americans of being united if they want to be a strong nation. In order to achieve this, he maps the concept of materials onto the nation. Since the fabric consists of interwoven fibers, which, clinging to each other, constitute a durable piece of cloth that can withstand loads, the American people are perceived as these fibers that together make up the fabric of the United States. This imagery of a cohesive society may motivate the electorate to support those candidates whose aim is to preserve the unity of the nation. Thus, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is realized.

Having analyzed the use of creation/destruction, cleanliness, animals, nature, liquid, family, and materials conceptual metaphors in political speeches by both presidential candidates, it is possible to conclude that the choice of these source domains is conditioned by the political parties they belong to. Thus, as a Republican candidate, Donald Trump supports traditional family values and free competition in the market, and strongly opposes a mild migration policy. At the same time, Joe Biden, being a Democratic candidate, upholds ideas of equality and affordable healthcare for all citizens, and struggles to overcome the division in the society. Thus, these conceptual metaphors help both politicians create positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation as the Ideological Square strategies.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

Conceptual metaphor is a powerful instrument for persuading the electorate to support a candidate, and it is, therefore, widely used by politicians. Politicians construct their political images on the basis of underlying conceptual metaphors that evoke familiar patterns or associations in the audience's mind. Accordingly, understanding these underlying conceptual mappings provides comprehension of how political persuasion is carried out. Since the polarization of Us versus Them is a widespread persuasive strategy in politics, this doctoral thesis is focused on the realization of the Ideological Square strategies through conceptual metaphors.

Therefore, the general aim of this doctoral thesis was to analyze the role and functioning of conceptual metaphors in the realization of the Ideological Square strategies in a corpus consisting of the political speeches delivered by the presidential candidates Donald Trump and Joe Biden during the US presidential electioneering campaign in 2020 through CMT and CDA. Moreover, the initial hypothesis from which this research study departed was that there were certain variables that influence the choice of conceptual metaphors in public speeches delivered during the 2020 US presidential campaign in order to fulfil the Ideological Square strategies. The following variables were chosen: the type of metaphor, the specific politician, the source domain, the target domain, and Ideological Square strategies. These variables led to 7 research hypotheses. In order to achieve this aim and verify the hypotheses, 99 electioneering speeches delivered by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during the 2020 electioneering campaign in the United States were analyzed.

Out of the 7 research hypotheses, 6 were confirmed. Thus, of all the variables that were analyzed, only Ideological square strategies and Politician were not found to be related variables. Accordingly, it was proved that the choice of conceptual metaphors, as well as their source and target domains, helped Donald Trump and Joe Biden construct their political images with the aim of winning the Presidency. It is also necessary to mention that, since they are the representatives of the Republican and the Democratic parties respectively, the choice of conceptual metaphors reflects the belonging of the candidates to distinct political parties and, thus, distinct ideologies.

In this regard, it was found out that the Emphasize positive things about Us and Emphasize negative things about Them strategies are the most commonly used in the analyzed corpus by both candidates. Meanwhile, the De-emphasize negative things about Us and De-emphasize positive things about Them strategies occupy a secondary position in promoting polarization. Therefore, the essence of the Ideological Square strategies consists in highlighting

one's own positive features while emphasizing the opponent's negative characteristics. Thus, the realization of the Ideological Square strategies via conceptual metaphors in both candidates' speeches proves that the opposition between Us and Them is created by macrostrategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

Hence, taking into account that the conceptual metaphors and the realization of these strategies were interrelated, the underlying conceptual metaphors used by the candidates to fulfil each strategy were identified. In particular, it was found that in Donald Trump's speeches, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is predominantly realized through the following conceptual metaphors in this order: POLITICS IS A WAR, WELL-BEING IS UP, and CHANGE IS MOVEMENT. Meanwhile, in Joe Biden's discourse, the Emphasize positive things about Us strategy is actualized via the POLITICS IS SPORT, POLITICS IS A WAR, and LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphors, being POLITICS IS SPORT the most frequently used. Accordingly, it is possible to conclude that Donald Trump prefers aggressive metaphors to foreground his positive features as the leader of the nation. Meanwhile, Joe Biden mostly uses sport metaphors to emphasize a competitive but non-violent nature of the electioneering campaign.

Moreover, it was determined that in Donald Trump's discourse, the Emphasize negative things about Them strategy is fulfilled by the following conceptual metaphors: POLITICS IS A WAR, HARM IS DESTRUCTION, and FASCISM / COMMUNISM / SOCIALISM IS A DANGEROUS ENEMY. On the contrary, in Joe Biden's speeches, this strategy is realized with the help of such conceptual metaphors as TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR, MORE IS UP, and HARM IS DESTRUCTION. Thus, it can be concluded that both candidates apply hostile and destructive metaphors to present each other as dangerous for America.

Apart from that, it was found out that in Donald Trump's speeches, the De-emphasize negative things about Us strategy is accomplished by the POLITICS IS A WAR, MORAL ACTION IS A FINANCIAL TRANSACTION, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, HARM IS BEING IN A HARMFUL LOCATION, CONTROL IS UP, and CHANGE IS MOVEMENT conceptual metaphors. However, in Joe Biden's discourse, the De-emphasize negative things about Us strategy is realized through the SUCCESS IS LIFE, NATION IS A BODY, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, and IDEAL IS UP conceptual metaphors. Consequently, it can be concluded that Donald Trump presents himself as a belligerent politician and a moral leader who intends to preserve the moral integrity of the nation, according to his own standards. On the contrary, Joe Biden creates a vivid picture of the successful future and highlights the need to live up to one's ideal to achieve the success.

In addition, in Donald Trump's campaign speeches, the De-emphasize positive things about Them strategy is realized by the CONTROL IS UP, CHANGE IS MOVEMENT, WELL-BEING IS UP, and MORE IS UP conceptual metaphors. At the same time, in Joe Biden's speeches, the De-emphasize positive things about Them strategy is fulfilled with the help of the TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR, PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, and ECONOMY IS A WAR conceptual metaphors. Thus, it is possible to state that Donald Trump portrays himself as a controlling and dominant leader who is not willing to accept any superiority on the part of his rival. However, Joe Biden criticizes his opponent's actions during the pandemic and his neglect regarding the development of the country.

Furthermore, since the source domains are also interrelated with the Ideological Square strategies and the political images created by each candidate, the conceptual metaphors that were identified in the corpus were classified by the source domains. Thus, it is possible to conclude that in Donald Trump's discourse, the predominant source domains are the WAR, UP/DOWN, and CREATION / DESTRUCTION. At the same time, in Joe Biden's speeches, the most commonly used source domains are WAR, BUILDINGS, and SPORT/GAMES. This distribution points at the conflictive and competitive character of elections because the candidates seek the Presidency and try to persuade potential voters by creating a polarization between good Us and bad Them.

In order to determine how the Ideological Square contributes to the realization of this polarization through conceptual metaphors, the source domains identified in the corpus were classified by the macrostrategies of positive self-presentation (containing the Emphasize positive things about Us and De-emphasize negative things about Us strategies) and negative other-presentation (combining the Emphasize negative things about Them and De-emphasize positive things about Them strategies). Concerning the realization of positive self-presentation, the candidates use different source domains. Accordingly, Donald Trump resorts to the WAR, UP/DOWN, and MOVEMENT/DIRECTION source domains. In the meantime, Joe Biden predominantly uses the BUILDINGS, WAR, and SPORT/GAMES source domains. Moreover, in order to realize negative other-presentation, it was found out that in Donald Trump's discourse the main source domains are WAR, CREATION/DESTRUCTION, and PERSONIFICATION. In Joe Biden's campaign speeches, in turn, the major source domains are WAR, UP/DOWN, and BODY.

Hence, having analyzed the usage of the predominant source domains regarding the realization of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation by Donald Trump and

Joe Biden, it is possible to draw a set of conclusions. First of all, the war metaphors are widely used in political discourse because they interpret collective knowledge about wars as a violent struggle between two rivaling parties. Moreover, these metaphors activate the emotion of fear in people's mind concerning such important issue as inequality, racism, drug addiction, poverty, climate change, economy, etc. Thirdly, the war metaphors demonstrate the antagonistic and aggressive nature of the elections, which increases the polarization between the opposing parties. And fourthly, the war metaphors presuppose the end of the confrontation in the victory or the defeat, which gives the electorate hope for the end of the war.

Moreover, the up/down metaphors were identified as the next commonly used metaphors in the US electioneering campaign by Donald Trump and Joe Biden. It was established that Donald Trump mainly applies them to create a positive image of himself, while Joe Biden predominantly uses these metaphors to create his opponent's negative image. It is also important to state that the focus of the two candidates lies on different problematic issues, which is conditioned by their belonging to different political parties. Accordingly, Donald Trump mainly speaks about unemployment, the harm of social programs, taxation, drug addiction, and healthcare. On the contrary, Joe Biden predominantly dwells upon the pandemic, social care and taxation.

Regarding the use of sport/games metaphors in the analyzed corpus, it was determined that this source domain is especially significant in Joe Biden's discourse, where it serves to create positive self-presentation. These metaphors foreground the peaceful competitiveness of political activities, strict rules of a fair competition, certain unpredictability, and possible risks. Being a Democratic candidate, Joe Biden creates an image of himself as a leader who defends democratic values, equality and equal opportunities for all the Americans irrespective of their social, economic or racial background.

Apart from that, it was discovered that the building metaphors are also typical of Joe Biden's campaign speeches. These metaphors facilitate the interpretation of issues related to political problems, equal opportunities, economic recovery, and healthcare. Accordingly, the building metaphors are used to create a positive self-presentation of a leader who cares for the prosperity of the nation, because constructing buildings is associated with creating a solid trustworthy structure with reliable foundations and walls that would last for a very long time. Such results are explained by the fact that the Democratic rhetoric is mainly targeted at the urban population of the United States. Therefore, the image of a building is familiar to them and evokes positive associations with progress, development, better living standards, and an egalitarian society.

Furthermore, the results of this study showed that the motion/direction conceptual metaphors play a considerable role in Donald Trump's discourse. They facilitate the realization of positive self-presentation, which can be explained by the fact that, as a Republican candidate, Donald Trump plans to create conditions for the economic and scientific development of the United States. These metaphors help him portray himself as a leader who is concerned with the nation's health, financial well-being, individual rights, and the existence of jobs for hard-working Americans.

Besides, it was also found that the person metaphors are characteristic of Donald Trump's electioneering discourse, which may be explained by the fact that the Republican rhetoric is based on the principles of individualism, limited governmental control, and promotion of American interests. Hence, Donald Trump's emphasis is on the existence of strong military forces in order to be able to respond to foreign threats, as well as to limit the access of illegal immigrants to the United States. Therefore, the person metaphors allow Donald Trump to highlight his own positive traits as a politician, while emphasizing the disadvantages of the Democrats, who do not share his political beliefs.

Moreover, it can be concluded that the body metaphors are among the most frequently used in Joe Biden's electioneering discourse to create positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. This can be explained by the fact that the political platform of the Democratic candidate is built on the recovery of the economy after the coronavirus pandemic. In other words, Joe Biden lays emphasis on the nation's health, which is manifested in the interpretation of social, economic, and political problems in terms of bodily illness and its treatment.

Concerning the use of the journey metaphors by the candidates, the results of this study reveal that these metaphors are especially important in Joe Biden's discourse. He resorts to these metaphors to create a positive image of himself as a progressive Democratic leader who supports progress and movement forward, upholds the ideas of social and racial equality, social programs, and affordable healthcare. In addition, the journey metaphors indicate dangers, adventures or problems that can be found on the way to the destination. However, these metaphors imply that the travel can be easier if accompanied by one's supporters, which in the context of the presidential elections enhances the significance of the nation's unity.

Apart from that, it was proved that in the analyzed corpus the machine metaphors perform a set of functions. First of all, they convey that the country functions as a well-coordinated mechanism where all citizens work for the well-being of the country under the supervision of the President as an engineer. Secondly, the machine metaphors express that the economic and

political systems are in a deep crisis and require a well-developed recovery plan. It was also found that Donald Trump and Joe Biden use the machine metaphors to fulfil the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation macrostrategies. Although the Republican and Democratic parties represent distinct ideologies, both candidates apply the machine metaphors because they emphasize hard work, strength, perseverance, and the need for a constant maintenance of the state machinery.

Regarding the use of the plant metaphors during the 2020 electioneering campaign in the United States, it can be concluded that these metaphors are typical of Joe Biden's discourse to create positive self-presentation. Since a plant is a living organism that is born from its seeds, develops and grows under favorable conditions, it was determined that the plant metaphors emphasize the developmental aspects of the country's life, highlighting the supremacy of life and creating a positive image of the future. Accordingly, as a Democratic candidate, Joe Biden presents himself as a liberal progressive politician who promotes economic growth, social programs, environmental protection and equality.

Finally, it was proved that the choice of the creation/destruction, cleanliness, animals, nature, liquid, family, and materials metaphors is determined by the political parties that the candidates represent and facilitate the fulfilment of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation strategies. Therefore, on the one hand, as a Republican candidate, Donald Trump upholds traditional family values, free market competition, while he also strongly opposes immigration to the United States. On the other hand, as a Democratic candidate, Joe Biden supports equality and affordable healthcare for all the Americans and intends to eradicate the division and discrimination in society.

Therefore, the results of the present study demonstrated that Donald Trump and Joe Biden created opposite political images through various conceptual metaphors. Thus, Donald Trump presents himself as an aggressive, controlling and self-made man who seeks to make the Americans wealthy. At the same time, he depicts his opponent as a dangerous politician whose destructive actions may lead the United States to economic and social crises. On the contrary, Joe Biden creates an image of a responsible peaceful politician who builds a stable economy and social well-being for American citizens and is ready to fight for them if necessary. Meanwhile, he depicts his opponent as an irresponsible person who makes a lot of mistakes that cause a serious crisis in economy, international relations and healthcare.

Furthermore, since the target domains are determined by the realization of the Ideological Square strategies and the political images, the conceptual metaphors were also classified by their target domains. Thus, it was found that in Donald Trump's discourse, the main target

domains were POLITICS, WELL-BEING, and MORALITY. Nevertheless, in Joe Biden's speeches, the prominent target domains are POLITICS, ECONOMY and STATE. In addition, in order to determine how the Ideological Square strategies are realized via conceptual metaphors, the target domains were also classified by the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation macrostrategies. Accordingly, in Donald Trump's discourse, positive self-presentation is realized by the POLITICS, WELL-BEING and STATE target domains. The main target domains that facilitate positive self-presentation in Joe Biden's speeches, in contrast, are POLITICS, STATE and ECONOMY. Regarding the negative other-presentation macrostrategy, in Donald Trump's speeches it is mainly fulfilled by the POLITICS, HARM and MORALITY target domains. On the contrary, in Joe Biden's discourse it is realized through such target domains as HARM, POLITICS and ILLNESS.

Such a difference in target domains demonstrates that the candidates have different visions of the development of the country and thus focus on different topical issues that intend to reflect their voters' interests. The choice of these target domains is determined by the fact that the principal concerns of society are related to the issues of political decisions, policies, welfare, social protection, finances, and national security. In this regard, it was determined that Donald Trump focuses on dealing with crimes, drug addiction, and terrorism. Donald Trump presents himself as a politician who pays particular attention to financial prosperity and moral character of the Americans, while he considers the interests of the state paramount too. He also foregrounds his opponent's mistakes in immigration policies, failing to tackle drug addiction and terrorism. In contrast, Joe Biden concentrates on the social side of the development of the United States, in particular on eliminating discrimination, improving people's social well-being, and tackling global problems as a leader of the democratic world. Simultaneously, he portrays his rival as a person who leads the country into a serious crisis and destroys the US economy by his erroneous decisions during the pandemic.

Although this research study has intended to shed some light on the use of conceptual metaphors in political discourse, as any other academic study, it has several limitations. Firstly, the analysis of the use of conceptual metaphors for political persuasion was carried out only regarding the US electioneering campaign in 2020. Therefore, it is impossible to make conclusions about a general tendency for the realization of the Ideological Square strategies through conceptual metaphors in electioneering discourse in the United States. Secondly, the geographical aspect of the research was restricted to the United States and did not include other English-speaking countries. And thirdly, the gender aspect was not included in the analysis because the candidates running for the Presidency are male.

Finally, the conclusions drawn from the results of the analysis carried out in this study, as well as the study's limitations mentioned above lead to possible directions for further studies. Thus, the analysis of the Ideological Square strategies through conceptual metaphors can be extended to the US Presidential elections in 2024. Moreover, a broader geographical context can be included in the analysis by studying how conceptual metaphors facilitate the realization of the Ideological Square in British electioneering discourse. It is also possible to conduct this research in relations to Spanish and Ukrainian political contexts. Finally, the gender aspect can be analyzed in order to compare the use of conceptual metaphors by female and male politicians.

SECTIONS IN SPANISH

Introducción

A lo largo de la historia, el discurso político se consideró sinónimo de retórica porque el significado original de la retórica era la persuasión en un contexto político, con el mayor énfasis en el lenguaje (Parry-Giles & Hogan, 2010; Wilson, 2015). Por lo tanto, en política las relaciones entre el lenguaje y el poder se consideran fundamentales, y en consecuencia, el control político se ejerce a través del control del lenguaje (Wodak, 2012). Dado que la política se trata de ganar y mantener el poder, el lenguaje es esencial para el discurso político porque a través del lenguaje los políticos persuaden a la audiencia para apoyarlos.

En este sentido, la metáfora conceptual es un instrumento persuasivo vital en la política, puesto que hace que las cuestiones complejas sean comprensibles y simples a través del lenguaje (Semino, 2008, p. 90), al tiempo que ayuda a los políticos a justificar sus decisiones e interpretar los acontecimientos políticos (Feldman, 1998, p. 196). Además, estructuras discursivas como las metáforas tienen un impacto en el contenido y la estructura de los modelos mentales que existen en la conciencia colectiva de una nación (Dillard & Pfau, 2002; O'Keefe, 2002).

La idea de la metáfora como herramienta persuasiva surgió en la Antigüedad, en las obras de Aristóteles *Poética* y *Retórica*. Aristóteles describió la metáfora como una expresión figurativa que crea una imagen vívida y poderosa capaz de cambiar la mente de las personas a través de la comparación. También cabe destacar que el filósofo clásico incluyó aspectos cognitivos y discursivos de la metáfora en su estudio de la retórica (Mahón, 1999).

Sin embargo, se produjo un giro revolucionario en los estudios de metáforas a raíz de la publicación de *Metáforas en la Vida Cotidiana (Metaphors We Live By)* (1980) de Lakoff y Johnson. Este trabajo seminal introdujo una perspectiva cognitiva y demostró que la metáfora pertenece al área del pensamiento y es fundamental en todas las esferas de la vida (Cameron, 2012, p. 342). En consecuencia, el lenguaje está metafóricamente estructurado porque está determinado por el subyacente marco conceptual de la realidad, es decir, los mapeos entre los dominios fuente y meta (Neagu, 2013, p. 13). Además, la metáfora conceptual es esencial en las experiencias estéticas y emocionales de las personas. Constituye un esquema central que permite a la gente interpretar la realidad y a sí mismos en este mundo (Gibbs, 2008, p. 3).

Por lo tanto, es posible afirmar que las metáforas conceptuales construyen la política proporcionando una clara comprensión de cuestiones abstractas como la democracia, la política, la igualdad social, el terrorismo, etc. (Stenvoll, 2008, p. 35; Neagu, 2013, p. 55). Además, las metáforas conceptuales añaden un valor pragmático al discurso político al proporcionar la

evaluación de un determinado problema, realizar un llamamiento emocional y convencer a la audiencia de que el problema se puede resolver (Musolff, 2016, p. 4).

También merece la pena mencionar que las personas tienden a responder a mensajes persuasivos que prometen satisfacer sus necesidades. En consecuencia, los políticos, que buscan persuadir a su electorado, deben apelar a las necesidades y deseos del público, así como a sus propios objetivos. Esto está condicionado por el hecho de que la persuasión es un proceso mutuo. En otras palabras, la gente quiere que sus necesidades sean satisfechas por los políticos, mientras que los políticos se refieren a estas necesidades en sus discursos. Por tanto, si las necesidades de la gente se satisfacen, entonces la gente satisfará las necesidades de los políticos de ganar poder votándoles (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, p. 33).

Sin embargo, el poder principal de la metáfora conceptual está en su capacidad para crear un contraste entre las características positivas de un político y las deficiencias de su oponente. Dado que los votantes están predispuestos a apoyar a un candidato cuyas virtudes morales e integridad no cuestionan, la auto-presentación de los políticos se hace importante. Por lo tanto, para ganar la confianza del electorado, los políticos tienen que demostrar que comparten valores y creencias con sus votantes. En este sentido, la selección de metáforas es crucial porque poseen una enorme apelación cognitiva y emocional a través de modelos mentales subyacentes que contribuyen a la persuasión política (Charteris-Black, 2011, pp. 1-2).

Un discurso político sin ninguna figura retórica carecería de la apelación emocional y por lo tanto sonaría monótono para la audiencia (Gibbs et al., 2002). El efecto implícito persuasivo de las metáforas conceptuales se basa principalmente, pues, en las emociones. Cuando se usa en política, esta apelación emocional crea una sensación de intimidad entre el hablante y la audiencia sobre la base de las emociones compartidas. Como resultado, las metáforas pueden reforzar la autoridad del político y aumentar el miedo o el resentimiento de la gente hacia ciertas acciones políticas (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 63).

Las metáforas conceptuales, por tanto, pueden influir subconscientemente en la percepción de cuestiones importantes para el electorado (Handl & Schmid, 2011, p. 3). Esto se logra haciendo énfasis en algunos aspectos de las actividades políticas y ocultando otros. En consecuencia, las metáforas establecen conexiones entre conceptos pertenecientes a diferentes dominios. Así, al interpretar una cosa en términos de otra, las metáforas conceptuales influyen en la mente más significativamente que cualquier otro dispositivo retórico. En lugar de limitarse a transmitir el significado, crean uno nuevo y, consecuentemente, cambian las actitudes y opiniones (De Landtsheer, 2009, p. 63). En otras palabras, las metáforas conceptuales

proporcionan una interpretación comprensible de la realidad física y, a su vez, la construyen (Honohan, 2008, p. 70).

Teniendo en cuenta los poderosos efectos cognitivos de las metáforas, su papel persuasivo en el discurso político ha suscitado interés en los estudios del discurso durante mucho tiempo y ha recibido suficiente atención por parte de los lingüistas. Así, un número creciente de estudios se ocupa de los aspectos cognitivos del discurso político, en particular de las metáforas conceptuales como instrumento persuasivo eficiente.

En consecuencia, una parte considerable de la investigación se ha centrado en combinar discurso y cognición (van Dijk, 2015; Wodak, 2012; Fairclough, 2012). Además, la noción de persuasión y sus rasgos característicos se han tratado en los trabajos de Jones y Peccei (2004), Virtanen y Halmari (2005), y Blas Arroyo (2010). Por su parte, muchos lingüistas como Partington (2003), Potapenko (2016a, 2016b), Giner (2017) han investigado la persuasión desde una perspectiva retórica. Asimismo, investigadores como Musolff (2004, 2016), Goatly (2007), Semino (2008), Neagu (2013) y Charteris-Black (2004, 2006, 2009, 2011, 2018) han estudiado el papel de las metáforas conceptuales en el discurso político inglés.

Aunque esta tesis doctoral se basa en los trabajos destacados sobre el discurso y los estudios cognitivos de renombrados lingüistas, la elección del foco de investigación de esta tesis se justifica por la brecha existente en los estudios sobre metáforas conceptuales en el discurso político, ya que hasta este momento no ha habido investigación sobre el papel de las metáforas conceptuales en la persuasión durante la campaña de las elecciones presidenciales de los Estados Unidos en 2020.

La idea de llevar a cabo esta investigación se debe también a un interés personal en la política y la persuasión política y su realización a través de metáforas conceptuales. Esta tesis doctoral continúa la investigación iniciada como parte del trabajo de fin de máster titulado “Medios estilísticos para la realización de estrategias de persuasión en el discurso político inglés”, llevado a cabo dentro del programa académico vocacional “Estudios filológicos modernos (inglés y otra lengua extranjera): estudios de lingüística y traducción” en la Universidad Lingüística Nacional de Kyiv, Ucrania. Dicho trabajo contenía una investigación limitada sobre las metáforas conceptuales en los discursos políticos estadounidenses y británicos. Como resultado, se estableció que la narrativa política seguía patrones similares contruidos sobre situaciones familiares de la memoria colectiva.

Como continuación de la investigación anterior, esta tesis doctoral se centra en la realización de estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico en el discurso político a través de metáforas conceptuales en la campaña de las elecciones presidenciales estadounidenses de 2020. El objeto

de la investigación son las metáforas conceptuales identificadas en el discurso electoral estadounidense. Más concretamente el estudio se centra en el papel que representan las metáforas conceptuales en la realización de la persuasión política durante las elecciones presidenciales en los Estados Unidos de 2020. Esta investigación adopta la combinación de la lingüística cognitiva en las formas de la Teoría de la Metáfora Conceptual y el Análisis Crítico del Discurso para el estudio de las estrategias de persuasión en las elecciones presidenciales de los Estados Unidos en 2020, usando la metáfora conceptual como un concepto central.

El objetivo general de esta tesis doctoral consiste, pues, en analizar el papel y funcionamiento de las metáforas conceptuales en la realización de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico en el corpus compuesto por los discursos políticos pronunciados por los candidatos presidenciales Donald Trump y Joe Biden durante la campaña electoral presidencial de Estados Unidos en 2020 a través de la Teoría de la Metáfora Conceptual y el Análisis Crítico del Discurso.

Este objetivo general conduce a la hipótesis de partida, según la cual hay ciertas variables que influyen en la elección de metáforas conceptuales en los discursos públicos pronunciados durante la campaña presidencial de los Estados Unidos en 2020, como el tipo de metáfora, cada uno de los políticos, el dominio fuente, el dominio meta, y las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico. En consecuencia, esta hipótesis de partida se materializa en las siguientes 7 hipótesis de investigación:

- a) Político y Tipo de metáfora son variables mutuamente dependientes.
- b) Las Estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico y Tipo de metáfora son variables interrelacionadas.
- c) Político y Dominio fuente son variables interdependientes.
- d) Político y Dominio meta son variables relacionadas entre sí.
- e) Las Estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico y Tipo de metáfora son variables interrelacionadas.
- f) Las Estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico y Dominio fuente son variables mutuamente dependientes.
- g) Las Estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico y Dominio meta son variables interrelacionadas.

Para lograr el objetivo general y verificar las hipótesis de investigación, se hizo necesario cumplir los siguientes objetivos específicos:

a) identificar las metáforas conceptuales en los discursos políticos pronunciados por los candidatos presidenciales Donald Trump y Joe Biden durante la campaña electoral presidencial de 2020;

b) clasificar las metáforas conceptuales identificadas según el tipo de metáfora, el dominio fuente, el dominio meta, las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico y el político que utiliza las metáforas;

c) verificar si la variable Político está relacionada con la variable Tipo de metáfora;

d) determinar si la variable Político se relaciona con la variable Estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico;

e) verificar si la variable Político está relacionada con la variable Dominio fuente;

f) comprobar si la variable Político está relacionada con la variable Dominio meta;

g) establecer si la variable Estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico se relaciona con la variable Tipo de metáfora;

h) determinar si la variable Estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico se relaciona con las variables Dominio fuente y Dominio meta;

i) analizar el papel y el funcionamiento de las metáforas conceptuales en la realización de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico en el corpus durante la campaña electoral presidencial estadounidense en 2020.

Con el fin de cumplir los objetivos específicos, se recopilaron las transcripciones de los discursos de campaña pronunciados por los candidatos presidenciales Joe Biden y Donald Trump durante la campaña electoral presidencial de los Estados Unidos en 2020. El corpus de esta investigación incluye las transcripciones de 99 discursos electorales (522.812 palabras) de los candidatos demócrata y republicano a la presidencia en los Estados Unidos en 2020, en concreto, Joe Biden (72 discursos, que contienen 243.356 palabras) y Donald Trump (27 discursos, que contienen 279.456 palabras).

El objetivo general, los objetivos específicos y la hipótesis de esta investigación condujeron al uso de los siguientes métodos de análisis lingüístico: análisis del discurso, Análisis Crítico del Discurso, Análisis de Metáforas Conceptuales en forma del Procedimiento de Identificación de las Metáforas y el método de la reconstrucción de mapeos conceptuales, un método comparativo, un análisis contextual y métodos estadísticos.

Teniendo en cuenta que el discurso político se manifiesta ampliamente a través de un discurso público como una característica prominente de una actividad política, el análisis de los discursos políticos desde un punto de vista cognitivo tiene un enorme potencial para revelar el uso persuasivo de metáforas conceptuales con el fin de convencer a la audiencia de haber hecho

la elección correcta. De ahí que la novedad de esta investigación estriba en que constituye el primer intento de análisis del aspecto cognitivo de los discursos pronunciados por Donald Trump y Joe Biden durante la campaña electoral presidencial de los Estados Unidos en 2020 que proporciona una nueva perspectiva sobre la estrategia de persuasión en el discurso político estadounidense. Además, se realiza la clasificación de metáforas conceptuales de acuerdo con las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico. La novedad de la investigación también se deriva de comparar el uso de metáforas conceptuales para realizar estas estrategias por los representantes de distintas ideologías políticas que corresponden a los partidos Republicano y Demócrata. Además, se establecen el papel y funcionamiento de las metáforas conceptuales durante la campaña electoral presidencial de los Estados Unidos en 2020 con respecto a la realización de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico.

La actualidad de la investigación está determinada por una tendencia general de la lingüística moderna hacia la combinación de la Teoría de la Metáfora Conceptual y el Análisis Crítico del Discurso con el fin de revelar el uso de medios cognitivos de la realización de la estrategia persuasiva en el discurso político, que refleja distintas ideologías. En consecuencia, el análisis de los discursos electorales de los políticos estadounidenses a través de la Teoría de la Metáfora Conceptual y el Análisis Crítico del Discurso facilita la comprensión de los valores y creencias de la sociedad estadounidense.

En este sentido, la relevancia teórica de esta tesis doctoral consiste en ampliar la base teórica del discurso y los estudios cognitivos, proporcionando una visión detallada de la realización de las estrategias de persuasión en el discurso político estadounidense. Además, el establecimiento de características específicas de las metáforas conceptuales en los discursos de campaña de Donald Trump y Joe Biden contribuye a los aspectos teóricos de los medios cognitivos persuasivos típicos del discurso político estadounidense. Por otra parte, esta tesis doctoral es una contribución a los estudios lingüísticos y culturales americanos que se centran en la identidad nacional de los estadounidenses. Al mismo tiempo, la trascendencia práctica de esta investigación viene marcada por la posibilidad de aplicar sus resultados a la enseñanza de discurso y lingüística cognitiva a estudiantes universitarios.

Por lo que respecta a su estructura, la tesis doctoral consta de ocho capítulos, a saber: Introducción, Marco teórico, Revisión de literatura, Metodología, Resultados, Discusión y Conclusiones. Aparte de estos capítulos, la tesis contiene la Lista de abreviaturas, Lista de tablas, Lista de figuras, Resúmenes en inglés y español, Referencias, Fuentes y Apéndices.

La Introducción proporciona los antecedentes de la investigación, así como la justificación personal y académica de la elección del alcance de la investigación. Además,

establece el objeto y el sujeto de la investigación, aclara el objetivo general y los objetivos específicos. Se describe también la novedad, la actualidad de la investigación y su relevancia teórica y práctica.

El Marco teórico describe la base teórica de la investigación. En primer lugar, se centra en determinar la noción de discurso político en los estudios lingüísticos actuales. En particular, se centra en los discursos políticos como una realización del discurso electoral. En segundo lugar, se define la noción de persuasión en el discurso político. Así, se estudia la audiencia como un factor determinante del proceso de persuasión, se especifican estrategias de persuasión en el contexto de la retórica y se explican en detalle las estrategias de persuasión en el contexto de la construcción de ideología de T. van Dijk. En tercer lugar, las metáforas conceptuales se estudian como una herramienta persuasiva en el discurso electoral. A tal efecto, se presenta la historia de las ideas sobre metáforas conceptuales. Además, se explica la Teoría de la Metáfora Conceptual de G. Lakoff y M. Johnson, en particular, los orígenes de la metáfora conceptual, sus tipos y la crítica a dicha teoría. Asimismo, se describen brevemente la Teoría Contemporánea de la Metáfora y la Teoría Neural de la Metáfora.

La Revisión de la literatura presenta el resumen de las principales investigaciones sobre el uso de metáforas conceptuales en el contexto político, realizadas por destacados investigadores de la lingüística cognitiva y el Análisis Crítico del Discurso. Por ello, se especifica el impacto ideológico de las metáforas conceptuales en la política y la persuasión. Además, se establece el papel de las metáforas conceptuales en la política de la UE y los EEUU. Por lo demás, se ofrece una visión general de las conceptualizaciones metafóricas de las comunidades políticas y se determina el impacto de las ciencias naturales en la conceptualización metafórica de la política.

El capítulo de Metodología se centra en el procedimiento de investigación. En particular, se especifica el objetivo general, los objetivos específicos de la investigación y la hipótesis; describe la compilación del corpus y determina las etapas de la investigación. Aparte de eso, este capítulo describe los métodos de investigación que se utilizan para lograr el objetivo general y los objetivos específicos. Así, el Análisis Crítico del Discurso y el Análisis Crítico de la Metáfora se definen como el enfoque principal adoptado en esta investigación doctoral. Se describen el Procedimiento de Identificación de las Metáforas y el método de reconstrucción de mapeos conceptuales por Drulák. Finalmente, se especifican los métodos estadísticos.

El capítulo de Resultados proporciona los resultados cuantitativos del análisis de la realización del Cuadrado Ideológico a través de metáforas conceptuales. De este modo, la verificación de la hipótesis de investigación se realiza a través de la Prueba de la Independencia

de Chi-cuadrado. Se hacen las clasificaciones de metáforas conceptuales identificadas en el corpus por las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico, los dominios fuente, los dominios meta y los políticos que las usan. Los resultados cuantitativos se presentan en forma de tablas y figuras.

El capítulo de Discusión presenta el análisis detallado del uso de metáforas conceptuales para la realización de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico en el corpus analizado. En primer lugar, se describe la tendencia general a la persuasión política en la campaña electoral presidencial de los Estados Unidos en 2020. Asimismo, los dominios fuente GUERRA, ARRIBA / ABAJO, DEPORTES / JUEGOS, EDIFICIOS, MOVIMIENTO / DIRECCIÓN, PERSONIFICACIÓN, CUERPO, VIAJE, MÁQUINAS, PLANTAS, y otras metáforas conceptuales diversas son analizadas con respecto a la realización de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico por los candidatos presidenciales.

Las Conclusiones resumen los resultados obtenidos y las inferencias de los mismos, establecen las principales limitaciones del presente estudio y delinean las principales sugerencias de cara a futuras investigaciones. Las Secciones en español presentan la traducción de la Introducción y de las Conclusiones al español de conformidad con el Artículo 25.4 del Reglamento de Estudios Doctorales de la Universidad de Jaén. Los Apéndices contienen la Lista de metáforas conceptuales (Apéndice 1), la Lista de dominios fuente (Apéndice 2) y la Lista de dominios meta (Apéndice 3). La Lista de abreviaturas contiene la explicación de 9 abreviaturas que se utilizan en esta tesis doctoral. La Lista de tablas consta de 13 tablas, que presentan los resultados cuantitativos de la investigación. Por último, la Lista de figuras contiene 25 figuras que ilustran la base teórica y los resultados prácticos de la presente investigación.

Conclusiones

La metáfora conceptual es un instrumento poderoso ampliamente utilizado por los políticos para persuadir al electorado de apoyar a un candidato. Los políticos construyen sus imágenes políticas sobre la base de metáforas conceptuales subyacentes que evocan patrones familiares o asociaciones en la mente de la audiencia. En consecuencia, la comprensión de estos mapeos conceptuales subyacentes proporciona comprensión de cómo se realiza la persuasión política. Dado que la polarización de Nosotros y Ellos es una estrategia persuasiva generalizada en la política, esta tesis doctoral se centra en la realización de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico a través de metáforas conceptuales.

El objetivo general de esta tesis doctoral, por lo tanto, consistió en analizar el papel y funcionamiento de las metáforas conceptuales en la realización de las estrategias del Cuadrado

Ideológico en el corpus formado por los discursos políticos pronunciados por los candidatos presidenciales Donald Trump y Joe Biden durante la campaña electoral presidencial estadounidense en 2020 a través de la Teoría de la Metáfora Conceptual y Análisis Crítico de Discurso. Se partió, además, de la hipótesis según la cual ciertas variables influyeron en la elección de metáforas conceptuales en los discursos públicos pronunciados durante la campaña presidencial de los Estados Unidos en 2020 con el fin de cumplir con las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico. Se escogieron, a tal fin, las siguientes variables: el tipo de metáfora, los políticos, el dominio fuente, el dominio meta y las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico. Estas variables llevaron a las 7 hipótesis de investigación. Para cumplir este objetivo y verificar las hipótesis, se analizaron 99 discursos electorales pronunciados por Donald Trump y Joe Biden durante la campaña electoral de 2020 en los Estados Unidos.

Se obtuvo como resultado que, de las 7 hipótesis de investigación, 6 fueron confirmadas. Así, de todas las variables que se analizaron, solamente no se pudo demostrar que estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico y Político fuesen variables relacionadas. A su vez, la elección de metáforas conceptuales, así como los dominios fuente y meta, ayudaron a Donald Trump y Joe Biden a construir sus imágenes políticas con el objetivo de ganar la presidencia. Es necesario mencionar que, como son los representantes de los partidos Republicano y Demócrata respectivamente, la elección de metáforas conceptuales refleja la pertenencia de los candidatos a distintos partidos políticos, con sus correspondientes ideologías diferentes.

A este respecto, se constató que las estrategias Enfatizar las cosas positivas sobre Nosotros y Enfatizar las cosas negativas sobre Ellos son las más utilizadas por ambos candidatos en el corpus analizado. Mientras tanto, las estrategias Atenuar las cosas negativas sobre Nosotros y Atenuar las cosas positivas sobre Ellos ocupan un papel secundario en la realización de la polarización. Por lo tanto, la esencia de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico consiste en destacar los propios rasgos positivos al tiempo que se subrayan, por contraste, las características negativas del oponente. Así, la realización de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico a través de metáforas conceptuales en los discursos de ambos candidatos demuestra que la oposición entre Nosotros y Ellos se crea a través de macro-estrategias de auto-presentación positiva y presentación del otro negativa.

Teniendo en cuenta que las metáforas conceptuales determinaban la realización de estas estrategias, se identificaron las metáforas conceptuales subyacentes utilizadas por los candidatos. En particular, se encontró que en los discursos de Donald Trump, la estrategia Enfatizar las cosas positivas sobre Nosotros se realiza predominantemente a través de metáforas conceptuales tales como LA POLÍTICA ES UNA GUERRA, EL BIENESTAR ESTÁ

ARRIBA, y EL CAMBIO ES MOVIMIENTO. Al mismo tiempo, en el discurso de Joe Biden, la estrategia Enfatizar las cosas positivas sobre Nosotros se actualiza a través de las metáforas conceptuales LA POLÍTICA ES DEPORTE, LA POLÍTICA ES UNA GUERRA, y LA VIDA ES UN VIAJE. En consecuencia, es posible concluir que Donald Trump prefiere metáforas agresivas para subrayar sus rasgos positivos como líder de la nación estadounidense. Entretanto, Joe Biden utiliza principalmente metáforas deportivas para enfatizar una naturaleza competitiva pero no violenta de la campaña electoral.

Además, los resultados del presente estudio mostraron que en el discurso de Donald Trump la estrategia Enfatizar las cosas negativas sobre Ellos se lleva a cabo a través de las metáforas conceptuales LA POLÍTICA ES UNA GUERRA, EL DAÑO ES DESTRUCCIÓN, y EL FASCISMO / EL COMUNISMO / EL SOCIALISMO ES UN ENEMIGO PELIGROSO. Por el contrario, en los discursos de Joe Biden, esta estrategia se realiza por medio de las metáforas conceptuales TRATAR LA ENFERMEDAD ES LUCHAR EN UNA GUERRA, MÁS ESTÁ ARRIBA, y EL DAÑO ES DESTRUCCIÓN. Por lo tanto, se puede concluir que ambos candidatos aplican metáforas hostiles y destructivas para presentarse uno a otro como un peligro para los Estados Unidos.

Aparte de eso, se descubrió que en los discursos de Donald Trump la estrategia Atenuar las cosas negativas sobre Nosotros se logra mediante las metáforas conceptuales LA POLÍTICA ES UNA GUERRA, LA ACCIÓN MORAL ES UNA TRANSACCIÓN FINANCIERA, LA VIDA ES UN VIAJE, EL DAÑO ES ESTAR EN UN LUGAR DAÑINO, CONTROL ESTÁ ARRIBA y EL CAMBIO ES MOVIMIENTO. Sin embargo, en el discurso de Joe Biden, la estrategia Atenuar las cosas negativas sobre Nosotros se realiza a través de las metáforas conceptuales EL ÉXITO ES LA VIDA, LA NACIÓN ES UN CUERPO, LA VIDA ES UN VIAJE, y EL IDEAL ESTÁ ARRIBA. En consecuencia, se puede resumir que Donald Trump se presenta como un político beligerante y un líder moral que preserva la integridad moral de la nación. Al contrario, Joe Biden crea una imagen vívida del futuro exitoso y destaca la necesidad de estar a la altura del ideal para lograr el éxito.

Además, en los discursos de Donald Trump, la estrategia Atenuar las cosas positivas sobre Ellos se realiza mediante las metáforas conceptuales CONTROL ESTÁ ARRIBA, EL CAMBIO ES MOVIMIENTO, EL BIENESTAR ESTÁ ARRIBA, y MÁS ESTÁ ARRIBA. Al mismo tiempo, en los discursos de Joe Biden, la estrategia Atenuar las cosas positivas sobre Ellos se lleva a cabo con la ayuda de las metáforas conceptuales TRATAR LA ENFERMEDAD ES LUCHAR EN UNA GUERRA, EL PROGRESO ES MOVIMIENTO HACIA ADELANTE, LA VIDA ES UN VIAJE, y LA ECONOMÍA ES UNA GUERRA. De este

modo, se puede afirmar que Donald Trump se retrata a sí mismo como un líder controlador y dominante que no está dispuesto a aceptar ninguna superioridad de su rival. Sin embargo, Joe Biden critica las acciones de su oponente durante la pandemia y su negligencia en el desarrollo del país.

Asimismo, puesto que los dominios fuente también están interrelacionados con las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico y las imágenes políticas creadas por cada candidato, las metáforas conceptuales identificadas en el corpus fueron clasificadas según sus dominios fuente. En este sentido, es posible concluir que en el discurso de Donald Trump, los dominios fuente predominantes son la GUERRA, ARRIBA/ABAJO y CREACIÓN/DESTRUCCIÓN. Al mismo tiempo, en los discursos de Joe Biden, los dominios fuente más utilizados son GUERRA, EDIFICIOS y DEPORTES/JUEGOS. Esta distribución apunta al carácter conflictivo y competitivo de las elecciones, puesto que los candidatos buscan la presidencia e intentan persuadir a los votantes creando una polarización entre Nosotros, los buenos, y Ellos, los malos.

Con el fin de determinar cómo el Cuadrado Ideológico contribuye a la realización de esta polarización a través de metáforas conceptuales, se identificaron los dominios fuente en el corpus y se clasificaron según las macro-estrategias de auto-presentación positiva (que contiene las estrategias Enfatizar las cosas positivas sobre Nosotros y Atenuar las cosas negativas sobre Nosotros) y la presentación del otro negativa (que combina las estrategias Enfatizar las cosas negativas sobre Ellos y Atenuar las cosas positivas sobre Ellos). En cuanto a la realización de la auto-presentación positiva, los candidatos utilizan diferentes dominios fuente. Así, Donald Trump recurre a los dominios fuente GUERRA, ARRIBA/ABAJO y MOVIMIENTO/DIRECCIÓN. Mientras tanto, Joe Biden utiliza predominantemente los dominios fuente EDIFICIOS, GUERRA y DEPORTES/JUEGOS. Los resultados del estudio reflejaron también que para realizar la presentación del otro negativa en el discurso de Donald Trump, los dominios de fuente principales fueron GUERRA, CREACIÓN/DESTRUCCIÓN y PERSONIFICACIÓN. Al mismo tiempo, en los discursos de Joe Biden, los principales dominios de fuente fueron GUERRA, ARRIBA/ABAJO y CUERPO.

Una vez analizado el uso de los dominios fuente predominantes con respecto a la realización de la auto-presentación positiva y la presentación del otro negativa en los discursos de Donald Trump y Joe Biden, es posible, por tanto, extraer un conjunto de conclusiones. En primer lugar, las metáforas de guerra son ampliamente utilizadas en el discurso político porque interpretan el conocimiento colectivo sobre las guerras como una lucha violenta entre dos partidos rivales. Además, estas metáforas activan la emoción del miedo en la mente de la gente

sobre temas tan importantes como la desigualdad, el racismo, la drogodependencia, la pobreza, el cambio climático, la economía, etc. En tercer lugar, las metáforas de guerra demuestran el carácter antagónico y agresivo de las elecciones, lo que aumenta la polarización entre los partidos opuestos. En cuarto lugar, las metáforas de guerra presuponen el fin de la confrontación en la victoria o la derrota, lo que da al electorado la esperanza del fin de la guerra.

Las metáforas de arriba/abajo fueron identificadas como las siguientes metáforas de uso común en la campaña electoral estadounidense por Donald Trump y Joe Biden. Se estableció que Donald Trump las aplica principalmente para crear una imagen positiva de sí mismo, mientras que Joe Biden utiliza predominantemente estas metáforas para crear la imagen negativa de su oponente. También es necesario señalar que los dos candidatos se centran en diferentes cuestiones problemáticas, condicionadas por su pertenencia a diferentes partidos políticos. En consecuencia, Donald Trump habla del desempleo, el daño de los programas sociales, los impuestos, la drogodependencia y el sistema sanitario. Por el contrario, Joe Biden se centra en la pandemia, la asistencia social y los impuestos.

En cuanto al uso de metáforas de deporte/juegos en el corpus analizado, se encontró que este dominio fuente es especialmente significativo en el discurso de Joe Biden, donde sirve para crear auto-presentación positiva. Estas metáforas destacan la competitividad pacífica de las actividades políticas, las reglas estrictas de una competencia justa, cierta imprevisibilidad y los posibles riesgos. Al ser un candidato demócrata, Joe Biden crea una imagen de sí mismo como líder que defiende los valores democráticos, la igualdad y las mismas oportunidades para todos los estadounidenses, independientemente de su origen social, económico o racial.

Aparte de eso, se estableció que las metáforas de construcción también son típicas de los discursos de Joe Biden. Estas metáforas facilitan la interpretación de temas relacionados con problemas políticos, igualdad de oportunidades, recuperación económica y salud. En consecuencia, las metáforas de construcción se utilizan para crear una auto-presentación positiva como un líder que se preocupa por la prosperidad de la nación, puesto que la construcción de edificios se asocia a la creación de una estructura sólida y confiable con sus cimientos y unas paredes fiables, que tienen una finalidad de durar mucho tiempo. Tales resultados se explican por el hecho de que la retórica demócrata está dirigida principalmente a la población urbana de los Estados Unidos. Por lo tanto, la imagen de un edificio es familiar para ellos y evoca asociaciones positivas con el progreso, el desarrollo, mejores niveles de vida y una sociedad en la que existe igualdad de condiciones.

Los resultados del estudio arrojaron también que las metáforas conceptuales de movimiento/dirección juegan un papel considerable en el discurso de Donald Trump. Dichas

metáforas facilitan la realización de auto-presentación positiva, aspecto que puede explicarse por el hecho de que, como candidato republicano, Donald Trump planea crear condiciones para el desarrollo económico y científico de Estados Unidos. Estas metáforas le ayudan a presentarse a sí mismo como un líder que piensa en la salud de la nación, el bienestar financiero, los derechos individuales y los puestos de trabajo para los estadounidenses trabajadores.

Adicionalmente, se descubrió que las metáforas de persona son características del discurso electoral de Donald Trump, ya que la retórica republicana se basa en los principios del individualismo, el control gubernamental limitado y la promoción de los intereses estadounidenses. Por ello, el énfasis de Donald Trump se centra en un ejército fuerte para contrarrestar las amenazas extranjeras y el acceso limitado de los inmigrantes ilegales a los Estados Unidos. Por esta razón, las metáforas de persona permiten a Donald Trump destacar sus propios rasgos positivos como político, al tiempo que enfatizan las desventajas de los demócratas que no comparten sus creencias políticas.

Por lo demás, se puede concluir que las metáforas de cuerpo se encuentran entre las principales en el discurso electoral de Joe Biden para crear una auto-presentación positiva y presentación del otro negativa. Esto puede explicarse por el hecho de que la plataforma política del candidato demócrata se basa en la recuperación de la economía después de la pandemia del coronavirus. En otras palabras, Joe Biden pone el énfasis en la salud de la nación, lo que se manifiesta en la interpretación de los problemas sociales, económicos y políticos en términos de enfermedad corporal y su tratamiento.

En cuanto al uso de las metáforas de viaje por los dos candidatos, puede probarse que estas metáforas son especialmente importantes en el discurso de Joe Biden. El candidato demócrata recurre a estas metáforas para crear una imagen positiva de sí mismo como un líder progresista que apoya el progreso y el movimiento hacia adelante, defiende las ideas de la igualdad social y racial, los programas sociales y la atención médica asequible. En este sentido, las metáforas de viaje indican peligros, aventuras, problemas que se pueden encontrar en el camino al destino. Sin embargo, estas metáforas implican que el viaje puede ser más fácil si está acompañado por los partidarios, que en el contexto de las elecciones presidenciales intensifica la importancia de la unidad de la nación.

Los resultados de este estudio reflejaron también que en el corpus analizado las metáforas de máquina realizan un conjunto de funciones. En primer lugar, estas metáforas demuestran que el país funciona como un mecanismo bien coordinado donde todos los ciudadanos trabajan por el bienestar del país bajo la supervisión del presidente como un ingeniero. En segundo lugar, las metáforas de máquina muestran que los sistemas económicos y políticos están bajo una

profunda crisis y requieren un plan de recuperación bien desarrollado. También se demostró que Donald Trump y Joe Biden utilizan las metáforas de máquina para realizar las macroestrategias de auto-presentación positiva y presentación del otro negativa. Aunque los partidos Republicano y Demócrata representan ideologías distintas, ambos candidatos aplican las metáforas de máquina porque estas resaltan el trabajo duro, la fuerza, la perseverancia y la necesidad de un mantenimiento constante de la maquinaria estatal.

En cuanto al uso de las metáforas vegetales durante la campaña electoral de 2020 en los Estados Unidos, se puede concluir que estas metáforas son típicas del discurso de Joe Biden para crear una auto-presentación positiva. Dado que la planta es un organismo vivo que nace de las semillas, se desarrolla y crece en condiciones favorables, se determinó que las metáforas vegetales enfatizan los aspectos de desarrollo de la vida del país, destacan la supremacía de la vida y crean una imagen positiva del futuro. En este sentido, como candidato demócrata, Joe Biden se presenta como un político progresista liberal que promueve el crecimiento económico, los programas sociales, la protección del medio ambiente y la igualdad.

Finalmente, se demostró que la elección de las metáforas de creación/destrucción, limpieza, animales, naturaleza, líquido, familia, y materiales están determinadas por los partidos políticos que los candidatos representan y facilitan la realización de auto-presentación positiva y presentación del otro negativa. De este modo, por un lado, como candidato republicano, Donald Trump defiende los valores familiares tradicionales, la libre competencia del mercado y se opone firmemente a la inmigración en los Estados Unidos. Por otro lado, como candidato demócrata, Joe Biden apoya la igualdad y la atención médica asequible para todos los estadounidenses, al tiempo que planea erradicar la división y la discriminación en el seno de la sociedad.

Así, los resultados del presente estudio demostraron que Donald Trump y Joe Biden crearon imágenes políticas opuestas a través de varias metáforas conceptuales. Así, Donald Trump se presenta como un político agresivo, controlador y hombre hecho a sí mismo que busca hacer ricos a los estadounidenses. Al mismo tiempo, describe a su oponente como un político peligroso cuyas acciones destructivas podrían llevar a los Estados Unidos a graves crisis económicas y sociales. Por el contrario, Joe Biden crea una imagen propia de un político pacífico y responsable que construye una economía estable y bienestar social para los ciudadanos estadounidenses y está preparado para luchar por ellos si es necesario. Entretanto, describe a su oponente como una persona irresponsable que comete muchos errores que causan una crisis profunda en la economía, las relaciones internacionales y la atención médica.

Por otro lado, dado que los dominios meta están determinados por la realización de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico y las imágenes políticas, las metáforas conceptuales también fueron clasificadas por los dominios meta. Se estableció, así, que en el discurso de Donald Trump, los principales dominios meta son la POLÍTICA, el BIENESTAR y la MORALIDAD. Sin embargo, en los discursos de Joe Biden, los dominios meta prominentes son POLÍTICA, ECONOMÍA y ESTADO. Asimismo, con el fin de determinar cómo se realizan las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico a través de metáforas conceptuales, los dominios meta también fueron clasificados por las macro-estrategias de auto-presentación positiva y presentación del otro negativa. En consecuencia, en el discurso de Donald Trump, la auto-presentación positiva se realiza por los dominios meta POLÍTICA, BIENESTAR y ESTADO. Por su parte, los principales dominios meta en los discursos de Joe Biden que facilitan la auto-presentación positiva son POLÍTICA, ESTADO y ECONOMÍA. En cuanto a la presentación del otro negativa, en los discursos de Donald Trump esta macro-estrategia se lleva a cabo a través de los dominios meta POLÍTICA, DAÑO y MORALIDAD. En el discurso de Joe Biden, por otra parte, se realiza a través de los dominios meta DAÑO, POLÍTICA y ENFERMEDAD.

Esta diferencia en los dominios meta demuestra que los candidatos tienen diferentes visiones del desarrollo del país y por lo tanto se centran en diferentes temas de actualidad que intentan reflejar los intereses de sus votantes. La elección de estos dominios está determinada por el hecho de que las principales preocupaciones de la sociedad están relacionadas con las cuestiones de las decisiones políticas, bienestar, protección social, finanzas y seguridad nacional. En este sentido, se demostró que Donald Trump se centra en la lucha contra los delitos, la adicción a las drogas y el terrorismo. Donald Trump se presenta como un político que presta especial atención a la prosperidad financiera, el carácter moral de los estadounidenses y considera que los intereses del estado son primordiales. También destaca los errores de su oponente en las políticas de inmigración, al no abordar la adicción a las drogas y el terrorismo. En contraste, Joe Biden se concentra en el lado social del desarrollo de los Estados Unidos, en particular, en eliminar la discriminación, mejorar el bienestar social de las personas y abordar los problemas globales como líder del mundo democrático. Al mismo tiempo, retrata a su rival como una persona que lleva al país a una grave crisis y destruye la economía estadounidense con sus decisiones erróneas durante la pandemia.

Si bien este estudio ha intentado arrojar luz sobre el uso de las metáforas conceptuales en el discurso político, como cualquier otra investigación académica, tiene varias limitaciones. En primer lugar, el análisis del uso de metáforas conceptuales para la persuasión política se llevó

a cabo solo en relación con la campaña electoral estadounidense en 2020. Por lo tanto, es imposible extraer conclusiones sobre una tendencia general con respecto a la realización de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico a través de metáforas conceptuales en el discurso electoral en los Estados Unidos. En segundo lugar, el aspecto geográfico de la investigación se limitó a los Estados Unidos y no incluyó otros países de habla inglesa. Finalmente, en tercer lugar, el aspecto de género no se incluyó en el análisis porque los candidatos a la presidencia son hombres en ambos casos.

Por último, las conclusiones extraídas de la investigación llevada a cabo en este estudio y las limitaciones mencionadas más arriba conducen a algunas sugerencias para futuras investigaciones. Así, el análisis de las estrategias del Cuadrado Ideológico a través de metáforas conceptuales puede extenderse a las elecciones presidenciales estadounidenses de 2024. Se puede incluir, además, un contexto geográfico más amplio en el análisis gracias al análisis de cómo las metáforas conceptuales facilitan la realización del Cuadrado Ideológico en el discurso electoral británico. También es posible realizar esta investigación en relación con los contextos políticos españoles y ucranianos. Finalmente, se puede investigar el aspecto de género para comparar el uso de metáforas conceptuales por parte de mujeres y hombres que se dedican a la política.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

LIST OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS

- 1) ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION
- 2) AFFECTION IS WARMTH
- 3) AMERICA IS A PROMISED LAND
- 4) BADNESS IS DARKNESS
- 5) BELIEFS ARE LOVE OBJECTS
- 6) BELIEFS ARE PLANTS
- 7) BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS
- 8) CHANGE IS MOVEMENT
- 9) COHERENT IS WHOLE
- 10) CONTROL IS UP
- 11) CRIME IS A DISEASE
- 12) DEALING WITH A CLIMATE CHANGE IS FIGHTING A WAR
- 13) DEALING WITH CRIMES IS A FIGHTING A WAR
- 14) DEALING WITH INEQUALITY IS FIGHTING A WAR
- 15) DEALING WITH RACISM IS FIGHTING A WAR
- 16) DRUGS ARE LIQUIDS
- 17) ECONOMY IS A BODY
- 18) ECONOMY IS A BUILDING
- 19) ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
- 20) ECONOMY IS A PERSON
- 21) ECONOMY IS A PLANT
- 22) ECONOMY IS A WAR
- 23) ECONOMY IS SPORT
- 24) EMOTIONS ARE FORCES
- 25) EMOTIONS ARE LIQUID

- 26) FAILURE IS BEING EATEN
- 27) FAILURE IS DEATH
- 28) FASCISM / COMMUNISM / SOCIALISM IS A DANGEROUS ENEMY
- 29) FEAR IS COLD
- 30) GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING
- 31) GOOD GOVERNING IS DESTRUCTING
- 32) GOODNESS IS LIGHT
- 33) HARM IS BEING IN A HARMFUL LOCATION
- 34) HARM IS DESTRUCTION
- 35) HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY
- 36) HOPE IS LIGHT
- 37) IDEAL IS UP
- 38) IDEAS ARE BUILDINGS
- 39) IDEAS ARE CHILDREN
- 40) IDEAS ARE FOOD
- 41) IDEAS ARE OBJECTS
- 42) IDEAS ARE PLANTS
- 43) ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE DANGEROUS ANIMALS
- 44) ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE ENEMIES
- 45) ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS ARE NATURAL DISASTERS
- 46) IMPORTANCE IS DEPTH
- 47) IMPORTANT IS BIG
- 48) IMPORTANT IS HEAVY
- 49) INTENSE EMOTIONS ARE HEAT
- 50) INVESTMENTS ARE CONTAINERS FOR MONEY
- 51) KNOWING IS SEEING
- 52) LEFT IS AN EVIL FORCE

- 53) LIFE IS A JOURNEY
- 54) LIFE IS A WAR
- 55) MACHINES ARE PEOPLE
- 56) MONEY IS A RESOURCE
- 57) MONEY IS LIQUID
- 58) MORAL ACTION IS A FINANCIAL TRANSACTION
- 59) MORALITY IS A STRAIGHT PATH
- 60) MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS
- 61) MORALITY IS STRAIGHTNESS
- 62) MORE IS UP
- 63) NATION IS A BODY
- 64) NATION IS A BUILDING
- 65) NATION IS A FAMILY
- 66) NATION IS A PERSON
- 67) NATION IS A SHIP
- 68) NATION IS FABRICS
- 69) OBLIGATIONS ARE CONTAINERS
- 70) OBLIGATIONS ARE FORCES
- 71) PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS
- 72) PEOPLE ARE BATTERIES
- 73) PEOPLE ARE LIQUIDS
- 74) PEOPLE ARE MACHINES
- 75) PEOPLE ARE PLANTS
- 76) PERSONALITY IS MATERIAL
- 77) POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BODY
- 78) POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A BUILDING
- 79) POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE

- 80) POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BODY
- 81) POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A BUILDING
- 82) POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE
- 83) POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A PERSON
- 84) POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A PLANT
- 85) POLITICS IS A GAMBLING GAME
- 86) POLITICS IS A SERVANT
- 87) POLITICS IS A WAR
- 88) POLITICS IS BUSINESS
- 89) POLITICS IS SPORT
- 90) PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD
- 91) PROPERTIES ARE DESIRED POSSESSIONS
- 92) PSYCHOLOGICAL FORCES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES
- 93) RACISM IS A DANGEROUS DISEASE
- 94) RACISM IS A NATURAL DISASTER
- 95) RACISM IS A PLANT
- 96) SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS IS A RACE
- 97) SOCIALISM IS A NIGHTMARE
- 98) SOCIETY IS A BODY
- 99) SOCIETY IS A BUILDING
- 100) SOCIETY IS A MACHINE
- 101) STATE IS A BODY
- 102) STATE IS A BUILDING
- 103) STATE IS A MACHINE
- 104) STATE IS A PERSON
- 105) STATE IS A SERVANT
- 106) STATE IS A SHIP

- 107) STRONG EMOTIONS ARE MADNESS
- 108) SUCCESS IS LIFE
- 109) TERRORISM IS EVIL
- 110) TERRORISTS ARE DANGEROUS ANIMALS
- 111) TIME IS MONEY
- 112) TIME IS SOMETHING MOVING TOWARD YOU
- 113) TREATING ILLNESS IS COMPETING
- 114) TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING A WAR
- 115) UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING
- 116) VOTES ARE PLANTS
- 117) WELL-BEING IS UP
- 118) WELL-BEING IS WEALTH

LIST OF SOURCE DOMAINS

- 1) ANIMALS
- 2) BODY
- 3) BUILDINGS
- 4) BUSINESS
- 5) CLEANLINESS
- 6) CONTAINERS
- 7) CREATION / DESTRUCTION
- 8) DEPTH
- 9) FAMILY
- 10) FOOD
- 11) FORCES
- 12) HEAT / COLD
- 13) ILLNESS
- 14) JOURNEY
- 15) LANDSCAPE
- 16) LIFE / DEATH
- 17) LIGHT / DARKNESS
- 18) LIQUID
- 19) MACHINES
- 20) MATERIALS
- 21) MONEY
- 22) MOVEMENT / DIRECTION
- 23) NATURE
- 24) OBJECTS
- 25) PERSONIFICATION

- 26) PLANTS
- 27) POSSESSIONS
- 28) SEEING
- 29) SIZE
- 30) SPORT / GAMES
- 31) STATES
- 32) STRAIGHTNESS
- 33) UP / DOWN
- 34) VEHICLES
- 35) WAR
- 36) WEIGHT
- 37) WHOLENESS

LIST OF TARGET DOMAINS

- 1) ACTIONS / EVENTS
- 2) CLIMATE CHANGES
- 3) COHERENCE
- 4) COMPARISON
- 5) CRIMES
- 6) DRUG ADDICTION
- 7) ECONOMY
- 8) EMOTIONS
- 9) HARM
- 10) HOPE
- 11) ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION
- 12) ILLNESS
- 13) IMPORTANCE
- 14) LIFE / DEATH
- 15) MACHINES
- 16) MONEY
- 17) MORALITY
- 18) NATION
- 19) PEOPLE
- 20) POLITICAL ADVERSARIES
- 21) POLITICS
- 22) POWER
- 23) PROGRESS
- 24) PSYCHOLOGICAL / MENTAL STATES
- 25) RACISM

- 26) RESPONSIBILITIES
- 27) SOCIAL INEQUALITY
- 28) SOCIETY
- 29) STATE
- 30) SUCCESS / FAILURE
- 31) TERRORISM
- 32) THOUGHT
- 33) TIME
- 34) WELL-BEING