

МОСКОВСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ
имени М.В.ЛОМОНОСОВА
ФИЛОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ ФАКУЛЬТЕТ
КАФЕДРА АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЯ

на правах рукописи

Цзи Сяосяо

**Прагмалингвистические особенности функционирования
метафоры в политическом дискурсе
(на материале выступлений американских президентов)**

Специальность 10. 02. 04 – германские языки

ДИССЕРТАЦИЯ

на соискание ученой степени
кандидата филологических наук

Научный руководитель:
кандидат филологических наук,
доцент **Мухортов Денис Сергеевич**

Москва — 2019

Pragmalinguistically Motivated Functions of Metaphor in Political Discourse:
A Case of American Presidential Rhetoric

By

Ji Xiaoxiao

Faculty of Philology

Department of English Linguistics

Lomonosov Moscow State University

Associate Prof. Denis Mukhortov

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the Ph.D. degree in Germanic Languages (10.02.04)

Moscow 2019

CONTENTS

Introduction.....	3
CHAPTER 1. METAPHOR STUDIES IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE.....	11
1.1 Defining Political Discourse.....	11
1.1.1 What is Discourse	11
1.1.2 Political Discourse as Linguistic Action in Politics	16
1.2 Genre and Register as a Basic Concept in Studying Political Discourse...	19
1.2.1 Understanding Genre and Register in Linguistics.....	19
1.2.2 Presidential Discourse and its Monologic Genres	25
1.3 Metaphor Use in Political Discourse	34
1.3.1 The Traditional Philosophical and Rhetorical Perspectives on Metaphor	34
1.3.2 The Linguistic and Cognitive Views of Metaphor	38
1.3.3 Metaphor Studies in Political Discourse.....	54
1.3.4 Metaphor Clustering as a Salient Feature in Political Discourse.....	61
1.3.5 The Functioning of Metaphor in Political Discourse.....	65
Conclusion for Chapter 1.....	75
CHAPTER 2. FUNCTIONS OF METAPHORS AND METAPHOR CLUSTERS IN AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL DISCOURSE.....	77
2.1 The Metaphorical Repertoire in American Presidential Inaugurals (from George H.W. Bush to Donald Trump).....	77
2.1.1 Personification	78
2.1.2 Nature Metaphor.....	85
2.1.3 Movement Metaphor.....	98
2.1.4 Construction Metaphor.....	109
2.1.5 Medical Metaphor.....	116
2.1.6 Other Metaphors	119
2.1.7 Metaphor Clusters	128

2.2 The Metaphorical Repertoire in American Addresses Accepting the Presidential Nomination (from George H.W. Bush to Donald Trump).....	146
2.2.1 Conflict Metaphor.....	147
2.2.2 Personification.....	161
2.2.3 Nature Metaphor	164
2.2.4 Movement Metaphor.....	174
2.2.5 Construction Metaphor.....	185
2.2.6 Medical Metaphor.....	193
2.2.7 Other Metaphors.....	195
2.2.8 Metaphor Clusters.....	203
2.3 Similarities and Differences of Metaphor Use in Five US Presidents’ Inaugurals and Acceptance Addresses.....	217
Conclusion for Chapter 2.....	222
Conclusion.....	225
References.....	229

Introduction

The metaphor has long been a research subject with humanities scholars across the world. The early elaborate discussions of its definition and use can be found in the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, Thomas Hobbes, or Vico. The twentieth century has brought about new visions on metaphor, including works of Black [1955, 1979], Beardsley [1962], Akhmanova [1969], Galperin [1971], Davidson [1978], Searle [1979], Cohen [1979], Morgan [1979], to name just a few. Most of these scholars view metaphor as a figure of speech to embellish rhetoric. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson [1980] revolutionized the way scholars started to view and study metaphor ever since. The cognitive approach to metaphor has been widely applied by many international scholars, including Kövecses [1991, 2010], Gibbs [1993], Yu [1995], Skrabnev [2000], Kozhina [2003], Starichenok [2008], and Krasnykh [2017].

Metaphor analysis has been undertaken in various types of discourses and yields productive and insightful outcomes. Vesnia [2010], Novikova [2016], and Borodulina & Makeyeva [2016] probe how metaphors are used in media discourse to construct certain topics and issues, such as the immigration issue in the discourse of Russian print media and the Greek crisis in British newspapers. In business discourse, Daninushina [2011] focuses on the cognitive function of metaphor constructing social reality and the pragmatic function of creating public opinion. Metaphor analysis in economic discourse by Klimenova [2010], Borodulina [2014], Borodulina & Makeeva [2014], Borodulina, Khavenkova, Gulyaev & Makeeva [2015], and Gaidarenko [2014] focus on how metaphors are used to convey economic ideas in a more simple and attractive way. Metaphor analysis in academic discourse is done by Burmistrova [2005], Leontyeva [2016], and Budaev & Chudinov [2017]. Their studies reflect the great role metaphors play in exploring researchers' scientific ideas. The application of cognitive approach to metaphor research in literature studies brings the study of

poetic text to a categorical level (see Zadornova & Matveeva [2017], Lakoff & Turner [1989], Zadornova [2004], Zadornova & Matveeva [2007], Zadornova & Gorokhova [2017], and Matveeva [2010]). Kondratyeva [2011], Liu[2015] explore how concepts and images in poetry are constructed through conceptual metaphors and how these metaphors evolve over time.

Metaphor research is also widely undertaken in political discourse. Political discourse in modern society influences every aspect of society and is an important material for studying specific linguistic features of certain genres of political discourse and verbal or non-verbal strategies used to influence audiences' judgments.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory has had a great impact on metaphor study in political discourse. As Lakoff and Johnson [1980] state, metaphor plays a central role in constructing social and political reality. On the one hand, the complexities and abstractions of politics require the use of metaphor so as to simplify complex political concepts and to make them accessible. On the other hand, metaphor, as an effective persuasive tool, is favored by many politicians to exert influence on the hearer's judgment about political issues and political decisions. Political metaphor, the metaphor used in politically motivated contexts, ranging from conventional metaphors to creative metaphors, enables to frame political issues and persuade the mass that some things are right and others are wrong. The uncovering of regularities in political metaphor use can reveal both characteristics of human conceptualization in general and political habitual thinking patterns specifically.

The studies by Lakoff [1996], Musolff [1996; 2000; 2004], and Charteris-Black [2004; 2011] have all been carried out under the influence of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Lakoff [1996] has identified and described conceptual metaphors underlying American politics and uncovered two opposing cognitive models underlying American right-wing and left-wing politics, that is the Strict Father Model and the Nurturant Parent Model. Musolff [1996, 2000, 2004]

focuses on metaphor use in European political discourse seeking to uncover how people conceive and speak about Europe. Charteris-Black [2004, 2011] proposes his Critical Metaphor Analysis by integrating cognitive linguistics, pragmatic approach to metaphor studies, critical discourse analysis, and corpus linguistic approach and applies this approach to analyzing speeches by major British and American politicians in order to reveal how each politician can be understood through his or her use of metaphor.

Christ'l De Landtsheer [1994, 2009] introduces a metaphor power (MP) method that can be used to make a quantitative metaphor content analysis in various forms of political discourse. The metaphor power index of a political text can be calculated by multiplying the scores on three metaphorical variables, metaphor frequency (MF), metaphor intensity (MI), and metaphor content (MC). De Landtsheer's method has proved to be a highly efficient tool for doing multidisciplinary research.

In Russia, metaphor studies are no less popular. One of the most predominant schools of metaphor studies is the Ural School under the supervision of Professor Chudinov. Influenced by the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Chudinov [2001] proposes the theory of metaphorical modelling and proclaims and outlines several principles of studying political metaphor [2012].

Russian scholars (see Baranov and Karaulov [1991, 1994], Chudinov [2001, 2003], Chudakova [2005], Bykova [2011, 2014, 2014], Budaev [2011], Balashova [1988, 2014], and Kondratieva [2011, 2012, 2014]) have taken a genuine interest in historical metaphorology, which is the study of how political metaphors evolve throughout history.

Both Kondratieva [2011, 2012, 2014] and Balashova [1988, 2014] are interested in political metaphors in old Russian texts. Kondratieva [2011, 2012, 2014] compares metaphors in old Russian texts and modern political discourse and concludes that metaphors in modern political discourse are used to describe the politician's appearance, manners, political reforms and decisions while in

older times metaphors were used to describe the politician's inner world, soul, heart, mind and conscience. Balashova [1988, 2014] focuses on the evolution of political metaphor from the Old Russian period to modern times and finds out that political metaphors have a stable core, dating back to ancient times. Baranov and Karaulov [1991; 1994] focuses on metaphor analysis in the Soviet time during three periods. The studies of Bykova [2011, 2014, 2014] lay emphasis on the metaphorical image of the Soviet Union in the Soviet and U.S. media political discourses in Stalin's time between 1930 and 1954. Chudakova [2005] and Budaev [2011] study metaphors in Russian media discourse and find that metaphorical manifestations change in accordance with the socio-economic situation.

This dissertation discusses the functioning of political metaphor in two types of American presidential discourse, presidential inaugurals and addresses accepting the presidential nomination. The panoramic analysis of the metaphors in the two types of American presidential discourse attempts both to uncover metaphorical repertoire and its compositional patterns in each discourse and to see how metaphors function within a discourse.

The discursive features of metaphor use include the phenomenon of metaphor clustering, which is about metaphors crowding together to exert their rhetorical force. In political discourse, metaphor functions in accordance with discursive requirements and the speaker's communicative intentions. Functions of metaphor in political discourse are classified into cognitive, pragmatic, communicative, and discursive. It is argued that the functions of a metaphor change due to the context and one metaphor may fulfill several functions.

This dissertation seeks to uncover a metaphorical repertoire in two types of American presidential discourse, inaugurals and acceptance addresses, and show how metaphors function in these two discourses. Special emphasis is laid on the phenomenon of metaphor clustering as a salient feature in political discourse. It is argued that the recurrent appearance of

certain metaphors in the discourses under analysis shows that the five American presidents, George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald Trump, choose metaphors from the same metaphorical repertoire that has been formed by their many predecessors and it is still enlarging. The metaphors the presidents choose from the conventional metaphorical repertoire are influenced by their own personal linguistic habits or/and communicative purposes, collective linguistic patterns, the vitality of an archetypal metaphor, contextual and discursive constraints.

The research makes a contribution to the theoretical study of political metaphor by not only providing a new perspective on studying the distribution of metaphors within a political text, but also finding out a discursive potential of political metaphor as a cohesive tool, when it may combine with other metaphors, making a coherent metaphor system within a political text. The comparative analysis of metaphor systems in the presidential inaugurals and American Addresses Accepting the Presidential Nomination (henceforth used as Acceptance Addresses) shows that the types and functions of political metaphor are varied due to different communicative and discursive purposes of the two discourses.

The research data and findings can be used in theoretical and practical college English courses and academic works related to political metaphor.

The **research object** is American presidential discourse in 1988-2017. The **research subject** is metaphor use in two specific types of American presidential discourse in 1988-2017, presidential inaugurals and Acceptance Addresses.

The **research data** are collected from eight presidential inaugurals and nine Acceptance Addresses of five American presidents (George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump). The overall data of the addresses contain over 59,760 words, including 15,660 words in the inaugurals and 44,100 words in the Acceptance Addresses. The transcripts of

the speeches come from the non-profit and non-partisan website “The American Presidency Project”: <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/inaugurals.php>, as it transcribes speeches with precision and care.

The **academic novelty of the research** is it makes a contribution to political metaphor studies by analyzing presidential inaugurals and acceptance addresses of five American presidents, which have never become a research subject before, in order to work out a metaphorical repertoire from which the presidents choose a specific metaphor based on their communicative purposes. The research analyzes how metaphor functions as a cognitive tool to construct political reality, a communicative tool to transfer information, a pragmatic tool to influence and persuade audiences, and a discursive tool to structure a political text.

The tasks of the research include:

- to overview and clarify the basic theoretical notions and concepts;
- to review the literature on the subject with the intent to see similarities and differences in metaphor studies by researchers across the world;
- to identify, classify, and interpret political metaphors in the speeches of five American presidents in order to figure out cognitive metaphors typical of American presidential discourse;
- to provide a comprehensive analysis and detailed discussion of how metaphors function in a political text and how they are related to each other within a single text or several texts;
- to provide insights into the phenomenon of metaphor clustering in the presidential discourse which would enable to better encompass the potential of metaphor in political discourse.
- to discuss genres of political discourse and establish the relationship between two specific types of presidential discourse, inaugurals and acceptance addresses; to study the similarities and differences of metaphors used in them.

- to work out a metaphorical repertoire existing in presidential inaugurals and acceptance addresses.

The research aims to study the inaugurals and acceptance addresses of five American presidents, George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama and Donald Trump in order to find out metaphorical patterns in contemporary American presidential discourse, establish their functions and see how the genre and register of a discourse may influence metaphor use.

The research applies **methods** of discourse analysis, contrastive analysis, contextual analysis, and descriptive analysis.

The research consists of introductory and concluding parts, two chapters, and a list of references.

Drawing on the trends in political metaphor studies, the **Introduction** sets aims and tasks of the research, specifies the material for analysis, methods of research, and says what makes this study significant theoretically and practically.

Chapter 1 presents an overview of basic theoretical notions and concepts that are used in the dissertation. It explores how the concepts ‘discourse’ and ‘political discourse’ emerged and developed and specifies their definitions for the research. Then it passes on to the concepts “genre and register” and their role in political discourse studies. It is followed by the discussion of the evolution of metaphor from Aristotle’s time to the present day, with the Conceptual Metaphor Theory being the trend of the day. It makes an overview of metaphor studies in political discourse across the world, discussing cognitive, communicative, pragmatic and discursive functions of metaphor in political discourse.

Chapter 2 focuses on a detailed analysis of political metaphor in two types of American presidential discourses, presidential inaugurals and acceptance addresses. Each discourse is analyzed in terms of metaphor use in order to figure out cognitive metaphors typical of either of them. It establishes similarities and differences in metaphor use in the two types of discourse under analysis. It is

argued that the discourses have a common metaphorical repertoire, comprising personification metaphor, nature metaphor, movement metaphor, construction, medical metaphor, conflict metaphor, story metaphor, machine metaphor, gift metaphor, and some others. The presidents in question choose different metaphors from this repertoire according to their communicative purposes and discursive constraints. The different use of metaphors suggests different personal linguistic habits and communicative purposes.

The **Conclusion** summarizes the findings and poses questions for further research.

CHAPTER 1. METAPHOR STUDIES IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

1.1 Defining Political Discourse

1.1.1 What is Discourse

The term “discourse” was originally applied by Harris [1952] to illustrate a linguistic structure beyond the sentence. He intended to apply the methods of analyzing sentence structures to the fabric of a text. However, his main focus was still on the grammatical structure instead of the linguistic meaning and he did not elaborate clearly on the topic “discourse”. Since then, the term “discourse” has become a frequently discussed topic among social scientists for two more decades.

In the second half of the 20th century, the influential idea of language as a performative act [Austin 1962] had changed the established perspective that the function of language was only to describe the world. Instead, researchers proclaimed that language does things [Wittgenstein 1953; Austin 1962]. This change has influenced not only linguists but other scholars in the humanities and social sciences.

With the “linguistic turn” in social science, the second half of the 20th century witnessed the birth and development of several new and discourse-based disciplines, such as semiotics, conversation analysis, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, pragmatics, and critical discourse analysis. In the disciplines, the study of discourse is not confined to a single method of analysis but is open to different approaches. A different perspective on methods of research brought about a new understanding of discourse and discourse analysis, making these two notions multifaceted and comprehensive.

Early attempts at studying discourse in linguistics were to establish a connection with the notion of text, as was seen by the formal paradigm of text

grammars [van Dijk 1972, 1977; Grimes 1975; Mann & Thompson 1988] and Functional Systematic Grammar [Halliday & Hasan 1976].

Linguists in these two schools hold that the study of language should not be exclusively confined to the structures of isolated sentences, but instead include structures beyond the sentence, such as text. Therefore, the understanding of text as “an extended structure of syntactic units” [Werlich 1976: 23] under the influence of generative grammar gave way to the understanding of text as “a unit of language in use” and “a semantic unit, a unit not of form but of meaning” [Halliday & Hasan 1976: 1-2].

Later studies of discourse in linguistics relate closely to the three notions – spoken action, written text, and context. The concept of discourse as “spoken action” was introduced by Coulthard [1977, 1985]. Inspired by his earlier study of classroom language of teachers and pupils, Coulthard mainly explored the structure of exchanges (multi-part stretches of conversation that make functional units, such as question-answer-acknowledgment), and the ways how utterances constrain what follows them and how utterances provide the context to make sense about what follows them. Coulthard’s approach to analyzing spoken action (i.e. conversation) is influenced by a variety of disciplines, such as speech act theory, conversation analysis, ethnography, and sociolinguistics.

The study of exchange structures and speech acts of natural language was also done by Stubbs [1993]. He highlighted the importance of socio-cultural context in the analysis of discourse. He discussed to a large scale the methodological issues of collecting, transcribing and analyzing data, which is very crucial for further development of discourse analysis.

The study of discourse as “written text” is done by Beaugrande and Dressler [1981]. They explored the general characteristics of written text, proposing seven “standards of textuality” which determine what is text and what is not, including cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality, and intertextuality.

Different from these early studies of discourse from the perspective of text, scholars who were interested in discourse subsequently strove for distinguishing between text and discourse.

Brown and Yule [1983] made a distinction between **text-as-product** and **discourse-as-process** based on their study of psycholinguistic processing aspects of discourse. They regarded text as the record of a process of communication, and discourse as the process of communication itself. They explored how producers organize their messages in order to guide receivers to the intended meaning, and how receivers use their background knowledge and powers of inference to construct meaning.

Another way to distinguish text and discourse is to regard **discourse as “text and context together, interacting in a way which is perceived as meaningful and unified by the participants”** [Cook 1992: 4]. Cook’s perspective on the relationship between text, discourse, and context comes from his study of the discourse of advertising. He defined text as “linguistic forms, temporarily and artificially separated from context for the purposes of analysis” [Cook 1992: 4], and discourse as “text and context together”.

In semiotics, discourse is viewed differently. Semiotics is commonly conceived of as the study of signs and symbol systems as a significant part of communications [Peirce 1977; Akhmanova & Idzelis 1979; Nazarova 2017]. Peirce’s semiotic theory is based on the triadic relation between the sign, the object, and interpretant. Different from the Peircean semiotics, the Saussurean semiology is based on the dyadic relation between the signifier and the signified.

In the Saussurean tradition, Sheigal [2004: 12-13] views discourse as a communication system which contains two dimensions, real and virtual (potential). In the real dimension, discourse refers to the totality of discourse events in communicative practice, i.e. a speech activity in a certain social situation and the communicative products (texts) resulted from this

communicative activity. In the virtual dimension, discourse is a semiotic space, including verbal and non-verbal signs in the communicative system.

From the perspective of semiotics, Lemke [1995: 5-6] regards discourse at a more abstract level, as a social activity of making meanings with language and other symbolic systems undertaken by social actors in a specific context, be it written, oral, or visual communication, verbal or non-verbal. A text is regarded as a specific and unique realization of a discourse. Lemke argues that “when we want to focus on the specifics of an event or occasion, we speak of the text; when we want to look at patterns, commonality, relationships that embrace different texts and occasions, we can speak of discourses” [1995: 5-6]. For example, presidential discourse can be realized in a potentially huge range of texts made by a president or many presidents in various specific settings.

In Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter referred to as CDA), discourse is understood as “a form of social practice” [Fairclough et al. 2011] and can be substituted with the alternative term “semiosis”, which includes words, pictures, symbols, design, gesture and so on. The expansion of this notion makes it socially constitutive as well as socially shaped, in other words, discourse constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people, and vice versa [Fairclough et al. 2011: 358].

CDA, a popular research direction in the study of discourse, is originally introduced in the seminal book *Language and Control* [Fowler, Hodge, Kress & Trew 1979], and later developed by Norman Fairclough [1989] in the UK, Ruth Wodak [1989] in Austria and Teun A. van Dijk [1993] in the Netherlands. It is not seen as an academic discipline with a relatively fixed set of research methods, instead, it is regarded as “a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research movement, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with a different theoretical model, research methods and agenda. What unites them is a shared interest in

the semiotic dimensions of power, injustice, abuse, and political-economic or cultural change in society” [Fairclough et al. 2011: 357].

Following the Foucauldian tradition, the research foci of CDA are issues of power, domination, and social inequality related to gender, race, and class in specific talks and texts. The widely accepted notion that discourse is profoundly embedded in society and culture makes possible the studies of all forms of power, domination, and social inequality through analyzing discourse.

It can be concluded that the term “discourse” carries distinct meanings in a broad range of language-based approaches. The early development of its meaning relates closely to the concept of text. Most of the works on discourse in text linguistics at the early stage cover text-oriented aspects of speech and writing, i.e. how utterances function in relation to each other and how a text presents itself in a cohesive way. Furthermore, the importance of context has also been greatly explored in how discourse reflects and constructs social contexts of use. These aspects of inquiry also influence the later discourse analysis in semiotics and CDA.

Although semiotics and CDA view discourse in a broad sense, as a form of social practice, they share some common grounds in studying discourse. First, the naturally-occurring language is explored instead of abstract language systems. Second, more and more studies focus on larger units than some isolated words and sentences. Third, interactional and communicative features of discourse, including verbal and nonverbal aspects, in social contexts are emphasized. Discourse in these disciplines is studied as various structures and strategies at different levels of text and talk, and as linguistic action in various social settings.

In this paper we apply Lemke’s definition of **discourse as a social action of making meanings with language and other symbolic systems undertaken by social actors in a specific context, be it written, oral, or visual**

communication, verbal or non-verbal, and text as a specific and unique realization of a discourse.

1.1.2 Political Discourse as Linguistic Action in Politics

Although the emergence of the term “political discourse” comes after the term “discourse”, the studies of the relationship between politics and language have been around for a long time. The early studies date back to Aristotle when he first discussed the intertwined relationship between politics and language in *The Politics*:

“That man is much more a political animal than any kind of bee or any herd animal is clear. For, as we assert, nature does nothing in vain; and man alone among the animals has speech. ...But speech serves to reveal the advantageous and the harmful, and hence also the just and the unjust” [The Politics: 1253a1-15, translated by Carnes Lord 1984].

Humans, unlike animals, are political because they are endowed with the capability of speech instead of only voice. This property allows humans to be able to distinguish what is right and wrong, and what is just and unjust. Humans can express ideas, exchange views, and share or attack views of each other with this capability. The ability to distinguish between different values and of sharing among these values makes “a household and a state” [The Politics: 1253, translated by Carnes Lord 1984]. Language thus makes these social actions possible and makes politics possible since communication is essential for humans to do politics both in ancient time and modern era.

The idea that humans are political animals may result in a possible overgeneralization of political discourse, viewing almost all types of discourse as political discourse [Shapiro 1981]. To avoid this overgeneralization, some philosophers, linguists, and political scientists are inclined to delimit political discourse.

Graber argues that political discourse occurs “when political actors, in and out of government, communicate about political matters, for political purposes” [Graber 1981: 196]. This argument suggests that political discourse happens

whenever political actors talk about political matters to achieve certain political goals. The definition emphasizes three important factors in political communication, i.e. participant, context and purpose.

A similar limitation to political discourse is worked out by van Dijk. He [1997] delimits and clarifies the concept of political discourse by focusing on three factors, including participant, nature, and context of political activity.

van Dijk argues that people and groups are participants of political discourse only when they act as political actors who are involved in a political process. The participants of political activity, from a narrow aspect, refers to “actors or authors, viz., politicians” [van Dijk 1997: 12], from a broad perspective, to “all participants in the political process” [van Dijk 1997: 13].

The next way is to delimit the object of the political discourse study “by focusing on the nature of the activities or practices being accomplished by a political text and talk rather than only on the nature of its participants” [van Dijk 1997: 14].

He then argues that to define political discourse is to “take the whole context as decisive for the categorization of discourse as ‘political’ or not” [van Dijk 1997:14]. It suggests that in order to decide whether it is a political discourse or not, it hinges on the context people or groups are involved in, such as cabinet meetings, election campaigns, interviews and so on.

Based on van Dijk’s views, political discourse encompasses all types of public, institutional and private talk and text on political issues by politicians or any participants in political activities to achieve political goals [van Dijk 1997]. This definition of political discourse is comprehensive and inclusive. The subject of political discourse may not only include professional politicians, but citizens who may be involved in political practice. The study of political discourse expands its scope of research from the talk and text of professional politicians to that of any participants in political activities to achieve political goals.

Another kind of perspective to view political discourse comes from semioticians. Sheigal [2004] discusses what is political discourse by comparing the three terms “language of politics”, “political communication”, and “political discourse”, suggesting that among the three terms the last two may be used as synonyms.

According to Sheigal [2004: 20-22], language of politics is a structured set of signs forming a semiotic space of political discourse, including specialized signs, both verbal (political terms, anthroponyms, etc) and non-verbal (political symbols, etc), and non-specialized signs that are initially used in its general sense but acquire its content specifics due to its stable use in special context, such as personal pronouns “us” and “them” in political discourse.

In so far as the two terms “political discourse” and “political communication” can be treated equally, political discourse can be broadened to include any speech formations in the field of politics. Political communication in this sense occurs within at least three domains.

“1) The state political system at national and transnational level, such as government(s), parliament, political parties, elections, debates;

2) The highly diversified sphere of governmental and non-governmental social institutions as well as the “grassroots” initiatives, like businesses, NGOs, educational organizations, workplaces etc;

3) The media system, which often connects the former two with its characteristics of depoliticizing and politicizing issues. Discourse produced in any of these domains can be understood as political discourse.” [Cap and Okulska 2013: 7]

Sheigal views discourse as a sub-language plus text plus context (дискурс = подъязык + текст + контекст) [Sheigal 2004: 16], suggesting that political discourse, with its own special characteristics and functions, has to be explored under its situational and cultural context.

Therefore, political discourse at the abstract level can be manifested and analyzed by studying any forms of linguistic action in politics undertaken by political actors in a specific political context, be it written or oral, verbal or

nonverbal. Intertextuality also has to be borne in mind when studying political texts and discourse. The study of political discourse requires careful exploration of the different levels of text and the linguistic, cultural, social, economic, political, and national factors related to the text [Chudinov 2012: 41].

All in all, political discourse can be understood at three levels: discourse used by professional politicians, discourse used in the field of politics, and discourse related to any notions of power, conflict, and control. **In this dissertation, we shall view political discourse as linguistic action in politics, any political activity making meanings with language and other symbolic systems in a specific setting, including any type of talk and text in politics.**

1.2 Genre and Register as a Basic Concept in Studying Political Discourse

1.2.1 Understanding Genre and Register in Linguistic Field

The term “genre” is traditionally used in the domain of literary studies. However, the Russian linguist and literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin has established the link between genres in literary studies and genres in linguistics. He named the genres in linguistics “speech genres” which are “relatively stable types of utterances” [Bakhtin 1986: 60].

According to Bakhtin [1986: 60], language is realized in the form of individual concrete utterances (oral and written) in various domains of human activity, and these utterances reflect the specific conditions and goals of each such domain through their content, linguistic style, and compositional structure, which are inseparably linked to the whole of the utterance and influenced by the specific nature of the domain of communication. In each domain of communication, language is used with its own relatively stable types.

The first important notion of Bakhtin’s speech genre theory is the heterogeneity of speech genres. Speech genres are inextricably linked to the

human activity in which they are used. Due to the inexhaustibility of human activities, speech genres are rich, diverse, and evolving. Therefore, it is difficult to identify and classify all the possible speech genres. To solve the problem, Bakhtin [1986] proposed the division between “primary (simple) speech genres” and “secondary (complex) speech genres”:

“Secondary (complex) speech genres – novels, dramas, all kinds of scientific research, major genres of commentary, and so forth – arise in more complex and comparatively highly developed and organized cultural communication (primarily written) that is artistic, scientific, sociopolitical, and so on. During the process of their formation, they absorb and digest various primary (simple) genres that have taken form in unmediated speech communion. These primary genres are altered and assume a special character when they enter into complex ones. They lose their immediate relation to actual reality and to the real utterances of others.” [Bakhtin 1986: 62]

Primary genres and secondary genres are fundamentally different, but closely related to each other. Therefore, the study of the nature of an utterance should be focused both on the primary and secondary genres since “a one-sided orientation toward primary genres inevitably leads to a vulgarization of the entire problem” [Bakhtin 1986: 62].

Another important point in Bakhtin’s speech genre theory is that any utterance, be it oral or written, primary or secondary, is individual and therefore can reflect the individuality of the speaker or writer, i.e. his or her individual style. Bakhtin states that “various genres can reveal various layers and facets of the individual personality, and individual style can be found in various interrelations with the national language” [Bakhtin 1986: 63]. Utterances are embodied in individual linguistic forms which are based on general language. Individual and general language styles together govern speech genres.

Bakhtin’s speech genre theory expands the study of genres from literature to any sphere of language-based human activity. It goes without saying that it has greatly influenced the later studies of genre in disciplines like new rhetoric studies, Systematic Functional Linguistics, applied linguistics, pragmatics, etc.

New rhetoric studies of genre are proposed by scholars in North America [Bazerman 1988; Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995; Freedman & Medway 1994]. The approach regards genres as typified and purposeful rhetorical actions which are temporarily stable, yet flexible to the recurrent rhetorical situations [Miller 1984]. It defines genre not on the substance or the form of discourse but on the action it is used to accomplish [Miller 1984: 151]. The notion of genre as “a social construct that regularizes communication, interaction and relations” [Bazerman 1988: 62] reveals that people use certain discursive patterns, i.e. genres, to communicate, interact and achieve certain goals in a particular social context. Earlier research of genres in new rhetoric focuses on everyday genre used in “communities of practice” [Lave & Wenger 1991], and how members of such communities competently master the genre use [Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995].

One of the approaches that study genre in Systemic Functional Linguistics is the Register & Genre Theory (hereafter referred to as RGT) [Eggins & Martin 1997; Eggins 2004; Martin & Rose 2008]. RGT focuses on a detailed analysis of variation in linguistic features of discourse and intends to explain linguistic variation by references to variation in context [Eggins & Martin 1997: 234].

In the theory, context is viewed as a semiotic system which includes two layers: register and genre. Genre is “a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture” [Martin 1984: 25], or “how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them” [Martin 1985: 248]. Genre posits above and beyond the register. Register, corresponding to Halliday’s “context of situation”, includes three constitutive dimensions – field, tenor, and mode. Halliday has explained the three dimensions as follows:

“**Field** refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social action that is taking place: what it is that the participants are engaged in, in which language figures as some essential component.

Tenor refers to who is taking part, to the nature of the participants, their statuses and roles: what kinds of role relationship obtain, including permanent and temporary relationships

of one kind or another, both the types of speech roles they are taking on in the dialogue and the whole cluster of socially significant relationships in which they are involved.

Mode refers to what part language is playing, what it is that the participants are expecting language to do for them in the situation: the symbolic organization of the text, the status that it has, and its function in the context.” [Halliday 1985: 12]

Each of these dimensions is realized by a particular functional dimension of language. *Field* is realized in language as the ideational metafunction; *tenor* as interpersonal metafunction; *mode* as textual metafunction.

Register is realized in the dimension of certain situation-specific topics, role-relationships and modes of expression (verbal or written), while genres combine certain choices on each dimension and realize them linguistically in order to reach a certain goal [Gruber 2013: 34]. In other words, genres organize registers into socially meaningful purpose-oriented activities. RGT views genre as a “context of culture”.

On the whole, genre studies in Systemic Functional Linguistics provide a systematic methodology for analyzing linguistic properties of genres and their relation to register.

In applied linguistics, one of the notable contributions to genre studies comes from Swales [1990, 2004, 2009] and Bhatia [1993, 2002, 2004]. Swales’ genre studies were originally developed in the field of English for Specific Purposes (e.g. teaching of academic writing) but their influence has ranged beyond this field.

According to Swales, genres are classes of communicative events that share a common purpose or a set of purposes and are structured into phases and moves [Swales 1990]. Communicative events are those “in which language (and/or paralinguistic) plays both a significant and an indispensable role” to fulfill a certain purpose in a given discourse community [Swales 1990: 45]. The notion of discourse community is proposed by the sociolinguist Martin Nystrand [1982]. According to Swales [1990: 24-27], discourse community is a group of members with common goals, mechanisms of internal communication, lexis and genres to

achieve their goals; discourse community has a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discursual expertise.

Swales [2009] suggests dividing genres into two categories: the public/open genres and the occluded/supporting genres. Open genres are usually publicly available and can be relatively easily learned and used to join their discourse communities while occluded genres are reserved for more specialized contexts and discourse communities (e.g. personal statement of applying for PhD program).

Based on Swales' approach, Bhatia [1993, 1999, 2002, 2004] integrates other approaches, such as new rhetoric studies, Systemic Functional Linguistics, and Fairclough's version of Critical Discourse Analysis, and works out a genre analysis model, which includes four relevant aspects of genre dimension – a textual, an ethnographic, a socio-cognitive, and a socio-critical perspective [Bhatia 2004: 160]. By integrating these dimensions into his model, Bhatia provides a relevant comprehensive model with a multidimensional perspective for genre analysis.

Genre studies in pragmatics date back to the end of the 20th century when Paltridge [1995] seeks to present a model for genre analysis from both social and cognitive aspects of language. He proposes that a pragmatic approach to genre analysis should take into consideration the relationships between social and cognitive aspects of communicative events. Since communicative events are flexible in reality, the identification of genres requires not only their internal, purely linguistic properties, but also external pragmatic and perceptual aspects.

Paltridge [1995] holds that the key to genre analysis lies in a pragmatic perspective on the basis of three concepts, i.e. prototype, intertextuality, and inheritance.

The concept of prototype comes from the prototype theory [Rosch 1973, 1975, 1983; Rosch & Mervis 1975] which claims that people categorize items and concepts based on the congruence with a prototypical image that represents

the item or concept. Paltridge [1995] claims that the notion of prototypicality also has vital implications for a discussion of genre.

Intertextuality refers to the fact that texts are interrelated and the interpretation of one text is based on the interpretation of other, previously encountered, texts. The notion of intertextuality accounts for “the relationship within and between instances of genres in the production and interpretation of texts” [Paltridge 1995: 396].

Inheritance is “the translation of knowledge among items of the same or similar type of sub-type” [Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 91]. Paltridge [1997: 61] identifies three type of such a transfer: 1) an instance inherits all characteristics of its class, unless expressly cancelled; 2) subclass instances inherit from super-class instances only those characteristics that the narrower specification of the subclass allows; 3) instances inherit from those instances that they stand in analogy. The notion of inheritance in genre analysis may explain the phenomenon why some texts are more similar to a particular generic prototype, but others are less so even if they both belong to the genre.

Paltridge [1997] also mentions another criterion for identifying and classifying genre – felicity condition. Felicity conditions are pragmatic criteria from the Austinian Speech Act Theory. Paltridge gives an example of identifying and classifying a text as a scientific report genre and suggests that the research “must be carried out and reported on by the right person, in the right place and at the right time, with a specific intent” [Paltridge 1997] in order to conform to the requirements of genre and be recognized as a representation of this genre. Felicity conditions work as an extra-linguistic aspect in genre analysis. Paltridge argues that “what typifies a genre at the discourse level is not dependent on the presence of any one particular aspect of discourse structure in isolation, but on the interaction and co-occurrence of a number of aspects of discourse structure: that is, those of macrostructure, discourse elements and

discourse relations, components of discourse elements and semantic relations” [1997: 403].

In conclusion, genres in all these different approaches are understood as typified, context-based, structured, and goal-oriented patterns of social interaction that are realized both in linguistic and extralinguistic means. Genres are “conventional uses of stable utterance groups which follow recognizable patterns that suit the accomplishment of certain social goals” [Cap and Okulska 2013:1].

The approaches above are conceptually similar while methodologically different. The main research focus of the new rhetoric approach is the context of genre use, i.e. different levels of genre use in activity systems. The Register & Genre theory studies register at the level of situational context and genre at the level of culture.

The contribution of applied linguistic studies to genre studies is influential in the way that genre is studied in multidimensional perspectives. It inspired researchers to study the genre from the perspective of situation, context, and culture. In pragmatics, genre is studied from the social and cognitive aspects of language. The three notions – prototypes, intertextuality, and inheritance plus felicity conditions play a great role in the identification and classification of genre. The genre studies in pragmatics also explore how genres as a means to influence, persuade and legitimize.

1.2.2 Presidential Discourse and its Monologic Genres

Political genres as genres in the specific field of politics on the one hand share some characteristics of communicative genres, on the other hand, have their own peculiarity. Cap and Okulska [2013: 3-11] outlined several characteristics of political genres.

The first observation is that political genres are dynamic abstractions and macrostructures [Cap & Okulska 2013: 3-11]. Genres are viewed across various

disciplines as “clusters of conventionalized and predictable ways of goal-oriented communicative acting arising from imperatives posed by constantly evolving socio-cultural situations” [Cap & Okulska 2013: 3]. Political genres are not only analyzed as relatively stable organized patterns, but also open to change in social context. The dynamic feature is partly due to the heterogeneity of genre analysis, partly due to the continual social changes in modern communication channels. Political genres are liable to change, hybridize, and migrate especially during the process of mediatization. For example, political interviews can be the traditional form of a direct, one-to-one talk exchange between a politician and a journalist, or can be the multimodal form with music, video or image. Besides, during the process of mediatization, political genres may lose some of their original features and gain new ones.

The second observation is that political genres activate situational contexts and are realized in these contexts [Cap & Okulska 2013: 3-11]. The users of a certain genre are not only confined to certain generic requirements, but also can contribute to the genre. Contexts are normally activated through relatively stable language forms, while they may be realized by the similarly stable language forms, or by language forms that are not typical of the genre. For example, the American presidential inaugural has its typical relatively stable language forms, such as tone-setting introduction, the act of thanking the predecessor, the act of invoking continuity of beliefs and ideas, etc., however, there is no guarantee that these characteristics will be forever followed since all politicians tend to strive for their own distinctive identity.

The third observation is that political genres are interrelated in social fields. [Cap & Okulska 2013: 3-11]. In the relevant social field, genres are related to other genres, even migrate through intertextuality. For instance, verbal suggestions produced in a committee meeting may be later formed as a written policy document.

The fourth observation is that political genres reveal hierarchies of behavior

patterns. [Cap & Okulska 2013: 3-11]. The specific language forms in a genre used by a participant tends to reflect and foster his or her distinctive identity and the role he or she has performed, performs, and may continue to perform, in social interactions with other participants [Cap & Okulska 2013: 6]. In political domains, communicators may suspend their prototypical roles and assume other more effective relevant roles when the communicative context changes. For example, in a TV political debate, participants may defy the standard arrangement: the invited speaker may start asking questions to the host or the opponent in order to avoid direct response or to attack the opponent when faced with the question the host asks. In such a genre, interpersonal roles assigned by the genre are regarded as hierarchies of behavioral patterns with prototypical and non-prototypical behaviors.

Political genres are prone to dynamic evolution and hybridization due to their heterogeneity. Therefore, it is impossible to work out a genre typology which would embrace all genres and subgenres in a given social field and can be taken as universal and canonical norm.

Researchers propose typologies based on their particular research interests. Various aspects of political genres may work as candidate criteria for making the typologies. It is no doubt that every research of political discourse requires a typology in order to frame the methodological procedure. Analysts should be able to classify their research material as a certain type that is present in the existing typology or work out a new generic structure, new genre.

The researches of Cap & Okulska [2013], Gudkov [2014a, 2014b, 2015, 2016a, 2016b], Gorodetskaya [2015], and Minaeva [2017a, 2017b, 2017c] contribute to the examination of linguistic peculiarities, specific genres and their characteristics, and persuasive strategies in political discourse.

As an important type of political discourse, presidential discourse is institutional in nature. Presidents are representatives of their countries. Their discourse in any communicative situation is regarded as official and institutional.

Presidential discourse, as a kind of political discourse of power, is a specific manifestation of the communication between those in power and the public, and even of the political transformation at a certain era [Gavrilova 2004].

The study of linguistic characteristics of a president can reveal his speech patterns, views, and manners of decision-making [Mukhortov 2015a: 93]. Additionally, as a politician, his discourse is also deeply influenced by the national culture and political culture. Thus, studying his language and style, such as in the course of the pre-election debate, may reveal the linguistic culture of the nation, its value orientation, and the availability of manipulative technologies for those in power to influence national consciousness [Mukhortov 2016: 24]. Furthermore, the analysis of specific linguistic features, such as metaphor use in presidential discourse, may reveal the influence of some national and cultural backgrounds on the president's linguistic characteristics and his personal rhetoric [Ji Xiaoxiao 2016a: 242].

The classification of presidential discourse relates to its communicative context, method, and purpose. It can include ritual genre, orientational genre, and agonal genre. Ritual genre includes inaugural address and farewell address. Orientational genre includes State of the Union Address, Manifest, Interview and Press Conference. And agonal, or competitive, genre includes campaign addresses.

The study of presidential discourse in terms of the monologic genre is based on the classification of monologic and dialogic genres. The notions of monologue and dialogue are introduced by Mikhail Bakhtin. Monologue is linked with the idea of a single voice speaking the only truth, not allowing any other sort of truth to appear. Dialogic speech, on the contrary, involves a multiplicity of speakers and various perspectives. Therefore, dialogue leads to the competition of voices and truth that can be debated and negotiated. Dialogue is “the nature of human life itself, in dialogue a person participates wholly and

throughout his whole life: with his eyes, lips, hands, soul, spirit, with his whole body” [Bakhtin 1984: 293].

To call a discourse monologic or dialogic is based on the interpersonal communicative mode it employs. Monologic communication is uni-directional, aiming to send the communicator’s message and fulfill his or her purpose. It tends to “command, coerce, manipulate, conquer, dazzle, deceive, or exploit” [Johannsen 1996]. In dialogic communication, each participant plays the role of both speaker and listener.

The monologic genres of presidential discourse include a variety of speeches, such as inauguration speeches, program statements, speeches in the Senate, speeches in international organizations, etc.

In the dissertation, two types of American presidential discourse shall be analyzed and discussed, i.e. Inaugural Address and Acceptance Address. The two types belong to the same monologic genre. They share a similar interpersonal communicative pattern. However, Inaugural Address belongs to the ritual genre, while Acceptance Address belongs to the agonal genre. Due to their different communicative purposes, they differ in terms of word choice and communicative strategies and tactics.

Different genres and registers account for different linguistic and discursive patterns, including patterns of metaphor use. In different contexts, the same metaphor may vary in its use and function.

On the basis of Register & Genre Theory [Halliday 1985; Eggins & Martin 1997; Martin & Rose 2008], we shall discuss the differences between the two addresses in terms of **what** is happening (field); **who** is taking part (tenor); **what part language** is playing (mode); **what purposes** the addresses fulfill (purpose).

First, the Inaugural is the address given by a newly sworn-in president at the Inauguration Ceremony to mark the beginning of a new four-year term of the President of the United States. The Inauguration Ceremony takes place for each new presidential term and has taken place on January 20 regularly. The

Acceptance Address is given by the presidential nominee to formally accept his nomination on the final day of the United States presidential nominating convention that is held every four years by most political parties in order to select their nominees for the upcoming U.S. presidential election. It emerged in the first part of the 19th century [Trent & Friedenberg 1995], initially in the form of letters or informal speeches. Then in 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt was the first to accept his nomination personally at his party convention. Since then, the Acceptance Address has become an important kind of campaign speeches. The Democratic National Convention and the Republican National Convention are the two major parties' quadrennial events in America.

Second, the Inaugural is made by a President-elect to audiences who attend the Inauguration Ceremony and to televised audiences all over the world. The Acceptance Address is given by a presidential nominee to the immediate partisan audiences and larger televised audiences. The halls of the convention are usually filled with many party loyalists.

Third, both addresses are given in spoken form. Besides, it is well-known that formal political speech like inaugurals and acceptances are usually written in advance. Both addresses most of time are prepared with the help of professional speechwriters.

Fourth, the two types of addresses fulfill different purposes. The inaugural address usually serves many goals beyond the primary one of accepting the oath of office of the Presidency. It presents the president's vision of America, his or her agendas and goals for the nation, and his or her intention of unifying the two parties after a severe campaign.

Presidents-elect in their inaugural addresses seek to unify the nation, which has been divided by a presidential election campaign. By emphasizing the shared traditions and experience, presidents-elect recall common sufferings and achievements of the nation in the past, and its strength to transcending any

shallow differences to unite together. Presidents-elect also set forth principles for their presidency.

The Acceptance Address, as the highlight of the convention, is made “to unify the party, rally the troops, and set the issue agenda for the general campaign” [Benoit 2001: 70]. According to Holbrook [1996, cit. in Benoit 2001], the address is also “the highpoint of a very important component of the campaign process, for approximately 25% of the electorate decides how to vote during the party nominating conventions”.

It serves several purposes for a successful campaign race. After the bitter primary contest, the nominees in their Acceptance Addresses tend to rebuild their party’s unity and justify their party’s legitimization. The speech serves to unify the party for a future political battle against the opposing party. The nominees also in their Acceptance Addresses set political agendas for the later general campaign.

Besides, since political campaign discourse is inherently instrumental and unquestionably goal-directed, the nominees in their Acceptance Addresses tend to present themselves preferable and their opponent undesirable in order to achieve the end of securing election to office. Therefore, they may acclaim to make themselves look better, attack the opposition to make opponents look worse, and defend themselves from a possible attack made by their opponents [Benoit, Wells, Pier, & Blaney 1999]. They may make references to self-expertise and experience to qualify themselves. They may attack their opponents by disqualifying them. For example, Dwight D. Eisenhower mentioned his war experience to prove he could end the Korean conflict and face the challenges of the Cold War.

The nominees motivate the party for the campaign. Their Acceptance Addresses are the climax of the quadrennial celebration of the major political parties [Benoit, Wells, Pier, & Blaney 1999: 247]. Thousands of party members gather together and witness the important moment at the conventions. The

addresses are persuasive to make voters participate in the campaign and support the party.

In studying monologic genres of presidential discourse, it is necessary to take into consideration the issue of speechwriting [Medhurst 2004; Chudinov 2012; Minaeva 2014].

The production of monologic presidential discourse is not done solely by president himself, but with the assistance of other people. Before the late 1960s, it was the administrative assistants with wide-ranging responsibilities to the president who help presidents write their addresses. In the 1960s, professional speechwriters were hired and their access to the president was limited. And their main responsibility was to write. Medhurst [2004: 3-19] claims that there are a lot of misunderstandings about the American professional presidential speechwriting and proposes several facts about it.

1. Presidents have requested and received assistance with their speeches, messages, letters, bills, memoirs, and the like since the beginning of the Republic. Although in the old days, presidents from Washington through Woodrow Wilson were for the most part the authors of their own words, they occasionally have received assistance from others. For example, George Washington was assisted by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. Lincoln was assisted by William Seward.

2. Presidents are not marionettes who merely mouth the words that others write for them. Presidents have been involved to different degrees in the speechwriting process. Some spent considerable time and energy on speechwriting, like Reagan. Others have highly involved in the subsequent drafting and editing. Eisenhower often changed the final product by himself. Presidents contributed to speechwriting to different degrees and they agreed and accepted every word in the speech before they mouth them.

3. It is impractical that presidents write their own speeches. Presidents represent the whole nation, not merely themselves. They speak on behalf of the

people and represent the views of his party and the nation. They do not simply state their own personal views. Besides, not all presidents had innate rhetorical abilities.

The appearance of speechwriters in the political sphere may partly relate to the complexity of politics and the importance of proper wording; any carelessness in presidential discourse may lead to troublesome or even disastrous results. Any illogical or improper wording may damage a president's image and reputation.

As for the question of who the true author of the speech is, one reasonable answer may be that it is the person who takes the responsibility for the speeches [Chudinov 2012: 54]. After all, it is presidents who make the final decision on whether to accept the address, with or without any changes. And when they decide to accept it, they are fully responsible for every word that comes out of their mouths.

In summary, we can see that researchers propose different typologies according to their research perspective and interests. It seems impossible and may be useless to work out a universal political genre typology because of the heterogeneity of political genres and possible hybridization and evolution of political discourse.

In this dissertation, metaphor use shall be analyzed and discussed in two different types of political discourse, presidential Inaugural and Acceptance Address. The analysis seeks to answer several questions: Is there a close relationship between metaphor use in presidential discourse and its genres? How are they related to each other? Are there specific metaphors in a specific type of presidential discourse? Are there any commonalities of metaphor use in the same type of presidential discourse when it comes to discussing an array of presidents? How does metaphor function in the two types of presidential discourse, Inaugural and Acceptance Address?

1.3 Metaphor Use in Political Discourse

1.3.1 The Traditional Philosophical and Rhetorical Perspectives on Metaphor

The study of metaphor dates from Aristotle's time, and receives intense attention in the last half of the 20th century. The first period of studying metaphor focuses on its rhetorical characteristics, and then the second period comes which brings about the cognitive approach. It expands the understanding of metaphor and provides researchers with a new perspective to study metaphor.

Aristotle [384-322 B.C] discusses metaphor both in his *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*. In *Poetics*, he defines metaphor as “a carrying over of a word belonging to something else, from genus to species, from species to genus, from species to species, or by analogy” [Poetics: 1457b]. Since Aristotle “does not make a distinction between what we would call ‘semantic’ and ‘pragmatic’ aspects of meaning, and at times it is unclear whether he talks about the words themselves, their meanings, the concepts associated with them, or their referents” [Leezenberg 2001: 32], it is quite unclear here what is exactly being carried over and how such process of “carrying over” happens. It seems that Aristotle simply views that metaphor involves “a relocation of words” [Leezenberg 2001:33]. Metaphor is discussed at the level of word.

Aristotle elaborates **four types of metaphorical transfer** in *Poetics*. The first type is from genus to species, which means using a more general term instead of a more specific one. For example, using the general term “to stand” instead of the specific “to be tied to a mooring” to refer to the state of a ship. The second kind is from species to genus, such as using a specific number “a thousand” for the more general “many”. The third kind is from species to species, which is based on similarity of meaning between two words or phrases, for example, in the two expressions “drawing off the soul with bronze” and “cutting with indestructive bronze”, “drawing off” is used for “cutting”, and

cutting for drawing because both mean “taking away”. The fourth one “by analogy” means there is a similar relationship between two things. Aristotle explains it with the example “old age is to life as evening is to a day; accordingly, one will call evening the old age of day, or, as Empedocles does, call old age the evening of life, or the sunset of life” [Poetics: 1457b].

Aristotle’s notion of metaphor is broad and not all of these four types are regarded as metaphor today. The first two kinds are more close to the notion of synecdoche. The other two types belong to what we call as metaphor nowadays, among which the third one is based on similarity and the fourth is based on relation.

The use of metaphor in prose is elaborated by Aristotle in *Rhetoric*. First, he explicitly states the pervasiveness of metaphor in utterance since “this appears from the fact that all men confine themselves to these: all men in talking use metaphors, and the accepted or proper terms for things” [Rhetoric, 1404b].

Then, he stresses the proper use of metaphor. “Clearness, pleasure, and distinction, are given in the highest degree by metaphor; and the art of metaphor cannot be taught. Our metaphors like our epithets, should be suitable” [Rhetoric 1405a].

It is noteworthy that the suitable application of metaphor not only can provide pleasure for readers, but will make what is expressed clearer. Besides clearness, metaphor also produces smartness, vividness. The “smartness depends on ‘proportional’ metaphor and on ‘setting things before the eyes’” [Rhetoric 1411b]. This notion of “setting things before the eyes” actually express the vividness that metaphor can provide.

Aristotle also talks of the emergence of a new knowledge in metaphor use.

“All men take a natural pleasure in learning quickly; words denote something; and so those words are pleasantest which give us new knowledge. Strange words have no meaning for us; common terms we know already; it is metaphor which gives us most of this pleasure. Thus, when the poet calls old age ‘a dried stalk,’ he gives us a new perception by means of the common genus” [Rhetoric 1410b].

He subsequently discusses that simile also has such an effect. However, because simile is “a metaphor with a preface” [Rhetoric 1410b], it is lengthier and less pleasing than metaphor.

It should be noted that Aristotle’s discussion in *Poetics* and *Rhetoric* provides us with insightful thoughts about metaphor in terms of its nature and use. His argument about the virtues of metaphor use in utterance and prose certainly lays foundation for the further study of functions of metaphor in use. And he also points out that metaphor is pervasive in utterance, which is identical with what cognitive linguists later held. These views have been repeatedly interpreted and developed by subsequent researchers.

The rhetorician Cicero [106-43 B.C.] views metaphor as a borrowing between words, claiming that “A metaphor is a brief similitude contracted into a single word; which word being put in the place of another, as if it were in its own place.” [De Oratore 3.39.157]. Cicero puts forward the feature of similarity between two objects in comparison.

Quintilian [c.35-c.100] sees metaphor as a change of meaning of a word, saying “words are proper when they bear their original meaning; metaphorical, when they are used in a sense different from their natural meaning” [Institutio Oratoria. Book I. V. 71].

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, metaphor was criticized by some philosophers because it was regarded as something preventing people from pursuing truth with its nature of saying one thing but implying something else. The literal language was favored during the process of philosophical discussion instead of figurative language.

Thomas Hobbes [1588-1679] in his *Leviathan* regards the use of metaphor as one of four abuses of speech, claiming that “when they use words metaphorically; that is in other sense than that they are ordained for; and thereby deceive others” [Leviathan 1998: 21]. Besides, he declares that metaphor is one of seven causes of absurdity when he discusses reason and science, indicating

that the use of metaphor and other rhetorical figures is not to be admitted in reckoning and seeking truth [Leviathan 1998: 31]. By talking about absurdity, he means senseless speech or words without meaning. By emphasizing that “metaphors, and senseless and ambiguous words, are like *ignes fatui*, and reasoning upon them, is wandering amongst innumerable absurdities; and their end, contention, and sedition, or contempt [indifference]” [Leviathan 1998: 32], he devaluates the use of metaphor in reasoning. However, it is confusing and paradoxical to see that criticizing the use of metaphor, Thomas Hobbes uses metaphorical expressions like “the light of human minds”, “reasoning... is wandering”. Even the title of his book *Leviathan* is a metaphor. This probably reflects the pervasiveness of metaphor in language and the unavoidability of metaphor use in thinking and reasoning. And even Hobbes himself cannot escape from using metaphor when he criticizes it.

Giambattista Vico [1688-1744] does not devalue metaphor, on the contrary, he postulates that all the tropes, of which metaphor is “the most luminous, and therefore the most frequent”, are “corollaries of poetic logic” [Vico 1948: 404]. He then argues that metaphor gives sense and passion to insensate things and believes that “all the metaphors conveyed by likenesses taken from bodies to signify the operations of abstract minds must date from times when philosophies were taking shape”, because “in every language the terms needed for the refined arts and recondite sciences are of rustic origin” [Vico 1948:404]. He states that in all languages “the greater part of the expressions relating to inanimate things is formed by metaphor from the human body and its parts and from the human sense and passions” [Vico 1948: 405] with a list of such bodily metaphors, such as “head” for top or beginning, “mouth” for any opening etc, and adds that “when man understands he extends his mind and takes in the things, but when he does not understand he makes the things out of himself and becomes them by transforming himself into them” [Vico 1948: 405].

It can be noted that before the twentieth century metaphor is mainly discussed by philosophers and rhetoricians either as a figure of speech to embellish what is being said or as a creative activity of language which may lead to misunderstanding and ambiguity and even block the understanding of truth.

1.3.2 The Linguistic and Cognitive Views of Metaphor

In the middle of the twentieth century, linguists and philosophers began to rethink metaphor.

Beardsley [1962: 294] holds a verbal-opposition theory that claims metaphor involves a verbal opposition, which means that there is a “verbal play involving two levels of meaning” in the linguistic expressions. Black [1962] holds a similar theory. He works out an interaction theory, which means there is an interaction between two semantic contents of the expressions used metaphorically. The interaction theory argues that mental and semantic processes are both involved in producing and understanding metaphorical utterances.

Cohen in his article *The Semantics of Metaphor* advocates a semantic approach. He holds that “the fundamental problem about metaphor is a problem for our theory of langue, not for our theory of parole” [Cohen 1993: 58]. Cohen states that metaphor can be studied within a theory of semantics. He thinks that metaphoricalness is a property of sentences.

Davidson [1978] asserts that there is no change of meaning in metaphoric expressions, which denies the claim of the semantic interaction theory. Davidson says that there is a special exercise of the hearer’s interpretive activity in the process of metaphorical understanding. Therefore, there exists a problematic space between what the sentence means and how the hearer or reader interprets it. In the process of understanding, the reader will consider new possibilities for a relationship between objects of the world. “A metaphor makes us attend to some likeness, often a novel or surprising likeness between two or more things”

[Davidson 1978: 33]. Therefore, when construing a metaphor we have to use our knowledge of the world. Metaphor makes us think of objects through the prism of new perspectives.

Searle sees metaphor from a pragmatic perspective. In his article *Metaphor* [1979], Searle argues that semantic theories are inadequate because he holds that there is no change of meaning in a metaphorical utterance, only the speaker means something different by using metaphor. For Searle, understanding metaphor is part of the more general question of how a speaker can say one thing and intends to communicate something else. He argues that metaphor is like some other nonliteral uses of language, such as irony and indirect speech act.

Searle holds that to understand the metaphorical meaning of a word, an expression, or a sentence is to know the speaker's intention rather than the actual meaning of this word, this expression, or this sentence. Searle regards the speaker's intentional meaning as the speaker's utterance meaning, while the literal meaning as the sentence (or word) meaning. Searle tries to construe metaphor in terms of the speaker's utterance meaning rather than the sentence meaning.

Searle thinks that the relation between the metaphorical utterance meaning and the sentence meaning is systematic rather than random. He holds that "in order that the speaker can communicate using metaphorical utterances, ironical utterances, and indirect speech acts, there must be some principles according to which he is able to mean more than, or something different from, what he says, whereby the hearer, using his knowledge of them, can understand what the speaker means" [Searle 1993: 84]. Therefore, the task of constructing a theory of metaphor is to try to state the principles which relate the literal sentence meaning to the metaphorical utterance meaning.

Searle in his article attempts to work out three features of the literal utterance which are essential to the comparison of the literal utterance with the metaphorical utterance. "First, in literal utterance the speaker means what he

says; that is, literal sentence meaning and speaker's utterance meaning are the same; second, in general the literal meaning of a sentence only determines a set of truth conditions relative to a set of background assumptions which are not part of the semantic content of the sentence; and third, the notion of similarity plays an essential role in any account of literal predication" [Searle 1993: 87].

He then, with the simplest subject-predicate case, elaborates that the general form of the metaphor is that the speaker utters a sentence of the form "S is P", while actually meaning metaphorically that S is R. Therefore, the problem of metaphor is to try and characterize the relations between the three sets, S, P, and R, and specify other information and principles used by the speaker and the hearer [Searle 1993]. Therefore, a theory of metaphor should try to explain how it is possible to utter "S is P", while meaning "S is R".

As far as Searle's account of metaphor is concerned, Morgan [1993] in his article *Observations on the Pragmatics of Metaphor* argues that Searle's account is too vague because it does not make a clear distinction between metaphors, malapropisms, irony, and a host of other indirect speech acts. Gibbs [1993] also rejects Searle's pragmatic account, which is based on a sharp distinction between literal and metaphorical uses of language.

From the discussion above, it can be inferred that the semantic account of metaphor locates metaphor primarily at the level of word meaning, while the pragmatic account moves up and locates metaphor at the level of the use of metaphor by the speaker.

Different from these semantic and pragmatic approaches, cognitive linguistics sheds a new light on metaphor, which strongly influences the following metaphor research.

It can be seen that the middle of the twentieth century witnessed the shift to intensive linguistic research of metaphor. Linguists began to rethink metaphor from various aspects. An array of theories and approaches regarding metaphor emerged at this period. One of the prominent approaches is the cognitive one.

The idea that metaphor is a matter of thought germinates in Richards's book *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1936), develops in Black's article *Metaphor* (1955), and blossoms in Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980).

The first scholar to hold that metaphor is a matter of thought may be Ivor Armstrong Richards, who argues that "fundamentally it [metaphor] is a borrowing between and intercourse of thoughts, a transaction between contexts. Thought is metaphoric, and proceeds by comparison, and the metaphors of language derive therefrom"[Richards 1965: 94]. He claims that metaphor is the omnipresent principle of language, which is common in ordinary discourse, even in the rigid language of sciences. In other subjects, such as aesthetics, politics, sociology, ethics, and psychology, it is also difficult to avoid using metaphor. Even in philosophy, "as it grows more abstract we think increasingly by means of metaphors that we profess not to be relying on, The metaphors we are avoiding steer our thought as much as those we accept" [Richards 1965: 92].

Richards proposes two technical terms for discussing metaphor which are "the tenor" and "the vehicle" of metaphor. Tenor and vehicle are two members of a metaphor. Tenor is usually the underlying idea of what the vehicle means. His theory of metaphor emphasizes that there are two thoughts of different things acting together when metaphor is used, and there are conceptual incompatibility between the tenor and the vehicle in a metaphor.

He argues that as two things belonging to very different orders of experience put together are remote, i.e. highly unrelated, the tension created is greater [Richards 1965: 125]. He states that the interactions of the tenor and the vehicle are not definitely to be confined to their resemblances since one of important capability of mind is to connect any two things in an indefinitely larger number of different ways. "The mind will always try to find connections and will be guided in its search by the rest of the utterance and its occasion" [Richards 1965: 126].

The next contributor to the cognitive view of metaphor is Max Black. Max Black in his article *Metaphor* classifies two types of semantic approaches, which are “substitution view of metaphor” and “comparison view of metaphor.”

The substitution view of metaphor holds that “a metaphorical expression is used in place of some equivalent literal expression” [Black 1955: 279]. This is to suggest that metaphorical expression is a substitute for some other literal expression which has the same meaning. The reason for the use of metaphor may be the fact that there is no literal equivalent expression available or simply it is there for stylistic purposes. He regards that Richard Whately’s view belongs to this category since Whately defines a metaphor as “a word substituted for another on account of the Resemblance or Analogy between their significations” [Whately 2009: 280].

The comparison view of metaphor holds that “a metaphor consists in the presentation of the underlying analogy or similarity” [Black 1955:283]. According to Black, the comparison view contends that a metaphorical expression has a meaning which transforms its normal meaning, which means, there exists a semantic change in a metaphorical expression. From this perspective, the comparison view treats metaphor as a condensed or elliptical simile, and the metaphorical expression may be replaced by an equivalent literal comparison.

After proposing and discussing this classification, Black presents his own approach –“interaction view of metaphor”. He argues that “when we use a metaphor we have two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word or phrase, whose meaning is a resultant of their interaction”[Black 1962: 38]. The two thoughts are produced when there is a difference between the “focus” and the “frame” of the metaphor. The focus of a metaphor refers to the word that is used metaphorically, and the frame of a metaphor refers to the rest words that are not used metaphorically.

Later in his article *More about Metaphor* [1979], Black restates that each metaphorical statement includes a primary subject and a secondary subject. The primary subject, which usually has a literal meaning, is seen through the properties of the secondary concept, which is usually the metaphorical expression [Black 1979: 27-28]. The metaphorical expression works through a process of projecting upon the primary subject a set of associated implications, which are comprised in the implicative complex, that are predicable of the secondary subject. During this process, semantic features from the secondary subject are implicitly transferred onto the primary subject, making a semantic shift of concepts in the primary subject. In this way, the metaphorical statement “selects, emphasizes, suppresses, and organizes features of the primary subject” [Black 1979: 28].

Black gives an example “marriage is a zero-sum game” to explain his approach. For this metaphor, the primary system includes the concept of marriage which interacts with the secondary system of game-related concepts. The concept of marriage goes through a meaning shift, since some game-like properties from game-related concepts, for example, a game is a contest between two opponents, are implicitly attributed to the marriage concept. In this process, the implicative complex might be 1) a game is a contest; 2) a game is between two opponents; 3) a game is an activity in which one player can win only at the expense of the other.

It is important to note that Black views metaphor in terms of the exchange of two concepts. In the article *More about Metaphor*, he says that conceptual boundaries involved in a metaphorical thought are not being rigid, but elastic and permeable. At the same time, he explains that “the available literal resources of the language being insufficient to express our sense of the rich correspondences, interrelations and analogies of domains conventionally separated; and because metaphorical thought and utterance sometimes embody insight expressible in no other fashion” [Black 1979: 33].

The argument that metaphor is a matter of thought was mentioned by Richards and Black, but it was developed and applied systematically by Lakoff and Johnson. In the 1980s, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson introduced the notion of “conceptual metaphor” by stating that “most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature” [Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 4].

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory proposed by them defines metaphor as understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another. Lakoff and Johnson elaborate their idea with the example of the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. The linguistic expressions like “Your claims are *indefensible*”, “He *attacked every weak point* in my argument”, and “He *shot down* all of my arguments” reveal that the concept of argument in daily talks is understood in terms of the concept of war. The person in argument is perceived as an opponent and the goal of argument is to win. During argument, plans or strategies may be used, and each tries to attack the opponent and defend himself.

In applying the Conceptual Metaphor Theory in metaphor research, first of all, it is essential to make clear the difference between the two terms **conceptual metaphor** and **metaphorical linguistic expression (linguistic metaphor)**. A conceptual metaphor is what Lakoff and Johnson call as “metaphorical concept”, in which two conceptual domains are involved and one conceptual domain is understood in terms of another, such as ARGUMENT IS WAR. The conceptual domain is “any coherent organization of experience” [Kövecses 2010: 4]. The metaphorical linguistic expressions, or linguistic metaphors, are linguistic expressions which manifest the corresponding conceptual metaphor. For example, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR is manifested by the metaphorical linguistic expressions “Your claims are *indefensible*”, “I *demolished* his argument”, “He *shot down* all of my arguments”, etc. Conceptual metaphor is based on related metaphorical linguistic expressions.

The next two terms are **source domain** and **target domain**. The source domain in a conceptual metaphor is the conceptual domain from which

metaphorical expressions are drawn to understand another conceptual domain which is the target domain. For example, in the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, *building* is the source domain which is used to understand the target domain *theories*. In this conceptual metaphor, the knowledge of building is applied to understand the concept theory. Since the concept of theory is much more abstract and not easy to understand, building as a concrete object makes the concept of building vivid and easy to understand. Building has a foundation and a framework. Building can be constructed, can stand or fall. Although theories are abstract concepts and we can not see them, we can understand them in terms of building.

We understand the target domain in terms of the source domain. However, what exactly happens in the metaphorical process? What else can we call the relationship between the source domain and the target domain rather than “to understand”? In fact, “there is a set of systematic correspondences between the source and the target in the sense that the constituent conceptual elements of B correspond to constituent elements of A” [Kövecses 2010: 7].

The systematic correspondences are also called as **mappings**. Therefore, when we say that the target domain is understood in terms of the source domain, specifically speaking, it is elements of the source domain that **are mapped onto** elements of the target domain.

Let’s take the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS as an example again. When we say “We need *to construct a strong* argument for that topic”, the linguistic expression “to construct a strong argument” means “to construct a building”. Here, the subject *we* refers to builders. The sentence gives us three constituent elements of a building, including the builder, the process of building, and the quality of building. These three elements are mapped onto the concept *theories*. We build theories like we construct buildings, and the theories have to be as stable and strong as buildings. The three constituent elements of the source domain and those of the target domain correspond to each other.

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory is based on three main principles:

- Metaphor structures thought and knowledge;
- Metaphor is prevalent in abstract language and is largely grounded in human physical experience;
- Metaphor hides and highlights aspects of the target domain.

The first principle is the central idea of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. To understand how conceptual metaphor structures knowledge about the world, the first step to be taken is to differentiate between specialized knowledge and common knowledge. Specialized knowledge is a knowledge in a certain specific field, such as science, and common knowledge is a knowledge based on experiences shared by everyone.

We can use the example LIFE IS A JOURNEY to elaborate how conceptual metaphor structures common knowledge. The two concepts “life” and “journey” are shared by all human beings. The knowledge of “life” is understood in terms of the knowledge of “journey”. The two are closely connected with each other.

Regarding how a conceptual metaphor structures specialized knowledge, we can use the metaphor “billiard ball” in the study of international relations. Politics is an abstract sphere, which includes abundant complicated notions to understand. The metaphor “billiard ball” helps students of international relations think of the world metaphorically as a billiard table and states as balls. In the billiard ball theory, states as balls touch each other and only those that are heavier and faster can push others out of the way. This metaphor was first advanced by Thomas Hobbes in his book *Leviathan*.

The second principle is that conceptual metaphor is prevalent in abstract language and is on a large scale related to human experience. Reddy [1993] in his study of conduit metaphor holds that English language conceptualizes communication with metaphor originated from physical transference. The notion

of communication is abstract and cannot be understood or expressed literally to the full extent. It is impossible to talk about it without metaphor.

The linguistic expressions such as “to get one’s thoughts across”, “to extract ideas from words”, and “give someone an idea” seem to suggest that communication is a kind of physical transfer. The conduit metaphor reflects the ways of thinking about communication of a English-speaking person is inherently metaphorical.

Another example shows how a metaphor helps to talk about the emotion of happiness [Kövecses 1991]. Studying metaphors and metonymies associated with happiness, Kövecses finds that our talking of happiness is mainly related to the light metaphor and up metaphor. For example, the conceptual metaphor HAPPINESS IS LIGHT is manifested by the linguistic expressions “When she heard the news, she *lit up*,” “Nothing to worry about, *brighten up*,” “He *radiates* joy,” “Her face *was bright with* happiness,” etc. And the linguistic expressions such as “We had to cheer him *up*,” “They were in *high* spirits” reveal the metaphor HAPPY IS UP.

Most conceptual metaphor scholars hold the idea that many central conceptual metaphors are grounded in our physical experience. Lakoff and Johnson [1980] give the example of the spatial concept UP which arises directly out of our spatial experiences. The conceptual metaphors MORE IS UP and LESS IS DOWN in such linguistic expressions as “The number of errors he made is incredibly *low*”, “His income *fell* last year” and “If you’re too hot, turn the heat *down*” is grounded in physical experience. The physical basis is if we add more to a container or a pile, the level goes up.

The metaphor HAPPY IS UP shows systematic correlations between our emotions and our sensory-motor experiences. In fact, Lakoff and Johnson later in their book *Philosophy in the Flesh* [1999] propose that the mind is inherently embodied. The idea is supported with a systematic use of embodiment metaphor in language. The concept “embodied mind” is explained as follows:

“Reason is not disembodied, as the tradition has largely held, but arises from the nature of our brains, bodies, and bodily experience. This is not just the innocuous and obvious claim that we need a body to reason; rather, it is the striking claim that the very structure of reason itself comes from the details of our embodiment. The same neural and cognitive mechanisms that allow us to perceive and move around also create our conceptual systems and modes of reason. Thus, to understand reason we must understand the details of our visual system, our motor system, and the general mechanisms of neural binding. In summary, reason is not, in any way, a transcendent feature of the universe or of disembodied mind. Instead, it is shaped crucially by the peculiarities of our human bodies, by the remarkable details of the neural structure of our brains, and the specifics of our everyday functioning in the world.” [Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 4]

Sweetser [1990] argues that the conceptual metaphor UNDERSTANDING IS SEIZING is systematic and widespread across different languages. The linguistic expressions such as “to grasp an idea” and “to get a handle on something” demonstrate that the concept of understanding is related to the concrete physical experience of holding an object. Sweetser also concludes that unrelated languages sharing similar metaphors prove a fundamental connection between the two domains. Another target domain which is related to bodily sensations is emotion.

Gibbs [1994] analyzes the linguistic metaphors used to talk about anger, and finds that anger is grounded on the reasoning that our human body is perceived as a container. The conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER demonstrates that when we become angry, our body will experience internal heat and pressure in a container. The linguistic expressions “she got all steamed up” and “I was fuming” clearly shows the relationship between our emotion change and body change.

Studies in other languages indicate that metaphors of emotion are grounded in physical sensation. Yu [1995] in his study of the metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness in Chinese finds that “metaphors of anger and happiness are primarily based on common bodily experience, with surface differences across languages explainable from cultural perspectives ” [Yu 1995: 59].

According to this study, English and Chinese share the same central conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT, however, in specific use, English mainly uses fire and fluid metaphor while Chinese tends to use fire and gas metaphor to describe anger. Besides, unlike English, Chinese prefers to use more body parts, especially internal organs, in its metaphors of emotional states. Such a difference may be due to the Chinese yin-yang theory of and Chinese traditional medicine.

Emanatian [1995] studies Chagga, a language spoken in Tanzania and finds linguistic expressions of the conceptual metaphor LUST IS FIRE. Such findings to some extent prove the validity of the theory of “embodied mind” and indicate the correlation between our language use and our experience.

It is noteworthy that some metaphors related to direct experiences in everyday life are likely to be common across different languages while there are also some metaphors which are related to cultural experiences. By studying the culturally-grounded metaphors, cultural traits of a certain nation can be revealed.

The third principle is that metaphor highlights some aspects and hides other aspects of the target domain. This characteristic is due to the fact that mappings or the correspondences between the source domain and the target domain are not entire but partial. For example, when we use the source domain *building* to understand the target domain *theory*, we usually mention the foundation and the outer structure of a building. The other elements of a building like the staircases, the windows, or the balconies are not used as parts of the concept “theory”.

Partial mapping results in metaphor tending to hide some aspects of the target domain while highlighting some other aspects. Partial mapping is an essential characteristic of conceptual metaphor. For example, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR highlights the battling aspects of an argument while hiding other aspects, like cooperative aspects of arguing. Therefore, it is vital to keep in mind that “in allowing us to focus on one aspect of a concept, a

metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor” [Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 10].

The highlighting-and-hiding characteristic of conceptual metaphor reflects the speaker’s partial understanding of the target domain. Therefore, to see the whole picture of how the speaker understands the target concept requires that researchers should find as many metaphors that are used to talk of the target concept as possible.

On the other hand, such a characteristic also may provoke oversimplification of certain concepts. Therefore, for example, politicians prefer some metaphors to influence the audience’s thinking and judgement over others.

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory exerts a great influence on metaphor study in all kinds of discourses.

Studying metaphor in media discourse has an array of foci. Analyzing metaphors representing migration in the discourse of Russian mass media, Vesnina [2010] finds out that the most productive metaphorical models come from the source domains *economy* and *war*. Discussing metaphorical manifestations in British newspapers of the problem of migration in Europe, Novikova [2016] finds out that such conceptual spheres as “elements”, “war and warfare”, “burden”, and “control” serve to generate sustained metaphors describing problems related to migration. Her study suggests that the negative evaluation given by these metaphors provokes a negative attitude to migration and may form certain stereotypes in readers. Researching metaphors representing the Greek crisis, Borodulina and Makeyeva [2016] argue that the Greek crisis has brought about an increase in creative metaphors.

Metaphor study is also favored in business discourse. Daninushina [2011] analyzes metaphor in business discourses, seeking to prove the hypothesis that metaphor plays a role of constructing social reality and creating public opinion. The study reveals that metaphors are used to manipulate the mass public opinion through creating a specific image of major businessmen and top managers.

Metaphor study in academic discourse undertaken by Leontyeva [2016] explores the researcher's key metaphor as a marker of his or her scientific reflection in the scientific research, showing that intuitive language activity is an important factor in mental and language framing.

Burmistrova [2005] analyzes conceptual metaphors in academic texts, showing that the difference of metaphor use in academic discourse is influenced by not only the degree of its stylistic marking but also the structure of the text.

Budaev and Chudinov [2017] analyze a number of papers and books with the titles similar to Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* and indicate five transformations of the title, including the transformation of the pronoun, the modification of grammatical features, such as substituting the verb "to live by" with a verb with a different meaning, the modification of the noun "metaphors", the modification of the preposition "by", and the inclusion of various components into the structure of the title. It shows that "intertextual transformations of *Metaphors We Live By* in the titles allow researchers to both reflect their adherence to the cognitive methodology and indicate a new area of application of cognitive heuristics" [Budaev & Chudinov 2017: 60].

The cognitive approach to metaphor is also adopted in literature studies. Metaphor in literature works as a cognitive instrument that has the power to structure a concept, the power of making options, the power of reasoning, the power of making evaluation, and the power of just being there [Lakoff & Turner 1989: 65].

Zadornova and Matveeva [2017] analyze conceptual metaphors in the works of the English poetry in the 16th-20th centuries and American poetry in the 19th-20th centuries in diachrony to trace the correlation of the traditional and the individual conceptual metaphors in various expressions related to the concepts of "life", "death", and "love". The research works out a set of conceptual metaphors in English poetry, putting the study of poetic text at a categorical level. Other insightful metaphor studies in poetry by these researchers include

the works of Zadornova [2004], Zadornova & Matveeva [2007], Zadornova & Gorokhova [2017] and Matveeva [2010].

Liu [2015] makes a comparison of metaphors from the source domain *nature* and *love* in English and Chinese literature and works out similarities and differences of national mentality.

Kondratyeva [2011] probes the concept “sin” in the old Russian texts in diachrony and works out the basic metaphors representing the concept, establishing their emotion-estimation potential.

In economic discourse, metaphor studies are done in great numbers. For instance, Klimenova [2010], Borodulina [2014], Borodulina and Makeeva [2014], Borodulina, Khlavenkova, Gulyaev, and Makeeva [2015], and Gaidarenko [2014].

Borodulina and Makeeva [2014] analyze metaphor use in economic discourse in the light of a interdiscursive approach in Russian and French economic press. The research finds that authors of economic texts resort to metaphors to convey ideas in a more accessible and attractive way based on a knowledge that is stored in the collective memory of society and that “the choice of metaphor in mental representations is cognitively conditioned, natural and systemic” [Borodulina & Makeeva 2014: 372].

The productive outcomes of the metaphor study in these types of discourse prove that metaphor analysis serves to be an effective way to understand how certain concepts and meanings are constructed through metaphors in a specific type of discourse, how metaphors function as pragmatic tools to influence the audience, and how metaphors reflect historical evolution of certain concepts over time.

Corpus Linguistics also conducts many metaphor studies. Gvishiani [2018] argues that a computer-corpus analysis is a valuable complement to conceptual metaphor study as it enables the researcher to reveal “the functional-contextual characteristics of conceptual metaphor as well as the elements of the semantic

frame which can be regarded as “markers” of metaphorisation” [Gvishiani 2018: 5].

Deignan [2005] introduces a detailed bottom-up corpus-based approach to metaphor analysis, emphasizing concordancing recurring patterns of linguistic metaphor. The concordance-based analysis of metaphor refers to the way researchers run concordances for particular items in corpora and then analyze the occurrences found.

An uneasy thing in doing metaphor research in large corpora is how to identify them. Although there appears a number of metaphor retrieval computer programs, such as WordSmith Tools Keywords [Scott 2004], they have but a slight influence on the field due to their unavailability and low performance.

Researchers still seek out specific criteria for metaphor identification. MIP [PRAGGLEJAZ Group 2007] and its more recent version MIPVU [Steen, Dorst, Herrmann et al. 2010] attempt to typify each step for coding metaphors at the word level. The elaboration of the metaphor identification procedure and identifying tools makes metaphor study part of Corpus Linguistics.

However, it must be admitted that tracing metaphor in a text, let alone discourses, is a challenging task. Machine is yet to learn how to pick metaphors unmistakingly. Our research has shown that metaphor is best to be hand-picked, when researchers scrupulously work through the text in search of metaphor per se. And only after encompassing all potential metaphors, they start to study their pragmatic potential. Although the process of metaphor-picking is time-consuming, it is goal-oriented. The goal you set to yourself can be reached only if you can embrace an array of micro- and macrocontexts of trite and occasional metaphors in a discourse or a text. Contextualizing a metaphor can enable the researcher to figure out its meaning and performance. This work is uneasy but it is rewarding, and this thesis proves that.

1.3.3 Metaphor Studies in Political Discourse

As Edelman [1964, 1971, 1977, 1988] repeatedly advocates in his several works, the politician's ability to use metaphor and symbols that awaken latent tendencies among the masses is at the core of political communication. Metaphor research in political discourse has been influenced by the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The notion of defining metaphor as understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another has changed the way scholars research on metaphor. The conceptual metaphor theory has been widely used as an effective analytic device to study metaphor in other areas of social science, the political domain being no exception.

From the cognitive point of view, metaphor "plays a central role in the construction of social and political reality" [Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 159]. Semino [2008: 90] echoes this idea by saying that "it is often claimed that the use of metaphor is particularly necessary in politics, since politics is an abstract and complex domain of experience, and metaphors can provide ways of simplifying complexities and making abstractions accessible".

Metaphor in political discourse ranges from the unnoticed conventional metaphors to some creative new metaphors which are used to persuade the audience and frame the political issues. Since "metaphor can provide a conceptual structure for a systematized ideology that is expressed in many texts and much talk" [Chilton & Schaffner 2002: 29], the study of conceptual metaphor in the speaker's language can reveal his or her thinking patterns.

With the application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Lakoff has focused on identifying and describing conceptual metaphors underlying American politics in order to uncover the conceptual patterns and understanding of politics in his book *Moral Politics* [1996]. He works out two opposing cognitive models based on two different family models which he claims underline American right-wing and left-wing politics. One is described as the Strict Father Model, and is associated with the right-wing worldview, and the other model is the Nurturant Parent Model, as left-wing worldview.

Musolff [1996, 2000, 2004] has attempted to refine the cognitive theory of metaphor in order to show its relevance in the construction and understanding of political discourse. Musolff has mainly focused on European research, on how people conceive and speak about Europe.

One of the most comprehensive frameworks of analyzing metaphor in political discourse is proposed by Jonathan Charteris-Black. In his book *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis* [2004], he proposes a corpus-based methodology called “critical metaphor analysis”, which integrates cognitive linguistics, pragmatic approaches to metaphor, critical discourse analysis, and corpus linguistic approaches.

Charteris-Black’s methodology is based on his consideration of linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive characteristics of metaphor. He holds that “metaphor has a number of different roles in language: a semantic role in creating new meanings for words, a cognitive role in developing our understanding on the basis of analogy and a pragmatic role that aims to provide evaluations” [Charteris-Black 2004: 23-24]. Therefore, metaphor can only be explained with the consideration of the independence of its three dimensions – semantic, pragmatic and cognitive.

Charteris-Black’s approach encompasses three stages: metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation and metaphor explanation. In the identification stage, metaphors can be extracted by close reading of a corpus of thematically related texts and considering the possible relation between a literal source domain and a metaphoric target domain. Then, in the second stage we establish a relationship between a metaphor and pragmatic and cognitive factors that determine it. At the same time a conceptual metaphor is identified. The last stage involves an explanation of the way the metaphors are interrelated in the text or texts, and a consideration of the discourse functions realized by the metaphors. This can account for the politician’s rhetorical and ideological motivations.

By applying this methodology, Charteris-Black [2011] analyzes speeches by major British and American politicians and provides a detailed procedure of analysis.

It is noteworthy that among the Americans studied in the book, Ronald Reagan and Barack Obama used metaphor most frequently. Charteris-Black claims that Reagan sought to arouse empathy in his audience, therefore, he usually used metaphor creatively. For example, in his second inaugural speech, Reagan used metaphors associated with music and sound: “It is the American sound. It is hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent, and fair. That’s our heritage; that is our song. We sing it still. For all our problems, our differences, we are together as of old, as we raise our voices to the God who is the Author of this most tender music” (from the Second Inaugural Speech, 21 January 1985, Washington, DC). By using the source domain *music* Reagan portrays America as a singer and hence creates a conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A SINGER. This kind of thinking is most probably related to his career as an actor before he was an American president.

Following Charteris-Black, Goatly speaks in favor of ‘cross-fertilizing’ the two traditions (critical discourse analysis and conceptual metaphor theory) by emphasizing that the critical metaphor analysis model “demonstrates the importance of metaphorical patterns in the vocabulary and grammar of English for representing and shaping ideologies and social practices” [Goatly 2007: 2].

There are also researchers who are suspicious of the critical metaphor analysis approach. Hart [2008: 4] argues that there exists compatibility problems between Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis from the prospective of problem of focus, problem of motivation and problem of relation. He notes that the conceptual metaphor is mainly concerned with cross-domain mappings in thought and language, but the critical discourse analysis is mainly concerned with discourse on topics which explicitly fall within the social and political realm.

Stenvoll [2008: 37] points out that there is a difference between the research of metaphor in conceptual metaphor theory and that in critical discourse analysis. He writes, “conceptual metaphor theory and critical discourse analysis treat metaphor very differently <...>. In the political theatre of Lakoff and Johnson, metaphors are given lead roles and are crucial in making the performance meaningful and enjoyable to the audience. In the political circus of critical discourse analysis, however, metaphors are linguistic requisites used by the discursive acrobats and the circus director to entertain and spellbind the audience [Stenvoll 2008: 37]”.

Christ'l De Landtsheer [1994] introduces a metaphor power method that can be used to make a quantitative metaphor content analysis in various forms of political discourse. The approach holds that the metaphor power index can be calculated by multiplying the scores on three metaphorical variables, metaphor frequency, metaphor intensity, and metaphor content. These three variables produce “metaphorical coefficient” of a text.

Examining political metaphors in newspaper discourse, she demonstrates that metaphor works as a meter-reader of anxiety in masses at the time of an economic recession with high unemployment rates. She argues that politicians tend to use more persuasive metaphorical language when unemployment rates rise [De Landtsheer 1994: 63].

The political-semantic approach to metaphor is based on the assumption that metaphors from various source domains can direct thinking and perception, and frame political reality [De Landtsheer 2009, 2015].

The study of political metaphor in Russian has been undertaken by different scientific schools. Among them, Ural School of political metaphor studies is based on *the theory of metaphorical modeling*. Chudinov [2001] in his monograph states that metaphorical model is ingrained in mind between two conceptual domains “the original conceptual realm” and “the new conceptual realm”, through the formula “X is Y”, such as POLITICS IS SPORTS.

During the process of conceptual modelling, the system of frames and slots of a source domain is mapped into a target domain. The term “frame” refers to the structure that represents a stereotyped situation and an essential and typical knowledge about a certain concept. Frames are formed by slots. For example, when we understand the metaphorical model POLITICAL REALITY IS PERSONAL ORGANISM in Russian politics [Chudinov 2001: 59], the possible frames of the source domain include the frame “body (organism of person)”, “physiological organs”, and the frame “parts of body”, “physiological actions”, and “organs of psyche”. In the frame “physiological organs”, there are slots such as the slot “the brain and its metonymic substitutes (head, skull as a “receptacle” of the brain)”, the slot “perceptual organs (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and also teeth)”, the slot “the face and its ‘components’ (cheeks, eyebrows, chin, etc.)”, the slot “language, voice”, “heart”, “muscles, fist, teeth”, “arms”, “legs”, “spinal column, ridge”, the slot “respiratory system (lungs, etc.), liver, blood, and organs of digestion: stomach and its metonymic abdomen replacement (belly)”.

Chudinov [2012] proclaims and outlines several principles of the Ural School of political metaphor studies. These principles are the importance of cognitive approach that overcomes the limitation of linguistic approach, the importance of discursive perspective in metaphor studies, the importance of anthropological approach, the explanatory approach to metaphor, the expansionism, meaning making metaphor research broad and multidisciplinary, focus on the speaker’s intentions and pragmatic characteristics in political and social life, equal treatment of ‘fresh’ and ‘dead’ metaphors, and recognizing the inextricable link between language activities and cognition, person and his or her language.

The historical evolution of political metaphors (the historical metaphorology) has been studied extensively. Baranov and Karaulov [1991, 1994] analyze political metaphor during Soviet times and find that in Stalin’s

time war metaphor and mechanism metaphor prevailed, during Brezhnev's era metaphors of kinship came forward and during the perestroika period construction metaphor was frequently used.

Chudakova [2005] discusses the change of the use of the source domain *inanimate nature* in Russian media texts and demonstrates that its use relates to the changes in the economic, political and cultural life of the country. In the 1970s, the source domain *inanimate nature* was used to reflect a clear gradation of images based on the principle "we-they". In the early 1990s, nature metaphors were used negatively. While in the early 21st century, nature metaphors have increased and were used positively. Chudakova [2005] claims an increase of nature metaphors in positive use in the early 21st century was due to the increased attention to the traditional fundamental values of the Russian people.

Bykova [2011, 2014, 2014] carries out a quantitative analysis of the metaphorical image of the Soviet in the Soviet and U.S. media political discourse in Stalin's time from 1930 to 1954. The author applies the method of focus fragmentation introduced by Budaev [2011]. Bykova analyzes metaphors in Soviet discourse in three periods: pre-war, wartime, and post war periods. She finds that pre-war period was dominated by such source domains as the world of things and the world of animate/inanimate nature, wartime was dominated by the source domain the world of man characterized by conceptual vectors of courage and valor, while in post-war time military metaphors became prevalent.

Kondratieva [2011, 2012, 2014] describes the major linguistic and extralinguistic factors influencing the emergence and evolution of metaphoric models in political discourse and claims that metaphoric models are related to cultural peculiarities and type of discourse. Her analysis of political metaphors in the old Russian texts reveals that in order to attack his opponent Ivan the Terrible, Prince Andrei Kurbsky used three groups of metaphors with a strong negative potential: "POLITICAL OPPONENT IS AN ANIMAL", "POLITICAL

OPPONENT IS THE LIMB OF DEVIL”, and “POLITICAL OPPONENT IS A SICK MAN”. For example, when Prince Andrei Kurbsky used disease metaphor to portray his political rival, he tries to portray him as an “unhealthy man” and himself and his allies as the healers or doctors who could determine the symptoms of disease and make a diagnosis and prescribe medications and provide treatment. Comparing political metaphors in old Russian texts and modern political discourse, Kondratieva claims that metaphors in modern political discourse are used to describe the politician’s appearance, manners, decisions, and reforms while in old Russian time metaphors are used to describe the politician’s inner world, soul, heart, mind, and conscience.

Balashova [1988, 2014] describes the evolution of political metaphor from the Old Russian period to modern times and claims that the stable character of metaphorical world picture reflects that the variety of political metaphors has a stable core, dating back to ancient times. The source domains used to understand politics include *human, animals, plants, inanimate nature, war, movement, and disease*. These source domains are used both in ancient times and modern times.

Budaev [2011] introduces the notions of “homogenous” (*равномерная*) and “focus” (*фокусная*) fragmentation to organize research data. These are two ways of selecting research material.

Homogenous fragmentation refers to the way that a certain time is divided in equal parts. Focus fragmentation refers to the selection of materials associated with certain political events instead of in chronological order. Budaev [2011] uses the homogenous fragmentation perspective to analyse disease metaphor in Russian media discourse related to politics in the 21st century. He analyzes and compares the frequency of disease metaphor use in political discourse based on years and seasons. He finds that the frequency of disease metaphor use had been gradually declining from 2000 to 2006, and only a slight increase in 2007. These results are consistent with the fact that the socio-economic situation in Russia is gradually improved.

The metaphorical model MODERN RUSSIA IS A SICK ORGANISM is one of the dominant metaphors at the end of the 20th century, and at the beginning of the new century its use is declined. When the frequency of disease metaphor use in three months is analyzed, it is found that disease metaphor is less used in the summer months. It may be related to the fact that illness is much frequent in cold seasons instead of in warm season. Other metaphor analysis in political discourse includes the focus on its manipulative role [Ches 2015, 2016, 2017; Antonova 2011] and its role as a means of differentiation between British and American political discourses [Levenkova 2011].

1.3.4 Metaphor Clustering as a Salient Feature in Political Discourse

Among many branches of metaphor studies, the topic of the relationship between metaphors drew a certain amount of attention from scholars. For example, Baranov [2014: 43] puts forward the notion of “metaphor constellation” which refers to the totality of metaphoric models that are interrelated in terms of approximation in profiling certain properties of the source sphere and the target sphere. The focus of this notion is mainly on the relationship between metaphors which are similar to each other to some extent.

Unlike the talk of the relationship between metaphors, the phenomenon of the distribution of metaphors in a discourse, or metaphor clustering, is given relatively less attention. However, its obvious existence in different discourse contexts means that it deserves much more attention and effort in exploring its nature and characteristics.

The concept of **metaphor clustering** in this paper concerns **the distribution of metaphors in a discourse and the relationship between metaphors in it**, that is how these metaphors are organized across a discourse and how they are related to each other. The crowding of several metaphors may form a relatively complete cognitive scenario, in which either several images crowd together to form a coherent or incoherent picture, or one image repeats

itself to reinforce its effect. These cognitive scenarios embody the speaker's or the writer's deliberate or subconscious focus in a discourse and are usually closely related to the important topics of the discourse.

One of the earliest studies written about the distribution of figurative language in a discourse comes from the field of psychotherapy. Pollio and Barlow [1975] argue that figurative language bursts in certain periods throughout individual sessions, and the bursts of figurative language tend to demonstrate therapeutic insights. They claim that these findings suggest that there is a correlation between changes in the rate of figurative language production and the nature and purpose of the discourse. Although there is no direct mention of the term "metaphor clustering" in the study, this research is an early glimpse at the phenomenon of the distribution of figurative language in certain discourse context and contributes to the development of the topic.

Jamieson [1980] is likely to have been the first user of the term "metaphoric cluster". He used to study the phenomenon of metaphoric clusters in the rhetoric of Pope Paul VI and Edmund G. Brown Jr., a politician. He believes that it was not the recurrence of a single metaphor which makes their rhetoric significant, but the appearance of clusters of related metaphors.

Jamieson did not provide an exact definition for the term "metaphoric cluster". However, his analysis reveals that he viewed metaphoric clusters not based on the distribution of metaphors in a discourse but based on the relationship between different metaphoric lexicons or between different metaphors. He also utilized terms equivalent to "metaphor cluster", such as "the metaphoric networks" and "clusters of related metaphors" in the paper. Nevertheless, his work is inspiring for subsequent researchers. His claim "recurrent patterns observable in the surface language reflect deeper rhetorical consistencies" [1980: 51] reveals the close relationship between the occurrence of certain linguistic feature and its effect in rhetoric.

More recently, metaphor clustering has been studied in many other discourse contexts, such as college lectures, Baptist sermons, business media discourse, and conciliation conversations, which has revealed some insightful findings. Corts and Meyer [1999], in their study of three college lectures, find that figurative language and gestures frequently occur in bursts. It happens when teachers explain unknown and difficult topics to their students, or when different ways of understanding a familiar topic are presented to students. Besides this, the study finds that “metaphors and gestures both singly and in combination serve two functions: (a) to orient audience members to the structure and flow of the lecture and (b) to present and emphasize novel perspectives on significant lecture content” [Corts & Meyer 1999: 81].

Aside from the college lectures, Corts and Meyer [2002] also study Baptist sermons, which inherently contain many occurrences of figurative language. They find that these clusters contain a central root metaphor that represents the topic under consideration. The clustering of figurative language in Baptist sermons is usually rooted in a certain topic which is relatively important to the purpose of the speech.

Researching metaphor use in business media texts on marketing and mergers and acquisitions, Koller [2003] argues that certain dominant metaphors are qualitatively supported by other metaphors in the metaphor clusters. Metaphor clusters fulfil certain important functions, such as relevance-production in discourse.

Cameron and Stelma [2004] study the conciliation conversations and found that metaphor clusters are “sites of intensive work relating to the central discourse purpose” [2004: 107]. Thus, it can be said that the phenomenon of clustering is closely related to the purpose of the discourse itself.

These studies confirm that the phenomenon of metaphor clustering exists in many different discourses, and that it is highly important to the structure and

purpose of any discourse. However, metaphor cluster in political discourse had been underexplored.

The study of the phenomenon of metaphor clustering requires the clarification of its definition.

Firstly, we locate metaphor clustering wherever groups of metaphorical sentences are found. The term “metaphorical sentence” refers to a sentence that contains one metaphor or more. That is to say, metaphorical sentence is used as the basic unit for studying metaphor clustering in a discourse. The reason why we choose sentence as the basic unit is that, in most cases, sentence contains the relatively intact expression of a meaning or an event. Besides this, the subject of the research – presidential inaugural and acceptance address are inherently a form of written text, in which sentence is the basic unit of the text structure. In the studies of Corts and Pollio [1999] and Corts and Meyers [2002], sentences are also used as the unit of discourse. The shortcoming of making a sentence a unit of discourse is that the lengths of sentences vary, and the variation in sentence length is sometimes purposefully used as a rhetorical device in itself.

Now that we have clarified what is meant by metaphorical sentence, we shall discuss what can be counted as an instance of metaphor clustering.

There are two types of metaphor clustering. The first type refers to the phenomenon that different kinds of metaphors find themselves together in adjacent metaphorical sentences. We assume that the minimum number of metaphors that would be considered a cluster is three. The criterion of three is based on the idea that three makes a group.

Within this cluster, three additional phenomena may occur: the phenomenon that a target domain is metaphorically understood in terms of different source domains; the phenomenon that a source domain is used to understand different target domains; and the phenomenon that different source domains are used to understand different target domains.

The second type refers to the phenomenon that one metaphor is repeated several times in consecutive metaphorical sentences. This phenomenon is similar to the concept of an extended metaphor, which refers to the repeated use of a lone metaphor throughout a chunk of a text or discourse. We are more interested in the distribution of metaphorical sentences and their density in a discourse, therefore we shall also count this phenomenon as metaphor clustering.

Therefore, we can conclude that metaphor clustering is a discursive phenomenon of metaphor use when either several metaphors with different source and target domains are found together within a chunk of text, or when a lone metaphor with the same source and target domain is repeated throughout a series of adjacent sentences.

1.3.5 The Functioning of Metaphor in Political Discourse

From the traditional perspectives, metaphor has been regarded as a purely literary or rhetorical device. With the increasing interest of metaphor study in social sciences, its other functions have been found and explored.

Kharchenko [2016] in her *Functions of Metaphor*, first published in 1992, outlined and elaborated fifteen functions of metaphor. These fifteen functions have been put into six classes, in which each class has its dominant function. These functions are as follows (the dominant functions are in bold):

- (1) **Nominative function**, Informative function, Mnemonic function;
- (2) **Style-forming function**, Text-forming function, Genre-forming function;
- (3) **Emotional-evaluative function**, Ethical function, Autosuggestive function;
- (4) **Heuristic function**, Explanatory function;
- (5) **Encoding function**, Conspiracy function;
- (6) **Gaming/humorous function**, **Ritual-performing function**.

The first class includes three functions: nominative function, informative function, and mnemonic function. Kharchenko argues that metaphor plays an important role in word-creation. The possibility of developing figurative meanings in a word counterbalances the formation of an infinite number of new words [Kharchenko 2016: 11]. Without metaphor, the continuous production of new words would create an incredible burden to human memory. Besides, the existence of metaphor in the system of nominations ensures the balance between the inexplicable or almost inexplicable name and the explicable, transparent and crystal name [Kharchenko 2016: 11].

Informative function refers to the three roles a metaphor plays in the information system: the creation of an integrated and panoramic image; the connection between the unconscious and mental reflection; and the pluralization of understanding a situation. Metaphor tends to appeal to unconscious associations and opens new perspectives to a certain phenomenon.

The mnemonic function is about the way a metaphor helps to memorize information. Metaphor stimulates a better memorization.

In the second class there are style-making function, text-making function, and genre-making function. Metaphor serves to create style, especially of fiction; to create certain genres; and to form text, in the way of how it is motivated, unfolded, explained, and continued. The genre-making function refers to the phenomenon that metaphor is involved in making genres, such as riddles or proverbs. The text-making function refers to its ability to extend in a text.

In the third class, the emotional-evaluative function refers to the fact that metaphor can influence the addressee emotionally. The ethical function implies that metaphor has an ability to influence the addressee ethically, creating an “educative” effect, such as metaphor use in folklore and the Bible. The autosuggestive function of metaphor usually exists in people’s inner speech, diaries, letters, and prayers.

The fourth class includes the heuristic function and the explanatory function. Kharchenko [2016: 29] argues that metaphor as a part of a scientific term serves a heuristic function. Many scientific terms appear in the form of metaphor. Metaphor also plays a special role in assimilating complex scientific information and terms in popular-scientific literature. The two functions relate closely to the fact that metaphor has a potential to clarify complex situations.

The fifth class includes encoding function and conspiracy function. Having a big potential for compressing meanings, metaphor also plays an important role in military operations, exercises, programs, and actions of authorities and agencies [Kharchenko 2016: 64]. The conspiracy function of a metaphor refers to its function to withhold information and to keep its confidentiality.

The last class includes humorous function and ritual-performing function. The humorous function of metaphor refers to the comic effect it produces. The ritual-performing function of a metaphor refers to its use in congratulations, greetings, toasts, and expressions of sympathy.

Kharchenko [2016: 82] argues that these fifteen functions are closely related to each other. The interactions between these functions can be studied in terms of different forms of speech. For example, a metaphor with a high informative value gives rise to its heuristic features. The use of metaphor in a ritual produces an autosuggestive affect. The mnemonic function influences its explanatory potential in educational and popular-scientific literature [Kharchenko 2016: 82].

Kobozeva [2001] also claims that metaphors perform different functions in different types of discourse. In a poetic text metaphors function aesthetically, as an ornament of speech, and as activation, i.e. as a means of enhancing the perception of communication. In an academic text metaphors first serve as an informative heuristic function, which helps to elaborate a new object of research. In a scientific discourse, metaphors perform their argumentative function to preserve and prove the correction of the proposed theses or postulates.

Kobozeva [2001] claims that metaphors have three functions in political discourse, including **heuristic, argumentative, and pragmatic interactive functions**.

The heuristic function refers to the fact that metaphor can be used as a means of understanding the ever-changing political reality and formulating new political programs. The argumentative function means that metaphor can be used to convince the audience that certain political views are correct. Due to its figurativeness and invincibility, metaphor also performs a pragmatic interactive function of smoothing up the most delicate political statements that touch upon controversial political problems, and of minimizing the responsibility of the speaker for the possible literal interpretation of his words by the audience. Finally, metaphor can provide a common platform for the audience to understand complex political issues and to communicate them with each other.

Chudinov first classified metaphor functions in his *Political Linguistics* [2006], and then refined it in his *Essays on Modern Political Metaphorology* [2013].

Chudinov [2006] outlined and discussed four types of metaphor functions – **cognitive, communicative, pragmatic, and aesthetic**. The cognitive function comes from the argument that metaphor is understood as a basic mental activity, a way of understanding and categorizing the world. Chudinov claims that a metaphorical model, a scheme that connects conceptual spheres, helps people understand the complex and abstract political sphere by using simpler and more concrete images in the more familiar sphere [2006: 124]. With the help of metaphor, the corresponding phenomenon falls under a certain category, which allows people to better determine the essence of this phenomenon and express corresponding attitudes to it [Chudinov 2006: 125].

The communication function is based on the fact that language is not only a tool of thinking, but it is also a medium for transmitting information. Metaphor helps to transmit information in a most convenient way for the addressee.

Chudinov outlines two varieties of **communication function: euphemistic and popularizing**.

The euphemistic use of metaphor helps to transmit information in an indirect way. Euphemisms as emotional neutral words or phrases are used instead of those that seem rude, improper, or tactless [Arapova 1998]. The popularizing function of metaphor refers to the fact that metaphor helps to transmit a complex idea in a simple way to the uninformed addressee.

The pragmatic function is also a persuasive or a manipulative function. Chudinov argues that metaphor is a powerful means to transform the addressee's political picture of the world. Metaphor helps politicians persuade people to do certain political activities. It is always used in political discourse to change the addressee's political views and to influence their emotion, will, and attitude.

Aesthetic function is mainly used in fiction, but it also exists in political communication. The vivid form is as important as the coherent content and it helps a politician sound convincing.

Chudinov [2013] refined his classification of metaphor functions by specifying more varieties of cognitive function and pragmatic function. In the cognitive function, he identifies several new varieties of cognitive function, including **nominative-evaluative function, modelling function, instrumental function, and hypothetical function**.

Nominative-evaluative function refers to the fact that metaphor may help to describe a new and temporarily "nameless" reality, such as the perestroika metaphor for Gorbachev's political doctrines, the cold war metaphor for the confrontation between the USSR and the USA in 1946-1989. The modelling function comes from the fact that the use of systematic related metaphors makes it possible to create a model of political reality with the help of systematic concepts that are related to different conceptual fields. And the model already implies an evaluation.

The instrumental function means that metaphor in political discourse not only helps to suggest a solution, but also determines the thinking processing, i.e. it serves as an instrument of thought. The hypothetical function refers to the fact that metaphor in political discourse creates assumptions about the essence of the metaphorically characterized object. For example, the pan-European house metaphor in the post-Soviet period replaced the confrontational iron curtain metaphor. Although the relationships between the former enemies were still unclear, this pan-European metaphor uses a familiar conceptual framework with a strong emotional aura and provides a common platform for the further development of their relationships.

Chudinov [2013] subcategorized the pragmatic function, including **incentive, argumentative, and emotive functions**. The incentive function means that metaphor can be used to urge political activities, such as the invitation to vote or to take part in a demonstration. The argumentative function means that metaphor works to substitute the real arguments with metaphorical images. Metaphorical argumentation is constantly used in political speech as a way to change or influence the addressee's political view. The emotive function refers to the fact that metaphor is often used to influence the emotional and volitional sphere of the addressee and to create an appropriate attitude to the political reality.

On the basis of these classifications, we shall make an outline of metaphor functions in political discourse from the perspectives of **how metaphor relates to cognition, communication, pragmatic use, and discourse**. It should be made clear that this classification is not exhaustive. Metaphor functions are subject to change in a particular context.

The functions of a metaphor on the one hand relate to its specific features of transferring meaning from one domain to another, thus revealing inherent functions, on the other hand, relate to how they are used in certain situations or discourse events. Their functions are largely determined by how people use

them. Therefore, we shall discuss metaphor functions from two aspects, **its inherent functions and its operational functions**. The cognitive function to a large extent relates to the inherent functions, while other functions like communicative, pragmatic, discursive relate to its operational functions. These functions are closely connected. A metaphor may simultaneously fulfill several functions due to its use in a specific discourse event.

The cognitive function can be subdivided into **concept-structuring function, argumentative function, and framing function**.

The concept-structuring function means that metaphor can help to structure the target domain through the source domain. In metaphorical mappings, the concept of the source domain is partly incorporated into the concept of the target domain.

For example, in the conceptual metaphor COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY, the concept of country development is structured with the help of the concept of journey. Country development is an abstract and vague concept for people to understand, including politicians themselves. Journey, instead, is a very common experience shared by almost everyone. In this conceptual metaphor, the embodied experience of journey helps us unconsciously construct the concept of country development. When Barack Obama repeated the expression “Our journey is not complete until...” in his inaugural speech [2013], he set the goals for the development of America in terms of journey metaphor.

The second type of cognitive metaphor is the **argumentative function**. As Kobozeva [2001] argues, metaphor has an argumentative function, serving to convince the audience of the correctness of certain political views. The analogical relation between the source domain and the target domain in a metaphor projects the inherent propositions and logic in the source domain onto the target domain, and thereby making propositions in metaphor logical and persuasive. For example, when a politician uses the source domain *spring* to describe the forthcoming new and promising change that he is going to bring

about, it is irresistible for the hearer to believe and accept his promise because spring itself has very positive associations embedded deeply in human cognition. The spring metaphor thus has an argumentative function to make what the politician said logically valid in spite of its hollow content.

The third type of cognitive function is the **framing function**. Metaphor can help politicians to frame or reframe political issue. The concept “frame” was firstly theorized by Charles Fillmore [1982], who defined it as “any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or into a conversation, all of the others are automatically made available” [Fillmore 1982: 11]. Fillmore used the term solely at the level of linguistic description, but later he and other scholars extended its use to include characterization of knowledge structures, linking the analysis of language to the study of cognition phenomena.

Reddy [1979/1993] and Schön [1979/1993] used this term to refer to the way how issues are reflected through the use of metaphorical language. Schön [1979] argues that metaphors can frame problems and “set the directions of problem solving” [Schön 1979: 255]. He gives an example: when one calls a low-income neighborhood a diseased area, it seems to be more logical to remove it than to nurture and develop it.

Metaphorical framing is common in politics. As “political stimuli are inherently ambiguous; in matters of principle or fact, political issues are characterized by a multiplicity of interpretations and perspectives” [Iyengar 1990: 20], political issues may be framed in the ways that imply preferred political solutions and evaluations. The interpretation of political issues and certain reaction to them may be shaped by the frame in which these issues are viewed [Tversky & Kahneman 1981, 1988]. The example “low-income neighbourhood as a diseased area” thus implies solutions to and evaluations of the “low-income neighborhood”. Metaphorical framing can be used in a positive

or a negative way depending on how it is used and what intentions of the users are.

The communicative function of metaphor in political discourse includes **simplifying, explanatory, and nominative functions**. Politics is a complicated and abstract field for common people to understand. In order to make their information more understandable, politicians tend to use metaphor to simplify the meaning of what they say so as to make the communication go smoothly. Metaphor can be used to explain complex political issues in a simpler way. The nominative function is realized when metaphor serves to give name to certain political phenomena.

As far as the pragmatic function is concerned, the use of metaphor in political discourse relates closely to the political strategies that politicians use to fulfil their purpose. The pragmatic function can be subdivided into **persuasive, emotive, and evaluative functions**.

Metaphors in political discourse have the potential to be one of the most effective ways of manipulating the human consciousness [Mukhortov 2015b]. For example, during the pre-election campaign, candidates all aim to gain the support of the voters. Therefore, they often use the strategy of acclaiming themselves and attacking others with the help of metaphor. By emphasizing his or her positive qualities, the candidate begins to look more attractive to the voter. In this case, metaphor can be used as a persuasive tool to influence the judgement of the voter.

Metaphor plays an emotive role in influencing the audience's feeling and judgement. Its emotive function results from the fact that metaphors are largely grounded in human physical experience. People's embodied experience plays an important role in their use and understanding of metaphor.

Cognitive researchers found that many source domains of conceptual metaphors reflect certain patterns of recurring bodily experiences [Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Johnson 1987]. These patterns structure our cognition when we

interact with the world. They are “image schemas” that are “a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that give coherence and structure to our experience” [Johnson 1987: xiv]. Image schema emerges throughout a sensorimotor activity when people manipulate objects, orient themselves, and direct the perceptual focus for various purposes [Johnson 1991]. Therefore, metaphor connects human obtained experience with unknown experience and abstract thinking process with concrete subjects.

A person’s contact with the world entails an emotive change, be it positive or negative. There is also a scientific support from neuroscience. Francesca Citron and Adele Goldberg [2014] who are interested in the interaction between language and emotion made a study in order to compare the effects of metaphorical and literal language on brain activity. Their findings indicate that “conventional metaphorical expressions are more emotionally evocative than literal expressions, as the amygdala and the anterior portion of the hippocampus were more active in the metaphorical sentences” [2014: 2585]. The scientists noticed distinct patterns of cerebral activation. The metaphors activated more areas of brain circuitry, in particular the amygdala and the anterior portion of the hippocampus, both of which are associated with the processing of emotion. In other words, the metaphorical expressions were more emotionally engaging than their literal counterparts.

The **evaluative function** refers to the fact that metaphors have inherently positive or negative connotations. For example, in light-dark metaphor, light always refers to something good and desirable while dark to something bad.

Metaphor functions in context. The **discursive function** of metaphor refers to the contributive role a metaphor plays in making a text more coherent and cohesive. Metaphor serving as a connecting tool enables the speaker to present ideas in a more organized format and to link ideas in the text. Metaphor in discourse consciously or subliminally structure the text. The repeated occurrence of a metaphor in a text may help to magnet other metaphorical images. And the

use of the same metaphor across different texts produces the effect of intertextuality. This discursive function of metaphor helps to construct text coherently both at the intertextual level and at the intratextual level.

Conclusion for Chapter 1

Political discourse, as a social action of making meanings with language and other symbolic systems undertaken by social actors in the sphere of politics, encompasses all types of talk and text related to political issues by any participants having political intentions and goals.

Metaphor is one of the most frequently used vehicles by politicians to influence and persuade the audience. The study of metaphor in presidential discourse can help to uncover metaphorical patterns in the discourse of a president and to find out how metaphors operate and how they relate to the construction of political reality.

Different genres and registers require different linguistic and discursive patterns, including patterns of metaphor use. In different contexts, the use of metaphor is varied in its types and functions.

The functions of a metaphor relate to its inherent feature of transferring meaning from one domain to another and how it is used in different communicative situations. Metaphor thus has inherent functions and operational functions. The inherent functions are about cognition, while the operational functions such as communicative, pragmatic, and discursive are about performance. These functions are closely interrelated. A metaphor may simultaneously fulfil several functions due to its use in a specific discourse event.

Metaphors may occur in groups within a discourse to enhance their rhetorical force. The phenomenon of metaphor clustering is a salient feature in presidential discourse. It is about how metaphors are distributed across a text or a discourse and related to each other within a text or a discourse. By interacting

in a discourse, metaphors highlight certain topics and contribute to making the discursive structure coherent and cohesive. There are two types of metaphor clustering, including the phenomenon that different kinds of metaphors occur together in adjacent metaphorical sentences, and the phenomenon that one metaphor is repeated several times in consecutive metaphorical sentences. In both types, metaphor cluster makes a cognitive scenario that embodies the speaker's deliberate or subconscious communicative focus in a discourse.

CHAPTER 2. FUNCTIONS OF METAPHORS AND METAPHOR CLUSTERS IN AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL DISCOURSE

2.1 The Metaphorical Repertoire in American Presidential Inaugurals (from George H.W Bush to Donald Trump)

The custom of giving an inaugural address was started by George Washington in 1789. He read a speech before members of Congress and other dignitaries in the Senate after he had taken his oath of office on the balcony of Federal Hall. Every new president has followed this custom ever since. The inaugural address usually presents the president's vision of America, his agendas and goals, and his intention of unifying the two parties after a severe campaign.

In this section, metaphor use is analyzed in eight inaugurals of five American presidents, namely George H. W. Bush (1989), Bill Clinton (1993 and 1997), George W. Bush (2001 and 2005), Barack Obama (2009 and 2013), and Donald Trump (2017). The overall volume of the inaugurals is about 15,660 words. The transcripts of the speeches come from the non-profit and non-partisan website *The American Presidency Project*: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu>, chosen and trusted for being precise and comprehensive in form and content.

We shall analyze metaphors in each presidential inaugural irrespective of them being conventional or creative. In the metaphorical repertoire, there are five types of metaphors that are frequently used, including personification metaphor, nature metaphor, movement metaphor, construction metaphor, and medical metaphor. Besides, there are metaphors that are not frequently used, but they still have an explanatory value. All these metaphors shall be studied in terms of the types of source and target domains, and frequency and functions of metaphorical expressions. We proceed from the assumption that the use of

political metaphor is a contextually-bound category, i.e. it is meaningless without a context. Its use is highly related to the user's intentions and discursive features.

2.1.1 Personification

Personification is a specific metaphor. It assigns human qualities to non-human entities, creating a connection between them. As the most typical ontological metaphor, personification “allow[s] us to make sense of phenomena in the world in human terms – terms that we can understand on the basis of our own motivations, goals, actions, and characteristics” [Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 34]. Humans can project their feelings and emotions on to non-human entities. In this sense, personification has an emotive function to provoke certain feelings and emotions. Besides, personification also has an explanatory power to simplify abstract concepts and make them understandable for the audience.

In the inaugurals under analysis, the most frequently used target domain of personification is *country*. Other target domains include crimes, prejudice and contempt, politics, and middle class.

Table 1. Personifications in the five presidents' inaugurals

Presidents	Conceptual metaphors
Bush Senior (1989)	AMERICA IS A PERSON
Bill Clinton (1993)	AMERICA IS A PERSON; CRIME IS A ROBBER
Bill Clinton (1997)	AMERICA IS A PERSON; PREJUDICE AND CONTEMPT ARE BANDITS
Bush Junior (2001)	AMERICA IS A PERSON
Bush Junior (2005)	AMERICA IS A PERSON
Barack Obama (2009)	AMERICA IS A PERSON
Barack Obama (2013)	THE MIDDLE CLASS IS A PERSON
Donald Trump (2017)	AMERICA IS A PERSON; CRIME IS A ROBBER

AMERICA IS A PERSON

When a president speaks about America as a person, he assigns different, yet always positive qualities to it. The conceptual foci of the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON are manifested in the table below.

Table 2. The portraying of America in the five presidents' inaugurals through personification

Presidents	Descriptions of America
Bush Senior (1989)	A person with high moral principles; A strong, determined, peaceful and rich person; A trustworthy and reliable person.
Bill Clinton (1993)	A person with self-healing capacity.
Bill Clinton (1997)	A powerful savior and an indispensable member of the world.
Bush Junior (2001)	A compassionate and courageous person.
Bush Junior (2005)	A helpful, determined and courageous person with idealism; A person with a powerful protective capability.
Barack Obama (2009)	A friendly person; An usher.
Donald Trump (2017)	A person who strives for survival and success.

The descriptions reveal how the five presidents conceptualize America in a different way. Republican party presidents emphasize that America should be like a typical American who is rich, powerful and has a sense of integrity. Democratic party presidents put more emphasis on its power and friendliness. A different approach to the conceptualization of America is predetermined by different partisan backgrounds of the presidents and the socio-political situation in the country.

We shall discuss the inaugurals of the Republican presidents first and then those of the Democratic presidents in terms of personification use.

There are three instances of the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON in Bush Senior's inaugural. See the instances below.

1. *America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high moral principle.* (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)

2. *And we must ensure that **America stands before the world united, strong, at peace, and fiscally sound.*** (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)

3. *Great nations like **great men** must keep their word. When America **says** something, America **means** it, whether a treaty or an agreement or a vow made on marble steps.* (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)

It could be noted that America is conceptualized by Bush Senior as a person who should be strong, determined, peaceful, and rich with high moral principles, such as reliability and integrity. This is the image of America Bush Senior wants to show to the audience. As a traditional conservative, he stresses the importance of moral principles, and thus projects such expectation into what an ideal country should be like.

Bush Junior uses more instances of the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON in his second inaugural than in his first one. There are two instances in the first inaugural.

1. *America at its best is also **courageous**. Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war, when defeating common dangers defined our common good.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)

2. *America at its best is **compassionate**.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)

In the two instances, America is regarded as a compassionate and courageous person. The two features – compassion and courage are what the president sees in his country. And he wants to point it out to the world.

There are seven instances in Bush Junior's second inaugural.

1. *For a half a century, **America defended our own freedom by standing watch on distant borders.*** (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

2. *Some have unwisely chosen to test **America's resolve** and have found **it firm**.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

3. *Today, **America speaks anew to the peoples of the world.** All who live in tyranny and hopelessness can know: The United States will not ignore your oppression or excuse your oppressors. When you stand for your liberty, we will stand with you.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

4. *The leaders of governments with long habits of control need to know: To serve your people, you must learn to trust them. Start on this journey of progress and justice, **and America will walk at your side.*** (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

5. ***America has a need of idealism and courage** because we have essential work at home, the unfinished work of American freedom.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

6. *And when **the soul of a nation** finally speaks, the institutions that arise may reflect customs and traditions very different from our own.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

7. ***America will not pretend** that jailed dissidents prefer their chains or that women welcome humiliation and servitude or that any human being aspires to live at the mercy of bullies. We will encourage reform in other governments by making clear that success in our relations will require the decent treatment of their own people.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

In these instances, Bush Junior shifts his focus on to the feature of being powerful and having a protective ability. This is greatly due to 9/11. The series of four coordinated terrorist attacks by the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda against the United States on the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001 have affected America domestically and internationally, triggering an anti-terrorism policy and a war on terror. At such a moment, America has to show its power to protect its people. Such a request and appeal are answered and confirmed by a series of addresses made by Bush Junior. He explicitly points out the importance of having a powerful protective ability, being courageous, resolved, and protective of the needy. There is an increasing use of the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON in the inaugural, which shows that the president is up in arms and he calls on the nation to be the same.

The incumbent president, Donald Trump, a Republican, uses only one instance of the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON. He conceptualizes America as a person who should strive hard for success and for a better life. See the instance below.

*Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger. In American, we understand that **a nation is only living as long as it is striving.*** (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)

As for the Democratic presidents, the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON is manifested differently. There is only one instance of the metaphor in Bill Clinton's first inaugural.

*Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with **America** that cannot **be cured by** what is right with America. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

America is projected as a person who has a self-healing capacity. A combination of personification and medical metaphor here reflects the speaker's confidence in America's political system. The self-healing capacity guarantees its further development. No matter how worse the situation is or is going to be, the body will be cured by its internal positive force.

There are two instances in Bill Clinton's second inaugural.

*1. **America** became the world's mightiest industrial power, **saved** the world from tyranny in two World Wars and a long cold war, and time and again **reached out** across the globe to millions who, like us, longed for the blessings of liberty. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

*2. In these 4 years, we have been touched by tragedy, exhilarated by challenge, strengthened by achievement. **America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation.** Once again, our economy is the strongest on Earth. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

Bill Clinton asserts that the America is the world's only indispensable nation and the mightiest industrial power. He stresses his belief in American exceptionalism, like his predecessors. America is visualized as a savior and a missionary, which is a message to other nations that America should be accepted as an indisputable hero.

The image of America has different manifestations and foci in Barack Obama's first inaugural. There are two such instances.

*1. And so to all the other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born, know that America is a **friend** of each nation and every man, woman, and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and we are ready to lead once more. (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)*

*2. America must play its role in **ushering** in a new era of peace. (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)*

Barack Obama tends to present the image of America being friendly and helpful. The phrase “usher in” shows Obama’s idea about the role America should play in the near future, which coincides with his term. It is the role of being the guiding country that leads other nations into a peaceful era.

Besides the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON, there are also other three types of personification in the inaugurals:

CRIME IS A ROBBER;

PREJUDICE AND CONTEMPT ARE BANDITS;

THE MIDDLE CLASS IS A PERSON.

See the instances of these metaphors below.

*1. When **the fear of crime robs** law-abiding citizens **of** their freedom; and when millions of poor children cannot even imagine the lives we are calling them to lead, we have not made change our friend. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

*2. The divide of race has been America’s constant curse. And each new wave of immigrants gives new targets to old prejudices. **Prejudice and contempt cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction** are no different. These forces have nearly **destroyed** our Nation in the past. They **plague** us still. They fuel the fanaticism of terror. And they **torment** the lives of millions in fractured nations all around the world.*

*These obsessions **cripple** both those who hate and of course those who are hated, **robbing** both **of** what they might become. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

*3. We believe that America’s prosperity must rest upon **the broad shoulders of a rising middle class**. (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)*

*4. But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities: rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our Nation; an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge; and **the crime and the gangs and the drugs that have stolen** too many lives and **robbed** our country **of** so much unrealized potential. (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)*

In the first, second and forth instance, the negative forces, such as crime, prejudice and contempt, and drugs are conceptualized as a robber who can strip people of some valuable things.

In the third instance, the conceptual metaphor THE MIDDLE CLASS IS A PERSON is manifested by the linguistic expression “the broad shoulders of a rising middle class”. The middle class is regarded as a person with broad shoulders, who can contribute to the prosperity of the country, being the source of economic growth. This metaphor shows the democratic president’s political view about economic growth which holds that the economic growth and prosperity are determined by a thriving and vibrant middle class instead of the rich who are at the top of the economic pyramid.

In conclusion, the analysis of the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON in the five presidents’ inaugurals shows that America is depicted differently through personification, which relates to the presidents’ personal experiences, partisan backgrounds, and political philosophies and the social-political situation. Bush Senior and Bush Junior conceptualize America similarly as a powerful nation, physically strong, financially rich, and morally perfect. And they both attach great importance to the ethical aspects of the country. Bush Junior in his second inaugural uses more instances and emphasizes the strong protective power of America. This is due to the socio-political influence of 9/11 and its aftermath. The threat of terrorism requires that a country has to show that it has a powerful ability to protect itself. Donald Trump’s perception of America is influenced by his personal experience of being a businessman who keeps pursuing success and who never quits.

Bill Clinton uses more instances of the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON in his second inaugural than in his first one. He is very confident in the country’s political system and claims that America plays an indispensable role in the international arena with regard to achievements made during his first term. Barack Obama in his first inaugural attempts to present a friendlier image of the U.S. after a series of military actions in the Middle East during his predecessors’ period which started to portray America as a warmonger.

2.1.2 Nature Metaphor

Nature is a conventional source domain used by people to understand and convey abstract concepts. The relationship between nature and humans is complicated and dynamic. On the one hand, we have been exploiting nature to serve our own ends. On the other hand, nature can easily destroy us with its overwhelming force, such as flood or earthquake. We take advantage of nature, but we fear it at the same time.

Nature metaphor is common in presidential inaugurals. We will discuss what nature elements are and how they function to conceptualize political concepts and to facilitate the process of political communication. Source domains of nature metaphor will be summarized in table 3, and conceptual metaphors will be presented in table 4.

Table 3. Nature elements in nature metaphors in the five presidents' inaugurals

Presidents	Nature elements
Bush Senior (1989)	Light; Star; Breeze; Fog
Bill Clinton (1993)	Sun; Spring
Bill Clinton (1997)	Fire
Bush Junior (2001)	Wind; Sea; Seed; Rock
Bush Junior (2005)	Fire
Barack Obama (2009)	Light; Winter; Rising tides; Still waters; Icy currents; Raging storms; Gathering clouds
Barack Obama (2013)	Light; Star
Donald Trump (2017)	Light

Table 4. Conceptual metaphors from the source domain *nature* in the five presidents' inaugurals

Presidents	Conceptual metaphors
Bush Senior (1989)	THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL CONDITION CHANGE IS BREEZE; FUTURE IS A FOG; SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE LIGHTS
Bill Clinton (1993)	THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL CONDITION CHANGE IS SPRING; FREEDOM IS THE SUN

Bill Clinton (1997)	FREEDOM IS FIRE ; HOPE IS FIRE
Bush Junior (2001)	FAITH IN FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IS A ROCK IN A RAGING SEA; FAITH IN DEMOCRACY IS A SEED UPON THE WIND
Bush Junior (2005)	FREEDOM IS FIRE ; HOPE IS FIRE
Barack Obama (2009)	NATION IS A SHIP IN THE SEA; NATIONAL SOCIO-POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON IN THE SEA; THE SITUATION OF A NATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON; NATIONAL SOCIO-POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IS WINTER AMERICAN IDEALS ARE LIGHT
Barack Obama (2013)	EQUALITY IS A STAR; FREEDOM IS LIGHT
Donald Trump (2017)	AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE IS LIGHT

Bush Senior uses three types of nature metaphor in his inaugural: **breeze metaphor (THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL CONDITION CHANGE IS BREEZE)**, **fog metaphor (FUTURE IS A FOG)**, **points of light metaphor (SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE LIGHTS)**.

The most frequently used nature metaphor in Bush Senior's inaugural is breeze metaphor. As a dominant metaphor in his inaugural, it is used five times throughout the address. See the four instances below.

1. *I come before you and assume the Presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better. For **a new breeze is blowing**, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn. For in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, its **old ideas blown away** like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree. **A new breeze is blowing**, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)*

2. ***A new breeze is blowing**, and the old bipartisanship must be made new again. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)*

3. *Our children are watching [this ceremony] in schools throughout our great land. And to them I say, Thank you for watching democracy's big day. For democracy belongs to us all,*

*and freedom is like a beautiful kite that can go higher and higher **with the breeze**. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)*

*4. Some see leadership as high drama and the sound of trumpets calling, and sometimes it is that. But I see history as a book with many pages, and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning. **The new breeze blows**, a page turns, the story unfolds. And so, today a chapter begins, a small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity – shared, and written, together. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)*

Breeze, as a light gentle wind, is common in spring. It indicates a change in the weather and thus can be used as a metaphorical representation of the cause that changes a social condition. Besides, as a gentle force, breeze brings change in a tender way. Breeze metaphor used by Bush Senior indicates that on the one hand, there will be some new changes in society during his presidential term, while on the other hand, changes will be tender and minor, which is comfortable and easy to accept, especially due to his former role as vice president to Reagan before he was elected President. He will adhere to the policies pursued by his predecessor.

In the inaugural, breeze metaphor also interacts with other metaphors and elements of figurative language. Breeze metaphor and other metaphors are combined to form metaphor clusters, thus making images in the address richer and more coherent.

In the first instance, breeze metaphor is used with other metaphors and elements of figurative language. A “new breeze” is blowing, old ideas are blown away and a new world is born and a refreshed nation moves forward. The inherent logic of the imagery used enables to justify the relevant arguments made by the president. Breeze metaphor and the leaf and tree simile are combined to say that old ideas of the totalitarian era are to disappear.

In the second instance, the breeze metaphor is used to suggest that there would be a change in the relations between the two ruling parties. Bush Senior explicitly expresses his hope that the two opposing political parties will

cooperate to rebuild their nation. He takes the initiative to put out his hand to the opposing party, saying that it was the “age of the offered hand”.

In the third instance, The breeze metaphor in this instance is used alongside with freedom as a kite simile. Kite is a favourable and popular artefact, especially for children. Its popularity is partly due to the “flying dream” that almost everyone has since childhood. When George H.W. Bush conceptualizes freedom as a kite, he simplifies the abstract concept for the children to effortlessly understand it. To fly a kite higher requires a proper wind direction and power, a proper place to fly a kite, and a person who has an ability to use these conditions. Breeze metaphor here indicates that the change in his presidential term will guarantee the development of freedom and provide proper conditions for it.

In the forth instance, breeze metaphor in this instance is used alongside with HISTORY IS A BOOK metaphor. Again, a new breeze means a new change, and a change brings new developments and opens a new page of the book of history.

It can be seen that the image of breeze is a leitmotif in this inaugural address, it is used with other images, such as leaves of an old tree, a beautiful kite and a unfolding book of history. Breeze metaphor as a dominating metaphor has three main functions. First, cohesive. This metaphor runs through the address and links other metaphors to make a coherent metaphor system in the text. Second, reassuring. Breeze is a natural phenomenon. It is a natural force that cannot be stopped or eliminated. Therefore, the change it brings will certainly occur, meaning all the promises made by the presidents will certainly be realized. This metaphor reassures the audience, making it believe that something new will come about and some new changes are on the way. Third, argumentative, or the function of justifying an argument. These arguments based on the breeze metaphor are justified because they are logically valid. Breeze can blow away leaves from an old lifeless tree, so it is logically valid that old ideas

of the totalitarian era will pass. Breeze can drive a kite higher and higher, so it is logically valid that freedom will come to more people. Breeze can blow pages of a book, so it is logically valid that there will be new developments for people because of inevitable positive changes in the future.

Fog metaphor is another example in question. The conceptual metaphor FUTURE IS A FOG is used to contrast with the FUTURE IS A DOOR metaphor in Bush Senior's inaugural.

*There are times when **the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path.** But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room called tomorrow.*

*Great nations of the world **are moving toward** democracy **through the door to** freedom. Men and women of the world move toward free markets **through the door to** prosperity. The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought **through the door to** the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)*

Bush Senior uses these metaphors present two alternatives. In FUTURE IS A FOG, he shows the audience a place full of mists, in which everything is unclear and there is no path to walk out of it. The other is a picture of a door that waits for people to walk through it into a room "called tomorrow". The two pictures are all about future. The future depicted in the second picture is most favored by everyone. It is the future Bush Senior would provide for his people. The metaphor clusters used here reinforce his qualification to be the leader of the nation who would bring this nation a promising future. This antithesis is an efficient manipulative tool, helping the president secure the voter's support.

Another metaphor to discuss is the **points of light metaphor**. There is one instance below.

*I have spoken of a **Thousand Points of Light**, of all the community organizations that are **spread like stars throughout the Nation**, doing good. We will work hand in hand, encouraging, sometimes leading, sometimes being led, rewarding. We will work on this in the White House, in the Cabinet agencies. I will go to the people and the programs that are **the brighter points of light**, and I'll ask every member of my government to become involved. The old ideas are new again because they're not old, they are timeless: duty, sacrifice,*

commitment, and a patriotism that finds its expression in taking part and pitching in. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)

The phrase “a thousand points of light” was originally used by Bush Senior in his presidential nomination acceptance address at the 1988 Republican National Convention in New Orleans. In the acceptance address written by Peggy Noonan and Craig R. Smith, social organizations, or rather volunteer organizations are likened to “a brilliant diversity spread like stars, like a thousand points of light in a broad and peaceful sky.” At the end of the acceptance address, it was repeated. The president reaffirms that he would “keep America moving forward, always forward – for a better America, for an endless enduring dream and a thousand points of light.”

This metaphor later appears in his inaugural address. In 1990, he even uses the phrase “Points of Light” to introduce a private, non-profit organization – the Points of Light Foundation launched by him to support volunteerism and private, non-governmental solutions to social issues. The metaphor thus has a nominative function.

Light is the concept that relates closely to the fundamental struggle for survival and development. As a necessary condition for sight, light makes humans care about the environment, escape from its potential dangers and take advantage of it. Light also gives humans a sense of warmth, which is essential condition for their physical development. Therefore, light usually has strong positive associations. The light metaphor used by the president intends to associate positive and high values to the community organizations, especially volunteer organizations. This metaphor has an evaluative function.

Bill Clinton in his first inaugural uses two types of nature metaphor. They are **spring metaphor** (THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL CONDITION CHANGE IS SPRING) and **sun metaphor** (FREEDOM IS THE SUN).

1. My fellow citizens, today we celebrate the mystery of American renewal. This ceremony is held in the depth of winter, but by the words we speak and the faces we show the

world, we force the spring, a spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy that brings forth the vision and courage to reinvent America. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)

2. And so today we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift, and a new season of American renewal has begun. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)

3. Yes, you, my fellow Americans, have forced the spring. Now we must do the work the season demands. To that work I now turn with all the authority of my office. I ask the Congress to join with me. But no President, no Congress, no Government can undertake this mission alone. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)

4. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service: to act on your idealism by helping troubled children, keeping company with those in need, reconnecting our torn communities. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)

The words “spring” and “season” appear six times altogether in the address. Spring is a natural phenomenon, which relates to the abstract idea of rebirth. Clinton wants to make the audience feel certain that a new change is about to come and everything would pan out well. This is to suggest that the spring metaphor has a reassuring function in presidential discourse.

Spring metaphor appears in the four places throughout the address. It sticks to the theme of the inaugural, which is the renewal of America. By using the spring metaphor, Clinton provides the audience with a new change in his presidential term which everyone is going to welcome.

The related linguistic expressions of spring metaphor also deserves mention. The expression “we force the spring” reveals the speaker’s intention of strengthening the audience’s sense of participation in the political process. The plural first-person pronoun “we” includes the president himself and the audience. This pronoun unifies people, making each person feel that they are involved in the process which is so important and so grand. This process is realistically impossible though, but it is rhetorically powerful. It not only satisfies and reassures the audience psychologically, but also makes it feel right in choosing the president who says such things. Another expression “Yes, you, my fellow Americans, have forced the spring” is similar to the first one, it only differs in

the use of pronoun. The pronoun “you”, in its plural sense, refers to all Americans. And it is designed to make them feel more powerful.

There is one instance of the conceptual metaphor **FREEDOM IS THE SUN**.

*Today, a generation raised in **the shadows of the cold war** assumes new responsibilities in a world **warmed by the sunshine of freedom** but threatened still by ancient hatreds and new plagues. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

In the instance, freedom is seen as the sun that can warm up the world. The sun suggests goodness, therefore the metaphor serves an encomiastic/eulogistic function. The example also contrasts a cold, dark war and warm, sunny freedom. The light/dark metaphor and the warm/cold metaphor have positive and negative associations, and hence evaluative connotations.

In his second inaugural, Bill Clinton uses **fire metaphor**, including **FREEDOM IS FIRE** and **HOPE IS FIRE**. In the instance below there emerges the image of flame “spreading throughout all the world” which relates to the notion of freedom.

*May those generations whose faces we cannot yet see, whose names we may never know, say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century with the American dream alive for all her children, with the American promise of a more perfect Union a reality for all her people, with **America’s bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world**. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

Fire has rich metaphoric associations as it relates to human fundamental values [Osborn 1967]. Its upward movement relates to humans’ basic striving for a higher place, a higher living condition, and higher ideal of life. Fire can be rapidly reproduced and spread from one place to another, so it can represent the rapid proliferation of an idea. Fire relates inseparably to light. In ancient times fire and light went together. Light always represents the intellectual knowing, so does fire. Fires provide the condition for sight. Last but not least, fire burns and breaks down the substance, therefore, it has functions of both purifying and destroying. In this case, fire relates to the religious notion of purgatory. All this

shows that fire in most cases evokes positive associations and as a part of metaphor it is an efficient manipulative tool in presidential rhetoric.

The instance below illustrates the conceptual metaphor HOPE IS FIRE.

*In this new land, education will be every citizen's most prized possession. Our schools will have the highest standards in the world, **igniting the spark of possibility** in the eyes of every girl and every boy. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

Education is perceived as an igniter of children's hope for a bright future full of opportunities. Fire, like light, implies intellectual clarity and knowledge.

The nature metaphors in Bush Junior's first inaugural include the images of a rock in a raging sea and a seed upon the wind. The juxtaposition of the two metaphors FAITH IN DEMOCRACY IS ROCK IN A RAGING SEA and FAITH IN DEMOCRACY IS A SEED UPON THE WIND aims to show America's determined faith in freedom and democracy.

*Through much of the last century, **America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations.** Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country. It is the inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along. Even after nearly 225 years, we have a long way yet to travel. (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)*

In the second inaugural, Bush Junior uses the conceptual metaphors HOPE IS FIRE and FREEDOM IS FIRE.

*Our country has accepted obligations that are difficult to fulfil and would be dishonorable to abandon. Yet because we have acted in the great liberating tradition of this Nation, tens of millions have achieved their freedom. And as **hope kindles hope**, millions more will find it. By our efforts, we **have lit a fire as well, a fire in the minds of men. It warms those who feel its power. It burns those who fight its progress. And one day this untamed fire of freedom will reach the darkest corners of our world.** (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)*

The concept of fire is used to describe the abstract notions – hope and freedom. By saying “hope kindles hope”, Bush Junior means that hope can be spread like fire. To conceptualize freedom as fire is to say that freedom is warm, it purifies, illuminates and spreads quickly.

There is a rich repertoire of nature metaphors in Barack Obama's first inaugural. They include rising tides, still waters, gathering clouds, raging storms, icy currents, winter, and light. Based on these source domains, the conceptual metaphors are A NATION IS A SHIP IN A SEA, THE SITUATION OF A NATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON IN A SEA (rising tides, still waters, gathering clouds, raging storms), THE SITUATION OF A NATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON (icy currents, storms), THE BAD SITUATION OF A NATION IS WINTER, AMERICAN IDEALS ARE LIGHTS.

*1. Forty-four Americans have now taken the Presidential oath. The words have been spoken during **rising tides of prosperity** and **the still waters of peace**. Yet every so often, the oath is taken amidst **gathering clouds and raging storms**. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we the people have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents. (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)*

*2. America, in the face of our common dangers, **in this winter of** our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more **the icy currents** and endure what **storms** may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested, we refused to let this journey end; that we did not turn back, nor did we falter. And with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations. (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)*

*3. As for our common defense, we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals. Our Founding Fathers, faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations. **Those ideals still light the world**, and we will not give them up for expedience's sake. (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)*

In the first instance, the nature phenomena in the sea, like rising tides, still waters, gathering clouds and raging storms are used to describe the situation of the country. Barack Obama uses the conceptual metaphor THE SITUATION OF A NATION IS A NATURAL PHENOMENON to create an atmosphere of challenging future, and stress the importance of his role as the president of America.

The natural phenomenon metaphor is based on the ship of state metaphor. Plato, in his Book VI of the Republic, compared the governance of a city-state to steering a ship. In modern American political culture, the ship of state metaphor is a common metaphor in which the image of the state is viewed as a ship in need of a government to control it, and the head of the government is viewed as the captain of the ship.

Obama uses the ship of state metaphor implicitly, hinting at changeable situations a ship may meet at sea. The rising tides are used to describe the condition of a country being successful or thriving, the still waters are used to describe its stable condition, and the gathering clouds and raging storms are used to indicate a crisis a country may face. These metaphors are used to describe all kinds of situations a country may come across, and in this kind of situations, America “has carried on” due to the faithfulness to the ideals of forbearers and founding documents. The nature phenomenon metaphor is used alongside the movement metaphor to show a ship travelling constantly through the sea, despite facing various challenging situations.

In the second instance, metaphors from source domains winter, icy currents and storms are used to describe a bad situation in a country. The image of winter with icy currents and storms portrays a harsh situation America faced, when it needed a lot of determination, bravery, hope and virtue to come across all difficulties. The underlying message is that no matter how worse and challenging the situation may be, everything will be fine at last.

In the third instance, Obama recalls the early history of the country. The American ideals of the rule of law and the rights of man are light that can shine for the world. The light metaphor expresses intense evaluative judgments about the American ideals, ascribing positive value to them.

In Barack Obama’s second inaugural, there are **light metaphor** and **star metaphor** which are used to describe abstract concepts of American ideals and freedom.

1. *We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths – that all of us are created equal – is **the star that guides us still; just as it guided our forebears through Seneca Falls and Selma and Stonewall; just as it guided all those men and women, sung and unsung, who left footprints along this great Mall, to hear a preacher say that we cannot walk alone; to hear a King proclaim that our individual freedom is inextricably bound to the freedom of every soul on Earth.*** (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)

2. *Let us, each of us, now embrace with solemn duty and awesome joy what is our lasting birthright. With common effort and common purpose, with passion and dedication, let us answer the call of history and **carry into an uncertain future that precious light of freedom.*** (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)

In the first instance, American ideals are metaphorically depicted as “the star” that guides people through the long journey. It shows people the right way during the night.

In the second instance, the idea of freedom is seen as light. The conceptualization of freedom in terms of light is common in American political discourse. The indispensability of light in life endowed it with strong positive associations.

Donald Trump in his inaugural implicitly uses light metaphor to indicate the American way of life. The expressions “to let it shine as an example” and “we will shine for everyone to follow” reflect on the one hand the speaker’s being proud of the American way of life, on the other hand, he seems to have no intention to propaganda American way of life in international arena. See the instance below.

*We do not seek to impose **our way of life** on anyone, but rather to let it **shine** as an example – we will **shine** – for everyone to follow.* (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)

All in all, research into the nature metaphor in each inaugural shows that the frequently used source domains are light, stars, the sun, fire, and other weather phenomena. The weather phenomena, such as spring, breeze, storm are typically used to describe the general social conditions at a certain time. Weather phenomena normally emerge in the first inaugural, with Donald Trump being the exception. This may be due to the speaker’s intention to create a

certain atmosphere: the harsh social conditions in the past or at present and the changes that will be made by the speaker, and a bright and desirable future that will be brought by the speaker. Besides the objective descriptions of the social situation, the underlying messages behind these metaphors are the desire of creating an image of savior: only I can change the bad situation and make everything all right; only I can turn things around and make them better during my term. Whether it is the breeze metaphor in Bush Senior's inaugural, or the spring metaphor in Bill Clinton's inaugural, or the rich imagery of rising tides, still waters, gathering clouds, raging storms, icy currents, winter in Barack Obama's inaugural, they are all designed to make the appearance of accepting difficult tasks and being capable of solving them.

The second observation is that the images of light, the sun and fire are used to describe the abstract concepts – freedom, hope, equality, and American way of life. The concept of freedom is the most frequently one among these concepts. Freedom is conceptualized as the sun in Bill Clinton's first inaugural, as the fire in Bill Clinton's second inaugural and in Bush Junior's second inaugural, as light in Barack Obama in his second inaugural. The three images are highly related to each other. They are all inevitable conditions for the sight and warmth, which contributes to the basis of survival and physical development for humans. With strong positive associations with survival and developmental motives, light metaphor, sun metaphor, and fire metaphor express intense value judgments and may thus influence the audience's sensory attachments to the abstract concept and thus create special feeling towards it. The sun also fulfills a eulogistic function, suggesting qualities of goodness. The frequent connection of the images of light, fire, and the sun to freedom fixed the positive associations with it. Such positive associations have already been fixed in people's thought.

The star and light metaphor are used together in Bush Senior's inaugural to describe the social organizations that he thought highly of. It was one of his

political policy to emphasize the role and function of social organizations, especially volunteer organizations played in society.

Bill Clinton uses fire metaphor to talk about hope in the field of education. While Bush Junior in his second inaugural uses fire metaphor to talk about hope itself generally. Barack Obama in his first inaugural talks about American ideals of law and rights in terms of light. In his second inaugural, he uses star metaphor to describe equality, which is one of his main political focuses during his terms. In Donald Trump's inaugural, the only nature metaphor is light metaphor, and it is used implicitly to describe the American way of life.

2.1.3 Movement metaphor

Most orientational metaphors [Lakoff & Johnson 1980:14], or movement metaphors, relate to spatial orientation: forward-backward, up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, and central-peripheral. These orientations relate closely to our physical and cultural experiences. For example, when we say "I'm feeling up. My spirits rose" [Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 15], it is because we feel happy; our posture is erect. When we say "I'm feeling down. My spirits sank" [Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 15], we are down in the dumps and we walk with a drooping posture.

In political discourse, journey metaphor, a very common type of movement metaphor, is favored by politicians to talk about a process, or any purposeful undertaking. When a journey metaphor is used, certain specific elements of a journey will be mapped into target domains. These elements include three main ones – starting point, path (length of path), and destination. Other elements such as the subject (who is moving), obstacles or challenges in the way, risks or damage are sometimes focused according to the speaker's intentions.

We shall now discuss how movement metaphors, most of them journey metaphors, function in these inaugurals and how movement metaphors differ in their type and function in the five presidents' inaugurals. Movement metaphor

provides a common frame of reference for change. The unseen process of change can be reflected through noticeable movements. Movement metaphor functions as a cognitive tool enabling to frame an abstract concept and as a pragmatic tool to simplify and clarify it.

Table 5. Movement metaphors in the five presidents' inaugurals

Presidents	Conceptual metaphors
Bush Senior (1989)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT ; GOOD FAITH IS A SPIRAL
Bill Clinton (1993)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A UPWARD MOVEMENT; BAD COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A DIRECTIONLESS MOVEMENT; NO COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS NO MOVEMENT
Bill Clinton (1997)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT
Bush Junior (2001)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT; NO COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS NO MOVEMENT; BAD COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS DIRECTIONLESS AND DOWNWARD MOVEMENT
Bush Junior (2005)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT; THE PURSUIT OF LIBERTY IS A GOAL-ORIENTED MOVEMENT
Barack Obama (2009)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT
Barack Obama (2013)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT; THE PROCESS OF PURSUING HAPPINESS IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT; TO DEVELOP SOMETHING IS TO MOVE FORWARD
Donald Trump (2017)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT

There are two sub-types of movement metaphor in Bush Senior's inaugural: **journey metaphor and spiral metaphor.**

The first conceptual metaphor is COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT. There are two instances of this conceptual metaphor.

1. A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on.
(Bush Senior January 20, 1989)

2. *There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal **the right path**. But this is a time when the future seems a door **you can walk right through into a room** called tomorrow.*

Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy through the door to freedom. Men and women of the world move toward free markets through the door to prosperity. The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)

In the first instance, journey metaphor depicts a nation that is refreshed by freedom and starts its journey again. The metaphor highlights the significance of freedom in the process of the country's development.

In the second instance, the expression "hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path" reflects people's strong hopes of having a clear future. The process of pursuing a better future is seen as a movement through an open door towards the destinations of "freedom", "prosperity", and "moral and intellectual satisfactions".

Another type of movement metaphor in Bush Senior's inaugural is spiral metaphor.

*Good will begets good will. **Good faith can be a spiral that endlessly moves on.** (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)*

The word "spiral" is often used with adverbs "upward" and "downward" to describe a process which gradually gets either better or worse. Many things in nature are in the forms of spirals, from ferns and seashells to whirlpools, hurricanes and galaxies. The conceptualization of good faith in terms of spiral maps the feature of endless movement in the spiral into the development of good faith in people.

In Bill Clinton's first inaugural, there are four instances of movement metaphor, each with a different metaphorical focus.

1. *Though **we marched to the music of our time**, our mission is timeless. Each generation of Americans must define what it means to be an American. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

2. *We know we have to face hard truths and **take strong steps**, but we have not done so; instead, **we have drifted**. And **that drifting** has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

3. *And so today we pledge an end to **the era of deadlock and drift**, and a new season of American renewal has begun. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

4. *Today we do more than celebrate America. We rededicate ourselves to the very idea of America, <...> an idea infused with the conviction that **America's long, heroic journey must go forever upward**. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

There are three related specific conceptual metaphors in these four instances: COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS UPWARD MOVEMENT, BAD COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS DIRECTIONLESS MOVEMENT, NO COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS NO MOVEMENT.

In the first instance, the word “march” indicates that country development is seen as a forward movement.

The second and third instances compare a bad situation in the past and an end of this bad situation in the future. In the two instances, the verb “drift” refers to a state of directionless development, and the noun “deadlock” refers to a motionless state.

In the fourth instance, country development is conceptualized as a long everlasting upward movement. The use of upward movement is different from the common horizontal movement metaphor. The upward direction indicates that this journey has a strong positive value.

The four instances of journey metaphor create a narrative which describes the development of America as a long and heroic upward journey, during which the situation may be motionless or directionless, but the emergence of new leader will guarantee that the country as a traveller who will be back to its normal condition and resume its heroic journey.

Bill Clinton in the second inaugural continues to exploit journey metaphor to talk about the development of America. All the manifestations of journey

metaphor show a positive picture of a journey during his presidential terms: a clear and always forward path to a blessed land of new promise.

All in all, there are seven instances of the movement metaphor COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT in Clinton's second inaugural, they vary in terms of pragmatic intentions of the speaker. In some instances, he sounds like his predecessors or successors, saying that the nation should go on its development, while in other instances, he exploits journey metaphor to say that his presidency is qualitatively far better than that of his predecessors.

1. *Along the way, Americans produced <...>, built <...>, split the atom and explored the heavens, invented <...>, and deepened the wellspring of justice <...>. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

2. *With a new vision of Government, a new sense of responsibility, a new sprit of community, we will **sustain America's journey**. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

3. *Fellow citizens, let us build that America, a nation ever **moving forward toward** realizing the full potential of all its citizens. Prosperity and power, yes, they are important, and we must maintain them. But let us never forget, **the greatest progress** we have made and **the greatest progress** we have yet to make is in the human heart. In the end, all the world's wealth and a thousand armies are no match for the strength and decency of the human spirit. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

4. *Yes, let us build our bridge, a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American **to cross over to a blessed land of new promise**.*

*From the height of this place and the summit of this century, let us **go forth**. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

5. *When last we gathered, **our march to this new future seemed less certain than it does today**. We vowed then **to set a clear course to** renew our Nation. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

6. *The American people returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering and extreme partisanship they plainly deplore. No, they call on us instead to be repairers of the breach and **to move on** with America's mission. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

7. *Fellow citizens, we must not waste the precious gift of this time. For all of us are on that same journey of our lives, and our journey, too, will come to an end. But the journey of our America must go on.* (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)

In the first instance, Clinton uses the phrase “along the way” to humbly point at his tenure during which the nation had made a number of outstanding achievements.

In the second, third, and forth instances, expressions like “to sustain America’s journey”, “a nation ever moving forward toward”, “greatest progress”, “to go forth” and “to cross over to a blessed land of new promise” all come to suggest a bright future America would make under Clinton’s guidance.

In the fifth instance, Clinton exploits journey metaphor to call for a partisan cooperation for the sake of the nation’s destiny.

In the sixth instance, Clinton uses journey metaphor to compare the “uncertain march” before he came to power and the “clear course” during his term. Journey metaphor functions as a pragmatic tool to create an image of confused past and a clear situation during his term.

In the last instance, journey metaphor is used to describe the finiteness of human life and the infiniteness of the country’s development.

Scrutinizing movement metaphors in Clinton’s first and second inaugurals shows that journey metaphor is manifested differently. Journey metaphor plays a strategic role in creating a comparison between past, present, and future of the country in the presidential inaugural. Clinton tends to use negative elements of a journey, such as motionless and directionless to describe the state of a country in the past, and positive elements, such as forward and goal-directed to describe future development of a country during his term. Journey metaphor thus has a manipulative function to influence audiences’ judgments about the country development and the contributions made by the president.

In Bush Junior’s first inaugural, there are four instances of movement metaphor. There are three related specific conceptual metaphors in these four instances: COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT, NO

COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS NO MOVEMENT and BAD ECONOMY GROWTH IS DIRECTIONLESS AND DOWNWARD MOVEMENT.

1. *Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws. And though **our Nation has** sometimes **halted** and sometimes **delayed**, we must **follow no other course**.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)

2. *If we permit **our economy to drift and decline**, the vulnerable will suffer most.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)

3. *Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country. It is the inborn hope of our humanity, an ideal we carry but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along. Even after nearly 225 years, **we have a long way yet to travel**.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)

4. *And this is my solemn pledge: I will work to build a single nation of justice and opportunity. I know this is in our reach because we are guided by a power larger than ourselves, who creates us equal, in His image, and we are confident in principles that unite and **lead us onward**.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)

The first two below are an admittance of mistakes in the past and an indirect criticism of the predecessors; negative verbs (halt, delay, drift, decline) show that bad times are bygones and the future is under control. The phrase “follow no other course” says that the road can not be changed and the president vows to take the nation along the same route as his predecessors.

In the other two instances below Bush Junior uses movement metaphor to say that the journey is not over and the people would have to have enough patience which is rooted in observing the democratic principles.

In Bush Junior’s second inaugural, there are five instances of movement metaphor. There are two specific conceptual metaphors in these instances: COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT and THE PURSUIT OF LIBERTY IS A GOAL-ORIENTED MOVEMENT.

1. *The leaders of governments with long habits of control need to know: To serve your people, you must learn to trust them. **Start on this journey of progress and justice, and America will walk at your side**.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

2. *We have known divisions, which must be healed **to move forward** in great purposes, and I will strive in good faith to heal them. Yet those divisions do not define America.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

3. *We **go forward** with complete confidence in the eventual triumph of freedom, (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)*

4. *Americans **move forward** in every generation by reaffirming all that is good and true that came before, ideals of justice and conduct that are the same yesterday, today, and forever. (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)*

5. *America has need of idealism and courage because we have essential work at home, the unfinished work of American freedom. In a world **moving toward liberty**, we are determined to show the meaning and promise of liberty. (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)*

In the first instance, journey metaphor is used to address leaders of rogue states, or dictators. The idea is to warn them that unless they follow America's way they can't count on America's support. It shows that the concept of journey is ideologically-bound in American presidential rhetoric. It appears that no country disrespectful of the American way of life is welcome on America's journey.

The other four instances address Americans themselves. The president as the guarantor of the Constitution should be watchful that the nation live in unity, divisions of all sorts threaten the nation's development and the very existence of the president himself. The representations of journey metaphor are verbs "move forward, go forward, move toward" which are slogans by nature, they encourage people to go in the same direction as the leader without any doubt.

In the last instance, the movement metaphor reveals that the pursuit of liberty is seen as a path with liberty as destination. Special emphasis should be laid here on two things. First is the use of an indefinite article with the word "world". Using the indefinite article he addresses a community with indefinite borders but with a certain objective, and this world apparently exceeds the framework of the nation. Second is the present participle "moving toward" which shows a tendency of an imaginary world to go in the indicated direction. The president makes people believe that there is an ongoing movement toward some illusory ideal and they should take it for granted.

In his first inaugural, Barack Obama uses movement metaphor COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD DEVELOPMENT quite often. There are six instances.

1. *In reaffirming the greatness of our Nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. **Our journey has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the fainthearted, for those who prefer leisure over work or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things – some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor – who have carried us up the long, rugged path toward prosperity and freedom.*** (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

2. *As we consider **the road that unfolds before us**, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who, at this very hour, patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains.* (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

3. ***This is the journey** we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth.* (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

4. *So let us mark this day with remembrance of who we are and how far **we have traveled.*** (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

5. *America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents and endure what storms may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested, we refused to let **this journey** end; that **we did not turn back, nor did we falter.*** (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

6. *The question we ask today is not whether our Government is too big or too small, but whether it works <...>. Where the answer is yes, we intend **to move forward.** Where the answer is no, programs will end.* (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

In the first five instances, the president tells the traditional American journey story which conceptualizes America's development as a "long and rugged path toward prosperity and freedom". In this narrative, the destination is reachable only by risk-takers, doers, makers, celebrated and common people. Thereby the public is invited to be part of this list, meaning that if they join up then one day someone as important like Obama would say that they have done a great job and he/she really appreciates it. In the sixth instance, Obama talks

about a prerequisite for a stable development of the country, that is hard work on the part of the government.

In his second inaugural, Barack Obama continues to use journey metaphor COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A FORWARD MOVEMENT actively.

1. *We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths – that all of us are created equal – is the **star that guides us still**; just as it **guided our forebears through Seneca Falls and Selma and Stonewall**; just as it **guided** all those men and women, sung and unsung, who left footprints along this great Mall <...>. (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)*

2. *Through blood drawn by lash and blood drawn by sword, we learned that no union founded on the principles of liberty and equality could survive half-slave and half-free. We made ourselves anew, and vowed **to move forward together**. (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)*

3. *We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*

*Today we continue **a never-ending journey** to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time. (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)*

4. *It is now our generation's task to carry on what those pioneers began. For **our journey is not complete until** our wives, our mothers and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts. **Our journey is not complete until** our gay brothers and sisters are treated like anyone else under the law – for if we are truly created equal, then surely the love we commit to one another must be equal as well. **Our journey is not complete until** no citizen is forced to wait for to exercise the right to vote. **Our journey is not complete until** we find a better way to welcome the striving, hopeful immigrants who still see America as land of opportunity – until bright young students and engineers are enlisted in our workforce rather than expelled from our country. **Our journey is not complete until** all our children, from the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm. (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)*

In the first three instances Obama reminds the audience of the journey made by American forefathers to make the nation united, arousing patriotic feeling in it. He says that there would have been no journey without a guiding star, equality. In the forth instance, the journey metaphor is used to deliver Obama's agendas on equality, LGBT, the right to vote, and safety of children

through the anaphoric repetitions of “our journey is not complete until.....”. With the use of the journey metaphor, Obama hammers in the listener the tasks they should fulfill.

There are also other two instances of movement metaphor to conceptualize the process of pursuing happiness and making the society to be a leader in the field of sustainable energy sources. See the instances below.

*1. Being true to our founding documents does not require us to agree on every contour of life. It does not mean we all define liberty in exactly the same way or follow **the same precise path to happiness.** (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)*

*2. **The path towards sustainable energy sources will be long and sometimes difficult.** (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)*

Donald Trump uses the fewest journey metaphors in his rhetoric. Trump’s imagery in his inaugural is completely different from his predecessors. Suffice it to say that there is only one instance of journey metaphor. This may show that Trump’s philosophy as a businessman is more concrete and practical, the journey concept is vague. On the other hand, it shows that he has never been one of the flock, meaning that he does not share the approach to naming values as other presidents. For instance, unlike Obama talking of equality as the guiding star, Trump cherishes “courage , goodness and love”. See the instance below.

*So to all Americans in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, from ocean to ocean, hear these words: You will never be ignored again. Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us **along the way.** (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)*

In conclusion, it must be said that the analysis of movement metaphor in the five presidents’ inaugurals reveals that journey metaphor is a dominant type of movement metaphor. The reason for these presidents’ preference for journey metaphor may lie in that “it can be turned into a whole scenario when they [presidents] represent themselves as ‘guides’, their policies as ‘maps’ and their supporters as ‘fellow travelling companion’” [Charteris-Black 2011: 47]. The whole scenario makes a persuading story that attracts the audience and influences its political judgement.

The conceptual metaphor AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY has a number of representations, from a single word to a whole sentence. Some are shared by the presidents, others are not.

So as to enhance their reputation as a competent leader, the presidents tend to use journey metaphor in order to depict the worse situation, even to blacken it in the past, and create the picture of a promising future. Besides, when presidents begin to tell a journey story, they attempt to unite the people, create solidarity and stir a sense of patriotism in the audience and make the people feel like characters or even protagonists in it.

In terms of frequency of journey metaphor and a variety of related expressions, the Democratic presidents seem to use journey metaphor more frequently than their Republican counterparts in inaugurals. They tend to tell the people a journey story which sounds like a fairy tale with a happy ending. The Republican presidents, on the contrary, tend to use journey metaphor less, instead, they tend to promote traditional values to the audience. Donald Trump uses the journey metaphor the least, which shows his difference in rhetoric from his predecessors.

2.1.4 Construction metaphor

Sometimes abstract notions are conceptualized in terms of construction or objects related to it. Construction is part of everyday life so it becomes a common source domain for a great many metaphors. Construction metaphor too has a cognitive function to frame abstract concepts. It is often used in all kinds of discourse, with presidential discourse being no exception.

Construction metaphor helps people visualize abstractions, it makes them tangible. As is known, seeing is believing. What is visible is controllable. Humans hate the unknown and the incomprehensible. If they can see something abstract like history, future, democracy, politics as something concrete like a building, a door, a porch, or a bridge, they have a sense of involvement,

awareness, and knowledgeability. Psychologically, construction metaphor to some extent draws us nearer to what is abstract by concretizing the abstract concept.

We shall now discuss how construction metaphor is exploited in the five presidents' inaugurals.

Table 6. Construction metaphors in the five presidents' inaugurals

Presidents	Conceptual metaphors
Bush Senior (1989)	DEMOCRACY IS A BUILDING; FUTURE IS A DOOR; TOMORROW IS A ROOM
Bill Clinton (1993)	HISTORY IS A CONSTRUCTION CRISIS IS A CONSTRUCTION MATERIAL; NATION IS A CONSTRUCTION; DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM ARE CONSTRUCTIONS
Bill Clinton (1997)	NATION IS A CONSTRUCTION; HISTORY IS A CONSTRUCTION; HIGHER EDUCATION IS A DOOR; FAMILY, COMMUNITY, EDUCATION, ENVIROMENT ARE CONSTRUCTIONS; LIFE IS A CONSTRUCTION; THE OPPORTUNITY TO FUTURE IS A BRIDGE
Bush Junior (2001)	COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION; COMMUNITIES ARE CONSTRUCTIONS CHARACTER IS A CONSTRUCTION
Bush Junior (2005)	SOCIETY IS A CONSTRUCTION; CHARACTER IS A CONSTRUCTION
Barack Obama (2009)	ECONOMY IS A CONSTRUCTION
Donald Trump (2017)	COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION; POLITICS IS CONSTRUCTION

The target domains of construction metaphor in the inaugurals range from abstract concepts such as country, history, future, politics, economy, freedom and democracy to concepts such as character, life, family, community, and education.

In Bush Senior's inaugural, there are two instances of construction metaphor.

1. *We meet on **democracy's front porch**. A good place to talk as neighbors and as friends. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)*

2. *There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path. But this is a time when **the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room called tomorrow**.*

*Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy **through the door to freedom**. Men and women of the world move toward free markets **through the door to prosperity**. The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought **through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows**. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)*

In the first instance, the president equates America with democracy which is conceptualized as a building with a porch. When he says “we meet on democracy's front porch”, he means that people of all walks of life and social standings can reunite, forgetting their differences of yesteryear. Saying “front”, he should mean that it is for all people irrespective of their political preferences. All this creates an amalgam of meanings enabling the president to reach out to a big audience.

In the second instance, using the two conceptual metaphors FUTURE IS A DOOR and TOMORROW IS A ROOM, Bush Senior exploits the image of a door to a room in order to objectify the concepts of future and tomorrow, make them visible, touchable and, most importantly, available. Future and tomorrow are fancy concepts, but illusory. Making them as concrete objects enables the audience to believe that they are attainable. Both the two conceptual metaphors have a reassuring function, as they serve to make the audience happy and self-confident.

Of the five presidents Bill Clinton seems to use construction metaphor most frequently. There are nine types of construction metaphor all in all in his two inaugurals, among which the conceptual metaphor HISTORY IS A CONSTRUCTION appears in both of his inaugurals.

1. *From our Revolution to the Civil War, to the Great Depression, to the civil rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination **to construct from these crises the pillars of our history**. Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very **foundations** of our Nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow Americans, this is our time. Let us embrace it. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

2. *Martin Luther King's dream was the American dream. His quest is our quest: the ceaseless striving to live out our true creed. **Our history has been built on such dreams and labors**. And by our dreams and labors, we will redeem the promise of America in the 21st century. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

In the first instance, the two construction metaphors HISTORY IS A CONSTRUCTION and CRISIS IS A CONSTRUCTION MATERIAL are exploited to highlight the merits of American people who have been able to turn adversity into advantage and make history. The rhetorical force of the metaphor here is to make people feel powerful, confident, and happy as makers of history.

In the second instance, “dreams and labors” are conceived of as the foundation of history.

Besides the conceptual metaphor HISTORY IS A CONSTRUCTION, there are also other construction metaphors in Bill Clinton's first inaugural, including NATION IS A CONSTRUCTION and DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM ARE CONSTRUCTIONS. See the instances below.

1. *Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very **foundations** of our Nation, <...>. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

2. *While America **rebuilds** at home, <...>. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

3. *Our hopes, our hearts, our hands are with those on every continent who **are building democracy and freedom**. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

In Bill Clinton's second inaugural, there are construction metaphors including NATION IS A CONSTRUCTION, HIGHER EDUCATION IS A DOOR, FAMILY, COMMUNITY, EDUCATION, ENVIROMENT ARE CONSTRUCTIONS, LIFE IS A CONSTRUCTION, and THE OPPORTUNITY TO FUTURE IS A BRIDGE. See the instances below.

1. *Fellow citizens, let us **build that America, a nation** <...>.* (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)

2. *The doors of higher education will be open to all.* (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)

3. *Once again, we are **building stronger families, thriving communities, better educational opportunities, a cleaner environment.*** (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)

4. *The preeminent mission of our new government is <...>, **to build better lives.*** (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)

5. *And so, my fellow Americans, <...> let us **build our bridge, a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise.*** (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)

Bridge metaphor is a frequently used metaphor when Bill Clinton was running for a second term. Bill Clinton exploits bridge metaphor many times in his Acceptance Address both to favorably interpret his policy and to attack his opponent. The use of the bridge metaphor not only cements his discourse in different social contexts, but also enhances its rhetorical power across his discourses.

Bush Junior in both of his inaugurals uses construction metaphor to discuss the construction of family, community, society, and nation. See the instance below.

1. *And this is my solemn pledge: I will work **to build a single nation of justice and opportunity.*** (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)

2. *I ask you to be citizens: Citizens, not spectators; citizens, not subjects; responsible citizens **building communities of service and a nation character.*** (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)

3. *To give every American a stake in the promise and future of our country, we will bring the highest standards to our schools and **build an ownership society.*** (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

4. *In America's ideal of freedom, the public interest depends on private character, on integrity and tolerance toward others and the rule of conscience in our own lives. Self-government relies, in the end, on the governing of the self. **That edifice of character is built in families,** supported by communities with standards, and sustained in our national life by the truths of Sinai, the Sermon on the Mount, the words of the Koran, and the varied faiths of our people.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

In the instances, Bush Junior makes a promise to provide a fairer society. He encourages people to help him build a fair society. This shows that building is a process that requires efforts on the part of each person or group involved. The verb “to build” is one of the most frequently used verbs, according to dictionaries. It has always been applied to many spheres of life, be it family, character or society. And this makes it well understood and well received by the public.

In Barack Obama’s inaugurals, construction metaphor is used the least. The only one instance reveals the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A BUILDING. By saying “to lay a new foundation for growth”, Obama intends to start to build American economy from scratch or he means that his mission is to bring about some kind of growth that would go in a different direction as compared to his predecessors. See the instance below.

*For everywhere we look, there is work to be done. The state of the economy calls for action, bold and swift, and we will act not only to create new jobs but **to lay a new foundation for growth.** (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)*

The phrase “to lay a [new] foundation” deserves special mention. It is recurrent in Obama’s rhetoric, especially in his economic discourses. For example, in his most hyped *The New Foundation Speech* at Georgetown University on April 14 in 2009 he exploits this phrase so as to encapsulate his policy, including five aspects: finance, education, energy, health, and budget. He cites a parable from the Sermon on the Mount about two men who build houses, one on sand and the other on rock; the former is destroyed by a storm, the latter remains standing sound. The parable is designed to criticize the former administration through which Obama shows his intention to make economy recover from recession and build it anew.

Now, there’s a parable at the end of the Sermon on the Mount that tells the story of two men <...>.

*<...> **We cannot rebuild this economy on the same pile of sand. We must build our house upon a rock. We must lay a new foundation for growth and prosperity – a foundation***

that will move us from an era of borrow and spend to one where we save and invest; where we consume less at home and send more exports abroad.

*It's a **foundation built upon five pillars** that will grow our economy and make this new century another American century <...>. (April 14, 2009, Barack Obama, "A New Foundation" Speech)*

American presidents repeatedly made slogans. Suffice it to recollect F.D.R.'s New Deal, Theodore Roosevelt's Square Deal, Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom, Harry S. Truman's Fair Deal, John F. Kennedy's New Frontier, Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society, Bill Clinton's New Covenant and George W. Bush's Ownership Society. Obama was no exception. However, Obama's New Foundation, with the foundation metaphor in the core, does not seem to have made great changes in the society. As is known, his tenure did not improve the economy much.

Donald Trump uses the verb "rebuild" more often than others. There are three instances of construction metaphor.

*1. We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort **to rebuild our country** and restore its promise for all of our people. Together, we will determine the course of America and the world for many, many years to come. (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)*

*2. We will get our people off of welfare and back to work, **rebuilding** our country with American hands and American labor. (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)*

*3. At the **bedrock** of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other. (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)*

In the first two instances, the prefix "re" suggests that the president wants to change the country as he is not happy with the job done by his predecessor. A similar use of "rebuild" can be found in Bill Clinton's first inaugural. This creates a tendency with American presidents, when the Democrats criticize the administration of Republicans and vice versa. In the third instance, when Trump uses "the bedrock of our politics", he emphasizes that patriotism is all important in political matters.

In conclusion, it must be said that the conceptual metaphor COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION or NATION IS A CONSTRUCTION is very common among all the construction metaphors and is usually manifested by the verb “to build”. We may observe that construction metaphor has a pragmatic function to concretize many abstract concepts. The metaphor COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION makes any call on the part of the president to build America visible. Affecting the people’s imagery and emotions, construction metaphor serves as a pragmatic tool to influence their political judgments.

When the five presidents are compared in terms of the use of construction metaphor in inaugurals, we may observe that Bill Clinton uses it the most. In terms of topics represented by construction metaphor, Bush Junior emphasizes the importance of family and community in society, Barack Obama economy, and Donald Trump politics.

2.1. 5 Medical metaphor

Medical metaphors originate from the source domains of various diseases, medicines, and related cures. They have an evaluative function since they are often used to relate a negative value and attitude to target domains. For example, when disease metaphor is used to talk about a political idea, then it naturally causes people to reject this idea because people know from their own personal experience the harm that this disease does. Medical metaphors are few in the presidential inaugurals due to their negative associations. When the presidents use it, they often refer to problems, intending to show how serious they are and what kind of solutions might be found to repair the situation.

We will now present a table showing how medical metaphor is exploited in the five presidents’ inaugurals.

Table 7. Medical metaphors in the five presidents’ inaugurals

Presidents	Metaphors
Bush Senior (1989)	Bacteria metaphor

Bill Clinton (1993)	Plague metaphor Illness metaphor
Bill Clinton (1997)	Plague metaphor
Bush Junior (2005)	Illness metaphor
Barack Obama (2013)	Illness metaphor
Donald Trump (2017)	Illness metaphor

From the table above, we may observe that there are three types of medical metaphor in the five presidents' inaugurals. The first type is **bacteria metaphor** that is used in Bush Senior's inaugural.

*There are few clear areas in which we as a society must rise up united and express our intolerance. The most obvious now is drugs. And when that first cocaine was smuggled in on a ship, it may as well have been **a deadly bacteria** (sic!), so much has it hurt the body, the soul of our country. And there is much to be done and to be said, but take my word for it: This scourge will stop! (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)*

In this instance, we can see that the conceptual metaphor COCAINE IS A BACTERIA highlights the harmful and deadly feature of the cocaine, thus makes people aware of its harm and keep away from it.

The second type of medical metaphor is **plague metaphor**. It can be found in Bill Clinton's both inaugurals. There are two instances.

*1. Today, a generation raised in the shadows of the cold war assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom but threatened still by ancient hatreds and **new plagues**. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

*2. The divide of race has been America's constant curse. And each new wave of immigrants gives new targets to old prejudices. Prejudice and contempt cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction are no different. These forces have nearly destroyed our Nation in the past. They **plague** us still. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

We may observe that in the first instance plague metaphor is manifested by the noun "plague" and in the second instance it is manifested by the verb "to plague". The noun "plague" literally refers to a very infectious disease that causes death and spreads quickly to a large number of people. According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary, it also refers to the black death, a virulent

contagious febrile disease which caused a lot of death in Middle Ages. To call something plague is to emphasize the disastrous results it may cause. Therefore, it requires early attention and cure, lest the disease kill many. It can be also seen that the target domain of the plague metaphor is not explicit in the first instance. In the second instance, prejudice and contempt are regarded as plagues.

The last type of medical metaphor in the inaugurals is **illness metaphor**. There are five instances.

1. *Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot **be cured by** what is right with America. And so today we pledge an end to the era of deadlock and drift, and a new season of American renewal has begun. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

2. *These questions that judge us also unite us, because Americans of every party and background, Americans by choice and by birth are bound to one another in the cause of freedom. We have known divisions, which **must be healed to move forward** in great purposes, and I will strive in good faith **to heal** them. (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)*

3. *Through it all, we have never relinquished our skepticism of central authority nor have we succumbed to **the fiction that all society's ills can be cured through government alone**. Our celebration of initiative and enterprise, our insistence on hard work and personal responsibility, these are constants in our character. (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)*

4. *This generation of Americans has been tested by crises that steeled our resolve and proved our resilience. A decade of war is now ending. **An economic recovery** has begun. (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)*

5. *A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and **heal** our divisions. (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)*

From the instances above, we can see that the illness metaphor is represented by the verbs “to cure” and “to heal”, and the nouns “ills” and “recovery”.

In conclusion, medical metaphor is relatively few in the presidential inaugurals due to its negative associations. And we also observe that presidents tend to use less specific terms of disease, instead, they use the verbs “to cure” and “to heal”, and the nouns “ills” and “recovery” to describe problems that they pay attention to and intend to solve. The target domains of the medical metaphor

range from drug problem, division, prejudice and contempt to social problems and economic problem.

2.1.6 Other metaphors

In the five presidents' inaugurals, there are other types of metaphors that are not frequently used compared to the five types of metaphor listed above. However, these metaphors still have an explanatory value. We will organize them in the table below and discuss how they work in the inaugurals.

Table 8. Other metaphors in the five presidents' inaugurals

Presidents	Metaphors
Bush Senior (1989)	Book metaphor; Story metaphor; Chorus metaphor
Bill Clinton (1993)	Engine metaphor; Chorus metaphor; Laboratory metaphor
Bill Clinton (1997)	Book metaphor; Gift metaphor; Theatre metaphor
Bush Junior (2001)	Story metaphor
Bush Junior (2005)	Machine metaphor; Music metaphor
Barack Obama (2009)	Book metaphor ; Game metaphor; Gift metaphor; Machine metaphor
Barack Obama (2013)	Gift metaphor; Sports metaphor; Anchor metaphor
Donald Trump (2017)	War metaphor

From the table above, we may observe that all in all there are thirteen types of metaphors, including book metaphor, story metaphor, laboratory metaphor, gift metaphor, theatre metaphor, chorus metaphor, music metaphor, engine metaphor, machine metaphor, anchor metaphor, game metaphor, sports metaphor, competition metaphor, and war metaphor. In this part, we shall see how each type of these metaphors works in the five presidents' inaugurals.

The first metaphor we shall discuss is **book metaphor**. It appears in Bush Senior's inaugural, Bill Clinton's second inaugural and Barack Obama's first inaugural.

*1. Some see leadership as high drama and the sound of trumpets calling, and sometimes it is that. But I see history as a book with many pages, and each day we **fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning**. The new breeze blows, **a page turns, the story unfolds**. And so,*

today **a chapter begins**, a small and stately **story** of unity, diversity, and generosity -- shared, and written, together. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)

2. Let us shape the hope of this day into **the noblest chapter in our history**. Yes, let us build our bridge, a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land of new promise. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)

3. And because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation and emerged from that **dark chapter** stronger and more united <...>. (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

In these three instances, the conceptual metaphor HISTORY IS A BOOK is manifested by the expressions “a book with pages”, “the noblest chapter”, and “dark chapter”. History as a book is a conventional metaphor.

In the first instance, Bush Senior uses book metaphor and breeze metaphor together to describe the process of change as breeze turning pages. Each new page indicates new development or progress. Using this metaphor, he intends to show that there would be a new chapter and a new story during his presidential period.

In the second instance, Bill Clinton’s book metaphor is manifested by the phrase “the noblest chapter” which metaphorically refers to the good period in the history.

In the third instance, Barack Obama uses the phrase “dark chapter” to refer to the Civil war and segregation that bring unpleasant memories.

Next comes **story metaphor**. Among all the five presidents, only Bush Senior and Bush Junior use it, and it seems that Bush Junior is the one who prefers it the most. There are three instances of story metaphor.

1. The new breeze blows, a page turns, **the story unfolds**. And so, today a chapter begins, a small and stately **story of unity, diversity, and generosity** – shared, and written, together. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)

2. I am honored and humbled to stand here where so many of America’s leaders have come before me, and so many will follow. We have a place, all of us, **in a long story, a story** we continue but whose end we will not see. It is **a story of** a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, **the story of** a slaveholding society that became a servant of freedom,

the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.

*It is the American story, a story of flawed and fallible people united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals. The grandest of these ideals is an **unfolding** American promise that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born. (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)*

*3. Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration. The years and changes accumulate, but the themes of this day, he would know: **our Nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream of dignity.***

*We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose <...> This work continues, **the story goes on**, and an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm. (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)*

In the second and third instances, we may observe that Bush Junior frequently uses story metaphor in his first inaugural. The metaphor firstly occurs at the beginning of the inaugural and then is repeated at the end of it. Thus, it functions as a cohesive tool to organize the structure of the address. In this sense, story metaphor contributes to the fabric of the text.

When Bush Junior talks of a grand American story, he provides the audience with a shared platform in which everyone can have a role. Story metaphor in this sense has a function of unifying people in the country and create solidarity among them. Besides, being brought into a shared story it also makes people feel a sense of belonging, thus binding destinies of the people and the country together. They cannot leave without each other.

In the third instance, by saying “We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose. Yet, his purpose is achieved in our duty”, Bush Junior shows that although people cannot decide where the story is going, they can meaningfully contribute to it.

The third metaphor in question is the **laboratory metaphor**, used in Bill Clinton's first inaugural.

And so I say to all of you here: Let us resolve to reform our politics so that power and privilege no longer shout down the voice of the people. Let us put aside personal advantage

*so that we can feel the pain and see the promise of America. Let us resolve **to make our Government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called bold, persistent experimentation, a Government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays. Let us give this Capital back to the people to whom it belongs.*** (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)

In this instance, the metaphor is a reference to another president – Franklin Roosevelt. Government is regarded as a place for experimentation. The metaphor intends to reveal that the “government” is not something that is perfect or complete once and for all, instead it requires constant check and correction.

Next comes **gift metaphor**. It is used in Bill Clinton’s second inaugural and Barack Obama’s first and second inaugurals.

1. *Fellow citizens, we must not waste **the precious gift of this time.** For all of us are on that same journey of our lives, and our journey, too, will come to an end. But the journey of our America must go on.* (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)

2. *The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit, to choose our better history, to carry forward **that precious gift**, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.* (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

3. *And with eyes fixed on the horizon and God’s grace upon us, **we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.*** (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

4. *For history tells us that while these truths may be self-evident, they’ve never been self-executing; that while **freedom is a gift from God**, it must be secured by His people here on Earth.* (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)

In the four instances above, the ideas such as equality, freedom, and democracy are conceptualized as God-given gifts. Gift metaphor here is used to highlight that these ideas should not be wasted and should be cherished.

Another group of metaphors is **chorus metaphor, music metaphor, and theatre metaphor**. These three are closely related to each other since they all belong to entertainment. The source domains of music metaphor and chorus metaphor are from the field of music.

There are two instances of chorus metaphor, one from Bush Senior’s inaugural, the other from Bill Clinton’s first inaugural.

1. *We need a new engagement, too, between the Executive and the Congress. The challenges before us will be thrashed out with the House and the Senate <...> **We need harmony; we've had a chorus of discordant voices.** (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)*

2. *The American people have summoned the change we celebrate today. You have raised your voices in an unmistakable **chorus**. You have cast your votes in historic numbers. And you have changed the face of Congress, the Presidency, and the political process itself. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

Chorus metaphor locates its source domain in the sphere of social activities, such as economic sphere, sports sphere, art sphere, and political sphere which are correlated. Therefore, some concepts of one sphere may be explained through relative concepts of other spheres.

In the first instance, chorus metaphor is used to understand the target domain – politics. The conceptual metaphor – COMPETING POLITICAL OPINIONS ARE A CHORUS OF DISCORDANT VOICES relates music sphere to politics sphere. Understanding what political conflicting opinions are requires a visualization of a large group of people singing together but with unpleasant voices that are in disharmony. The chorus of discordant voices definitely make people feel unpleasant and hope it should change or stop because it is a disaster. Therefore, when a lot of competing political opinions are conceptualized as a chorus of discordant voices, the metaphor affects the audience's emotions and judgements as it influences their auditory sense.

In the second instance, on the contrary, chorus metaphor is used to refer to various voices or opinions in collected harmony. Chorus as a group of people singing together is often used to describe the condition of gathering different opinions together to produce harmonious music. The fundamental idea behind the use of chorus metaphor here is the emphasis of unity and inclusiveness of different opinions.

There is one instance of **music metaphor** in Bush Junior's second inaugural.

*And all the allies of the United States can know: We honor your friendship; we rely on your counsel; and we depend on your help. Division among free nations is a primary goal of freedom's enemies. The **concerted effort** of free nations to promote democracy is **a prelude to** our enemies' defeat. (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)*

In this instance, the word “concert” as a verb in the phrase “the concerted effort of” metaphorically means the state of different opinions conferring and reaching an agreement. It is used to indicate the union formed by mutual communication of opinions and views. In the phrase “a prelude to” the noun “prelude” refers to a musical section or movement introducing the chief subject or serving as an introduction to an opera or oratorio. The combination of “concert” and “prelude” creates a musical warlike atmosphere.

Bill Clinton in his second inaugural uses **theatre metaphor** once.

The promise of America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal. It was extended and preserved in the 19th century, when our Nation spread across the continent, saved the Union, and abolished the awful scourge of slavery.

*Then, in turmoil and triumph, that promise exploded onto the **world stage** to make this the American Century. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

The phrase “the world stage” reveals that the world is seen as a big stage where every country is an actor. Combined with the explosive metaphor, this sentence shows a dramatic scene, with audience seeing something exploded onto the stage, which is attractive and sensational.

The next three metaphors we shall discuss are **machine metaphor**, **engine metaphor**, and **anchor metaphor**.

There are two instances of machine metaphor, one from Bush Junior's second inaugural, the other from Barack Obama's first inaugural.

*1. We go forward with complete confidence in the eventual triumph of freedom, not because **history runs on the wheels of inevitability** – it is human choices that move events; not because we consider ourselves a chosen nation – God moves and chooses as He wills. We have confidence because freedom is the permanent hope of mankind, the hunger in dark places, the longing of the soul. (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)*

2. Nor is the question before us whether **the market** is a force for good or ill. **Its power to generate** wealth and expand freedom is unmatched. But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, **the market can spin out of control**. (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

Machine metaphor originates from the mechanical worldview in Classical Economics during the late 18th century, which is influenced by Newtonian Physics. The introduction of the Newtonian Physics in America had influenced the lives of the first Americans, who often equated “Newtonian metaphoricity with the machine metaphor” [Akrivoulis 2008: 17].

In the first instance, the expression “We go forward with complete confidence in the eventual triumph of freedom, not because **history runs on the wheels of inevitability** – it is human choices that move events” comes from Martin Luther King Jr.’s speech in his Methodist Student leadership Conference Address in 1964. In the speech, he said that “Somewhere along the way – Somewhere we must come to see that human progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and the persistent work of dedicated individuals who are willing to be coworkers with God”. The idea behind it is that change doesn’t happen just out of nowhere, instead, you need to work hard for it. History doesn’t just happen, instead, humans make history.

In the second instance, market is understood in terms of a machine which has power to generate something, and which may lose control if something bad happens. Machine is man-made, so it can be operated, checked, regulated and fixed by people. The underlying meaning of the machine metaphor is that market could be regulated and fixed by the government, which is the basic political philosophy of the Democratic party.

There is one instance of engine metaphor in Bill Clinton’s first inaugural.

Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but **the engine** of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)

In this instance, the idea of democracy is conceived of as the engine in the development of America. Engine refers to a machine that converts any forms of energy into mechanical force and motion. It serves as an energy source. To describe democracy as an engine emphasizes its indispensability in country development.

There is one anchor metaphor in Obama's second inaugural.

*America will remain **the anchor** of strong alliances in every corner of the globe.*
(Barack Obama January 20, 2013)

Barack Obama uses anchor metaphor to depict the role America plays in the international arena. Anchor is metaphorically used to mean a reliable or principal support.

The next two metaphors are **game metaphor** and **sports metaphor**, used by Barack Obama in his both inaugurals.

*1. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth. Our workers are no less productive than when this crisis began. Our minds are no less inventive. Our goods and services no less needed than they were last week or last month or last year. Our capacity remains undiminished. But our time of **standing pat**, of protecting narrow interests and putting off unpleasant decisions, that time has surely passed. Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of remaking America.* (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

*2. Together, we discovered that a free market only thrives when there are rules to ensure competition and **fair play**.* (Barack Obama January 20, 2013)

In the first instance, the phrase "stand pat" is a poker term. It refers to the situation that in draw poker, players playing the original hand and refusing the right to change any of their card, either as a bluff or in the belief that it is the best hand. It metaphorically means the state of refusing to abandon one's opinion or belief.

In the second instance, the phrase "fair play" refers to the play according to the rules of a game without cheating. Market activity is viewed as a sport, or a game.

Donald Trump is the only president of the five to have used **war metaphor** in his inaugural.

There are four instances of war metaphor in his inaugural rhetoric.

1. *I will **fight for** you with every breath in my body, and I will never, ever let you down. (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)*

2. *Do not allow anyone to tell you that it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and **fight** and spirit of America. We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again. (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)*

3. *This American **carnage** stops right here and stops right now. (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)*

4. *It's time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget: that whether we are Black or Brown or White, we all **bleed the same red blood of patriots**, we all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same great American flag. (Donald Trump January 20, 2017)*

In the first two instances, the verb “fight” is used to describe a kind of fighting spirit. In the third instance, carnage literally means “great and usually bloody slaughter or injury, as in battle”. In Trump’s wording, it refers to a social and economic desolation. However, it creates a negative connotation and imagery which most likely shatters the audience. This hyperbolic metaphor was harshly criticized by the media which was never the case before. No president of the five before Trump ever dared to use such negatively-connoted vocabulary in the presidential inaugural, which signals a change in the rhetorical paradigm.

In conclusion, we may observe that besides the five common metaphors – personification, nature metaphor, movement metaphor, construction metaphor and medical metaphor, there are also other metaphors with explanatory values in the presidential inaugurals. They are book metaphor, story metaphor, laboratory metaphor, gift metaphor, theatre metaphor, chorus metaphor, music metaphor, engine metaphor, machine metaphor, anchor metaphor, game metaphor, sports metaphor, competition metaphor, and war metaphor.

Book story is common in the presidential inaugurals used to describe the target domain *history*. It appears in Bush Senior's inaugural, Bill Clinton's second inaugural, and Barack Obama's first inaugural.

Bush Senior and Bush Junior are the only two presidents who use story metaphor in their inaugurals. And Bush Junior makes it a dominant metaphor in his first inaugural. Story metaphor serves to create solidarity in the audience and thus to make speaker's rhetoric persuasive.

Among all the five presidents, Barack Obama repeats using gift metaphor in both his inaugurals to describe gift, highlighting its preciousness. Besides, he is the only one who uses sports metaphor in his both inaugurals to describe problems in economy.

Donald Trump, unlike a traditional politician, creates a different metaphorical scenario in his inaugural with several instances of war metaphor.

2.1. 7 Metaphor clusters

We shall firstly analyze metaphor clusters in each inaugural and bear in mind these questions: What are their characteristics? How are they related to the address itself? How are metaphors in a metaphor cluster related to each other? What are their functions in the address? Secondly, an attempt will be made to compare the use of metaphor clusters in all eight inaugurals in order to find out possible similarities and differences among them.

George H.W. Bush (January 20, 1989)

There are two occurrences of metaphor clustering in Bush Senior's inaugural.

*1. I come before you and assume the Presidency at a moment rich with promise. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better. For **a new breeze is blowing**, and a world **refreshed by freedom** seems **reborn**. For in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over. The totalitarian era is passing, **its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree**. A new breeze is blowing, and a nation **refreshed by freedom** stands ready to push on. There is **new ground to be broken** and new action to be taken. There are*

times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping the mists will lift and reveal the right path. But this is a time when the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room called tomorrow.

Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy through the door to freedom. Men and women of the world move toward free markets through the door to prosperity. The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)

2. Some see leadership as high drama and the sound of trumpets calling, and sometimes it is that. But I see history as a book with many pages, and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning. The new breeze blows, a page turns, the story unfolds. And so, today a chapter begins, a small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity -- shared, and written, together. (Bush Senior January 20, 1989)

In the two metaphor clusters, breeze metaphor functions as a cohesive tool to link with other metaphors and create cognitive scenarios.

In the first instance, metaphors and other elements of figurative language are crowded in the two adjacent paragraphs, creating a cognitive scenario that shows the audience a picture of an unfavorable past, a present with the opportunity of progress and a bright future. There are causal links between the breeze metaphor and birth metaphor, journey metaphor, the leaves and tree simile, and the building metaphor. Because a new breeze is blowing, a world is “reborn”, “old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree”, a nation starts to “push on”, and “a new ground is to be broken”. All these images contribute to one picture in which a new change is on the way and that this change will have a positive impact.

Bush Senior uses fog metaphor, journey metaphor, room metaphor and door metaphor to show us two pictures to compare: One is the image of a place full of mist, in which everything is unclear and it is impossible to see an exit route, and the other is a picture of a door that waits for people to walk through it. The two pictures are all about the future. It is clear that the second picture is favorable for everyone. Bush Senior suggests that it is certainly the second future he would provide for his people. The correlated images used by the

president reinforce the fact that he is well qualified to be a president who would bring his people a brilliant future. The related metaphorical expressions in the address suggest that what may make this bright future a reality is the change that will come about when the president is in office.

In the second instance, Bush Senior combines the breeze metaphor with book metaphor and story metaphor. History is seen as a storybook. Again, the new breeze means a new change, and the change turns a new page of the book of history and brings about new developments. It brings a bright future, unity, diversity, and generosity. The second instance compares the image of high drama and the image of books. High drama is usually used in political discourse to signal something negative, as is the case in this instance. The second image of books is much more preferable.

All in all, we can see from the two instances that metaphors are linked to each other in each instance of metaphor clustering. They are topically related, describing one of the main topics of the address: change. Change is an eternal force in the world. It is a force unseen by humans, but the result it brings can be observed by humans. The formation and development of everything is closely related to the force of change. In presidential inaugurals, the topic of change is an oft-mentioned one. The instances of metaphor clustering show an image of a negative past and a positive future. The good future will be guaranteed by the change brought about by the president.

In terms of discourse structure, the first instance appears towards the beginning of the inaugural, and the second instance at the end of the inaugural. The two instances echo each other with the help of breeze metaphor that works as a cohesive tool to link with other metaphors in the inaugural.

Bill Clinton (January 20, 1993)

In Bill Clinton's first inaugural, there are two instances of metaphor clustering.

1. *We know we have to face hard truths and **take strong steps**, but we have not done so; instead, **we have drifted**. And **that drifting has eroded our resources, fractured our economy, and shaken our confidence**. Though our challenges are fearsome, so are our strengths. Americans have ever been a restless, questing, hopeful people. And we must bring to our task today the vision and will of those who came before us. From our Revolution to the Civil War, to the Great Depression, to the civil rights movement, **our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the pillars of our history**. Thomas Jefferson believed that to preserve the very **foundations** of our Nation, we would need dramatic change from time to time. Well, my fellow Americans, this is our time. Let us embrace it.*

***Our democracy** must be not only the envy of the world but **the engine** of our own renewal. There is nothing wrong with America that cannot **be cured by** what is right with America. And so today we pledge an end to **the era of deadlock and drift, and a new season of American renewal has begun**. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

2. *The brave Americans serving our Nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand are testament to our resolve. But our greatest strength is the power of our ideas, which are still new in many lands. Across the world we see them embraced, and we rejoice. Our hopes, our hearts, our hands are with those on every continent who are **building democracy and freedom**. The cause is America's cause. The American people have summoned the change we celebrate today. You have raised your voices in an unmistakable **chorus**. You have cast your votes in historic numbers. And you have **changed the face of** Congress, the Presidency, and the political process itself. Yes, you, my fellow Americans, **have forced the spring**. Now we must do the work **the season** demands. To that work I now turn with all the authority of my office. I ask the Congress to join with me. But no President, no Congress, no Government can undertake this mission alone. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1993)*

In the first instance, the metaphorical words and phrases in bold and italics crowd into a metaphor cluster. The metaphor cluster consists of building metaphor, engine metaphor, illness-curing metaphor, movement metaphor, and the seasonal metaphor. These metaphors relate to the topic of change from past to future.

In the cluster, there are two sentences of movement metaphor, among which the first lies at the beginning of the metaphor cluster and the second lies at the end. Clinton in the first sentence raises the problem of bad situation of the

country, and promises to solve the problem in the second sentence. The two sentences echo each other and form a closed loop. Problem in past is proposed, and will be solved in the future. Building metaphors HISTORY IS A BUILDING and NATION IS A BUILDING makes the two abstract concepts seem more real and concrete. The conceptual metaphor HISTORY IS A BUILDING highlights the determination of American people who can take advantage of crises and transform them into the pillars of the building of history. It reveals the positive attitude towards crises. The second building metaphor NATION IS A BUILDING highlights the necessity of change in order to maintain and strengthen the foundation of the nation.

The engine metaphor reveals the importance and indispensability of democracy in the country's development. The illness-curing metaphor suggests that America has a self-healing capacity. The two metaphors focuses on the important impetus for a country's development and renewal.

We can see that metaphors in the cluster are used to describe both the bad past and the promising future. The promising future is guaranteed by the change brought about by what is right with America and the traditional American ideals, such as democracy. Therefore, the metaphor clustering is **topical** in the inaugural because it helps to elaborate on one of the main topics of the inaugural, i.e. change and development.

In the second instance, the metaphor cluster includes the building metaphor, chorus metaphor, personification, spring metaphor. These metaphors dwell together to describe the topics of American ideals, partisan cooperation, and the renewal of America. And American is the main character who pushes the ongoing of realizing these topics. Bill Clinton in this cluster emphasizes the power of people that could change the present situation. He exploit the spring metaphor to influence audiences' emotion and judgement. The expression "you forced the spring" is rhetorically powerful, but realistically impossible. It is a powerful and persuasive strategy: It not only satisfies and reassures the audience

psychologically, but also makes them feel confident about choosing the president who speaks these words.

Bill Clinton (January 20, 1997)

In Bill Clinton's second inaugural, there are three occurrences of metaphor clustering.

1. *At the **dawn** of the 21 century, a free people must now choose to shape the forces of the information age and the global society, to unleash the limitless potential of all our people, and yes, to form a more perfect Union.*

*When last we gathered, **our march to this new future seemed less certain than it does today.** We vowed then **to set a clear course to** renew our Nation. In these 4 years, we have been touched by tragedy, exhilarated by challenge, strengthened by achievement. **America stands alone** as the world's indispensable nation. Once again, our economy is the strongest on Earth. Once again, we are **building stronger families, thriving communities, better educational opportunities, a cleaner environment.** (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

2. *The divide of race has been America's constant **curse.** And each new **wave of** immigrants gives new targets to old prejudices. **Prejudice and contempt cloaked** in the pretense of religious or political conviction are no different. These forces have nearly destroyed our Nation in the past. They **plague** us still. They **fuel** the fanaticism of terror. And they **torment** the lives of millions in **fractured** nations all around the world.*

*These obsessions **cripple** both those who hate and of course those who are hated, **robbing** both **of** what they might become. We cannot, we will not, succumb to **the dark impulses** that **lurk** in the far regions of the soul everywhere. We shall overcome them. And we shall replace them with the generous spirit of a people who feel at home with one another. Our **rich texture** of racial, religious, and political diversity will be a godsend in the 21st century. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, forge new **ties** that **bind** together. (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

3. *Fellow Americans, we must not **waste the precious gift of** this time. For all of us are **on that same journey of** our lives, and **our journey, too, will come to an end.** But **the journey of our America must go on.***

*And so, my fellow Americans, we must be strong, for there is much to dare. The demands of our time are great, and they are different. Let us **meet them** with faith and courage, with patience and a grateful, happy heart. Let us **shape the hope of this day into the noblest***

*chapter in our history. Yes, let us **build our bridge, a bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to** a blessed land of new promise.*

*May those generations whose faces we cannot yet see, whose names we may never know, say of us here that we **led our beloved land into** a new century with the American dream alive for all her children, with the American promise of a more perfect Union a reality for all her people, with America's **bright flame of freedom spreading throughout all the world.***

*From the height of this place and the summit of this century, let us **go forth.** (Bill Clinton January 20, 1997)*

In the first instance, the metaphor cluster includes the dawn metaphor, journey metaphor, personification NATION IS A PERSON, and the building metaphor. These metaphors crowd together to describe the change happened in the past four years. The journey metaphor is used to recall the change in confidence between past and present. From the sentences “when last we gathered, our march to this new future seemed less certain than it does today. We vowed then to set a clear course to renew our Nation”, we can see that the president implicitly acclaims himself since he describes the “less certain” journey in the past as becoming clearer after his first term and implies that America became the world’s most indispensable nation due to his governance. To personify America as a person standing alone is to highlight the image of a hero who is highly important. It is a political strategy to aggrandize America’s status in the world.

In the second instance, the metaphor cluster is based on one target domain with different source domains. The target domain is two kinds of negative attitudes: prejudice and contempt. These forces are metaphorical plagues, fuel, evil powers, robbers, and dark impulses. It is evident that the metaphors in this metaphor cluster are combined and accumulated to strengthen their power to describe the negative nature of prejudice and contempt. On the contrary, the texture metaphor and tie metaphor shows a positive picture of unity and harmony.

In the third instance, the gift metaphor, journey metaphor, bridge metaphor, and fire metaphor are connected to each other to make a picture of a traveller on a journey. Journey metaphor plays a dominant role in the cluster. The repeated use of the journey metaphors creates a coherent cognitive scenario: everyone is on the same journey to an unknown, but possibly happy, destination. When politicians use journey metaphors, it is often to highlight the action of “going” and possible bright and positive destinations, thus giving it a **reassuring function**. Special attention should be paid to Clinton’s combining of the journey metaphor with the bridge metaphor. He uses the bridge metaphor in almost twenty paragraphs in the address, relating his bridge metaphor to a variety of topics. Most of his bridge metaphors are used to acclaim his past accomplishments and future plans. The **interdiscursive** use of the bridge metaphor not only connects one’s different discourses, but also maintains the continuity of metaphor use throughout his discourses.

George W. Bush (January 20, 2001)

In George W. Bush’s first inaugural, there are three instances of metaphor clustering.

*1. I am honored and humbled to stand here where so many of America’s leaders have come before me, and so many will follow. **We have a place, all of us, in a long story, a story we continue but whose end we will not see. It is a story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old, the story of a slaveholding society that became a servant of freedom, the story of a power that went into the world to protect but not possess, to defend but not to conquer.***

It is the American story, a story of flawed and fallible people united across the generations by grand and enduring ideals. The grandest of these ideals is an unfolding American promise that everyone belongs, that everyone deserves a chance, that no insignificant person was ever born. (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)

*2. Americans are called to enact this promise in our lives and in our laws. And though our Nation has sometimes **halted** and sometimes **delayed**, we must **follow no other course.***

*Through much of the last century, **America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea. Now it is a seed upon the wind, taking root in many nations.** Our democratic faith is more than the creed of our country. It is the inborn hope of our humanity, **an ideal we carry** but do not own, a trust we bear and pass along. Even after nearly 225 years, **we have a long way yet to travel.** (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)*

3. *Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration. The years and changes accumulate, but the themes of this day, he would know: **our Nation's grand story of courage** and its simple dream of dignity.*

***We are not this story's author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose.** Yet, his purpose is achieved in our duty. And our duty is fulfilled in service to one another. Never tiring, never yielding, never finishing, we renew that purpose today, to make our country more just and generous, to affirm the dignity of our live and every life. This work continues, **the story goes on,** and angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm. (Bush Junior January 20, 2001)*

In the first instance, the story metaphor is repeated, creating a metaphor cluster. The word “story” is used metaphorically, referring to a description of events in a person’s life or in the development of a country. When the president says that “we have a place, all of us, in a long story, a story we continue but whose end we will not see”, he unifies the audience and gives the whole audience ***a sense of participation.*** This also makes such a grand and vague concept of the development of a country seem much clearer, since stories are familiar to all of us. Then, the repeated sentence structures of “it is a story of ...” and “it is the American story, a story of ...” focuses on America’s history, and the positive changes America has undertaken in the past.

The story metaphor occurs at the beginning of the inaugural and is also repeated at the end of the inaugural. It functions as a **cohesive tool** to the structure of the address. In the third example, the sentence “we are not this story’s author, who fills time and eternity with his purpose. Yet, his purpose is achieved in our duty” shows that although people cannot decide where the story is going, they can meaningfully contribute to the story. The story metaphor in this sentence encourages people to take part in the story process. The story

metaphor combines what has happened in the past and what will happen in the future. It contributes to the elaboration of the topic of this address, i.e. past and future. The use of the story metaphor at the beginning and end of the inaugural echo each other, thus making the address structurally coherent.

In the second instance, the juxtaposition of the two metaphors FAITH IN FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IS ROCK IN A RAGING SEA and FAITH IN FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IS A SEED UPON THE WIND aims to show America's determined faith in freedom and democracy.

George W. Bush (January 20, 2005)

The second inaugural of George W. Bush includes two instances of metaphor clustering.

1. *Today I also speak anew to my fellow citizens. From all of you I have asked patience in the hard task of securing America, which you have granted in good measure. Our country has accepted obligations that are difficult to fulfill and would be dishonorable to abandon. Yet because we have acted in the great liberating tradition of this Nation, tens of millions have achieved their freedom. And as **hope kindles hope**, millions more will find it. By our efforts, we **have lit a fire as well, a fire in the minds of men. It warms those who feel its power. It burns those who fight its progress. And one day this untamed fire of freedom will reach the darkest corners of our world.*** (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

2. *We **go forward** with complete confidence in the eventual triumph of freedom, not because **history runs on the wheels of inevitability** – it is human choices that move events; not because we consider ourselves a chosen nation – God moves and chooses as He wills. We have confidence because **freedom is the permanent hope of mankind, the hunger in dark places, the longing of the soul.** When our Founders declared a new order of the ages, when soldiers died **in wave upon wave** for a union based on liberty, when citizens marched in peaceful outrage under the banner "Freedom Now," they were acting on an ancient hope that is meant to be fulfilled. History has **an ebb and flow of justice**, but history also has **a visible direction**, set by liberty and the Author of Liberty.* (Bush Junior January 20, 2005)

In the first instance, the image of fire is related to the notion of freedom and hope. The cluster contributes to the elaboration of important topics of the inaugural: American ideals. Fire has rich metaphoric associations; it provides

warmth and cooked food, thus guaranteeing health and bodily comfort for humans. It relates inseparably to light, which represents intellectual knowing. It also burns and breaks down substances, therefore it has both purifying and destructive functions. All the characteristics of fire mentioned can be seen in the first instance. The linguistic expression “hope kindles hope” highlights the ease with which fire spreads, and the sentences “by our efforts, we have lit a fire as well, a fire in the minds of men. It warms those who feel its power. It burns those who fight its progress. And one day this untamed fire of freedom will reach the darkest corners of our world” shows us a complete picture of fire, with its quality of warmth, purifying force, rapid-spreading nature, and illumination.

The second instance includes the journey metaphor, machine metaphor, and sea metaphor. The journey metaphor is combined with the machine metaphor to describe the notion of history. The idea that “history not runs on the wheels of inevitability” may come from Martin Luther King Jr., who once said that “Somewhere along the way – Somewhere we must come to see that human progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts and the persistent work of dedicated individuals who are willing to be coworkers with God” in his Methodist Student Leadership Conference Address in 1964. The idea behind these sentences is that change doesn’t just happen, instead, you need to work hard for it. History doesn’t just happen, instead, humans make history. The sea metaphor in the second instance is manifested by two phrases. The phrase the phrase “wave upon wave” can also be used as “wave after wave”, meaning large quantities of something, coming in one wave after another. It is used to describe the high number of soldiers who sacrificed themselves for their nation. The sentence “history has an ebb and flow of justice” reveals how the condition of justice changes throughout history. Both instances use the phenomena of sea to describe some change, the first being the quantitative change and the second being the situational change.

Barack Obama (January 20, 2009)

There are four occurrences of metaphor clustering in Barack Obama's first inaugural.

1. *Forty-four Americans have now taken the Presidential oath. The words have been spoken during **rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace**. Yet every so often, the oath is taken amidst **gathering clouds and raging storms**. At these moments, **America has carried on** not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we the people have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents.* (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

2. *In reaffirming the greatness of our Nation, we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. **Our journey has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. It has not been the path for the fainthearted**, for those who prefer leisure over work or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, **it has been** the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things – some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor – **who have carried us up the long, rugged path toward prosperity and freedom**.* (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

3. *Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. **Its power to generate** wealth and expand freedom is unmatched. But this crisis has reminded us that without a watchful eye, **the market can spin out of control**. The Nation cannot prosper long when it favors only the prosperous. The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity, on our ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart, not out of charity, but because **it is the surest route to our common good**.* (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

4. *America, in the face of our common dangers, in **this winter of** our hardship, let us remember these timeless words. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more **the icy currents** and endure what **storms** may come. Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested, we refused **to let this journey end**; that **we did not turn back, nor did we falter**. And with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great **gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations**.* (Barack Obama January 20, 2009)

In the first instance, the nature phenomena related to the sea, like rising tides, still waters, gathering clouds and raging storms are used to describe the situation in the country. It is clear that Obama uses the ship of state metaphor

implicitly to highlight the changeable and dynamic situations a ship may meet at sea. The rising tides are used to describe the condition of a country being successful or thriving, the still waters are used to describe its stable condition, and the gathering clouds and raging storms are used to indicate a crisis situation a country may meet. These natural phenomenon metaphors are used to describe all kinds of situations a country may come across, and during these various moments, America “has carried on” due to the faithfulness to the ideals of forbearers and founding documents. The nature phenomenon metaphor is used alongside the movement metaphor to present us with a picture of a ship travelling constantly through the sea, despite facing various challenging situations.

The second and fourth instances are all about journey metaphors. In the second instance, the development of a country is described as a journey: a long, rugged journey with its destination of prosperity and freedom. And only “the doer” instead of “the fainthearted” can arrive at the destination. The journey metaphor is intended to inspire people to work hard to make their country great. In the fourth instance, Obama depicts a determined traveler who keeps going forward despite of the negative situation, such as winter, the icy current and storms. The use of journey metaphors runs throughout the address, structurally functioning as a cohesive tool. To describe something as a journey provides a relatively concrete framework for it. When journey metaphor is used to describe the development of a country, the abstract concept of development seems to possess the characteristics of journey-related, unpredictable circumstances along the way, forward movement, a destination-oriented nature, and, most of all, the desirable and happy end that we have no clear and certain idea of. The journey metaphor is used not only to encourage people, but also to unify people by providing a so-called shared journey experience.

In the third instance, the metaphor cluster consists of a machine metaphor and a journey metaphor. The market is seen as a machine which can generate

wealth and expand freedom, while also having the potential to fall out of our control if not monitored carefully. Machines are man-made, therefore, they can be operated, checked, regulated, and fixed by people. Therefore, the MARKET IS MACHINE metaphor used by the president reveals a fundamental principle of the Democratic Party, which holds the idea that the economy should be regulated and certain government intervention in the market is necessary.

Barack Obama (January 20, 2013)

There are two occurrences of metaphor clustering in Barack Obama's second inaugural.

1. *We, the people, declare today that the most evident of truths – that all of us are created equal – is the star that guides us still; just as it guided our forebears through Seneca Falls and Selma and Stonewall; just as it guided all those men and women, sung and unsung, who left footprints along this great Mall, to hear a preacher say that we cannot walk alone; to hear a King proclaim that our individual freedom is inextricably bound to the freedom of every soul on Earth. (January 20, 2013)*

2. *It is now our generation's task to carry on what those pioneers began. For our journey is not complete until our wives, our mothers and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts. Our journey is not complete until our gay brothers and sisters are treated like anyone else under the law—for if we are truly created equal, then surely the love we commit to one another must be equal as well. Our journey is not complete until no citizen is forced to wait for to exercise the right to vote. Our journey is not complete until we find a better way to welcome the striving, hopeful immigrants who still see America as land of opportunity—until bright young students and engineers are enlisted in our workforce rather than expelled from our country. Our journey is not complete until all our children, from the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm.*

That is our generation's task – to make these words, these rights, these values of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness real for every American. Being true to our founding documents does not require us to agree on every contour of life. It does not mean we all define liberty in exactly the same way or follow the same precise path to happiness. Progress

does not compel us to settle centuries-long debates about the role of government for all time, but it does require us to act in our time. (January 20, 2013)

The two metaphor clusters in Obama's second inaugural all consist of journey metaphors. From his both inaugurals, it can be deduced that Obama predominantly favors journey metaphors. The journey metaphor has a special ability to unify and reassure people. The journey metaphor makes the abstract concept of development seem as if it possesses the characteristics of journey-related unpredictable circumstances along the way, forward movement, destination-oriented, and most of all, the desirable and happy end that we have no clear and certain idea of. The journey metaphor is used to make the audience feel as though they have a choice to make, thus to unify them by providing them with a so-called shared journey experience.

The star metaphor in the first example relates to the idea of equality. Stars at night provide light, and can therefore guide travelers at night. Thus, this presents the idea that equality is necessary for the development of a country, especially in its dark times. In the second example, the sentence structure "For our journey is not complete until..." is repeated five times in the paragraph. The journey metaphor outlines the president's wishes, or rather, goals for the future. Metaphors, repetition, and parallelism are combined to fulfil the president's appeal for the necessary changes in the future.

Donald Trump (January 20, 2017)

There is only one occurrence of metaphor clustering in Donald Trump's inaugural.

*But for too many of our citizens a different reality exists: Mothers and children **trapped in poverty** in our inner citizens: rusted-our factories **scattered like tombstones** across the landscape of our Nation; an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of all knowledge; and the crime and the gangs and the drugs that have **stolen** too many lives and **robbed** our country **of** so much unrealized potential.*

This American carnage stops right here and stops right now. We are one Nation, and their pain is our pain, their dreams are our dreams, and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny. (January 20, 2017)

Metaphors are somewhat scattered, or located unevenly, in Trump's inaugural. The only instance of metaphor clustering spotted in research is used to describe a frightening image. It includes several conceptual metaphors: the metaphor POVERTY IS A LOCATION, FACTORIES ARE TOMBSTONES, personification CRIMES ARE CRIMINALS, and carnage metaphor SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DESOLATION IS CARNAGE. These metaphors are crowded together to form a very negative image. These metaphors are connected to each other, or rather, all other metaphors are used to serve the dominant metaphor in this clustering – the carnage metaphor.

The word “carnage” literally means “great and usually bloody slaughter or injury, as in battle”. Trump used it to refer to a social and economic desolation when he said that “This American carnage stops right here and stops right now”. However, due to its negative connotations, the word disturbed people by presenting a scary image. This hyperbolic metaphor to some extent influences the assessment of the address. It was harshly criticized by the media as soon as it emerged.

It should be noted that Trump's inaugural is different from the other inaugurals. The traditional aims of presidential address in unifying the two parties and the people and reiterating the traditional American ideas seem to be given less attention. In fact, the address was harshly criticized in the domestic media because of its content and wording. It was branded as an “unprecedented, divisive speech” (Time, 2017), “striking a tone of nationalism and populism” (Wall Street Journal, 2017; Los Angeles Times, 2017), and being “one of the most ominous” in U.S. history (Los Angeles Times, 2017).

Regarding significant similarities and differences between the metaphor clusters in the addresses, there are several observations.

The first observation to be made is that Trump's use of metaphor clustering is different from other four presidents'. The only instance of Trump's metaphor clustering is about the negative description of social condition. While in other four presidents' instances, certain target domains-topics are oft-mentioned. They are America's fundamental ideas and the development of a country. The topic of development appears in all clusters, and every occurrence is elaborated through the image of a journey. The topic of development is the most important priority for a country, so it comes as no surprise that every president talks about it in their inaugural.

Although every president draws on the fundamental ideas of modern society in their inaugurals, the ideas emphasized through their individual clusters are different. The topic of freedom appears in all inaugurals. The difference lies in the fact that different source domains are used to describe it. In the clusters of Bush Senior's inaugural, freedom is seen as something that can refresh a nation to help it to move forward. The topic of freedom also appears in other places in the inaugural, aside from the clusters. In a simile made especially for children, freedom is described as a beautiful kite. The concept of freedom as fire appears in the clusters of the inaugurals of Bill Clinton (1997) and Bush Junior (2005). As opposed to the fire metaphor, Bill Clinton (1993) views freedom in terms of construction. Obama (2009), in his clusters, speaks about freedom in terms of being a gift, but uses the metaphor of light to discuss freedom in other points of his address. Bush Junior, (2001) when talking about the topic of freedom in his clusters, focuses on the faith in freedom and democracy which was once a rock in a raging sea and then became a seed upon the wind.

Another repeatedly mentioned idea in these clusters is democracy, although it is less frequently mentioned than freedom. Clinton (1993) describes democracy in terms of engines and buildings, while Bush Junior (2001) mentions both freedom and democracy together. Among all the inaugurals and

clusters, only Obama (2013) uses metaphors to describe the idea of equality. He uses the star-with-a-journey metaphor to highlight the importance of equality in the development of a country.

Metaphors used for the topic of change only occur in the clusters of the inaugurals of Bush Senior (1989) and Bill Clinton (1993). Bush Senior uses the breeze metaphor, while Bill Clinton (1993) uses the spring metaphor.

In terms of the source domains used in the clusters of these presidents the journey metaphor is oft-used. Furthermore, each president has their own points of focus within the use of source domains: Bush Senior concentrates on his breeze metaphor, Bill Clinton prefers the building metaphor in 1993 and the journey metaphor in 1997, Bush Junior prefers the story metaphor in 2001 and the fire metaphor in 2005, and Obama prefers the journey metaphor in both of his two inaugurals.

Secondly, when we look at how the metaphors in these clusters are organized, most of them are topically related to each other. Some clusters use several source domains to describe a target domain, which illustrates the second example in Bill Clinton's inaugural (1997): the negative attitudes of prejudice and contempt are seen in terms of a plague, fuel, evil forces, and dark impulse. Some clusters may contain different metaphors to form a multifaceted image and elaborate a topic, which can be seen in the third example of Bill Clinton's address (1997): the gift metaphor, journey metaphor, book metaphor, bridge metaphor, and fire metaphor are used to present a picture of the country's ongoing development.

Thirdly, these metaphors play an important role in contributing to some of the main purposes of presidential inaugurals: unification of the country, reiteration of American values, and offering of a bright future. And this phenomenon appears in nearly every instance of clustering.

2.2 The Metaphorical Repertoire in American Addresses Accepting the Presidential Nomination (From George H.W. Bush to Donald Trump)

The American Addresses Accepting the Presidential Nomination (Acceptance Address) is made by the presidential nominee on the final day of the United States presidential nominating convention that is held every four years by most of the political parties in order to select their nominees for the upcoming U.S. presidential election. The Democratic National Convention and the Republican National Convention are the two major parties' quadrennial events.

The Acceptance Address is given by a presidential nominee to immediate partisan audiences and larger televised audiences. The halls of the convention are usually filled with many party loyalists. The address, as the highlight of the convention, is made to unify the party, rally the troops, and set the issue agenda for the general campaign [Benoit 2001: 70]. It is also the highpoint of a very important component of the campaign process, for approximately 25% of the electorate decides how to vote during the party nominating conventions [Holbrook 1996, cit. in Benoit 2001]. The address is done orally. Besides, it is well-known that a formal political speech like inaugural and acceptance is usually written in advance. This kind of speech is not spontaneous discourse, instead, it is a prepared discourse usually with the help of professional speechwriters.

The confrontational and competitive nature of the presidential election makes it a conflict discourse. The conflict discourse is full of metaphors such as war metaphor, game metaphor, and sports metaphor. These metaphors are used to show that an activity is competitive, agonistic, or win-or-lose. War metaphor reveals the fiercest and most intensive character of the election. Besides the conflict metaphor, other metaphors in high frequency are personification, nature

metaphor, movement metaphor, construction metaphor, and medical metaphor. In the following part we shall discuss how these metaphors function in the Acceptance Address.

In this section, metaphor use is analyzed in nine Acceptance Addresses of the five American presidents, namely George H. W. Bush (1988 and 1992), Bill Clinton (1992 and 1996), George W. Bush (2000 and 2004), Barack Obama (2008 and 2012), and Donald Trump (2016). The overall data of the addresses contains about 44,100 words. The transcripts of these speeches come from the website *The American Presidency Project*: <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu>.

2.2.1 Conflict metaphor

Conflict metaphor in the dissertation refers to a metaphor from the source domains *war*, *sports* or *game*. It is used in the Acceptance Addresses to show the competitive and agonistic nature of the presidential election and politics, and to demonstrate the speaker's bravery and determination that are necessary qualities for being president.

Table 9. Conflict metaphors in the five presidents' Acceptance Addresses

Presidents	Metaphors
Bush Senior (1988)	Contest metaphor ; War metaphor; Sports metaphor
Bush Senior (1992)	War metaphor; Boxing metaphor
Bill Clinton (1992)	War metaphor; Sports metaphor; Game metaphor
Bill Clinton (1996)	War metaphor; Sports metaphor
Bush Junior (2000)	War metaphor; Sports metaphor
Bush Junior (2004)	Sports metaphor; Contest metaphor
Barack Obama (2008)	War metaphor; Sports metaphor
Barack Obama (2012)	War metaphor; Sports metaphor
Donald Trump (2016)	War metaphor; Sports metaphor

In the Acceptance Addresses, one of the unavoidable topics is presidential election. It is often conceptualized in terms of the source domains *war*, *sports*, and *contest*. There are three conceptual metaphors that are frequently used. They

are **PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A WAR**, **PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS SPORTS**, and **PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A CONTEST**.

In Bush Senior's first Acceptance Address, there are three instances of conflict metaphor about the target domain the presidential election.

1. *I thank the gallant men who **entered the contest** for this presidency this year and who have honored me with their support.* (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

2. *I accept your nomination for president. **I mean to run hard, to fight hard**, to stand on the issues and I mean **to win**. There are a lot of great stories in politics about **the underdog winning**, and this is going to be one of them.*

*And we're going **to win** with the help of Sen. Dan Quayle of Indiana,<...>.* (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

3. *Some say, you know some say, this isn't an election about ideology, that it's an election about competence. Well, it's nice of them to want **to play on our field**.* (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

In the first instance, the conceptual metaphor **PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A CONTEST** is manifested by the word "contest".

Special attention should be paid to the second instance, in which verbs "to run", "to fight", "to win", and the phrase "underdog winning" are used to highlight the confrontational nature of presidential election. It is conceptualized both as a contest and a war. The phrase "underdog wining" refers to the unexpected winning of a loser or predicated loser in a contest (Merriam-Webster online dictionary).

From the two instances, we may observe that the election as contest metaphor includes metaphors that pertain neither clearly to the domain of war nor sports, but it has a lot in common with these two domains since they highlight and intensify the confrontational nature of election and thereby hide the potential and need for cooperation. A contest between two adversaries, a fight between good and evil, between right and wrong simplifies such a complex process as politics.

In the third instance, when Bush Senior says “it’s nice of them to want to play on our field”, he is actually showing his advantage. It is a home-field declaration. The phrase “to play on our field” comes from the domain of sports. At that time the incumbent party was conservative and Bush himself was a vice-president. So when he says it is “our field”, he actually suggests that the democrats had been out of the White House for eight years and they might have lost touch with the real state of affairs, meaning that today belongs to the Republicans and he has every chance to win. Thus he strategically puts his opponents at a disadvantage.

Bush Senior in his second Acceptance Address does not use any conflict metaphor to talk about the presidential election. Many of his instances are about other topics, such as his unpleasant experience with the Congress and his arduous efforts made to solve many tough problems. This absence of conflict metaphor in the target domain “presidential election” may be due to the fact that he avoids igniting an ardent competitive atmosphere for the presidential election since he was the incumbent president at that time running for a second term. In his second Acceptance Address he talks more about what he had done in the past as president.

Bill Clinton in his first Acceptance Address does not use any conflict metaphor to conceptualize the target domain “presidential election”. In his second Acceptance Address, Bill Clinton exploits one instance of the conceptual metaphor PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A WAR.

*1. I believe that Bob Dole and Jack Kemp and Ross Perot love our country, and they have worked hard to serve it. It is legitimate, even necessary, to compare our record with theirs, our proposals for the future with theirs. And I expect them to make a vigorous effort to do the same. **But I will not attack. I will not attack them personally** or permit others to do it in this party if I can prevent it. Thank you. My fellow Americans, this must be – this must be – a campaign of ideas, not a campaign of insults. The American people deserve it. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

In this instance, when Bill Clinton says “I will not attack them personally”, he refutes any political mud-slinging thereby trying to create a positive image of himself.

Bush Junior is also against campaigning negatively. In his first Acceptance Address, he says “I will not attack a part of this country” and “I don’t have enemies to fight”. He combines race metaphor and war metaphor in the first instance below.

*1. **I will not attack** a part of this country because I want to lead the whole of it.*

*And I believe this’ll be **a tough race, down to the wire**. Their **war room** is up and running, but we are ready.*

***Their attacks** will be relentless, but they will be answered. We are facing something familiar, but they’re facing something new. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

*2. That background may lack the polish of Washington. Then again, I don’t have a lot of things that come with Washington. I don’t have **enemies to fight**. I have no stake in the bitter arguments of the last few years. I want to change the tone of Washington to one of civility and respect. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

In his second Acceptance Address, Bush Junior uses the conceptual metaphor PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A CONTEST. The instance is below.

*Two months from today, voters will make a choice based on the records we have built, the convictions we hold, and the vision that guides us forward. **A Presidential election is a contest for the future**. Tonight I will tell you where I stand, what I believe, and where I will lead this country in the next 4 years. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

Barack Obama in his two Acceptance Addresses does not use any conflict metaphor to describe the target domain “presidential election”.

In Donald Trump’s Acceptance Address, the conceptual metaphors PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A WAR and PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A RACE are represented by the expressions “Let’s defeat her” and “In this race”.

1. In Libya, our consulate – the symbol of American prestige around the globe – was brought down in flames. America is far less safe – and the world is far less stable – than when Obama made the decision to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America’s foreign policy.

*Let’s **defeat** her [Hillary Clinton] in November, OK. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)*

*2. I will work with, and appoint, the best and prosecutors and law enforcement officials to get the job properly done. In this **race** for the White House, I am the law and order candidate. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)*

As the contexts show, a presidential election is usually conceptualized as war, race, and contest in the five presidents' Acceptance Addresses. Bush Senior seems to be the one who uses the conceptual metaphors PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A WAR, A CONTEST, and SPORTS more often than the other four presidents. And the presidents from Democratic Party use less instances of this conflict metaphor than those from Republican Party.

The second type of conflict metaphor in the Acceptance Addresses is **POLITICS IS A WAR**.

Bush Senior is the only president who is explicit about the partisan conflict in terms of war in his second Acceptance Address. There are two instances of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A WAR.

*1. Fifty years ago this summer, I was 18 years of age. I see some young people in the audience tonight, and I remember how I felt in those days. I believed deeply in this country, and we were faced with a world war. So I made a decision to go off and fight a battle much different from **political battles**. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

*2. Let me tell you about **a recent battle fought with the Congress, a battle in which I was aided by Bob Michel and his troops, and Bob Dole and his**. <...> (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

In the first instance, he compares the real battle he had in the Second World War to political battle, suggesting that he is not afraid of any hardships that would be on the way to victory as they are nothing to what he saw with his own eyes while serving in the navy.

The battle story told by Bush Senior in the second instance manifested by the expressions "battle fight with" and "a battle in which I was aided by Bob Michel and his troops" shows that Bush Senior still treats politics in military terms, for him victory is a matter of honor, you either win or perish.

It seems that all the five presidents cannot resist the temptation of exploiting war metaphor to show that political problems are intractable and

they require a lot of determination and endeavors to be resolved. Most of the war metaphors are realized by the verb “to fight (to/for/against)”, which shows that the candidate is very much determined to face the problems and solve them by all means.

The political war aims to defend certain ideas and values, such as freedom in Bush Senior’s both Acceptance Addresses, justice and opportunity in Bush Junior’s first Acceptance Address, American values in Barack Obama’s first Acceptance Address, and change in Barack Obama’s second Acceptance Address. The instances below illustrate this to the full.

1. *And I intend to speak for freedom, stand for freedom and be a patient friend to anyone, East or West, who will **fight for freedom**.* (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

2. *There will be more foreign policy challenges like Kuwait in the next 4 years, terrorists and aggressors to stand up to, dangerous weapons to be controlled and destroyed. **Freedom’s fight is not finished**. I look forward to being the first President to visit a free, democratic Cuba.* (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)

3. *Big government is not the answer, but the alternative to bureaucracy is not indifference. It is to put conservative values and conservative ideas into **the thick of the fight for justice and opportunity**.* (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)

4. *Ours is **a fight** to restore the values that built the largest middle class and the strongest economy the world has ever known <...>.* (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)

5. *If you turn away now, if you buy into the cynicism that the change we **fought for** isn’t possible, well, change will not happen.* (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)

In the political war, the enemies are political and social ills and they vary in each president.

It could be **economic problems**, like **tax** in Bush Senior’s second Acceptance Address, **unemployment** in Bill Clinton’s first Acceptance Address and **finance reform** in Bill Clinton’s second Acceptance Address, **unemployment** in Barack Obama’s both Acceptance Addresses. The instances are below.

1. *I will also continue **to fight** to increase the personal exemption and to create jobs by **winning** a cut in capital gains taxes.* (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)

2. That's why I'll **fight** to create high-paying jobs so that parents can afford to raise their children today. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)

3. We've come a long way; we've got one more thing to do. Will you help me get **campaign** finance reform in the next 4 years? (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

4. And yet, just as we have won the Cold War abroad, we are **losing the battles** for economic opportunity and social justice here at home. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)

5. When I listen to another worker tell me that his factory has shut down, I remember all those men and women on the South Side of Chicago who I stood by and **fought for** two decades ago after the local steel plant closed. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)

6. When you [the military] take off the uniform, we will serve you as well as you've served us, because no one who fights for this country should have **to fight for** a job or a roof over their heads or the care that they need when they come home. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)

Then, it could be **social problems**, like **war on drugs** in Bush Senior's second Acceptance Address and Bill Clinton's two addresses, **discrimination** in Bush Senior's second Acceptance Address, **female rights** in Bill Clinton's first Acceptance Address, **environmental protection** in Bill Clinton's second Acceptance Address, **education-related problems** in Bill Clinton's second Acceptance Address and Barack Obama's first Acceptance Address. The instances are below.

1. One more thing of vital importance to all: Today, cocaine use has fallen by 60 percent among young people. To the teenagers, the parents, and the volunteers who are helping us **battle the scourge of drugs in America**, we say, thank you; thank you from the bottom of our hearts. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)

2. He's talked a lot about drugs, but he hasn't helped people **on the front line to wage that war on** drugs and crime. But I will. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)

3. General Barry McCaffrey, the four-star general who **led our fight against drugs** in Latin America, now **leads our crusade against drugs** at home: stopping more drugs at our borders, **cracking down** on those who sell them, and most important of all, pursuing a national **antidrug strategy** whose primary aim is to turn our children away from drugs. I call on Congress to give him every cent of funding we have requested for this strategy and to do it now. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

4. *The FDA has adopted new measures to reduce advertising and sales of cigarettes to children. The Vice President spoke so movingly of it last night. But let me remind you, my fellow Americans, that is very much an issue in this election because **that battle is far from over** and the two candidates have different views. I pledge to America's parents that I will see this effort all the way through. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

5. *I **have fought against** prejudice and anti-Semitism all my life. I am proud that we strengthened our civil rights laws, and we did it without resorting to quotas. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

6. *That's why **I'll fight to** make sure women in this country receive respect and dignity, whether they work in the home, out of the home, or both. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

7. *I met a grandmother **fighting for** her grandson's environment in Michigan. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

8. *I want to send 30,000 reading specialists and national service corps members **to mobilize a volunteer army of** one million reading tutors for third graders all across America. They will teach our young children to read. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

9. *Now is the time to finally meet our moral obligation to provide every child a world-class education, because it will take nothing less to compete in the global economy <...> I'll recruit **an army of** new teachers, and pay them higher salaries and give them more support. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

It could be **partisan problem**, such as **the size of government** in Bill Clinton's first Acceptance Address.

1. *The Republicans **have campaigned against** big government for a generation, but have you noticed? They've run this big government for a generation and they haven't changed a thing. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

2. *They don't want to fix government; they still want **to campaign against** it, and that's all. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

It could be **a general illustration of various political problems** in Bush Senior's second Acceptance Address. The instance is below.

Here's what **I'm fighting for**: Open markets for American products; lower Government spending; tax relief; opportunities for small business; legal and health reform; job training; and new schools built on competition, ready for the 21st century. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)

Bill Clinton is the only president of the five who tells a fighting story based on his personal experience. He tells his mother's story of fighting cancer and brother's story of fighting drugs. Both stories serve to arouse empathy in the audience and to enhance his image of a fighter for the just cause.

*1. As an adult, I watched **her fight off** breast cancer, and again she has taught me lesson in courage. And always, always, always she taught me **to fight**.*

*That's why **I'll fight to** create high-paying jobs so that parents can afford to raise their children today.*

That's why I'm so committed to make sure every American gets the health care that saved my mother's life and that women's health care gets the same attention as men's.

*That's why **I'll fight to** make sure women in this country receive respect and dignity, whether they work in the home, out of the home, or both.*

*You want to know where I **get my fighting spirit**? It all started with my mother. Thank you, Mother. I love you. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*2. Everywhere I've gone in America, people come up and talk to me about their **struggle** with the demands of work and their desire to do a better job with their children. The very first person I ever saw **fight that battle** was here with me 4 years ago, and tonight I miss her very, very much. My irrepressible, hard-working, always optimistic mother did the best she could for her brother and me, often against very stiff odds. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

*3. Drugs nearly killed my brother when he was a young man, and I hate them. **He fought back**. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

Another specific war metaphor deserves attention here, **crusade metaphor** in Bush senior's second Acceptance Address. The instance is below.

*Harry Truman said this: This is more than a political call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but **to win this new crusade** and keep America safe and secure for its own people.*

*Well, tonight I say to you: Join me **in our new crusade**, to reap the rewards of our global victory, to win the peace, so that we may make America safer and stronger for all our people. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

The crusade metaphor is an allusion to another president's words. Bush Senior reiterates the word "crusade" to continue the cause that his predecessors began. The word "crusade", in its capitalized form, in the Merriam-Webster dictionary is defined as "any of the military expeditions undertaken by Christian

powers in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries to win the Holy Land from the Muslims”. Its meaning has developed from religious-military campaigns to modern metaphor for any common endeavor for a worthy cause with zeal and enthusiasm. Bush Senior uses the metaphorical meaning of the word to describe the common cause of making America great.

Besides the conceptual metaphors PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A WAR, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A CONTEST, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A SPORT, and POLITICS IS A WAR, there are also other sports metaphors in the Acceptance Addresses, including **game metaphor** in Bill Clinton’s first Acceptance Address and **boxing metaphor** in Bush Senior’s second Acceptance Address.

*1. Now, George Bush talks **a good game**, but he has **no game plan** to rebuild America, from the cities to the suburbs to the countryside, so that we can compete and win again in the global economy. I do. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*2. **I am fighting** to reform our legal system, to put an end to crazy lawsuits. If that means **climbing into the ring with** the trial lawyers, well, let me just say, **round one starts tonight**.*

*After all, my opponent’s campaign is being backed by practically every trial lawyer who ever wore a tasselled loafer. **He’s not in the ring with them; he’s in the tank**. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

In the instances above, Bush Senior’s **boxing metaphor** is a personal and temporary metaphor. The meaning of the boxing metaphor is to show the president’s determination and sacrifice for the reform of the legal system. The boxing narrative not only portrays him positively, but also serves to attack his opponent for not being in the ring to fight with the trial lawyers but instead being on the same side with them. Therefore, on the one hand the boxing metaphor creates a favourable image of the speaker, while on the other hand, it presents the opponent in a most undesirable way. It is used as a tactic designed to manipulate the voter’s consciousness.

Other sports metaphors are encountered in the two instances of Obama's first Acceptance Address. They are POLITICS IS SPORTS and POLITICIANS ARE PLAYERS.

*1. The times are too serious, the stakes are too high for this same partisan **playbook**. So let us agree that patriotism has no party. I love this country, and so do you, and so does John McCain. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

*2. For eighteen long months, you have stood up, one by one, and said enough to the politics of the past. You understand that in this election, the greatest risk we can take is to try the same old politics with the same old **players** and expect a different result. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

The words "playbook" and "player" in these two instances originally come from the field of sports and are used metaphorically in politics. Both instances show how Barack Obama conceptualizes past politics as old sports played by old players with a old playbook, suggesting that there should be new politics, new politicians, and a new set of guidelines. Sports metaphor here serves to help Barack Obama express his dissatisfaction with politics and ambitions of making a change.

Sports metaphor is also manifested by the phrases "play by the rules", "cut corners", "to level the field", and "to get a fair shot".

There are four instances of using the phrase "play by the rules" in Bill Clinton's second Acceptance Address.

*1. And so, in the name of all those who do the work and pay the taxes, raise the kids, and **play by the rules**, in the name of the hardworking Americans who make up our forgotten middle class, I proudly accept your nomination for President of the United States. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*2. For too long those who **play by the rules** and keep the faith have gotten the shaft, and those who **cut corners** and cut deals have been rewarded. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*3. If we want to build that bridge to the 21st century we have to be willing to say loud and clear: If you believe in the values of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, if you're willing to work hard and **play by the rules**, you are part of our family and we're proud to be with you. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

4. *So look around here, look around here: <...> I believe in working hard and **playing by the rules**; I'm showing up for work tomorrow; I'm building that bridge to the 21st century. That ought to be the test. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

In these four instances of sports metaphor, the expression “play by the rules” is repeatedly used to reveal the law-abiding nature of most of the ordinary people, or potential voters, whom Clinton is trying to convince. Clinton describes the inequality between people who “play by the rules” and people who “cut corners” and advocates the behavior of those who are “playing by the rules”.

In Bush Junior’s second Acceptance Address, there is one instance of using the phrase “to level the playing field”.

*To create jobs, we will expand trade and **level the playing field** to sell American goods and services across the globe. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

In this instance, Bush Junior uses the phrase “to level the playing field” to discuss inequality in the world trade. He conceptualizes the world trade as sports in which the rule of fairness should be guaranteed if players want to win. The phrase “level the playing field” means to make a situation fair for everyone [Merriam-Webster online dictionary]. This phrase comes from soccer language. It refers to the situation in which if the turf is tilted towards one team’s goals, then it is hard to play a fair game because the team playing from the high end of the field would have an advantage of being able to run downhill, while the downhill team would have disadvantage of trying to move the ball uphill.

In the instance below, borrowed from Barack Obama’s second Acceptance Address, there are two phrases “to play by the same rules” and “to get a fair shot”.

*If you believe that new plants and factories can dot our landscape, <...> if you believe in a country where everyone **gets a fair shot** and everyone does their fair share and everyone **plays by the same rules**, then I need you to vote this November. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

The underlying thought behind these phrases is to blame the inequality in society and to strive for equality.

Domestically, Obama repeatedly uses the phrase “give someone a fair shot” or “get a fair shot”. The word “shot” as a countable noun means an act of kicking, hitting, or throwing the ball especially in an attempt to score a point in sports such as football, basketball, golf, etc. “Fair shot” here means an opportunity. When Obama used it in his articulations, media and researchers all wondered what exactly a fair shot meant since it was a new notion in politics and no other president had ever used it in his speech. And then his Cabinet gave an official explanation, “everyone having a fair shot at success” means “giving Americans the education, infrastructure, and resources necessary to out-innovate <...> global competitors, structuring <...> tax system fairly to pay for those investments”, and it means “creating an environment where everyone – from Main Street to Wall Street – plays by the same set of rules” [Matt Compton 2011]. The repeated use of these phrases reveals Barack Obama’s emphasis that every American should feel secure in the economy and should have a plethora of opportunities.

There are also instances of sports metaphor functioning as a nominative tool which gives a name to political programs. Three instances below are education-related. And one more instance is related to the topic of crime.

1. *Now is the time to make **Head Start** an early learning program to teach all our children to read and renew the promise of America’s public schools. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

2. *In northeast Georgia, Gainesville Elementary School is mostly Hispanic and 90 percent poor, and this year 90 percent of the students passed State tests in reading and math. The principal expresses the philosophy of his school this way: “We don’t focus on what we can’t do at this school. We focus on what we can do, and we do whatever it takes to get kids across **the finish line**.” See, this principal is challenging the soft bigotry of low expectations. And that is the spirit of our education reform and the commitment of our country: No dejaremos a ningun nino atras. We will **leave no child behind**. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

3. *I refuse to ask students to pay more for college or kick children out of **Head Start programs** <...>. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

4. *On crime, we're putting 100,000 police on the streets. We made "three strikes and you're out" the law of the land. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

In the first and third instances, the phrase "Head Start" literally means to start in a race in which a competitor begins earlier than someone else. Head Start with the capital *H* and *S* refers to a program of the United States Department of Health and Human Services that provides comprehensive early childhood education, health, nutrition, and parent involvement services to low-income children and their families. The program's services and resources are designed to foster stable family relationships, enhance children's physical and emotional well-being, and establish an environment to develop strong cognitive skill.

The second instance above is about the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 during Bush Junior's term. The U.S. Act of Congress that reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act included Title I provisions applying to disadvantaged students. The Act supported standards-based education reform aimed to improve individual outcomes in education with setting high standards and establishing measurable goals.

In the last instance, the expression "Three strikes and you are out" is borrowed from baseball, where a batter against whom three strikes are recorded strikes out. Here it refers to the habitual offender laws in the United States, which were first implemented on March 7, 1994 and are part of the United States Justice Department's Anti-Violence Strategy. These laws require a person guilty of committing both a severe violent felony and two other previous convictions to serve a mandatory life sentence in prison. The laws intend to drastically increase the punishment of those convicted of more than two serious crimes. The sports metaphor serves the nominative function here.

In conclusion, it must be said that, firstly, conflict metaphor in Acceptance Address contains war metaphor, sports metaphor and contest metaphor. War metaphor is more favored than the other two metaphors. Secondly, politicians prefer to use war metaphor to describe the toughness of social ills and show their determination and capability to solve them. Thirdly, the frequency of war

metaphor in Acceptance Address is decreasing over time. It is made manifest that war metaphor outnumbers the rest in Bush Senior's and Bill Clinton's Acceptance Addresses, while the next three presidents use less instances of war metaphor. Fourthly, sports metaphor is favored when it is used as a nominative tool in the field of education. This is due to the similar competitive nature of education and sports.

2.2.2 Personification

In the Acceptance Addresses, there are several types of personification, including the conceptual metaphors AMERICA IS A PERSON, COUNTRY IS A PERSON, GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON, FEDERAL REGULATION IS A PERSON, ECONOMY IS A PERSON, INFLATION IS A CRIMINAL, and PRIVILEGED PRIVATE INTERESTS ARE HIJACKERS.

Table 10. The portraying of America in the five presidents' Acceptance Addresses through personification

Presidents	Descriptions of America
Bush Senior (1988)	A studious person.
Bush Junior (2000)	A person with character that can stand test.
Bush Junior (2004)	A trustworthy and reliable person; A decent, idealistic and strong person .
Barack Obama (2008)	A bigger, better and stronger person.
Donald Trump (2016)	A generous , warm, and law-abiding person.

Table 11. Personifications in the five presidents' Acceptance Addresses

Presidents	Conceptual metaphor
Bush Senior (1988)	AMERICA IS A PERSON INFLATION IS A CRIMINAL
Bush Senior (1992)	INFLATION IS A CRIMINAL FEDERAL REGULATION IS A PERSON
Bill Clinton (1996)	GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON PRIVILEGED PRIVATE INTERESTS ARE HIJACKERS
Bush Junior (2000)	AMERICA IS A PERSON

Bush Junior (2004)	AMERICA IS A PERSON ECONOMY IS A PERSON
Barack Obama (2008)	AMERICA IS A PERSON
Donald Trump (2016)	AMERICA IS A PERSON A COUNTRY IS A PERSON

To conceptualize a nation as a person is to animate it, giving it lifelike qualities, thereby arousing empathy in the audience. Among the five presidents, Bush Senior and Bush Junior use more instances of this metaphor than the other presidents and they attach much importance to the character of the nation. Bush Junior in his second Acceptance Address describes what kind of character a great country should have, it should be decent, idealistic, strong, and trustful. The instances are below.

1. *I believe in another tradition that is, by now, embedded in **the national soul**. It's that learning is good in and of itself. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

2. *A president must be many things <...> And he must see to it that government intrudes as little as possible in the lives of the people and yet remember that it is right and proper that a nation's leader take an interest in **the nation's character**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

3. *This is a remarkable moment in the **life of our nation**. Never has the promise of prosperity been so vivid. But times of plenty, like times of crisis, are tests of **American character**. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

4. ***Our Nation is standing** with the people of Afghanistan and Iraq, because **when America gives its word, America must keep its word**. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

5. *And in those military families, I have seen **the character of a great nation, decent, idealistic, and strong**. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

6. *We see **America's character** in our military, <...> in our veterans, <...> in our young people <...> in workers and entrepreneurs <...>. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

Donald Trump conceptualizes America as a generous, warm, and lawful person. The instance is below.

*Together, we will lead our party back to the White House, and we will lead our country back to safety, prosperity, and peace. We will be **a country of generosity and warmth**. But we will also be **a country of law and order**. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)*

As for the Democratic presidents, Bill Clinton does not use the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON in his Acceptance Addresses, while Barack Obama in his first Acceptance Address uses only one instance.

*America Is Back – **bigger, and better and stronger** than ever before. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

The conceptual metaphor GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON is used in Bill Clinton's second Acceptance Address. He tries to show his expectation of an effective government. The instance is below.

*A **government that is leaner, not meaner**; a government that expands opportunity, not bureaucracy; a government that understands that jobs must come from growth in a vibrant and vital system of free enterprise. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

The conceptual metaphor FEDERAL REGULATION IS A PERSON is used in Bush Senior's second Acceptance Address. The instance is below.

*There is no reason that **Federal regulations should live longer than** my friend George Burns. I will issue an order to get rid of any rule whose time has come and gone. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

The conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A PERSON is used in Bush Junior's second Acceptance Address. The instance is below.

*We have seen **a shaken economy rise to its feet**. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

There are two instances of the conceptual metaphor INFLATION IS A CRIMINAL in Bush Senior's Acceptance Addresses.

*1. There are millions of Americans **who were brutalized by inflation. We arrested it, and we're not going to let it out on furlough**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

*2. You just won't hear that **inflation, the thief of the middle class, has been locked in a maximum security prison**. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

Inflation harms a lot of people during Bush Senior's term. To see it as a criminal is to highlight its harmful nature. Bush Senior uses this metaphor to show that he as part of Reagan's government had already put the inflation problem under control and brought security back to people.

The conceptual metaphor PRIVILEGED PRIVATE INTERESTS ARE HIJACKERS is used in Bill Clinton's second Acceptance Address. The instance is below.

*Our people are pleading for change, but government is in the way. It **has been hijacked** by privileged private interests. It has forgotten who really pays the bills around here. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

The use of the verb "to hijack" not only reveals the passiveness of the government, but also the harm of the "hijacker", privileged private interests. The hyperbolic metaphor tends to show the intervention of these private interests in the government.

Donald Trump in his Acceptance Address uses one instance of the conceptual metaphor A COUNTRY IS A PERSON. The country Iran is conceptualized as a person who was choked.

*In 2009, pre-Hillary, ISIS was not even on the map. Libya was stable. Egypt was peaceful. Iraq was seeing a big, big reduction in violence. Iran was being **choked** by sanctions. Syria was somewhat under control. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)*

In conclusion, in Acceptance Addresses the target domains of personification include nation, government, federal regulation, inflation, economy, and privileged private interests. Personification is exploited mainly for two main purposes, one for creating an image of America, and the other for describing political problems. The conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON outnumbers other types of personification. As for other personifications, they are used to describe political problems, such as federal regulation and inflation in Bush Senior's Acceptance Addresses, the size of government and privileged private interests in Bill Clinton's second Acceptance Address, economy in Bush Junior's second Acceptance Address.

2.2.3 Nature metaphor

Nature metaphor is another type of commonly used metaphor in the Acceptance Addresses. In the research data, it is represented through the source

domains *the sun, light, season, air, wind, tremor, turmoil, fluidity, animal, and desert storm*.

Table 12. Nature elements in nature metaphors in the five presidents' Acceptance Addresses

Presidents	Nature elements
Bush Senior (1988)	light; tremor; wind
Bush Senior (1992)	The sun; air; freeze; animal; fluidity
Bill Clinton (1992)	Fluidity
Bill Clinton (1996)	The sun; light; freeze; fluidity
Bush Junior (2000)	The sun; fluidity
Barack Obama (2008)	Fluidity; turmoil
Donald Trump (2016)	Fluidity

Table 13. Conceptual metaphors from the source domain NATURE in the five presidents' Acceptance Addresses

Presidents	Conceptual metaphors
Bush Senior (1988)	AMERICAN CULTURE IS LIGHT SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE LIGHTS THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL CONDITION CHANGE IS TREMOR THE CAUSE OF SOCIAL CONDITION CHANGE IS WIND
Bush Senior (1992)	FREEDOM IS AIR COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS THE CYCLIC CHANGE OF SUN THE SOVIET UNION IS A BEAR THREATENING FACTORS ARE WOLVES MONEY IS FLUID TO STOP SOMETHING IS TO FREEZE IT
Bill Clinton (1992)	MONEY IS FLUID
Bill Clinton (1996)	THE CYCLE OF LIFE IS THE CYCLE OF SUN A PERSON IS LIGHT TO STOP SOMETHING IS TO FREEZE IT
Bush Junior (2000)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS THE CYCLIC CHANGE OF SUN TO END SOMETHING IS TO THAW
Barack Obama (2008)	THE CAUSE OF ECONOMIC CONDITION CHANGE IS TURMOIL MONEY IS FLUID
Donald Trump (2016)	MONEY IS FLUID POPULATIONS ARE FLUID

We shall at first discuss metaphors from the source domains *sun, light, and stars*.

These metaphors are inherently related to each other due to their basic characteristic of being the necessary condition for making things visible. This feature guarantees humans survival and development. The rich symbolic connotations of these images are beyond cultural difference and can be understood and accepted universally.

Bush Senior exploits light metaphor frequently in his first Acceptance Address. He uses it to describe two target domains – American culture and social organizations. There are four instances of this kind.

*1. And this has been called the American Century because, in it, we were the dominant force for good in the world. We saved Europe, cured polio, went to the moon and **lit the world with our culture**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

2. An election that's about ideas and values is also about philosophy, and I have one.

*At the **bright center** is the individual. And **radiating out from** him or her is the family, the essential unit of closeness and of love. For it's the family that communicates to our children, to the 21st century our culture, our religious faith, our traditions and history.*

***From** the individual **to** the family **to** the community, and then **on out to** the town, **to** the church and the school and, still echoing out, **to** the county, the state and the nation – each doing only what it does well and no more. And I believe that power must always be kept close to the individual, close to the hands that raise the family and run the home. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

*3. I will keep America moving forward, always forward – for a better America, for an endless, enduring dream and **a thousand points of light**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

4. For we're a nation of community, of thousands and tens of thousands of ethnic, religious, social, business, labor union, neighborhood, regional and other organizations, all of them varied, voluntary and unique.

*This is America: the Knights of Columbus, the Grange,<...>, a brilliant diversity **spreads like stars, like a thousand points of light in a broad and peaceful sky**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

In the first instance above, Bush Senior conceptualizes American culture as light that illuminates the world. Light metaphor has an eulogistic function here for the speaker to praise America for its greatness.

The other three instances are all about Bush Senior's special metaphor – **thousands of light metaphor**. It can be regarded as one of his dominant metaphors during his term as it is repeatedly used in all kinds of his discourse. In this address, it was used to reveal both his general political philosophy and specific political programs.

In the second instance, Bush Senior elaborates his political philosophy about what a society should be like and emphasizes the importance of an individual through light metaphor. In his conceptualization, the individual, as a bright spot, is “at the bright center”, then the bright spot radiates outward to the family, the community, the town, the church and the school, the county, the state and the nation. The individual is the foundation for the whole nation. Only if every individual does what he or she should do, can the nation develop to its best.

In the third and fourth instances, Bush Senior exploits light metaphor to elaborate one of his specific political programs – the emphasis and promotion of the role of social organizations in the society. Special attention should be paid to the third instance in which light metaphor and star metaphor are used together to enhance the rhetorical force and the vividness of the imagery. Any social organization, especially volunteer organization, is conceptualized as light, or star that brings light to remoter areas.

In his second Acceptance Address, Bill Clinton uses light metaphor to praise his wife and emphasize her importance in his life. The image of light serves as a positive judgment of her character and actions. It has an eulogistic function, suggesting that a person is goodness herself.

*I love Chicago for many reasons, <...> , but most of all for the love and **light of my life**, Chicago's daughter, Hillary. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

The natural elements like the sun have always been used for varied symbolic purposes in political discourse. There are four instances of sun metaphor, including two instances in Bush Senior's second Acceptance Address, one instance in Bill Clinton's second Acceptance Address, and one instance in Bush Junior's first Acceptance Address. See the four instances below.

1. *Now, I know that Americans are uneasy today. There is anxious talk around our kitchen tables. But from where I stand, **I see not America's sunset but a sunrise.*** (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)

2. *America is **the land where the sun is always peeking over the horizon.*** (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)

3. *Let us, in short, do the work that is before us, so that when our time here is over, **we will all watch the sun go down,** as we all must, and say truly, we have prepared our children for **the dawn.*** (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

4. ***Americans live on the sunrise side of the mountain.** The night is passing, and we're ready for the day to come.* (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)

The four instances are all related to sunrise and sunset. Sunrise is usually associated with the idea of "a new beginning or an end of a dark era", while sunset symbolizes "the completion of something, an end of a day, the forces of darkness, or the beauty and mystery of something". When the two phenomena appear together, they can be used to describe the cyclical nature of something, or the passage of time.

In the first, second and fourth instances, the expressions "I see not America's sunset but a sunrise", "America is the land where the sun is always peeking over the horizon", and "Americans live on the sunrise side of the mountain" intend to create an image of a promising and prosperous country. Such a metaphor not only has an eulogistic function to create a positive image of the country but also reveals the speaker's confidence in its bright future. In the third instance, Bill Clinton exploits the images of sunset and dawn to refer to the cyclic change from old to young and talks of a sacrifice the old generation should make for the young one.

There is another group of nature metaphors, including **wind metaphor**, **tremor metaphor**, and **turmoil metaphor**. These are used to describe any change of the socio-political situation in the Acceptance Addresses. There are two instances in Bush Senior's first Acceptance Address and one instance in Barack Obama's first Acceptance Address. The instances are below.

1. *And look at the world on this bright August night. The spirit of democracy is sweeping the Pacific rim. China feels **the winds of change**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

2. *The **tremors** in the Soviet world continue. **The hard earth** there **has not yet settled**. Perhaps what is happening will change our world forever and perhaps not. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

3. *We meet at one of those defining moments – a moment when our nation is at war, **our economy is in turmoil**, and the American promise has been threatened once more. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

In the first instance, wind metaphor is used to show the spread of political change in China. In the second instance, tremor metaphor refers to the great change made in the Soviet world. In the third instance, turmoil metaphor reveal the severe situation of the country's economy.

The next metaphor we shall discuss is **fluidity metaphor**. Fluidity is a frequently used nature metaphor in the Acceptance Addresses. The source domain *fluid* is commonly used for speaking about money or credits since they are like fluid, which can flow in and out, freeze, evaporate, become bubbles, and even dry up. The main feature of fluid is its changeability. The conceptual metaphor MONEY IS FLUID, on the one hand, shows the changeable feature of money movement, on the other hand, suggests its uncontrollability. The following six instances are manifestations of fluidity metaphor in the target domain *money*.

1. *To turn our rhetoric into reality we've got to change the way government does business, fundamentally. Until we do, we'll continue **to pour billions of dollars down the drain**. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

2. *Now, I don't have all the answers, but I do know the old ways don't work. **Trickledown economics** has sure failed. And big bureaucracies, both private and public, they've failed too.* (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)

3. *An America in which the rich are not **soaked**, but the middle class is not **drowned**, either.* (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)

4. *For over two decades, he's subscribed to that old, discredited Republican philosophy – give more and more to those with the most and hope that prosperity **trickles down** to everyone else.* (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)

5. *We are going to work with all of our students who are **drowning in** debt to take the pressure off these young people just starting out their adult lives.* (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)

6. *With these new economic policies, trillions of dollars will start **flowing into** our country.* (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)

The first instance shows the speaker's intention of preventing government from wasting money.

The second, third and forth instances are all related to a specific economic term “trickle-down economics”, which refers to an economy in which if rich earners gain much, then their benefits will filter through to people of all walks of life, be it the well-off or the needy. It is a traditional conservative economics. Both Clinton and Obama express the same attitude that the trickle-down economics is a failure. It seems to be a traditional attitude held by politicians from the Democratic party. In the 2016 US presidential campaign, the Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton also criticizes this economics. She coined a phrase “trumped-up trickle down” to lambast her opponent Donald Trump's economic policy as it best serves the interests of the rich alone.

When Bill Clinton says “An America in which the rich are not **soaked**, but the middle class is not **drowned**, either”, he intends to offer a new economic plan which would enable the rich not to lose their money paying new taxes and fees and the poor not to go bankrupt due to excessive taxes and fees.

In the fifth instance, Donald Trump talks about the problem of educational debt in terms of fluidity metaphor. In the sixth instance, fluidity metaphor is used in the target domain of international trade.

The source domain *fluid* is not only used in the field of economy, but also in other fields, such as politics and immigration, etc. See the instances below.

1. *Little more than a – little more than a decade ago, the Cold War **thawed**, and with the leadership of Presidents Reagan and Bush, that wall came down. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

2. *My opponent [Hillary Clinton] has called for a radical 550% increase in Syrian – Think of this. Think of this. This is not believable, but this is what's happening – refugees on top of existing massive refugee **flows coming into** our country under President Obama. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)*

From the two instance, we may observe that fluidity metaphor is used in the target domains of the end of Cold War in Bush Junior's first Acceptance Address in which the verb "to thaw" literally means "to go from a frozen to a liquid state", and metaphorically is used with the term "Cold War" to indicate its termination, and of the problem of immigration in Donald Trump's Acceptance Address.

We shall now discuss **freeze metaphor** in these addresses. Freeze metaphor relates closely to fluidity metaphor as the word "freeze" relates to the change of water into ice. It metaphorically means a state of halt or fixation. There are four instances in Bush Senior's second address, and two instances in Bill Clinton's second address. See the instances below.

1. *I have asked Congress to put a lid on mandatory spending, except Social Security. I've proposed doing away with over 200 programs and 4,000 wasteful projects and **to freeze all other spending**. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

2. *So, beginning tonight, I will enforce **the spending freeze** on my own. If Congress sends me a bill spending more than I asked for in my budget, I will veto it fast, veto it fast, faster than copies of Millie's book sold. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

3. *In the eighties – and you remember this one – in the eighties, they wanted **a nuclear freeze**, and we insisted on peace through strength. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

4. *I believe that small business needs relief from taxation, regulation, and litigation. And thus, I will extend for one year **the freeze on** paperwork and unnecessary Federal regulation that I imposed last winter. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

5. *We should **freeze** the serious polluter's property until they clean up the problems they create. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

6. *In the last 4 years, we have **frozen** North Korea's nuclear weapons program. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

Freeze metaphor is not only used in the field of economy, but also in other fields, such as military, business, environmental protection, etc.

Bush Senior in his first two instances uses the word “freeze” to describe the action of preventing money from being wasted in certain area. The other two instances shows that freeze metaphor is also used in the target domains of nuclear program and federal regulations. Bill Clinton use freeze metaphor in the target domain *the nuclear program in North Korea* and *environmental pollution*.

The next type of nature metaphor we shall see is **air metaphor** in Bush Senior's second Acceptance Address. He uses the source domain *air* to praise freedom. The conceptual metaphor FREEDOM IS AIR equates the importance of freedom to the indispensable element for the human survival – air. The instance is below.

*I saw the chance to rid our children's dreams of the nuclear nightmare, and I did. Over the past 4 years, more people **have breathed the fresh air of freedom** than in all of human history. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

There is one instance of **animal metaphor** in Bush Senior' second Acceptance Address.

*Now, **the Soviet bear** may be gone, but there are **still wolves in the woods**. We saw that when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. The Mideast might have become a nuclear powder keg, our energy supplies held hostage. So we did what was right and what was necessary. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

The animal metaphor contains **bear metaphor** and **wolf metaphor**. The two metaphors are used to indicate threats in the speaker's eyes. The bear is a widespread representation of Russia. Showing Russia like a bear is common in

many kinds of artistic manifestations, such as cartoons, plays, or articles since as early as the 16th century. It was not only used by Westerners to portray Russia in an unfavorable light most of the time, but also by Russians themselves in a positive way though, especially in the 20th century.

According to Wikipedia, the expression “wolves in the woods” is a reference to Ronald Reagan’s “Bear in the woods” television advertisement in his successful 1984 re-election campaign. The bear advertisement, with its opening line “There is a bear in the woods”, featured a grizzly bear wandering through a forest:

“There is a bear in the woods. For some people, the bear is easy to see. Others don’t see it at all. Some people say the bear is tame. Others say it’s vicious and dangerous. Since no one can really be sure who’s right, isn’t it smart to be as strong as the bear? If there is a bear.”
(https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bear_in_the_woods)

The advertisement suggests that the bear can be dangerous and it would be best to be ready for self-defense. In this advertisement, there are no explicit opponents, but only suggestions that Reagan is better prepared to recognize threats and deal with them. It is one of the most striking political commercials that operates purely on metaphor, with its underlying suggestion of “peace through strength”.

Bush Senior explicitly mentions the Soviet bear, and also equates the wolves in the woods to Saddam Hussein and Iraq which invaded Kuwait. It also should be mentioned here that Bush Junior uses wolf metaphor in the advertisement called “wolves” in his 2004 presidential campaign. The commercial seeks to draw parallels between terrorists and timber wolves, and explicitly mentions terrorism, opponent John Kerry, Liberalism, intelligence spending, and “America’s defenses”. It appears to be a family thing that Bush Senior and Bush Junior use the same conceptual metaphor.

The two metaphors here simplify political subjects and situations and thus provide simple-minded solutions to much more complicated political affairs.

Perusing the nature metaphors in the Acceptance Addresses reveals several features. Firstly, the metaphors are based on the source domains sun, light, air, weather phenomena, animal and fluidity. Secondly, the frequency of fluid metaphor in the addresses reveals the presidents' economic, social and political concerns. Thirdly, nature metaphor is decreasingly used on a president-to-president basis. Instances of nature metaphor are more frequent and varied in Bush Senior's two addresses, while the next three presidents use nature metaphor less. It signals a change to the metaphorical paradigm in the presidential discourse, and this can be attributable to the fact that the presidents after Bush Senior mainly focus on more pragmatic issues like economy and immigration rather ideology and culture.

2.2.4 Movement metaphor

Movement metaphors in the Acceptance Addresses are used mainly in the following target domains: presidential election, country development, progress, quantity change, and personal development.

Table 14. Movement metaphors in the five presidents' Acceptance Addresses

Presidents	Conceptual metaphors
Bush Senior (1988)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT ; COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT; QUANTITY CHANGE IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT; PROGRESS IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; CHANGE OF PRESIDENTS IS CHANGE OF HORSE ON A JOURNEY.
Bush Senior (1992)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT.
Bill Clinton (1992)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT; QUANTITY CHANGE IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT.

Bill Clinton (1996)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; QUANTITY CHANGE IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT; PROGRESS IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT; PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT.
Bush Junior (2000)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT; PROGRESS IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; POLITICAL INACTION IS A STOP SIGN; PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT.
Bush Junior (2004)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT; PROGRESS IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT.
Barack Obama (2008)	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; QUANTITY CHANGE IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT.
Barack Obama (2012)	COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT IS HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT.
Donald Trump (2016)	PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT; QUANTITY CHANGE IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT; PROGRESS IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT.

Movement metaphor is common in the Presidential Acceptance Addresses. The target domain *country development* is not only conceptualized as a horizontal movement, but also as a vertical movement. It is habitual to relate positive associations to forward and upward movement as far as the topic of country development is concerned.

The conceptual metaphor COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT is used in Bush Senior's two Acceptance Addresses, Bill Clinton's first Acceptance Address, and Bush Junior's two Acceptance Addresses. The instances are below.

*1. And what it all comes down to is this: My opponent's view of the world sees **a long slow decline** for our country, **an inevitable fall** mandated by impersonal historical forces. But America is not **in decline**. America **is a rising nation**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

2. *My opponent says America is a nation **in decline**. <...> Well, don't let anyone tell you that America is second-rate, especially somebody running for President. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

3. *I wish I could say the same thing about America under the incumbent President. He took the richest country in the world and brought it **down**.*

*We took on of the poorest states in America and lifted it **up**. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

4. *For eight years the Clinton-Gore administration **has coasted through prosperity**. **The path** of least resistance is always **downhill**. But America's way is **the rising road**. This nation is daring and decent and ready for change. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

5. *Since 2001, Americans **have been given hills to climb** and found the strength to **climb them**. Now, because we have made **the hard journey**, we can **see the valley below**. Now, because we have faced challenges with resolve, we have historic goals within our reach and greatness in our future. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

In the instances above, we may observe that upward movement is associated with positive development of the country while downward movement with negative development. Besides, it should be noted that the vertical movement metaphor here serves as a pragmatic tool by all the three presidents to attack or counterattack their opponents.

In the first instance, the words “decline”, “fall”, and “rise” explicitly show the divergence between Bush Senior and his opponent concerning the country development. Bush Senior tries to defend from his opponent's attack. His opponent conceptualizes country development as a downward movement, thus criticizes what the incumbent government (the Reagan-Bush Administration) achieves. Bush Senior totally negates what his opponent sees.

In the second instance, Bush Senior defends the accomplishments of his administration.

Bill Clinton in his first Acceptance Address attacks the incumbent government and praise himself through vertical movement metaphor. When he describes what the incumbent government does for the country, he uses the word “down”. While when he praises what he has achieved in his states, he uses the word “up”. The direct and vivid comparison between *up* and *down* may

influence the audience's judgments about the other presidents' political achievements.

Bush Junior shares the same strategy. Although during Clinton's terms the U.S. had strong and robust economic growth, Bush Junior uses the up and down metaphor to frame the idea that what his opponent has achieved is just a free ride of prosperity. The word "coast" means "to slide, run, or glide downhill by the force of gravity" or "to move along without or as if without further application of propulsive power" (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). The metaphor frames the idea that credit for the robust economy goes to the social situation of prosperity as a whole, it does not go to the incumbent administration. Bush Junior implicitly suggests that the incumbent administration did not contribute much to the country development and devaluates the achievements made by the incumbent government. To be compared, in his second Acceptance Address, Bush Junior uses up-down movement metaphor so as to create a picture showing that his government has made great headway.

We may observe that vertical movement metaphor in the addresses not only has a framing function that provides different frames of country development for the audience to believe, but also functions as an explanatory vehicle for politicians to tell their stories and as a pragmatic tool to attack their opponents. We see that both the incumbent and the challenger use vertical movement metaphor to describe their own perspectives of country development. The up-down metaphor is not only used by the challenger to criticize the incumbent government for its bad work, but also for the incumbent to defend himself.

Besides up-down metaphor that can be used in conceptualizing country development, horizontal movement metaphor in the target domain *country development* also appears frequently in the addresses. Donald Trump's address being an exception. See the instances below.

Bush Senior (1988)

1. *We believed in **getting ahead**.* (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

2. *I will keep America **moving forward, always forward**.* (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

Bush Senior (1992)

*Tonight I appeal to that unyielding, undying, undeniable American spirit. I ask you to consider, now that **the entire world is moving our way**, why would we want to **go back their way**? <...> Join me in **rolling away the roadblock** at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, so that in the next 4 years, we will match our accomplishments outside by building a stronger, safer, more secure America inside. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

Bill Clinton (1992)

*1. An America with millions of new job and dozens of new industries, **moving confidently toward** the 21st century. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*2. When we pull together, America will **pull ahead**. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*3. We're **moving ahead**. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*4. He also made it clear why we have **to steer our ship of state on a new course**. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*5. I want every person in this hall and every person in this land to reach out and **join us in a great new adventures, to chart a bold new future**. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

Bill Clinton (1996)

*1. Four years ago, you and I **set forth on a journey to bring our vision to our country**, to keep the American dream alive for all who were willing to work for it, to make our American community stronger, to keep America the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

*2. We've **come a long way**; We've got one more thing to do. Will you help me get campaign finance reform in the next 4 years? (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

*3. **We are on the right track to the 21st century. We are on the right track**, but our work is not finished. What should we do? First, let us consider how **to proceed**. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

*4. We should stay **on the right track to the 21st century**. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

*5. We're going **to carry it right on with us into that new century**, a century of new challenge and unlimited promise. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

Bush Junior (2000)

*I will **lead our nation toward** a culture that values life – the life of the elderly and sick, the life of the young and the life of the unborn. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

Bush Junior (2004)

*1. Two months from today, voters will make a choice based on the records we have built, and the vision that guides us **forward**. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

2. *We seek to provide not just a Government program but **a path, a path to** greater opportunity, more freedom, and more control over your own life. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

3. *We are **on the path to** the future, and we're **not turning back**. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

4. *And **the path** begins with our youngest Americans. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

Barack Obama (2008)

1. *Instead, it is that American spirit – that American promise – that **pushes us forward** even when **the path is uncertain**; that binds us together in spite of our differences; that makes us **fix our eye not on what is seen**, but what is unseen, that **better place around the bend**. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

2. *America, we cannot **turn back**. We cannot **walk alone**. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

3. *At this moment, in this election, we must pledge once more **to march into the future**. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

Barack Obama (2012)

1. *Now, the first time I addressed this convention in 2004, I was a younger man, a Senate candidate from Illinois who spoke about hope, not blind optimism, not wishful thinking, but hope in the face of difficulty, hope in the face of uncertainty, that dogged faith in the future which **has pushed** this Nation **forward**, even when the odds are great, even when **the road is long**. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

2. *And on every issue, the choice you face won't just be between two candidates or two parties. It will be a choice between **two different paths for America**, a choice between two fundamentally different visions for the future. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

3. *We can help big factories and small businesses double their exports, and if we choose **this path**, we can create a million new manufacturing jobs in the next 4 years. You can make that happen. You can choose that future.*

*You can choose **the path** where we control more of our own energy. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

4. *Only you can make sure that doesn't happen. Only you have the power **to move us forward**. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

5. *We have been there, we've tried that, and **we're not going back**. **We are moving forward**, America. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

6. Now, I won't pretend **the path** I'm offering is quick or easy. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)

7. **The path** we offer may be harder, but it **leads to** a better place. And I'm asking you to choose that future. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)

8. We're offering **a better path**, <...>. If you choose **this path**, we can cut our oil imports in half by 2020 and support more than 600, 000 new jobs in natural gas alone. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)

9. America, I never said **this journey** would be easy, and I won't promise that now. Yes, **our path** is harder, but **it leads to** a better place. Yes, **our road is longer, but we travel it together. We don't turn back. We leave no one behind. We pull each other up. We draw strength from our victories, and we learn from our mistakes, but we keep our eyes fixed on that distant horizon,** knowing that Providence is with us, and that we are surely blessed to be citizens of the greatest nation on Earth. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)

Bush Senior uses movement metaphor in his second Acceptance Address to give the audience a choice of two ways – *our way* and *their way*. *Our way* is good way to choose as it is a way that is followed by the entire world. What the president tries to show is that the following behaviors of the entire world proves the correctness of *our way*, and *their way* is not correct as it is a way that requires people to “go back”. The movement metaphor here uses the word “way” and its collocations in the sentences to predetermine the goodness of “our way” and badness of “their way”.

Bill Clinton in his second Acceptance repeatedly uses the expression “we are on the right track to the 21st century” to enhance the rightness of what his administration has achieved during his first term.

From Bush Senior's and Bill Clinton's instances, we may observe that they both use journey metaphor to justify what they had achieved during their first terms and to persuade the voters to continue supporting them.

Barack Obama also favors path metaphor in his addresses, especially his second Acceptance Address. There are abundant instances of path metaphor in it.

In Obama's rhetoric, like in Bush Senior's rhetoric, path metaphor also plays a big role in forming two choices for voters. The two paths – our path and

their path – show two pictures of what America will be like. Barack Obama makes a lot of promises in his second Acceptance Address and provides a promising future about “this path”. Although he does not elaborate the path in detail, the words like “better”, “forward” and “don’t turn back” suggest that the path he provides is a desirable choice for all Americans. Path metaphor thus functions as a framing tool to influence the audience’s conception and judgement of America’s future.

Another special metaphor that draws our attention is the **horse change metaphor** in Bush Senior’s first Acceptance Address. The instance is below.

*Our economy is strong but not invulnerable, and the peace is broad but can be broken. And now we must decide. We will surely have change this year, but will it be **change that moves us forward or change that risks retreat?***

In 1940, when I was barely more than a boy, Franklin Roosevelt said we shouldn’t change horses in midstream.

*My friends, these days the world **moves** even more quickly, and now, after two great terms, a switch will be made. **But when you have to change horses in midstream, doesn’t it make sense to switch to one who’s going the same way?** (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

The horse change metaphor is an allusion to Franklin Roosevelt’s words. The change of president and the government are seen as the change of horses in midstream. The metaphor first frames a situation, i.e. horses in midstream and the need to change horses. Common sense is that it is safer and more convenient to choose a horse that is going the same way. A horse that is going the same way metaphorically refers to the candidate coming from the incumbent government. The factor of midstream creates the limitation to the choice. When the politician equates the election of a new government to the change of a horse in midstream, he creates a perfect reason for the audience to vote for him. The metaphor frames this situation and pre-determines a certain political choice.

The next conceptual metaphor in the addresses is QUANTITY CHANGE IS A VERTICAL MOVEMENT.

Bush Senior (1988)

1. We **got it** [Inflation] **down** to four. <...>. Unemployment was **up and climbing**, and now it's **the lowest** in 14 years. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

2. And we will do it by maintaining our commitment to free and fair trade, by keeping government spending **down** and by keeping taxes **down**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

Bill Clinton (1992)

1. The incumbent President says that unemployment always **goes up** a little before a recovery begins, but unemployment only has to go **up** by one more person before a real recovery can begin. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)

2. And their incomes are still **going down**. Their taxes are still **going up**. And the costs of health care, housing and education are **going through the roof**. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)

3. An America in which middle-class incomes, not middle-class taxes, are **going up**. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)

Bill Clinton (1996)

1. Four years ago, with high unemployment, **stagnant** wages, crime, welfare, and the deficit **on the rise**, <...>. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

2. Four years now – for four years now – the crime rate in America **has gone down**. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

3. Our budget would be balanced today, <...>, if we didn't have to make the interest payments on the debt **run up** in the 12 years before the Clinton/Gore administration took office. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

4. And the deficit has **come down** for 4 years <...>, **down** 60 percent on the way to zero. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

5. Even the crime rate among young people is finally **coming down**. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

6. So it is very, very painful to me that drug use among young people is **up**. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

Barack Obama (2008)

We measure progress in the 23 million new jobs that were created when Bill Clinton was President – when the average American family saw its income go **up** \$7,500 instead of **down** \$2,000 like it has under George Bush. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)

Donald Trump (2016)

1. Decades of progress made in **bringing down crime** are now being reversed by this Administration's rollback of criminal enforcement. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)

2. They [Homicides] are **up** nearly 60 percent in nearby Baltimore. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)

3. Household incomes are **down** more than \$ 4, 000 since the year 2000. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)

4. Illegal border crossings will **go down**. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)

There are three instances of the conceptual metaphor PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT, two in Barack Obama's first address, and one in Donald Trump's address. See the instances below.

1. Let me express my thanks to the historic slate of candidates who accompanied me **on this journey**, and especially the one who **traveled the farthest** <...>. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)

2. I am grateful to finish **this journey** with one of the finest statesmen of our time, <...>. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)

3. In this **journey**, I'm so lucky to have at my side my wife <...>. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)

There are instances of the conceptual metaphor PROGRESS IS A HORIZONTAL MOVEMENT in the addresses. See the instances below.

1. Iran and Iraq **move toward** peace. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

2. I'll **move toward** further cuts in the strategic and conventional arsenals of both the United States and the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc and NATO. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

3. **We've come far**, but I think we need a new harmony among the races in our country. And we're **on a journey** into a new century, and we're got to leave that tired old baggage of bigotry behind. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

4. More rapid development of drugs to deal with HIV and AIDS and **moving them to** the market quicker <...>. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

5. We'll **keep going** until normal life is returned to people who deal with this. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

6. And 3 hours of quality children's programming every week, on every network, are **on the way**. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

7. Racial progress has been steady; <...> **We will continue this progress, and we will not turn back**. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)

8. At times **we lost our way, but we're coming home**. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)

9. *A new tower rises above the New York skyline, Al Qaida is **on the path to defeat**, and Usama bin Laden is dead.* (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)

10. *And they should be afraid, because freedom is **on the march**.* (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)

11. *The wisest use of American strength is **to advance freedom**.* (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)

12. *And as **freedom advances**,<...>.* (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)

13. *If America shows uncertainty or weakness in this decade, the world will **drift toward tragedy**.* (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)

14. *Iran is **on the path to** nuclear weapons.* (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)

15. *Shortly thereafter, it was announced that NATO will be setting up a new program in order to combat terrorism – **a true step in the right direction**.* (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)

There are instances of conceptual metaphor PERSONAL MOVEMENT IS MOVEMENT in the addresses. See the instance below.

1. *And there are those who have dropped their standards **along the way**, as if ethics were too heavy and **slowed their rise to the top**.* (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

2. *We must require that our students pass tough tests **to keep moving up** in school.* (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

3. *We ought **to lift them[teacher]up, not tear them down**.* (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

4. *We need schools that will **take our children into the next century**.* (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

5. *This background leaves more than an accent, it leaves an outlook: optimistic, impatient with pretense, confident that people can **chart their own course in life**.* (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)

6. *And I remember how a few months after that I would watch him on a bicycle,<...>, inspiring other heroes who had just begun **the hard path he had traveled**, he gives me hope.* (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)

There are instances of conceptual metaphor POLITICAL INACTION IS A STOP SIGN in the addresses. See the instance below.

It is the sum of his message, the politics of the roadblock, the philosophy of the stop sign. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)

All this is to suggest that firstly, movement metaphor is mainly used in the target domains *change* and *development*, including country development,

personal development, quantity change, etc. Country development is conceptualized as horizontal movement (forward or backward), sometimes vertical movement (upward or downward). Secondly, if vertical movement is used to describe country development, there are positive associations with upward movement and negative associations with downward movement. Up-down movement metaphor is used by the speaker to attack or counterattack his opponents in terms of the target domain *country development*. Horizontal movement evokes positive associations with forward movement and negative associations with backward movement. Among all the five presidents, Bush Senior and Barack Obama use our way/path and their way/path metaphor to frame political issues, suggesting that our way is desirable and their way is not. Movement metaphor thus not only has framing function, but also as a pragmatic tool for speakers to persuade their voters. Compared to the other four presidents, Donald Trump uses few instances of movement metaphor in his Acceptance Address.

2.2.5 Construction metaphor

In this section, we shall discuss how construction metaphors function in the Acceptance Addresses.

Table 15. Construction metaphors in the five presidents' Acceptance Addresses

Presidents	Construction Metaphors
Bush Senior (1988)	COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION ; MISSION IS A FOUNDATION.
Bush Senior (1992)	COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION; SECURITY IS A CONSTRUCTION.
Bill Clinton (1992)	COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION ; AMERICAN DREAM IS A CONSTRUCTION; HIGHER EDUCATION IS A DOOR; CAREER IS A CONSTRUCTION ; JOB IS A CONSTRUCTION.

Bill Clinton (1996)	COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION ; THE OPPORTUNITY TO REACH THE FUTURE IS A BRIDGE.
Bush Junior (2000)	COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION ; OBSTACLE IS A WALL ; CHARACTER IS A CONSTRUCTION.
Bush Junior (2004)	COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION; RECORD IS A CONSTRUCTION; SOCIETY IS A CONSTRUCTION.
Barack Obama (2008)	POLITICAL LEGACY IS A CONSTRUCTION ; MILITARY IS A CONSTRUCTION ; PARTERSHIP IS A CONSTRUCTION.
Barack Obama (2012)	COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION ; ECONOMY IS A CONSTRUCTION; EDUCATION IS A GATEWAY; MIDDLE CLASS IS A CONSTRUCTION ; PROGRESS IS FOUNDATION.
Donald Trump (2016)	COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION; MILITARY IS A CONSTRUCTION.

From the table above we can see that construction metaphor is mainly used in the source domain *country*. Almost all the presidents use this metaphor in their Acceptance Addresses. And there is no great difference between their use of the conceptual metaphor COUNTRY IS CONSTRUCTION in its linguistic expressions. See the instances below.

1. *I seek the presidency **to build a better America**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*
2. *In a world that is safer and freer, this is how we will **build an America** that is stronger, safer, and more secure. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*
3. *I ask not just for your support for my agenda but for your commitment to renew and **rebuild our Nation** by shaking up the one institution that has withstood change for over four decades.(Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*
4. *Join me in rolling away the roadblock at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, so that in the next 4 years, we will match our accomplishments outside by **building** a stronger, safer, more secure **America** inside. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*
5. *Tonight I want to talk with you about my hope for the future, my faith in the American people, and my vision of the kind of country we can **build** together. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

6. Now, George Bush talks a good game, but he [George Bush] has no game plan **to rebuild America**, from the cities to the suburbs to the countryside, so that we can compete and win again in the global economy. I do. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)

7. I want **to build an America** in the 21st century. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

8. Prosperity can be a tool in our hands used **to build and better our country**, <...>. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)

9. We will **build a safer world and a more hopeful America**, and nothing will hold us back. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)

10. I'm running for President with a clear and positive plan **to build a safer world and a more hopeful America**. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)

11. **To build a more hopeful America**, we must help our children reach as far as their vision and character can take them. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)

12. Because after two wars that have cost us thousands of lives and over a trillion dollars, it's time to do some **nation-building** right here at home. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)

13. I will outline reforms to add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth that can be used **to rebuild America**. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)

Special attention should be paid to **bridge metaphor** in Bill Clinton's second Acceptance Address. There are all in all nineteen occurrences of the metaphor. See the instances below.

1. Now, here's the main idea. I love and revere the rich and proud history of America, and I am determined to take our best traditions into the future. But with all respect, **we do not need to build a bridge to the past; we need to build a bridge to the future**. And that is what I commit to you to do. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

2. So tonight, tonight **let us resolve to build that bridge to the 21st century**, to meet our challenges and protect our values. **Let us build a bridge to help our parents raise their children, to help young people and adults to get the education and training they need, to make our streets safer, to help Americans succeed at home and at work, to break the cycle of poverty and dependence, to protect our environment for generations to come, and to maintain our world leadership for peace and freedom. Let us resolve to build that bridge**. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

3. Tonight, my fellow Americans, I ask all of our fellow citizens to join me and to join you in **building that bridge to the 21st century**. Four years from now, just 4 years from now – think of it – we begin a new century, full of enormous possibilities. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

4. ***I want to build a bridge to the 21st century*** in which we expand opportunity through education, where computers are as much a part of the classroom as blackboards, where highly trained teachers demand peak performance from our students, where every 8-year-old can point to a book and say, “I can read it myself.” (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

5. Now, folks, if we do these things, every 8-year-old will be able to read, every 12-year-old will be able to log in on the Internet, every 18-year-old will be able to go to college, and all Americans will have the knowledge they need ***to cross that bridge to the 21st century.*** (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

6. ***I want to build a bridge to the 21st century*** in which we create a strong and growing economy to preserve the legacy of opportunity for the next generation, <...>. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

7. Do we want ***to weaken our bridge to the 21st century?*** (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

8. ***I want to build a bridge to the 21st century*** that ends the permanent under class, that lifts up the poor and ends their isolation, their exile. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

9. ***I want to build a bridge to the 21st century*** where our children are not killing other children anymore, where children’s lives are not shattered by violence at home or in the schoolyard, where a generation of young people are not left to raise themselves on the streets. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

10. My fellow Americans, if ***we’re going to build that bridge to the 21st century*** we have to make our children free, free of the vise grip of guns and gangs and drugs, free ***to build lives of hope.*** (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

11. ***I want to build a bridge to the 21st century*** with a strong American community, beginning with strong families, an America where all children are cherished and protected from destructive forces, where parents can succeed at home and at work. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

12. ***I want to build a bridge to the 21st century*** with a clean and safe environment. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

13. We should make it easier for families to find out about toxic chemicals in their neighborhoods so they can do more to protect their own children. These are the things that ***we must do to build that bridge to the 21st century.*** (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

14. My fellow Americans, ***I want to build a bridge to the 21st century*** that makes sure we are still the nation with the world’s strongest defense, that our foreign policy still advances the values of our American community in the community of nations. ***Our bridge to the future must include bridges to other nations,*** because we remain the world’s

indispensable nation to advance prosperity, peace, and freedom and to keep our own children safe from the dangers of terror and weapons of mass destruction. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

15. *My fellow Americans, let me say one last time, **we can only build our bridge to the 21st century if we build it together and if we're willing to walk arm in arm across that bridge together.** I have spent so much of your time that you gave me these last 4 years to be your President worrying about the problems of Bosnia, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Burundi. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

16. *Look around this hall tonight—and to our fellow Americans watching on television, <...>. **If we want to build that bridge to the 21st century** we have to be willing to say loud and clear: If you believe in the values of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, if you're willing to work hard and play by the rules, you are part of our family and we're proud to be with you. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

17. *So look around here, look around here: <...>, I believe in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence; I believe in religious liberty; I believe in freedom of speech; I believe in working hard and playing by the rules; I'm showing up for work tomorrow; **I'm building that bridge to the 21st century.** That ought to be the test. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

18. *My fellow Americans, 68 nights from tonight the American people will face once again a critical moment of decision. We're going to choose the last President of the 20th century and the first President of the 21st century. But the real choice is not that. The real choice is whether **we will build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past**, about whether we believe our best days are still out there or our best days are behind us, about whether we want a country of people all working together or one where you're on your own. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

19. *Let us commit ourselves this night **to rise up and build the bridge** we know **we ought to build all the way to the 21st century.** Let us have faith, American faith that we are not leaving our greatness behind. We're going to carry it right on with us into that new century, a century of new challenge and unlimited promise. Let us, in short, do the work that is before us, so that when our time here is over, we will all watch the sun go down, as we all must, and say truly, we have prepared our children for the dawn. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

In the first instance, Bill Clinton's declaration of being a bridge to the future is juxtaposed with one of his opponent, Dole's offer to be a bridge to the past [Benoit 2001: 75]. Dole in his Acceptance Address on 15th August 1996

declared that “Age has its advantages. *Let me be the bridge to* an America that only the unknowing call myth. *Let me be the bridge to* a time of tranquility, faith, and confidence in action. To those who say it was never so, that America has not been better, I say, you’re wrong, and I know, because I was there. I have seen it. I remember.”

Bill Clinton’s claim of building a “bridge to the future” thus rejected what Dole proposed to be “bridge to the past”. In this sense, Bill Clinton used the bridge metaphor to favorably frame himself and unfavorably interpret Dole [Benoit 2001:70]. The bridge metaphor in this instance served as a covert tool used by Clinton to attack his opponent. When he said “The real choice is whether *we will build a bridge to the future or a bridge to the past*, about whether we believe our best days are still out there or our best days are behind us, about whether we want a country of people all working together or one where you’re on your own”, he provides voters with two different perspectives that he and his opponent can offer.

The fact that Clinton starts and ends his address with the same bridge metaphor suggests that his address is a response to his opponent.

The bridge metaphor in other instances was used to interpret his agendas, including education (the second, forth, fifth instances), poverty (the eighth instance), crime and juvenile crime (the ninth and tenth instances), community (the eleventh instance), environment (the twelfth and thirteenth instances), foreign affairs (the fourteenth instance), and national unity (the fifteenth and sixteenth instances). Bridge metaphor is also used as an appeal for the unity of the whole country (the thirteenth instance), as an tool to interact with his audiences (the seventh instance).

Bill Clinton uses bridge metaphor not only to interpret his agendas for the upcoming presidential campaign, but also to reject his opponent’s claims and thus attack him. Clinton’s use of the bridge metaphor effectively functions as “frames for favorably interpreting himself and his agenda – as well as for

unfavorably interpreting Dole and his agenda” [Benoit 2001: 70]. The interpretative function and attacking function of the bridge metaphor are consistent with the purposes of the Acceptance Address, which is to set agendas, to rally the troops, to boost morale, and to prepare to attack opponents in order to win the campaign.

Construction metaphor is also used in other target domains such as mission and security in Bush Senior’s first address, American dream, higher education, career and jobs in Bill Clinton’s first address, obstacles and character in Bush Junior’s first address, record and society in his second address, political legacy, military, partnership in Barack Obama’s first address, economy, education, middle class, progress in his second address, military in Donald Trump’s address. See the instances below.

1. *And how do we complete it [the mission we started in 1980]? We **build on it**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

2. *Or do we give our people the freedom and incentives **to build** security for themselves? (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

3. *I was raised to believe **the American Dream** was **built on** rewarding hard work. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

4. *Then end of the Cold War permits us to reduce defense spending while still maintaining the strongest defense in the world, but we must plow back every dollar of defense cuts into **building American jobs** right here at home. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

5. *Someone [Hillary] who traveled our state for a year, studying, learning, listening, going to PTA meetings, school board meetings, town hall meetings, putting together a package of school reforms recognized around the Nation, and doing it all while **building a distinguished legal career** and being a wonderful, loving mother. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

6. *An America in which **the doors of colleges** are thrown **open** once again to the sons and daughters of stenographers and steelworkers. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

7. *When these problems are not confronted, it **builds a wall** within our nation. **On one side** are wealth, technology, education and ambition. **On the other side of that wall** are poverty and prison, addiction and despair. And my fellow Americans, we must **tear down that wall**.*

8. *My administration will give taxpayers new incentives to donate to charity, encourage after-school programs that **build character**, and support mentoring groups that shape and save young lives..(Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

9. *Two months from today, voters will make a choice based on **the records we have built**,<...>.(Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

10. *Another priority for a new term is **to build an ownership society** , <...>.(Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

11. *Our society rests on **a foundation of** responsibility and character and family commitment. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

12. *The Bush-McCain foreign policy has squandered the legacy that generations of Americans – Democrats and Republicans – **have built**, <...>.(Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

13. ***I will rebuild** our military to meet future conflicts. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

14. ***I will build** new partnerships to defeat the threats of the 21st century: <...>(Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

15. *I'm asking you to rally around a set of goals for your country – goals in manufacturing, energy, education, national security, and the deficit – real, achievable plans that will lead to new jobs, more opportunity, and **rebuild this economy on a stronger foundation**. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

16. *Ours is a fight to restore the values that **built** the largest middle class and the strongest economy <...>. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

17. *Education was **the gateway to** opportunity for me. It was **the gateway for** Michelle. It was **the gateway for** most of you. And now more than ever, it is **the gateway to** a middle class life. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

18. *Ours is a fight to restore the values that **built** the largest middle class and the strongest economy <...>. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

19. *So now you have a choice: between a strategy that reverses this progress or one that **builds on it**. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

20. *We will completely **rebuild our depleted military**,<...>.(Donald Trump July 21, 2016)*

The analysis above reveals the following characteristics.

Firstly, the conceptual metaphor COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION is common with all the presidents and is usually manifested by the verb “to build”. Donald Trump favors the verb “to rebuild”, which shows his deep dissatisfaction

with the current political and economic situation. Secondly, unlike the four other presidents, Bill Clinton uses bridge metaphor, throughout his second address, in order to make various topics more understandable and persuasive.

2.2.6 Medical metaphor

There are also some instances of medical metaphor in the Acceptance Addresses.

Table 16. Medical metaphors in the five presidents' Acceptance Addresses

Presidents	Metaphors
Bush Senior (1988)	Patient and Doctor metaphor
Bill Clinton (1992)	Heal metaphor Brain death metaphor
Bill Clinton (1996)	Heal metaphor
Barack Obama (2012)	Heal metaphor Prescription metaphor

Medical metaphors include metaphors that are based on the conventional use of the words “to heal”, “to remedy” and “recovery”. See the instances below.

*1. The incumbent President says that unemployment always goes up before **a recovery** begins, but unemployment only has to go up by one more person before **a real recovery** can begin. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*2. It is time **to heal** America. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*3. But let us never forget, the greatest untapped market for American enterprise is right here in America, in the inner cities, in the rural areas, who have not felt **this recovery**. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

*4. And by the way, those of us who carry on his party's legacy should remember that not every problem **can be remedied with** another Government program or dictate from Washington. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

There are three instances of creative medical metaphor, doctor-patient metaphor in Bush Senior's first Acceptance Address, brain dead metaphor in Bill Clinton's first Acceptance Address, and prescription metaphor in Obama's first Acceptance Address.

1. *My friends, eight years ago **this economy was flat on its back – intensive care.** And we came in and gave it **emergency treatment,** got the temperature down by lowering regulation and **got the blood pressure down** when we lowered taxes. And pretty soon, **the patient was up, back on his feet and stronger than ever.***

*And now, **who do we hear knocking on the door but the same doctors who made him sick,** and they're telling us to put them in charge of the case again. My friends, they're lucky we don't hit 'em with **a malpractice suit.*** (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)

2. *Our people are pleading for change, but government is in the way. It has been hijacked by privileged private interests. It has forgotten who really pays the bills around here. It has taken more of your money and given you less in return. We have got to go beyond the **brain-dead politics** in Washington and give our people the kind of government they deserve, a government that works for them.* (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)

3. *They want your vote, but they don't want you to know their plan. And that's because all they have to offer is **the same prescriptions** they've had for the last 30 years: Have a surplus? **Try** a tax cut. Deficit too high? **Try** another. **Feel a cold coming on? Take** two tax cuts, **roll back** some regulations, and **call us in the morning.*** (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)

In the first instance, economy is seen as a patient who was in a very serious condition and the incumbent government as a doctor who cured the patient. The doctor-patient metaphor is used to acclaim the incumbent government and attack its opponents for they are bad doctors who make the patient sick, the patient being economy.

In the second instance, politics is conceptualized as a person who is brain-dead. The symptom of being brain-dead is very serious, with irreversible loss of brain function. The speaker intends to say that brain-dead politics should be avoided and there should be a functional government.

In the third instance, the prescription metaphor is used to point out the ineffectiveness of the opponent's treatment of economy.

From the analysis above, it follows that medical metaphor is not frequently used in the Acceptance Addresses due to its negative associations. There are only three presidents who use the metaphor, Bush Senior, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama. Instances of the medical metaphor are also few. The second

observation is that the three creative medical metaphors are all related to negative evaluation. And they are used as pragmatic tools to attack the speaker's opponents, be it person or not.

2.2.7 Other metaphors

This section shall discuss metaphors that are used in the Acceptance Addresses in low frequency. Although there are few instances of each specific metaphor, they deserve to be analyzed in detail due to their linguistic, cognitive, and pragmatic functions.

Table 17. Other metaphors in the five presidents' Acceptance Addresses

Presidents	Metaphors
Bush Senior (1988)	Swiss cheese metaphor
Bush Senior (1992)	Dream metaphor; Nightmare metaphor; Powder keg metaphor Pork-barrel metaphor ; Blanket metaphor ; TV show metaphor Bike metaphor.
Bill Clinton (1992)	Ship metaphor
Bill Clinton (1996)	Nightmare metaphor
Bush Junior (2000)	Drug metaphor ; Gift metaphor ; Story metaphor; Third rail metaphor Nest egg metaphor.
Bush Junior (2004)	Story metaphor; Gift metaphor ; Nest egg metaphor.
Barack Obama (2008)	Traffic metaphor; Trojan Horse metaphor.
Barack Obama (2012)	Engine metaphor
Donald Trump (2016)	Puppet metaphor

Bush Senior uses more creative metaphors than the other four presidents. We shall now see **Swiss cheese metaphor** in his first Acceptance Address.

*And one way you know our opponents know the facts is that, to attack our record, they have to misrepresent it. They call it **a Swiss cheese economy**. Well, that's the way it may look to **the three blind mice**. But, when they were in charge, it was **all holes and no cheese**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

Swiss cheese is a type of hard cheese characterized by elastic texture, mild nutlike flavor, and large holes that form during ripening (Merriam-Webster

online dictionary). The Swiss cheese metaphor was not created by Bush himself, instead, he borrowed it from his democratic opponent Michael Dukakis, the democratic presidential nominee, who in turn borrowed it from his running-mate Bentsen. Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen attacked the Reagan-Bush economy by describing it as Swiss cheese riddled with holes. Bush wittily developed the metaphor and told a more complete and vivid cheese story than his opponents. Three blind mice were introduced into the cheese story, and the ending of the story is that no cheese was left but holes. The three blind mice were not someone else but his democratic opponents. It can be argued that Bush Senior developed the metaphor to achieve his purpose of rebutting and deriding his opponents.

In Bush Senior's second Acceptance Address, there are several creative metaphors, such as **powder keg metaphor**, **blanket metaphor**, **bike metaphor**, and **TV show metaphor**. See the instances below.

1. *The Mideast might have become **a nuclear powder keg**, our energy supplies held hostage. So we did what was right and what was necessary. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

2. *Do we turn to **the tattered blanket of bureaucracy** that other nations **are tossing away**? (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

3. *Now, I know Americans are tired of the blame game, tired of people in Washington acting like they're candidates for **the next episode of "American Gladiators."** I don't like it, either. Neither should you. But the truth is the truth. Our policies have not failed. They haven't even been tried. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

4. *How many days did it take to win the Gulf war? Forty-three. How many did it take Congress to pass a national energy strategy? Five hundred and thirty-two, and still counting. **I have ridden stationary bikes that can move faster than the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate, controlled by the Democrat leadership.** (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

In the first instance, the term "powder keg" literally means a barrel of gunpowder, which was the primary method for storing and transporting large quantities of black powder until the 19th century (Merriam-Webster online dictionary). The barrels of gunpowder had to be handled with care, since a spark

or other source of heat could cause the contents to deflagrate. Here it metaphorically refers to a region where political, socioeconomic, historical or other circumstances have been made prone to outbursts. The expression “a nuclear powder keg” means the same as the powder keg, and describes a more serious situation.

The blanket metaphor in the second instance is used by Bush Senior to describe bureaucracy as a ragged blanket, in shattered condition and tossed away by other nations. This metaphor associates negative evaluation with the target domain – bureaucracy. Bush Senior intends to show that bureaucracy should be abandoned as it is useless.

In the third instance, Bush Senior uses the image of players in a TV series to portray how politicians act in the government. *American Gladiators* is a American competition television show that aired weekly in syndication from September 1989 to May 1996. In the show, competitors went through a series of physical challenges in order to eventually become the season’s overall winner. With this metaphor, politicians are described as show players, and politics becomes a drama. It could be seen from the metaphor that Bush Senior holds a negative attitude to such a political situation.

In the fourth instance, Bush Senior uses bike metaphor to vividly show the political inaction and slowness of the House of Representatives and the Senate. The bike metaphor is used by Bush Senior to blame their inaction and non-cooperation.

Besides these creative metaphors, there are also some common metaphors in Bush Senior’s second Acceptance Address. These are **dream metaphor** and **nightmare metaphor**. See the two instances below.

1. Then he said that America was, and I quote again – I want to be fair and factual – I quote, being “ridiculed” everywhere. Well, tell that to the people around the world, for whom America is still a dream. <...> Ridiculed? Tell that to the men and women of Desert Storm. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)

2. *My opponents say I spend too much time on foreign policy, as if it didn't matter that schoolchildren once hid under their desks in drills to prepare for nuclear war. I saw the chance to rid our children's dreams of **the nuclear nightmare**, and I did.* (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)

In the first instance, the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A DREAM is exploited to create a desirable image for the country. The noun *dream* here is used in its metaphorical meaning, i.e. something notable for its beauty, excellence, or enjoyable quality. Dream metaphor usually associates positive value to target domains.

In the second instance, the threat of nuclear weapon was definitely the most disastrous for the world last century. To relate the concept of nuclear war with the concept of nightmare reminds the audiences not only of their personal experiences of having dreadful nightmares but also concerns and fears in the past. Nightmare relates deeply to the feeling of fear. It evokes feeling of something bad and scary. Nightmare metaphor associates negative value to target domains.

There is also one instance of nightmare metaphor in Bill Clinton's second Acceptance Address.

*Drugs nearly killed my brother when he was a young man, and I hate them. He fought back. He's here tonight with his wife, his little boy is here, and I'm really proud of him. But I learned something – I learned something in going through that **long nightmare** with our family.* (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

In this instance, nightmare metaphor is used by Bill Clinton to describe his unpleasant personal experience of having a drug-addicted brother.

Bush Junior's two addresses share the same three metaphors, including **story metaphor**, **gift metaphor**, and **nest egg metaphor**. This shows the coherence of metaphor use in his rhetoric.

Bush Junior favors **story metaphor** in his rhetoric. He not only uses it in his first inaugural frequently, but in his two Acceptance Addresses as well. There are two instances below.

1. *An American president must call upon that character. Tonight in this hall, we resolve to be the party of – not of repose but of reform. **We will write not footnotes but chapters in the American story.** We will add the work of our hands to the inheritance of our fathers and mothers and leave this nation greater than we found it. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

2. *The story of America is **the story of** expanding liberty, **an ever-widening circle, constantly growing to reach further and include more.** Our Nation's founding commitment is still our deepest commitment: In our world and here at home, we will extend the frontiers of freedom. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

In the two instances, Bush Junior tries to provide the audience with a grand and stately story in which everyone can take part. Story metaphor has the function of unifying everyone in the country, making them feel a sense of belonging. The story metaphor seems to bind the destiny of people and their country together. They cannot leave each other.

In the first instance, the expression “we will write not footnotes but chapters” reveals the politician’s persuasive ability by putting the audience in the place of the main characters in a book instead of some minor roles. In the second instance, story metaphor is used in the international arena. In this story, America is depicted as a hero who brings liberty to the world and spreads it all over the world.

There are two instances of **gift metaphor** in Bush Junior’s two addresses.

1. *This generation – this generation was given **the gift of the best education** in American history, yet we do not share **that gift** with everyone. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

2. *I believe all these things because freedom is not America’s **gift** to the world; it is the Almighty God’s **gift** to every man and woman in this world. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

Gift metaphor in the first instance refers to the target domain of best education, and in the second refers to freedom. Gift metaphor has positive associations to describe the two target domains.

There are two instances of **nest egg metaphor** in Bush Junior’s two addresses.

1. *This will mean a higher return on your money in over 30 or 40 years, **a nest egg** to help your retirement or to pass on to your children. When this money is in your name, in your account, it's not just a program, it's your property. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

2. *We must strengthen Social Security by allowing younger workers to save some of their taxes in a personal account, **a nest egg** you can call your own and Government can never take away. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

Nest egg metaphor is represented by the term “nest egg”, which is derived from poultry farmer’s tactic of placing eggs in hens’ nests to induce them to lay more eggs. It refers to a substantial sum of money saved or invested for future use. It often refers to a retirement account in political discourse. Nest egg metaphor has a nominative function here.

Besides these three types, there are also other metaphors in Bush Junior’s first Acceptance Address. They are **drug metaphor** and **third rail metaphor**. See the instances below.

1. *Prosperity can be a tool in our hands used to build and better our country, or it can be **a drug in our system dulling our sense of urgency**, of empathy, of duty. Our opportunities are too great, our lives too short, to waste this moment. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

2. *Social Security has been called **the third rail of American politics**, the one you’re not supposed to touch because it might shock you. But if you don’t touch it, you cannot **fix it**. And I intend to **fix it**. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

In the first instance, **drug metaphor** is used to conceptualize ‘prosperity’ as something harmful.

In the second instance, the term “the third rail” [of a nation’s politics] is a metaphor for any issue that is so controversial that it is charged and untouchable to the extent that any politician or public official who dares to broach the subject will invariably suffer politically. It is most commonly used in North America. Although some say that it was created by Tip O’Neill, a Speaker of the United Houses of Representatives during Reagan Presidency, some say it seems to have been coined by O’Neill aid Kirk O’Donnell in 1982 in reference to social security.

The third rail literally refers to the high-voltage third rail in some electric railway systems. Stepping on it usually results in electrocution, and the use of the term in politics relates to the risk of political death that a politician would face by tackling certain issues.

The third rail metaphor is usually used as a special political term, so is the **“pork-barrel project” metaphor** in Bush Senior’s second Acceptance Address. See the instance below.

*Now, Congress won’t cut spending, but refuses to give the President the power **to eliminate pork-barrel projects** that waste your money. Forty-three Governors have that power. So I ask you, the American people: Give me a Congress that will give me the line-item veto. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

The term “pork-barrel project” is a political metaphor referring to any government projects or appropriation yielding rich patronage benefits (Merriam-Webster online Dictionary). Its usage is originated in American English, and during the election campaigns, the term is usually used in a derogatory way to attack opponents.

Compared to Bush Senior and Bush Junior, the other three presidents use fewer instances of metaphor in this category. There is one instance of **ship of state metaphor** in Bill Clinton’s first Acceptance Address, one instance of **traffic metaphor** and one of **Trojan Horse metaphor** in Barack Obama’s first Acceptance Address and one instance of **engine metaphor** in his second one, and one instance of **puppet metaphor** in Donald Trump’s Acceptance Address. See the instances below.

*1. Last night Mario Cuomo taught us how a real nominating speech should be given. He also made it clear why we have **to steer our ship of state on a new course**. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*2. I know there are those who dismiss such beliefs as happy talk. They claim that our insistence on something larger, something firmer and more honest in our public life is just **a Trojan Horse** for higher taxes and the abandonment of traditional values. And that’s to be expected. Because if you don’t have any fresh ideas, then you use stale tactics to scare the*

voters. *If you don't have a record to run on, then you paint your opponent as someone people should run from. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

3. *It's a promise that says the market should reward drive and innovation and generate growth, but that businesses should live up to their responsibilities to create American jobs, look out for American workers, and **play by the rules of the road.** (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

4. *We honor the strivers, the dreamers, the risk takers, the entrepreneurs who have always been the driving force behind our free enterprise system, the greatest **engine** of growth and prosperity that the world's ever known. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

5. *Big business, elite media and major donors are lining up behind the campaign of my opponent because they know she will keep our rigged system in place. They are throwing money at her because they have total control over every single thing she does. **She is their puppet, and they pull the strings.** (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)*

Bill Clinton in his first Acceptance Address uses ship of state metaphor, which is a common political metaphor. In western culture, the ship of state is a well-known and oft-used metaphor. Plato, in his Book VI of the Republic, compared the governance of a city-state to steering a ship. In modern American political culture, the ship of state metaphor is a metaphor in which a nation is viewed as a ship in need of government and control, and the head of a government is viewed as the captain of the ship.

In Barack Obama's first Acceptance Address, there are two metaphors, the Trojan Horse metaphor and traffic metaphor. Barack Obama quotes his opponent's words. The Trojan Horse is a well-known tale about the Trojan War in which the Greeks used a wooden horse in which a group of men hid inside to enter the independent city of Troy and win the war. The term metaphorically means "someone or something intended to defeat or subvert from within usually by deceptive means, i.e. any trick or stratagem that causes a target to invite a foe into a securely protected bastion or place" (Merriam-Webster online dictionary). This traffic metaphor is revealed by the expression "play by the rules of the road" which manifests the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMIC

REGULATIONS ARE TRAFFIC RULES. Businesses, as cars in the road, should follow rules.

In Barack Obama's second Acceptance Address, there is only one special metaphor, that is **engine metaphor**. It is used to describe the free enterprise system. Engine refers to a machine that converts any forms of energy into mechanical force and motion. It serves as an energy source. A free enterprise system is seen as the power pushing the country forward.

Donald Trump uses puppet metaphor to attack his opponent. Puppet refers to a small-scale figure usually with a cloth body and hollow head and is moved by the hand, it metaphorically means someone whose acts are controlled by an outside force or influence.

The analysis of other metaphors in the Acceptance Addresses shows that besides the five common metaphors: personification, nature, movement, construction, and medical, there are other metaphors that are also used in Acceptance Addresses. They are Swiss Cheese metaphor, dream metaphor, nightmare metaphor, powder keg metaphor, blanket metaphor, TV show metaphor, Bike metaphor, ship metaphor, drug metaphor, gift metaphor, story metaphor, third rail metaphor, a nest egg metaphor, Traffic metaphor, Trojan Horse metaphor, engine metaphor and puppet metaphor. Among these metaphors, some come from special political terms, such as nest egg metaphor, third rail metaphor, some are creative metaphors exclusively used by the speaker, such as TV show metaphor and Swiss cheese metaphor. Bush Senior likes to use creative metaphors. Bush Junior uses similar metaphors in both his Acceptance Addresses. Bush Senior and Bush Junior seem to use more of such metaphors than the other three presidents in their Acceptance Address.

2.2.8 Metaphor clusters

George H.W. Bush (August 18, 1988)

There are three instances of metaphor clusters in Bush Senior's first Acceptance Address.

1. *These are the facts. And one way you know our opponents know the facts is that, to attack our record, they have to misrepresent it. They call it a **Swiss cheese economy**. Well, that's the way it may look to **the three blind mice**. But, when they were in charge, it was **all holes and no cheese**.*

*Inflation – you know the litany – inflation was 12 percent when we came in. We **got it down** to four. Interest rates were more than 21. We cut them in half. Unemployment was **up and climbing**, and now it's **the lowest** in 14 years.*

*My friends, eight years ago this economy was **flat on its back** – **intensive care**. And we came in and gave it **emergency treatment**, **got the temperature down** by lowering regulation and **got the blood pressure down** when we lowered taxes. And pretty soon, **the patient was up, back on his feet and stronger than ever**.*

*And now, who do we hear **knocking on the door** but **the same doctors who made him sick**, and they're telling us to put them in charge of the case again. My friends, they're lucky we don't hit 'em with **a malpractice suit**. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

2. *Our economy is strong but not invulnerable, and the peace is broad but can be broken. And now we must decide. We will surely have change this year, but will it be change that **moves us forward or change that risks retreat?***

*In 1940, when I was barely more than a boy, Franklin Roosevelt said **we shouldn't change horses in midstream**.*

*My friends, these days the world moves even more quickly, and now, after two great terms, a switch will be made. **But when you have to change horses in midstream, doesn't it make sense to switch to one who's going the same way?***

An election that's about ideas and values is also about philosophy, and I have one.

***At the bright center** is the individual. And **radiating out from** him or her is the family, the essential unit of closeness and of love. For it's the family that communicates to our children, to the 21st century our culture, our religious faith, our traditions and history.*

***From** the individual **to** the family **to** the community, and then **on out to** the town, **to** the church and the school and, **still echoing out, to** the county, the state and the nation – each doing only what it does well and no more. And I believe that power must always be kept close to the individual, close to the hands that raise the family and run the home. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

3. *It seems to me the presidency provides an incomparable opportunity for “gentle persuasion”.*

*And I hope to stand for a new harmony, a greater tolerance. We’ve **come far**, but I think we need a new harmony among the races in our country. And we’re **on a journey into a new century**, and we’ve got to leave **that tired old baggage of bigotry behind**.*

Some people who are enjoying our prosperity have forgotten what it’s for. But they diminish our triumph when they act as if wealth is an end in itself.

*And there are those who have **dropped their standards along the way**, as if **ethics were too heavy and slowed their rise to the top**. There’s graft in city hall, and there’s greed on Wall Street. There’s influence peddling in Washington, and the small corruptions of everyday ambition. (Bush Senior August 18, 1988)*

In the first instance, three metaphors, including Swiss cheese metaphor, movement metaphor and medical metaphor crowd together to illustrate the economic issue.

The Swiss cheese metaphor is wittily used by Bush Senior to rebut and deride his opponents who criticize the Reagan-Bush administration for its economy.

The vertical movement metaphor is used to describe inflation and unemployment. The development of the two economic phenomena are regarded as vertical movement. Upward movement suggests a worsening of the phenomena, while downward movement suggests relief of the two problems. Bush Senior uses vertical movement metaphor to show the achievements made in the economy during the Reagan-Bush administration.

Doctor and patient metaphor is also used to attack his opponents’ economic policies. His opponents are regarded as bad doctors who made the patient, meaning economy, sick. And good doctors are Bush Senior and his party who healed the patient by “[giving] it emergency treatment, [getting] the temperature down by lowering regulation and [getting] the blood pressure down [by lowering] taxes”. The creation of these three images – good doctor, bad doctor, and patient, and the series of actions frame how the audience understand the

economic situation in the U.S. and finds the person who can be responsible and blamed for the worse economic situation.

In this cluster, the Swiss cheese metaphor and doctor and patient metaphor both have a pragmatic purpose of attacking his opponents by the analogical associations created by the metaphors. The movement metaphor not only serves as an explanatory tool to describe the change of inflation and unemployment, but also as a pragmatic tool to boast the speaker's achievements. The three metaphors all contribute to the topic of economy.

In the second instance, journey metaphor, horse-changing metaphor and light metaphor are designed to discuss presidential election. The speaker uses the first two metaphors to depict presidential election as the change of horses in midstream, creating a situation and persuading the voters to choose him. The light metaphor is about one of his political philosophy – the promotion of various social organizations, especially volunteer organizations across the country.

In the third instance, journey metaphor is repeated twice, describing two target domains – country development and personal development. In the first journey metaphor, the racial problem is regarded as old baggage of bigotry and should be abandoned in order to continue the journey. In the second journey metaphor, personal development is viewed as upward movement. For some people, ethics are regarded as something heavy and may prevent personal development, so they may drop them in order to climb to the top. Bush Senior uses this metaphor to criticize the behaviour of dropping ethics along the journey of personal development. In this cluster, the destinies of the people and the country are bound together.

The three instances of metaphor clusters are closely related to the main topics of the address, including presidential election, economy problem, country development and personal development. Metaphors crowd together to enhance their metaphorical force so as to help the speaker realize his rhetorical purposes.

George H.W. Bush (August 20, 1992)

There are four instances of metaphor clustering in this address.

1. *I have asked Congress to put a lid on mandatory spending, except Social Security. I've proposed doing away with over 200 programs and 4,000 wasteful projects and **to freeze all other spending.***

***The gridlock Democrat Congress** said no.*

*So, beginning tonight, I will enforce **the spending freeze on** my own. If Congress sends me a bill spending more than I asked for in my budget, I will veto it fast, veto it fast, faster than copies of Millie's book sold.*

*Now, Congress won't cut spending, but refuses to give the President the power **to eliminate pork-barrel projects** that waste your money. Forty-three Governors have that power. So I ask you, the American people: Give me a Congress that will give me the line-item veto.*

*Let me tell you about **a recent battle fought with the Congress, a battle in which I was aided by Bob Michel and his troops, and Bob Dole and his.** <...> (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

2. *If he gets his way, hardware stores across America will have a new sign up, "Closed for despair." I guess you'd say **his plan really is "Elvis economics." America will be checking into the "Heartbreak Hotel."***

*I believe that small business needs relief from taxation, regulation, and litigation. And thus, I will extend for one year **the freeze on paperwork and unnecessary Federal regulation** that I imposed last winter. There is no reason that Federal regulations **should live longer than** my friend George Burns. I will issue an order to get rid of any rule whose time has come and gone. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

3. *So we have a clear choice **to fix** our problems. Do we turn to **the tattered blanket of bureaucracy** that other nations are **tossing away**? Or do we give our people the freedom and incentives **to build security** for themselves?*

*Here's what **I'm fighting for**: Open markets for American products; lower Government spending; tax relief; opportunities for small business; legal and health reform; job training; and new schools built on competition, ready for the 21st century.*

*Now, okay, why are these proposals not in effect today? Only one reason: **the gridlock Democratic Congress.***

*Now, I know Americans are tired of **the blame game**, tired of **people in Washington acting like they're candidates for the next episode of "American Gladiators."** I don't like it, either. Neither should you. But the truth is the truth. Our policies have not failed. They haven't even been tried. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

*4. Tonight I appeal to that unyielding, undying, undeniable American spirit. I ask you to consider, now that **the entire world is moving our way**, why would we want **to go back their way**? I ask not just for your support for my agenda but for your commitment to renew and **rebuild our Nation by shaking up the one institution** that has withstood change for over four decades. Join me in **rolling away the roadblock** at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, so that in the next 4 years, we will match our accomplishments outside by **building a stronger, safer, more secure America inside**.*

*Forty-four years ago in another age of uncertainty a different President embarked on a similar mission. His name was Harry S Truman. As he stood before his party to accept their nomination, Harry Truman knew the freedom I know this evening, the freedom to talk about what's right for America, and **let the chips fall where they may**.*

*Harry Truman said this: This is more than a political call to arms. Give me your help, not to win votes alone, but **to win this new crusade** and keep America safe and secure for its own people.*

*Well, tonight I say to you: **Join me in our new crusade, to reap the rewards of our global victory, to win the peace, so that we may make America safer and stronger for all our people**. (Bush Senior August 20, 1992)*

In the first instance, several metaphors crowd together to focus on the topic of the relationship between the president and the Congress. The movement metaphor, pork-barrel metaphor, and war metaphor illustrate how the president tries to fight against the Congress for the benefits of the masses. The phrase “the gridlock Democrat Congress” and the sentence “Congress <...> refuses to eliminate pork-barrel projects” show the political inaction of the Congress.

In the second instance, three metaphors music metaphor, fluidity metaphor and personification crowd together to serve as a pragmatic tool for the president to explain his economic policy and to attack his opponent.

In the third instance, tattered blanket metaphor, construction metaphor, war metaphor, movement metaphor, game metaphor and TV series metaphor come

together enabling the president to illustrate his political policies and reveal his dissatisfaction with the Congress.

In the fourth instance, movement metaphor, construction metaphor, game metaphor and war metaphor are used in the target domains country development and presidential election.

The four instances of metaphor clusters are about presidential election, country development, and partisan conflict.

Bill Clinton (July 16, 1992)

There are two instances of metaphor clustering in Bill Clinton's first Acceptance Address.

*1. As an adult, I watched **her fight off** breast cancer, and again she has taught me lesson in courage. And always, always, always she taught me **to fight**.*

*That's why **I'll fight to** create high-paying jobs so that parents can afford to raise their children today.*

That's why I'm so committed to make sure every American gets the health care that saved my mother's life and that women's health care gets the same attention as men's.

*That's why **I'll fight to** make sure women in this country receive respect and dignity, whether they work in the home, out of the home, or both.*

*You want to know where I **get my fighting spirit**? It all started with my mother. Thank you, Mother. I love you. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

*2. I was raised to believe **the American Dream was built on** rewarding hard work. But we have seen the folks of Washington turn the American ethic on its head.*

*For too long those who **play by the rules** and keep the faith have gotten the shaft, and those who cut corners and cut deals have been rewarded.*

*People are working harder than ever, spending less time with their children, working nights and weekends at their jobs instead of going to PTA and Little League or Scouts. And their incomes are still **going down**. Their taxes are still **going up**. And the costs of health care, housing and education are **going through the roof**.*

*Meanwhile, more and more of our best people are **falling into** poverty even though they work 40 hours a week.*

*Our people are pleading for change, but government is in the way. It **has been hijacked** by privileged private interests. It has forgotten who really pays the bills around here. It has taken more of your money and given you less in return. We have got to go beyond the **brain-dead politics** in Washington and give our people the kind of government they deserve, a government that works for them. (Bill Clinton July 16, 1992)*

Bill Clinton intends to use the two instances to show his determination and bravery, and to uncover the incumbent's political ineffectiveness.

In the first instance, the repeated use of the verb *to fight* creates war metaphor that says that president should have a fighting spirit. The politician shares his personal experience trying to persuade the masses that he has this spirit.

In the second instance, Bill Clinton uses construction metaphor, sports metaphor, movement metaphor, hijacker metaphor and medical metaphor to illustrate the incumbent government's political ineffectiveness in dealing with serious social problems, such as high taxes, costs, and poverty.

Bill Clinton (August 29, 1996)

There are four instances of metaphor clusters in the Bill Clinton's second Acceptance Address.

*1. **We are on the right track to the 21st century. We are on the right track**, but our work is not finished. What should we do? First, let us consider how **to proceed**. Again I say, the question is no longer who's to blame but what to do.*

*I believe that Bob Dole and Jack Kemp and Ross Perot love our country, and they have worked hard to serve it. It is legitimate, even necessary, to compare our record with theirs, our proposals for the future with theirs. And I expect them to make a vigorous effort to do the same. **But I will not attack. I will not attack them personally** or permit others to do it in this party if I can prevent it. Thank you. My fellow Americans, this must be—this must be—a **campaign of ideas, not a campaign of insults**. The American people deserve it.*

*Now, here's the main idea. I love and revere the rich and proud history of America, and I am determined to take our best traditions into the future. But with all respect, **we do not need to build a bridge to the past; we need to build a bridge to the future**. And that is what I commit to you to do.*

*So tonight, tonight let us resolve **to build that bridge to the 21st century**, to meet our challenges and protect our values. Let us **build a bridge** to help our parents raise their children, to help young people and adults to get the education and training they need, to make our streets safer, to help Americans succeed at home and at work, **to break the cycle of poverty and dependence**, to protect our environment for generations to come, and to maintain our world leadership for peace and freedom. Let us resolve **to build that bridge**.*

*Tonight, my fellow Americans, I ask all of our fellow citizens to join me and to join you in **building that bridge to the 21st century**. Four years from now, just 4 years from now – think of it – we begin a new century, full of enormous possibilities. We have **to give the American people the tools** they need to make the most of their God-given potential. We must make the basic bargain of opportunity and responsibility available to all Americans, not just a few. That is the promise of the Democratic Party. That is the promise of America. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

*2. We have made a great deal of progress. Even the crime rate among young people is finally **coming down**. So it is very, very painful to me that drug use among young people is **up**. Drugs nearly killed my brother when he was a young man, and I hate them. **He fought back**. He's here tonight with his wife, his little boy is here, and I'm really proud of him. But I learned something – I learned something in going through that **long nightmare** with our family. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

*3. We should make it a crime even to attempt to pollute. We should **freeze** the serious polluter's property until they **clean up** the problems they create. We should make it easier for families to find out about toxic chemicals in their neighborhoods so they can do more to protect their own children. These are the things that we must do **to build that bridge to the 21st century**.*

*My fellow Americans, I want **to build a bridge to the 21st century** that makes sure we are still the nation with the world's strongest defense, that our foreign policy still advances the values of our American community in the community of nations. **Our bridge to the future must include bridges to other nations**, because we remain the world's indispensable nation to advance prosperity, peace, and freedom and to keep our own children safe from the dangers of terror and weapons of mass destruction. (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)*

*4. **Let us commit ourselves this night to rise up and build the bridge we know we ought to build all the way to the 21st century**. Let us have faith, American faith that we are not leaving our greatness behind. We're going **to carry it right on with us into that new century**, a century of new challenge and unlimited promise. Let us, in short, do the work that*

*is before us, so that when our time here is over, **we will all watch the sun go down, as we all must, and say truly, we have prepared our children for the dawn.*** (Bill Clinton August 29, 1996)

In the first instance, journey metaphor, war metaphor and bridge metaphor crowd together to illustrate the past achievements of the president during his first term, to show his attitude towards presidential election, and to describe his future political agendas for the country.

In the second instance, movement metaphor, war metaphor and nightmare metaphor are used by the president to address the drug problem. The president talks about his personal experience so as to show his determination to fight drugs.

In the third instance, fluidity metaphor, cleaning metaphor and bridge metaphor crowd together to show the president's determination to solve the pollution problem in the country and his political plans to make the country better.

In the fourth instance, the combination of bridge metaphor, journey metaphor and sun metaphor is meant to show that the country is going to have a bright future.

George W. Bush (August 3, 2000)

There are three instances of metaphor clusters in Bush Junior's first Acceptance Address.

*1. For eight years the Clinton-Gore administration **has coasted through prosperity. The path** of least resistance is always **downhill**. But America's way is **the rising road**. This nation is daring and decent and ready for change.* (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)

*2. When these problems are not confronted, it **builds a wall within our nation**. **On one side** are wealth, technology, education and ambition. **On the other side of that wall** are poverty and prison, addiction and despair. And my fellow Americans, we must **tear down that wall**.*

*Big government is not the answer, but the alternative to bureaucracy is not indifference. It is to put conservative values and conservative ideas into **the thick of the fight for justice and opportunity.** (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

*3. I will not **attack** a part of this country because I want to lead the whole of it.*

*And I believe this'll be **a tough race, down to the wire.** Their **war room** is up and running, but we are ready.*

***Their attacks** will be relentless, but they will be answered. We are facing something familiar, but they're facing something new. (Bush Junior August 3, 2000)*

In the first instance, three metaphorical sentences containing movement metaphor implicitly negate what the former administration has achieved. The eight years of the Clinton-Gore administration has witnessed great economic progress. However, Bush Junior does not credit the former administration for the prosperity, but blames them for inaction. The up-down movement metaphor is meant to contrast the unfavourable situation in the former administration with promising future the country deserves.

In the second instance, wall metaphor is used to compare social ills to a wall that needs to be torn down. Wall metaphor refers to a wall as a two-facet thing, on the one hand, it is about protection of the society from social ills, on the other hand, it is about blocking oneself from the outside world. In either case, wall is synonymic with something negative.

In the third instance, war metaphor and race metaphor combines together to create the conceptual metaphor PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS WAR.

George W. Bush (September 2, 2004)

There are four instances of metaphor clusters in the address.

*1. Since 2001, Americans **have been given hills to climb** and found the strength to **climb them.** Now, because we have made **the hard journey,** we can **see the valley below.** Now, because we have faced challenges with resolve, we have historic goals within our reach and greatness in our future. We will **build a safer world and a more hopeful America,** and nothing will hold us back. (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)*

2. *The story of America is **the story of** expanding liberty, **an ever-widening circle, constantly growing to reach further and include more.** Our Nation's founding commitment is still our deepest commitment: In our world and here at home, we will **extend the frontiers of freedom.*** (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)

3. *In all these proposals, we seek to provide not just a Government program but **a path, a path to** greater opportunity, more freedom, and more control over your own life.*

*And **the path** begins with our youngest Americans. **To build a more hopeful America,** we must help our children reach as far as their vision and character can take them. Tonight I remind every parent and every teacher, I say to every child: No matter what your circumstance, no matter where you live, your school will be **the path to** promise of America.* (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)

4. *To everything we know there is **a season**, a time for sadness, a time for struggle, a time for rebuilding. And now we have reached a time for hope. This young century will be liberty's century. By promoting liberty abroad, we will **build a safer world.** By encouraging liberty at home, we will **build a more hopeful America.** Like generations before us, we have a calling from beyond the stars to stand for freedom. This is the everlasting dream of America, and tonight, in this place, that dream is renewed. Now we **go forward**, grateful for our freedom, faithful to our cause, and confident in the future of the greatest nation on Earth.* (Bush Junior September 2, 2004)

In the first instance, journey metaphor and construction metaphor come together to describe what the incumbent administration has achieved during the four years.

In the second instance, story metaphor, circle metaphor and journey metaphor are used to describe the America's policy of spreading liberty throughout the world under the Bush administration.

In the third instance, journey metaphor and construction metaphor are used to stress the importance of personal development for young people and the vital role the young people play in building the country.

In the fourth instance, season metaphor, construction metaphor and journey metaphor are used to illustrate the target domain country development.

Barack Obama (August 28, 2008)

There is only one instance of metaphor cluster in the address.

*Instead, it is that American spirit – that American promise – that pushes us **forward** even when **the path is uncertain**; that binds us together in spite of our differences; that makes us **fix our eye not on what is seen**, but what is unseen, that **better place around the bend**.*

*"We cannot **walk alone**," the preacher cried. "And as we **walk**, we must make the pledge that we shall always **march ahead**. We cannot **turn back**."*

*America, we cannot **turn back**. Not with so much work to be done. Not with so many children to educate, and so many veterans to care for. Not with an economy to fix and cities to rebuild and farms to save. Not with so many families to protect and so many lives to mend. America, we cannot **turn back**. We cannot **walk alone**. At this moment, in this election, we must pledge once more **to march into the future**. Let us keep that promise – that American promise – and in the words of Scripture hold firmly, without wavering, to the hope that we confess. (Barack Obama August 28, 2008)*

In the instance above, the conceptual metaphor COUNTRY DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY is elaborated by a series of expressions. The elaboration of the metaphor creates a metaphor cluster that enhances its rhetorical force.

Barack Obama (September 6, 2012)

There is only one instance of metaphor cluster in the address.

*If you believe that new plants and factories can dot our landscape, that new energy can power our future, that new schools can provide **ladders of** opportunity to this nation of dreamers; if you believe in a country where everyone **gets a fair shot** and everyone does their fair share and everyone **plays by the same rules**, then I need you to vote this November.*

*America, I never said **this journey** would be easy, and I won't promise that now. Yes, **our path** is harder, but **it leads to** a better place. Yes, **our road is longer, but we travel it together**. **We don't turn back**. **We leave no one behind**. We pull each other up. We draw strength from our victories, and we learn from our mistakes, but **we keep our eyes fixed on that distant horizon**, knowing that Providence is with us, and that we are surely blessed to be citizens of the greatest nation on Earth. (Barack Obama September 6, 2012)*

The only one metaphor cluster in the address consists of ladder metaphor, sports metaphor and journey metaphor. The cluster is about the topic of country development.

Donald J. Trump (July 21, 2016)

There is only one instance of metaphor cluster in the address.

*Big business, elite media and major donors are lining up behind the **campaign** of my opponent because they know she will keep our **rigged system** in place. **They are throwing money at her** because they have total control over every single thing she does. **She is their puppet**, and they pull the strings. (Donald Trump July 21, 2016)*

In the address the metaphor cluster consists of war metaphor and puppet metaphor. The cluster involves the main topic of the address: presidential election. The cluster functions as a pragmatic role to attack his opponent.

In conclusion, the analysis of metaphor cluster in each Acceptance Address reveals that metaphors sometimes flock together to enhance their rhetorical force in the addresses. Metaphor clusters function as a explanatory tool to describe a political issue or a pragmatic tool to attack political opponent. Metaphor clusters are topically related. They serve to illustrate the main topics of the discourse, such as the painting of the country development, the elaboration of specific political agendas and the political attack of each speaker.

In the Acceptance Address there are some instances of metaphor cluster that function as pragmatic tool to attack political opponents and discredit their political policies. Among all the five presidents, Bush Senior seems to use more such instances to fulfil his discursive purposes. For example, he uses the cluster of Swiss cheese metaphor and doctor-patient metaphor to attack his opponent's economic policy in the first acceptance address, and the cluster of movement metaphor, pork-barrel metaphor and war metaphor to attack the Congress with which he tried to fight for the benefits of the mass. Such instances of metaphor cluster also exist in Bush Junior and Donald Trump's Acceptance Addresses.

2.3. Similarities and Differences of Metaphor Use in Five U.S. Presidents' Inaugurals and Acceptance Addresses

Orators tend to use various rhetorical techniques to sound clear and convincing. Metaphor is one such rhetorical technique. Its performance helps to realize any discursive intentions. The analysis of metaphor in the presidential inaugurals and the Acceptance Addresses of the five American presidents yield some insightful findings.

The major difference between Inaugural and Acceptance Address in terms of metaphor use is that Acceptance Address requires certain types of conflict metaphor (including war metaphor, sports metaphor, contest metaphor, and game metaphor) while Inaugural does not. And war metaphor is much more frequently used than other types. This may due to the fact that Acceptance Address tends to be confrontational in nature, like a manifesto which is a communicative act that is full of declarations, or flashy promises, serving to oppose the views of the opponent.

Donald Trump's Inaugural is different from other presidents' Inaugural in a way that he uses instances of war metaphor, such as carnage metaphor, which causes much criticism from the media. It can be noted that in the Acceptance Address conflict metaphor is acceptable and welcomed while in inaugural not.

Personification serves two main purposes in Inaugural and Acceptance Address, one is to describe America as a person, and the other is to describe political problems with the intent to make them more tangible, and to make them sound more like a guilty party or a scapegoat. What differs Inaugural and Acceptance Address is the type of the target domain of personification. In inaugural, the main target domain is America, while in Acceptance Address, the most frequently used target domains are all kinds of problems, such as the problem of inflation.

As far as depicting America as a person is concerned, it is subject to partisan backgrounds, personal experiences, political philosophies of the presidents, and the socio-political situation.

Republicans Bush Senior and Bush Junior, for instance, conceptualize America similarly as a powerful person, physically strong, financially rich, and morally perfect. And they both attach great importance to moral values. Given the socio-political environment of the time when America was deemed as the most powerful country in the post-Cold War era, Bill Clinton depicts it as a savior and an indispensable part of the world. With regard to the 9/11 terrorist attack, Bush Junior in his second inaugural starts to promote the status of America as a protector, who can protect itself and the world. Barack Obama tries to show a friendlier face to the world after his predecessor, saying America is a friend to all. Donald Trump perceives America through the lenses of his personal experiences as a businessman who keeps pursuing success and who never quits.

The most typical nature metaphor, light-related metaphor, appears in both Inaugural and Acceptance Address. However, It is more frequently used in Inaugural than in Acceptance Address. Light-related metaphor is based on the source domains *light*, *star*, *fire*, and *the sun*, which are often used to associate positive values and judgments to target domains. In Inaugural, it is often used to describe and promote the American ideals, such as freedom, equality, and democracy. While in Acceptance Address, it can be also used to praise someone who the speaker cares, for instance, Bill Clinton regards his wife as light of his life.

Another typical nature metaphor in Inaugural and Acceptance Address is based on the source domain *weather phenomena*, such as breeze, wind, spring, tremor and storms. The metaphor is usually used in the target domain *cause of change in social conditions*.

It can be observed that weather phenomena usually emerge in the first inaugural of each president, with Donald Trump's first inaugural being the exception. This can be attributed to the fact that presidents want to show that the atmosphere needs change and he is the one to deliver it. Whether it is breeze metaphor in Bush Senior's inaugural, or spring metaphor in Bill Clinton's inaugural, or the rich imagery of rising tides, still waters, gathering clouds, raging storms, icy currents, winter in Barack Obama's inaugural, they all want to make the impression that for them no task is unsolvable or situation unchangeable.

Apart from these two types of source domains, Acceptance Address includes one more type, fluidity. Metaphors from the source domain *fluidity* are used to describe specific topics of finance, economy, and politics. The choice of a target domain is up to the president's political concerns during his campaign period and the socio-political environment of the moment. For example, Bush Senior talks of the problems of nuclear weapons and government spending, Bill Clinton and Barack Obama talk of economic policy, and Donald Trump talks of immigration.

It can be seen that nature metaphors are used mainly in two aspects: the illustration of socio-political situation and the promotion of certain American ideals in Inaugural. While in Acceptance Address, nature metaphors are used with more purposes and for more topics.

In terms of movement metaphor, both Inaugural and Acceptance Address share similar patterns. Movement metaphor is mainly used in the target domains *country development* and *quantity change*.

Country development is mostly conceptualized as horizontal movement in Inaugural, while horizontal movement and vertical movement in Acceptance Address. Forward movement and upward movement are always related to positive values, while backward and downward movement to negative.

Movement metaphor in the target domain *country development* functions as a pragmatic tool for presidents to unite the people, create solidarity and stir a sense of patriotism in the audience in Inaugural, and it also serves to help speakers to attack the opponent in Acceptance Address.

Bill Clinton and Barack Obama use movement metaphor more frequently in both genres. While Donald Trump uses it the least, which is another feature that makes his rhetoric different from his predecessors.

Construction metaphor in Inaugural and Acceptance Address shares a similar pattern. The most common construction metaphor the conceptual metaphor COUNTRY IS A CONSTRUCTION that is usually represented by the verb *to build*. This metaphor concretizes the abstract concept of country development and makes any call on the part of the president to build America visible. Affecting the people's imagery and emotions, construction metaphor serves as a pragmatic tool to influence their political judgments.

Medical metaphor is not common in both Inaugural and Acceptance Address due to its negative associations. In Inaugural, this metaphor is usually used in the target domain *social problems*, represented by the verb *to heal* and *to cure*, which shows the speaker cares about these problems. In Acceptance Address, medical metaphor is mostly used as a pragmatic tool to attack the speaker's opponent, be it person or party.

Besides the five common metaphors – personification, nature metaphor, movement metaphor, construction metaphor and medical metaphor, there are other metaphors that are not very frequently used in Inaugural and Acceptance Address. These metaphors vary in type, and some of them are creative. They are used in the target domains of political, economic and military concerns in Inaugural and Acceptance Address.

Metaphor tends to be used more often in a confrontational way in Acceptance Address than in Inaugural. This is required by discursive purpose of

the address. Acceptance Address, as an important part of the campaign process, serves to unify the party, rally the troops, and start a presidential campaign.

In Acceptance Address, metaphors are more varied than in Inaugural. This is due to their discursive feature. Acceptance Address is longer and covers far more topics than Inaugural.

In Inaugural, each president has his favourite metaphor.

Bush Senior (1989) uses breeze metaphor throughout the address. Breeze metaphor together with other metaphors creates some cognitive scenarios that justify the speaker's arguments and serve to make the address coherent and cohesive.

Bill Clinton (1993) prefers to use spring metaphor and journey metaphor. He chooses spring metaphor to describe the change that will come during his presidency and movement metaphor to describe the target domain *country development*.

It can be seen that the two presidents use nature metaphor to describe an abstract concept – change. The difference lies in that breeze metaphor used by Bush Senior reveals his intention of maintaining what his predecessor had achieved, while spring metaphor shows that Bill Clinton wants to make a big difference.

Bill Clinton (1997) keeps his rhetorical habit of using journey metaphor in both inaugurals.

Bush Junior (2001) uses story metaphor eight times in the address and movement metaphor four times. He highly favors story metaphor and movement metaphor. In 2005, he continues to use movement metaphor frequently and also focuses on personification.

Barack Obama prefers to use journey metaphor in both his inaugurals(2009/2013).

Trump's inaugural seems to be different from the others in terms of the metaphor frequency. There is no metaphor that can be called as a predominant or preferred metaphor.

Last but not least, there are instances of metaphor clusters in the Inaugurals and the Acceptance Addresses. Metaphor clusters in the Acceptance addresses often function as a pragmatic tool to attack an opponent, while in the Inaugurals they function differently. This is due to their different discursive features. Acceptance Address is confrontational in nature, therefore, its rhetoric tends to be full of confrontational purposes and hence agonistic expressions.

Conclusion for Chapter 2

The analysis of metaphor use in the two types of American presidential discourse, Inaugural and Acceptance Address, has revealed the way how metaphorical patterns function in different discursive contexts.

The metaphorical repertoire in Inaugural contains metaphors from the source domains *personification, nature, movement, construction, medicine, book, engine, machine, chorus, gift, laboratory, anchor, sports, and war*.

The metaphorical repertoire in Acceptance Address contains metaphors from the source domains *personification, nature, movement, construction, medicine, conflict, Swiss cheese, dream, nightmare, powder keg, pork-barrel, blanket, TV show, bike, ship, drug, gift, story, third rail, nest egg, traffic, Trojan Horse, engine, puppet*.

Metaphors from the source domains *personification, nature, movement, construction, medicine* are encountered in Inaugural and Acceptance Address. And they are predominant metaphorical patterns that appear in each inaugural and acceptance address of the five presidents.

Personification has an emotive function to provoke human feelings and emotions by assigning human traits to non-human entities and also an

explanatory function to concretize abstract political concepts for the audience. For example, America is conceptualized differently in the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON in the five presidents' inaugurals. The different perceptions and conceptualizations of the country may be due to partisan factors, personal experiences, and social situations. For example, the Republican presidents in their inaugurals tend to emphasize the importance of the traditional American values, to be rich, to be strong, and to have a sense of integrity.

About the nature metaphor, the frequently used source domains are light, star, fire, the sun, and weather phenomena. The images of light, fire, star, and the sun are used to describe the abstract political ideals, such as freedom, hope, and equality. Presidents conceptualize these political ideals based on their own rhetorical habits, for instance, FREEDOM IS THE SUN in Bill Clinton's first inaugural, FREEDOM IS FIRE in Bill Clinton's second inaugural and in Bush Junior's second inaugural. The images of light, fire, star, and the sun mostly fulfil an eulogistic function, suggesting that these qualities of goodness are embedded in these political concepts.

The weather phenomena, such as spring, breeze, storm are usually used to describe potential changes that will happen at a period of time. It is well known that the appearance of weather phenomena usually happens in the first inaugural of each president. It can be assumed that the president is doing it deliberately, he wants to create an image of a savior who could change the bad situation and bring bright and desirable future to the audience. By exaggerating how bad the past and/or the present is, the presidents want to show how important they are to change the current situation.

Movement metaphor functions as a cognitive tool to help frame the abstract concept *change* and as a pragmatic tool to simplify it. The most common movement metaphor is journey metaphor.

By concretizing the construction process, construction metaphor draws the audience psychologically nearer to what is abstract.

Medical metaphor usually associates negative value to the target domain. The common source domains in Inaugural and Acceptance Address are ills, bacteria, and plagues.

In Acceptance Address, besides the five main types of metaphors, there is another metaphor typical to this genre, i.e. conflict metaphor. The use of conflict metaphor is in conformity to the competitive and agonistic nature of the presidential campaign discourse. Conflict metaphor is used either to show how brave is the president or to describe how harsh are some political issues.

Conclusion

Presidential Inaugural and Acceptance Address are different in terms of field (what is happening), tenor (who is taking part), mode (what part language is playing), and purpose (what purposes they fulfill). Being different genres and registers, they account for different linguistic and discursive patterns, including metaphor use.

Metaphor as the understanding of one thing in terms of another has expanded its meaning from a mere linguistic feature to an intricate conceptual mechanism. Metaphor in political discourse is not only regarded as a figure of speech to embellish rhetoric, but most importantly, as a cognitive tool to construct political reality, a communicative tool to transfer information, a pragmatic tool to influence and persuade audiences, and a discursive tool to structure a political text.

Metaphor functions alone or in groups. Metaphors tend to crowd together to form a cognitive scenario, in which either several thematically close metaphors get together in adjacent metaphorical sentences to form a coherent picture, or the same metaphor repeats itself in adjacent metaphorical sentences to reinforce its rhetorical potential. Alternatively, several thematically disparate metaphors may appear in adjacent metaphorical sentences to make the speaker's message more vivid and convincing. When a speaker uses metaphor clusters consciously or unconsciously, they tend to put much emphasis on what they want to express. Metaphor clusters are a typical feature of political discourse, though undervalued by researchers, and a full arsenal of their functions is yet to be uncovered.

In the Presidential Inaugurals and the Acceptance Addresses in question metaphors can be identified and classified into thematic groups: personification metaphor, nature metaphor, movement metaphor, construction metaphor, conflict metaphor, and medical metaphor. These six types of metaphor are used by all the presidents. There are some other metaphors (story metaphor, gift

metaphor, machine metaphor, etc.) that are not used by them all, but they still have an explanatory value. It is noteworthy that in the Inaugurals and the Acceptance Addresses these metaphors arouse different emotions, frame different political ideas, and ultimately structure the text differently.

In the Inaugurals, metaphors from the source domains *story*, *book*, *engine*, *gift*, *chorus*, *theatre*, *game*, *anchor*, *laboratory* are positively loaded, while in the Acceptance Addresses, metaphors can be divided into three groups in terms of their evaluative potential. First, positively loaded, from the source domains *ship*, *dream*, *gift*, *story* and *engine*. Second, negatively loaded, from the source domains *Swiss cheese*, *nightmare*, *powder keg*, *pork-barrel*, *tattered blanket*, *TV show 'American Gladiators'*, *stationary bike*, *drug*, *Trojan horse*, and *puppet*. And third, value-neutral, from the source domains *nest egg* and *traffic*. It is argued that metaphors in the Acceptance Addresses are mostly negatively loaded than those in the Inaugurals. This is mainly due to the confrontational nature of Acceptance Address and its communicative purposes, which are to attack the opponent and destroy his or her political reputation.

The metaphorical repertoire used by each president consists of old-established and/or conventional metaphors and constantly takes in some creative metaphors. When conventional metaphors like Clinton's bridge metaphor in his second Acceptance Address are highlighted and used throughout the text, they acquire a new life.

The metaphorical repertoire in each type of presidential discourse has a stable core. The confrontational and competitive nature of Acceptance Address predetermines the use of conflict metaphors, such as war metaphor and sports metaphor, which are absent from Inaugural which is essentially consolidating and peaceable. The use of conflict metaphor in the presidential Inaugurals, like Donald Trump's carnage metaphor, may be fraught with harsh criticism. The observation of conflict metaphor in the five presidents' Acceptance Addresses reveals that the frequency of war metaphor use is decreasing as time goes by.

Bush Senior and Bill Clinton use it more often than the other three presidents. This may show that presidential candidates tend to choose less aggressive imagery.

Both the Inaugurals and the Acceptance Addresses share similar metaphorical patterns in terms of nature metaphor. Its common types come from the sphere of weather phenomena and light-related imagery. The weather phenomena, such as breeze, spring, and storms, are normally used to conceptualize the target domain *cause for the change of social conditions*. The light-related imagery includes the source domains *light, fire, stars, and the sun*. They are often used to describe American ideals, such as freedom, equality, hope, and democracy. The imagery of light, fire, stars, and the sun embed positive associations, thus they are the best choice of words for eulogistic purposes.

There is always a preferred metaphor with each president, for instance breeze metaphor in Bush Senior's inaugural, spring and journey metaphor in Bill Clinton's first inaugural and journey metaphor in his second inaugural, and journey metaphor in Barack Obama's both inaugurals. Donald Trump's inaugural seems to be quite different from the others in this respect. There seems to be no obvious dominant or preferred metaphor in his address.

In the Acceptance Addresses, metaphors are more varied in type and more abundant in number. It may be due to the discursive nature of the message which should contain several political agendas. Therefore, metaphors are scattered around the text and serve to describe these topics in a most clear way.

Metaphor use in presidential discourse could be further explored with these questions in mind. Why are some metaphors more preferred in presidential discourse than others? To what extent do political metaphors influence people's consciousness? How much is the audience aware of the very existence of political metaphor? Are there any major changes to metaphorical patterns in presidential discourse over time? How do political metaphors function in other

types of political discourse? Do political metaphors work in the same way in other types of presidential discourse, except inaugurals and acceptance addresses?

References

Akhmanova O., Idzelis R.F. Linguistics and Semiotics. Moscow: Moscow State University Press. 1979.

Akrivoulis E.D. The ways of stargazing: Newtonian metaphoricity in American foreign policy. In Terrell Carver & Jernej Pikalo (Ed.), *Political Language and Metaphor: Interpreting and Changing the World*. London: Routledge. 2008.15 – 27.

Aristotle. *Poetics*. Translated, with an introduction and notes, Joe Satche, Newburyport. MA: Focus Publishing/R.Pullins Company. 2006.

Aristotle. The “Rhetoric” of Aristotle. A translation by Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb, edited with an introduction and with supplementary notes by John Edwin Sandys, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1909.

Aristotle. *The Politics*. Translated and with an introduction, notes, and glossary by Carnes Lord. London: The University of Chicago Press. 1984.

Austin J.L. *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1962.

Bakhtin M. The problem of speech genres. In C. Emerson & M. Holquist (Ed.). *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Austin: University of Austin Press. 1986. 60 – 102.

Bakhtin M. *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics*. Edited and translated by Caryl Emerson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1984.

Bazerman C. *Shaping Written Knowledge: The Genre and Activity of the Experimental Article in Science*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 1988.

Bender M.C. Donald Trump Strikes Nationalistic Tone in Inaugural Speech: Historians and speechwriters call the address one of the most ominous entrances ever, reinforcing familiar campaign themes of American decline // *The Wall Street Journal*. January 20, 2017, Available:

<https://www.wsj.com/articles/donald-trump-strikes-nationalistic-tone-in-inaugural-speech-1484957527?tesla=y&mod=e2tw>. Accessed: 27 March 2018.

Beaugrande R., Dressler W. Introduction to Text Linguistics. London: Longman. 1981.

Benoit W.L., Wells W.T., Pier P.M., & Blaney J.R. Acclaiming, attacking, and defending in presidential nominating acceptance addresses // Quarterly Journal of Speech, 1999.85. 247 – 269.

Benoit W.L. Framing through temporal metaphor: The “bridges” of Bob Dole and Bill Clinton in their 1996 acceptance addresses // Communication Studies. 2001. 52: 1. 70 – 84.

Beardsley M.C. The metaphorical twist // Philosophy and phenomenological Research. 1962. 22. 293 – 307.

Berkenkotter C., Huckin T. Genre Knowledge in Disciplinary Communication. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. 1995.

Bhatia V. Analysing genre: Language use in professional settings. London: Longman. 1993.

Bhatia V. Applied genre analysis: Analytical advances and pedagogical procedures. In A. Johns (Ed.). Genre in the classroom: Multiple perspectives. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. 2002. 279 – 284.

Bhatia V. Worlds of written discourse: A Genre-Based view. London: Continuum. 2004.

Bierman N. Donald Trump delivers short, populist inaugural address // Los Angeles Times. January 20, 2017, Available: <http://www.latimes.com/nation/politics/trailguide/la-na-trailguide-updates-donald-trump-delivers-short-populist-1484934128-htmllstory.html>. Accessed: 27 March 2018.

Black M. Metaphor // Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society, New Series. 1955.Vol.55. 273 – 294.

Black M. Models and Metaphor. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1962.

Black M. More on Metaphor. In: *Metaphor & Thought* (A.Ortony, ed. First edition 1979), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1993. 19 – 42.

Brown Y. *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1983.

Cameron L., Stelma J. Metaphor Clusters in discourse // *Journal of Applied Linguistics*. 2004. 1(2): 107 – 136.

Cameron L., Low G. Figurative variation in episodes of educational talk and text // *European Journal of English Studies*. 2004.8(3): 355–373.

Cap P., Okulska U. (Ed.). *Analyzing Genres in Political Communication*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 2013.

Charteris-Black J. *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004.

Charteris-Black J. *Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 2011.

Chilton P.A., Schaffner C. (Ed.) *Politics as Text and Talk: Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 2002.

Cicero *De Oratore*, Book III. Transl. H. R. Rackham. Cambridge MA/London: Harvard University Press/William Heinemann Ltd.

Citron F.M, Goldberg A.E. Metaphorical sentences are more emotionally engaging than their literal counterparts // *Journal of cognitive neuroscience*.2014. 26 (11). 2585 – 2595.

Cohen L.J. The semantic of metaphor. In: *Metaphor and Thought* (Ortony A. Ed). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1993.59 – 70.

Compton M. “What a Fair Shot at Success Means.” // the White House President Barack Obama. 2011, 6 December, URL: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2011/12/06/what-fair-shot-success-means>

Cook G. *The Discourse of Advertising*. London and New York: Routledge, 1992.

Corts D., Meyers, K. Conceptual clusters in figurative language production // *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*. 2002. 31(4): 391– 408.

Corts D., Pollio H. Spontaneous production of figurative language and gesture in college lectures // *Metaphor and Symbol*. 1999. 14(1): 81–100.

Coulthard M. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman. Second edition 1985.

Davidson D. What metaphors mean // *Critical Inquiry*, 5 (1). Special issue on Metaphor. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1978. 31 – 47.

De Landtsheer C. The language of prosperity and crisis: A case study in political semantics // *Politics and the Individual*. 1994.4: 63 – 85.

De Landtsheer C. Collecting political meaning from the count of metaphor. In A. Musolff & J. Zinken (Ed.), *Metaphor and discourse* Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan. 2009. 59 – 78.

De Landtsheer C. Media rhetoric plays the market: The logic and power of metaphors behind the financial crises since 2006 // *Metaphor and the Social World*. 2015. 5(2). 205 – 222.

Deignan A. Linguistic metaphors and collocation in non-literary corpus data // *Metaphor and Symbol*, 1999.14. 19–36.

Deignan A. *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2005.

Drehle D.von. Donald Trump's unprecedented, divisive speech // *Time*. January 20, 2017, Available: <http://time.com/4641547/inauguration-2017-donald-trump-america-first/>. Accessed 27 March 2018.

Edelman M. *The symbolic uses of politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1964.

Edelman M. *Politics as symbolic action: Mass arousal and quiescence*. Chicago: Markham. 1971.

Edelman M. *Politics as symbolic uses of politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1971.

Edelman M. Political language: words that succeed and policies that fail. New York: Academic. 1977.

Edelman M. Constructing the political spectacle. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1988.

Eggins S, Martin. J. R. Genres and Registers of Discourse. in T.A. van Dijk (Ed.), Discourse as Structure and Process. London: Sage. 1997. 230 –257.

Eggins S. An introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics. 2nd Edition. London: Continuum. 2004.

Emanatian M. Metaphor and the expression of emotion: The value of cross-clutural perspectives // Metaphor and Symbolic Activity 1995.10:163 –182.

Fairclough N. Language and Power. Harlow: Longman. 1989.

Fairclough N., Muldering J., & Wodak R. Critical discourse analysis. In T.A. van Dijk (Ed.), Discourse Studies. A multidisciplinary Introduction. London: Sage.2011. 357 – 378.

Fillmore C.J. Frame semantics. In The Linguistic Society of Korea (Ed.), Linguistics in the Moring Calm, Seoul, Hanshin Publishing Co., 1982.111 – 137.

Fowler R., Hodge B., Kress G., &Trew T. Language and Control. London: Routledge &Kegan Paul. 1979.

Freedman A, Medway P. Genre and the New Rhetoric. London: Taylor & Francis. 1994.

Galperin I. Stylistics. Moscow: Higher School Publishing House. 1971.

Gibbs. R.W.Jr. The Poetics of Mind: Figurative Thought, Language, and Understanding. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1994.

Goatly A. Washing the Brain: Metaphor and Hidden Ideology. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 2007.

Graber D.A. Political languages, In D. Nimmo and K. Sanders (Ed.) Handbook of Political Communication, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage. 1981. 195 – 224.

Grimes J. E. The Thread of Discourse. The Hauge: Mouton. 1975.

Gruber H. Genres in political discourse: the case of the “inaugural speech” of Austrian chancellors. In P. Cap & U. Okulska (Ed.). *Analyzing Genre in Political Communication: Theory and Practice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 2013. 29 – 73.

Halliday M.A.K., Hasan R. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman. 1976.

Halliday M.A.K. *Spoken and Written Language*. (Republished by Oxford University Press, 1989.) Geelong, Vic.: Deakin University Press. 1985.

Harris Z. *Discourse Analysis // Language*. 1952.28 (1). 1 – 30.

Hart C. Critical discourse analysis and metaphor: Toward a theoretical framework // *Critical Discourse Studies* 2008. 5(2): 91 – 106.

Hobbes T. *Leviathan*. Edited with an introduction and notes by J. C. A. Gaskin New York: Oxford University Press.1996.

Holbrook T.M. *Do campaigns matter?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 1996.

Iyengar S. Framing responsibility for political issues: The case of poverty. // *Political Behavior*. 1990.12. 19 – 40

Jamieson K.H. The metaphoric cluster in the rhetoric of Pope Paul VI and Edmund G. Brown Jr. // *Quarterly Journal of Speech*. 1980. 66(1). 51 – 72.

Johannesen R.L. *Ethics in Human Communication*, 4th ed. Prospect Heights, Il: Waveland Press. 1996.

Johnson M. Knowing through the body // *Philosophical Psychology*. 1991. 4. 3 – 20.

Jung C.G. *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*. London. 1996.

Kövecses Z. *Metaphor: a Practical Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2010.

Kövecses Z. Happiness: A definitional effort // *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* 1991.6: 29 – 46.

Koller V. Metaphor clusters, metaphor chains: analyzing the multifunctionality of metaphor in text // *Metaphorik* 5. 2003. 115–134.

Koller V. Metaphor clusters in Business Media Discourse: A Social Cognition Approach . Dissertation.Vienna University. 2003.

Lakoff G. Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1996.

Lakoff G., Johnson M. Metaphors We Live By. Chicago University of Chicago Press. 1980.

Lakoff G., Johnson M. Philosophy in the Flesh. New York: Basic Books. 1999.

Lakoff G., Turner M. More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphors. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989.

Lave J., Wenger E. Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1991.

Lemke J.L. Textual Politics: discourse and social dynamics. London: Taylor and Francis Ltd. 1995.

Leezenberg M. Contexts of metaphor. Amsterdam, New York: Elsevier. 2001.

Mann W.C., Thompson S. A. Rhetorical Structure Theory. Towards a Functional Theory of Text Organization // Text. 1988. 8, 243 – 281.

Medhurst M.J., Presidential speechwriting; ten myths that plague modern scholarship // In Ritter, K., Medhurst, M. J. Presidential speechwriting: from the New Deal to the Reagan revolution and beyond. Texas A&M University Press, College Station, 2004. 3 – 19.

Martin J.R., Rose D. Genre Relations. Mapping Culture. London: Equinox. 2008.

Martin J.R. Language, register and genre. In Christie F. (Ed.). Children writing: Reader. Geelong, Victoria, Australia: Deakin University Press. 1984. 21 – 29.

Martin J.R. Process and text: two aspects of semiosis. In Benson J.D and Greaves W. S.(Ed.), Systemic Perspectives on Discourse vol. 1: Selected

Theoretical Papers from the 9th International Systemic Workshop. Norwood, NJ: Ablex. 1985. 248 – 274.

Meese E. Three-Strikes laws punish and protect // Federal Sentencing Reporter. 1994/01/01. 7 (2): 58 – 60.

Miller C.R. Genre as Social Action // Quarterly Journal of Speech. 1984.70. 151 – 167.

Morgan J.L. Observation on the pragmatics of metaphor. In: Metaphor and Thought (Ortony A. Ed). Cambrige: Cambridge University Press.1993. 124 – 136.

Musolff A., Schaeffner C.,Townson M. Conceiving of Europe: Diversity in Unity, Aldershot: Ashgate. 1996.

Musolff A. Political imagery of Europe:A house without exist doors? // Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development.2000. 21(3): 215 – 229

Musolff A. Metaphor and Political Discourse: Analogical reasoning in Debates about Europe. Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave Macmillan. 2004.

Nystrand M. Rhetoric's 'audience' and linguistics's 'speech community': Implications for understanding writing, reading, and text. In M. Nystrand (Ed.). What writers know: The language, process, and structure of written discourse. New York: Academic Press. 1982. 1 – 28.

Osborn M. Archetypal Metaphor in Rhetoric: The light-Dark Family // Quarterly Journal of Speech. 1967. 53. 115 – 126.

Paltridge B. Working with genre: A pragmatic perspective // Journal of Pragmatics, 1995 .24. 393 – 406.

Paltridge B. Genre, Frames and Writing in Research Settings. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 1997.

Peirce C.S. Semiotics and Significs. Charles Hardwick (Ed). Bloomington I.N.: Indiana University Press. 1977.

Pollio H.R., Barlow J.M. A behavioural analysis of figurative language in psychotherapy: One session in a single case study // *Language and Speech*. 1975. 18. 236 – 254.

PRAGGLEJAZ Group. MIP: A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse // *Metaphor and Symbol* . 22 (1). 1 – 39. 2007.

Quintilian. *Institutio Oratoria* Books I-III with an English translation by H.E. Butler. Cambridge MA/London: Harvard University Press/William Heinemann Ltd.

Raymond W. Gibbs JR Process and products in making sense of tropes .In:*Metaphor&Thought*(A.Ortony.ed). Cambrige: Cambridge University Press. 1993. 252 – 276.

Reddy M. J. The conduit metaphor: A case of frame conflict in our language about language. In Ortony A. (Ed.) *Metaphor and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [1979]1993. 164 – 201.

Richards I .A. *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*. New York: Oxford University Press [1936] 1965.

Rottinghans B. Rethink presidential responsiveness: The public presidency and rhetorical congruence 1953–2001 // *Journal of Politics*, 2006. 68. 720–732.

Rosch E. Natural categories // *Cognitive Psychology* 1973. 4. 328 – 350.

Rosch E. Cognitive reference points // *Cognitive Psychology* 1975. 7. 532 – 547.

Rosch E. Prototype classification and logical classification: The two systems. in Scholnick, E.K. (Ed.), *New Trends in Conceptual Representation: Challenges to Piaget's Theory?*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Hillsdale. 1983. 73 – 86.

Rosch E. Mervis C.B. Family resemblances: studies in the internal structure of categories // *Cognitive Psychology*. 1975. 7 (4). 573 – 605.

Schön D. A. Generative metaphor: A perspective on problem-setting in social policy. In Ortony A. (Ed.), *Metaphor and Thought* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [1979]1993. 164 – 201.

Scott M. WordSmith Tools, version 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Semino E. *Metaphor in Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2008.

Searle J.R. Metaphor. In: Ortony A. (Ed.) *Metaphor and Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [1979]1993.183 – 111.

Shapiro M.J. *Language and Political Understanding*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. 1981.

Sports metaphors we live by// The Melting Thought. 2012.24 October. URL: <https://themeltingthought2000.wordpress.com/2012/10/24/sports-metaphors-we-live-by/>

Steen G. et al. *A Method for Linguistic Metaphor Identification: From MIP to MIPVU*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010.

Stenvoll D. Slippery Slopes in Political discourse. In Carver T. and Pikalo J.(Ed.), *Political Language and Metaphor*. New York: Routledge. 2008. 28 – 41.

Stubbs M. *Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.1983.

Swales J.M.. *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1990

Swales J.M. *Research Genres: Explorations and Applications*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press. 2004.

Swales J.M. Worlds of genre – metaphors of genre. In C. Bazerman, A. Bonini & D. Figueiredo (Ed.). *Genre in a Changing World*. Fort Collins, CO: WAC Clearinghouse and Parlor Press. 2009. 3–16.

Sweetser E. *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1990.

Trent J.S., Friedenberg R.V. Political campaign communication: Principles and Practices, 3/e. Westport, CT: University Press of America.1995.

Tversky A., Kahneman D. The framing of decisions and the psychology of choice // Science, 1981. 211, 453 – 458

Tversky A., Kahneman D. Rational choice and the framing of decisions. In Bell D.E., Raiffa H., & Tversky A.(Ed.), Decision making: Descriptive, normative, and prescriptive interactions Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press. 1988. 167 – 192.

van Dijk T.A. Some Aspects of Text Grammars. A Study in Theoretical Linguistics and Poetics. The Hague: Mouton. 1972.

van Dijk T.A. Text and Context. Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse. London: Longman. 1977.

van Dijk T.A. Elite Discourse and Racism. Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications. 1993.

van Dijk T.A. What is political discourse analysis? // Belgian Journal of Linguistics, 1997.11(1). 11 – 52.

Vico G. The New Science of Giambattista Vico. Translated from the third edition by Thomas Goddard Bergin and Max Harold Fisch. 1948. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press. 1744.

Werlich E.A. Text Grammar of English. Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer. 1976.

Wittgenstein L. Philosophical Investigations. Blackwell Publishing. 1953.

Whately R. Elements of Rhetoric. 7th revised ed (first edition 1846). New York: International Debate Education Association. 2009.

Wodak R. Language, Power, and Ideology. Studies in Political Discourse. Amsterdam Philadelphia:J.Benamins Pub.CO. 1989.

Yu Ning. Metaphorical expressions of anger and happiness in English and Chinese // Metaphor and Symbolic Activity. 1995. 10, 59 – 92.

Zadornova V. Conceptual Metaphors in Poetry // Language Learning: Material and Methods. 2004. 6. С. 40 – 49.

Арапова Н.С. Эвфемизм. // Лингвистический энциклопедический словарь. М. 1998. С. 590.

Александрова О.В., Задорнова В.Я., Комова Т.А., Магидова И.М., Назарова Т.Б., Тер-Минасова С.Г., Чиненова Л.А., Шишкина Т.Н. Методы лингвистических исследований // Под ред. О.В. Александровой, Т.Б. Назаровой (Methods of Linguistic Research). Изд-во МГУ. Москва, 1988.

Ахманова О.С. Словарь лингвистических терминов. М.: Советская энциклопедия. 1969.

Антонова А.В. Система средств речевой манипуляции в британском политическом дискурсе: реципиентоцентрический подход: автореф. дис. ... д-ра филол. наук . Самара, 2011. 44 с.

Баранов А.Н., Караулов Ю.Н. Русская политическая метафора. Материалы к словарю. М.: Ин-т русского языка АН СССР, 1991.

Баранов А.Н., Караулов Ю.Н. Словарь русских политических метафор. М.: Помовский и партнеры. 1994.

Баранов А.Н. Дескрипторная теория метафоры. М.: Языки славянской культуры. 2014. 632 с.

Балашова Л.В. Метафора в диахронии (на материале русского языка XI – XX веков) / Монография. Саратов: Изд-во СГУ, 1998. 216 с.

Балашова Л.В. Русская метафорическая система в развитии: XI – XXI вв. / Монография. М.: Рукописные памятники Древней Руси : Знак, 2014. 632 с.

Быкова Т.Ю. Подготовка к войне или великая стройка? Метафорический образ Советского Союза в довоенный период (1930 – 1939 гг.) // Политическая лингвистика. 2011. № 3. С. 69 – 74.

Быкова Т.Ю. Метафорический образ СССР в советском и американском медийных политиче-ских дискурсах 1930 – 1954 гг.: автореф. дис. ... канд. филол. наук. Екатеринбург, 2014. 23 с

Быкова Т.Ю. Отцы и дети великой страны: метафора родства в советском политическом медиадискурсе 1930–1954 гг. // Политическая лингвистика. 2014а. № 2. С. 114 –119.

Бородулина Н.Ю., Макеева М.Н. Метафоры в языке экономики // Вестник Тамбовского государственного технического университета. 2014. Т. 20. № 2. С. 372 – 380.

Бородулина Н.Ю., Гливенкова О.А., Гуляева Е.А., Макеева М.Н. Метафоры в языке экономики: метафорические модели и когнитивно-дискурсивные характеристики / монография. Тамбов: Изд-во «ТРОО «Бизнес-Наука-Общество». 2015.

Бородулина Н.Ю., Макеева М.Н. Метафорический взрыв в репрезентации греческого кризиса (по материалам современных публикаций в СМИ) // Вопросы когнитивной лингвистики. 2016. Вып. 2. С. 49 – 56.

Бурмистрова М.А. Когнитивная метафора в научном тексте: автореф. дис. ... канд. филол. наук. Москва, 2005. 26 с.

Будаев Э.В., Чудинов А.П. Трансформации прецедентного текста: “metaphors we live by” в научном дискурсе// Вопросы когнитивной лингвистики. 2017.Вып. 1. С. 60 – 67.

Будаев Э.В. Сопоставительная политическая метафорология / Монография. Н. Тагил: НГТСПА, 2011.

Веснина Л.Е. Метафорическое моделирование миграции в российских печатных СМИ // Политическая лингвистика. 2010. Вып. 1 (31). С. 84 – 89.

Гаврилова М.В. Когнитивные и риторические основы президентской речи (на материале выступлений В.В. Путина и Б.Н. Ельцина). / Монография. Санкт-Петербург: СПб, 2004.

Гайдаренко В.А. Метафорика экономического дискурса (на материале русских и английских СМИ)/ Монография. М.: Флинта, 2014.

Гвишиани Н.Б. Референция и репрезентация в структуре концептуальной метафоры (в аспекте компьютерно-корпусного исследования и перевода) // Вопросы когнитивной лингвистики. 2018. Вып. 3. С. 5 – 15.

Городецкая Л.А. Verbal and non-verbal means of persuasion: Course program // Обучая, вдохновляй: к новым высотам педагогического мастерства: материалы XXI международной конференции национального объединения преподавателей английского языка в России. – Уральский государственный педагогический университет Екатеринбург, 2015. С. 85 – 87.

Гудков Д.Б. Неологизмы русского политического дискурса как элемент языковой игры // Полифония большого города - 4. М: МИЛ, 2014.

Гудков Д.Б. Уличный транспарант как жанр политического дискурса // Вестник ЦМО МГУ. Филология. Культурология. Педагогика. Методика. 2014. № 3. С. 7 –11.

Гудков Д.Б. Языковая личность в зеркале политического транспаранта // Вопросы психолингвистики. 2015. № 3 (25). С. 158 – 162.

Гудков Д.Б. Демотиватор как "низовой" жанр политического дискурса // Русское культурное пространство. Сборник материалов XVII Международной научно-практической конференции. Перо Москва, 2016. С. 29 – 41.

Гудков Д.Б. Концепт "патриот" в русском политическом дискурсе (на материале "Новой газеты" и "Завтра") // Язык, сознание, коммуникация. М.: МАКС Пресс, 2016. 53. С. 68 – 75.

Данюшина Ю.В. Метафора в дискурсе бизнес-медиа (опыт социо-когнитивного анализа) // Вопросы когнитивной лингвистики. 2011. Вып. 1. С.37 – 44.

Задорнова В.Я., Матвеева А. С. "Море" как элемент создания образа в английской поэзии // Язык, сознание, коммуникация: Сб. статей / Отв. ред. В. В. Красных, А. И. Изотов / Под ред. А. И. Изотов, В. В. Красных. Т. 35. М.: МАКС Пресс, 2007. С. 121 – 137.

Задорнова В.Я. Горохова А.В, Метафоры-зомби: прием «оживления» мертвых метафор и метафорических клише (на материалы произведения Т. Э. Лоуренса «Семь столпов мудрости») в сборнике Ахмановские чтения 2015. Материалы конференции. отв. редактор О.В. Александрова; под ред. Е.В. Михайловской, И. Н. Фоминой, место издания Университетская книга Москва, С.155 – 162.

Задорнова В.Я., Матвеева А.С. Концептуальные метафоры в англоязычной поэзии. Изд-во: Университетская книга. Москва, 2017.

Клименова Ю.И. Онтология метафоры в англоязычном экономическом медиа-дискурсе: автореф. дис. ... канд. филол. наук. Москва. 2010. 22 с.

Кондратьева О.Н. Метафорическое моделирование внутреннего мира как способ создания образа политического противника (образ Ивана Грозного в интерпретации Андрея Курбско-го) // Политическая лингвистика. 2011. № 3. С. 220 – 226.

Кондратьева О.Н. Натурморфная метафора как средство осмысления концепта «душа» в русской лингвокультуре (диахронический аспект) // Вестник Московского государственного гуманитарного университета им. М. Шолохова. Сер. Филологические науки. 2012. № 4. С. 83 – 94.

Кондратьева О.Н. Динамика метафорических моделей в русской лингвокультуре: XI - XX вв. : автореф дис. ... д-ра филол. наук. Екатеринбург, 2014. - 46 с.

Кобозева И.М. Семантические проблемы анализа политической метафоры. //Вестник МГУ. Серия 9: Филология, 2001, No. 6. С. 132 – 149.

Кожина М.Н. Стилистический энциклопедический словарь русского языка. М. : Флинта: Наука, 2003. 696 с.

Кубрякова Е.С., Демьянков В. З., Лузина Л. Г., Панкрац Ю.Г. Краткий словарь когнитивных терминов. Издательство Московского государственного университета Москва. 1996. 245 с.

Красных В.В. Когнитивный аспект базовых метафор лингвокультуры // Язык, сознание, коммуникация. Т. 57. М.: МАКС Пресс , 2017. С. 142 – 165.

Леонтьева А.В. Метафора в научном дискурсе// Вопросы когнитивной лингвистики. 2016. Вып. 3. С.128 – 133.

Левенкова Е.Р. Конвергентные и дивергентные тенденции в политическом дискурсе Великобритании и США: автореф дис. ... д-ра филол наук. Самара, 2011. 41 с.

Лю Сяо. Метафоры с компонентами «природа» и «любовь» как отражение национального менталитета: сопоставительный аспект (на основе английской и китайской художественной литературы): автореф. ...канд. филол. наук. Москва. 2015. 26 с.

Матвеева А.С. Парадигмы образов, связанные с понятием любовь и их языковая репрезентация в англоязычной поэзии // Журнал научных публикаций аспирантов и докторантов. 2010. № 6. С. 79 – 85.

Минаева Л.В. Political dialect and politician's idiolect // Российская школа связей с общественностью: альманах / Ассоциация преподавателей по связям с общественностью. Vol. 5. Изд-во Казанского государственного технического университета (КНИТУ-КАИ) Казань Казань Казань, 2014. С. 13 – 30.

Минаева Л.В. Сторителлинг в политическом дискурсе //Стратегические коммуникации в бизнесе и политике. 2017. № 3. С.118 – 121.

Минаева Л.В. Нарративные технологии в политическом дискурсе // Профессиональные дискурсы: исследование и обучение. РИВШ Минск, 2017. С. 56 – 65.

Минаева Л.В. Теледебаты как компонент политико-агитационного дискурса // Базовые ценности этноса в речи и тексте: матер. междунар. науч.-практ. конф. 8 ноября 2017 г., КГПУ им. В.П. Астафьева. РИО КГПУ Красноярск, Россия, 2017.

Мухортов Д.С. Практика когнитивно-дискурсивного анализа языковой личности политика (опыт прочтения публичных выступлений Билла Клинтона) // Коммуникативные исследования. 2015. № 2 (4). С. 86 – 95.

Мухортов Д.С. Метафора во внешнеполитическом дискурсе как проявление общности идеологических установок англосаксонских политиков (на материале выступлений Б. Обамы, Д. Кэмерона, Т. Эбботта и С. Харпера в 2014-2015 гг.) // Политическая лингвистика: проблематика, методология, аспекты исследования и перспективы развития научного направления: материалы Междунар. науч. конф. (27 нояб. 2015 г.) / Урал. гос. пед. ун-т ; гл. ред. А.П. Чудинов. Екатеринбург, 2015. С. 175 – 182.

Мухортов Д.С. Современная языковая личность: прагмалингвистический анализ коммуникации//в сборнике «Наука и общество в эпоху технологий и коммуникаций: материалы международной научно-практической конференции. 3 декабря 2015 года» / под ред. Ю.С. Руденко, Н.А. Рыбаковой, Э.Р. Гатиатуллиной, место издания ЧОУВО «МУ им. С.Ю. Витте» Москва, 2016. С. 20 – 26.

Мухортов Д.С., Цзи С. Metaphor clustering in American presidential inaugurals – from George H. W. Bush to Donald Trump // Вестник Московского Университета. Серия 9. Филология. 2018. № 3. С. 39 – 72.

Назарова Т.Б. Современная английская филология. Семиотические проблемы. URSS Москва, 2017. С. 216 с.

Новикова В.П. Метафорическое отражение проблем миграции в публицистическом тексте// Вопросы когнитивной лингвистики. 2016. Вып. 3. С. 141– 147.

Празян Н.О. Лингвокогнитивные и прагматические основы использования метафоры и иронии в английской политической дискурсе: автореф. дис. ... канд.филол. наук. Москва. 2011. 20 с.

Подколзина Т.А. Метафора и парадокс в английской терминологии: автореф. дис. ...канд. филол.наук. Москва. 1994. 21 с.

Световидова И.В. Перенос значения и его онтология в английском и русском языках: дис.. ... канд. филол.наук. Москва. 2000.183 с

Стариченок В.Д. Большой лингвистический словарь / Ростов н/Д: Феникс. 2008.

Скребнев Ю.М. Основы стилистики английского языка: Учебник для ин-тов и фак. Иностр.яз. -2-е изд., испр. М.: ООО «Издательство АСТ»: ООО «Издательство Астрель». 2000. 224с.

Харченко В.К. Функция метафоры: Учебное пособие. Изд.5-е, доп. М.: Книжный дом «ЛИБРОКОМ». 2016. 93с.

Цзи С. Об исследовании метафоры в американском президентском дискурсе // Политическая лингвистика. 2016. № 4 (58). С. 239 – 243.

Цзи С. Особенности ассоциативного поля экономического дискурса Барака Обамы // Политическая лингвистика. 2016.No.6(60). С. 250 – 256.

Цзи С. Динамическое использование метафоры в политическом дискурсе// Политическая лингвистика.2018.3(69). С.149 – 155.

Чес Н.А. Концептуально-метафорические основания политического дискурса: функциональный аспект // Политика и политики: политический дискурс как объект лингвистического анализа (Материалы VIII Конвента РАМИ, апрель 2014 г.): Научное издание / Под ред. Крячкова Д.А., Новикова. Д.Н. Издательство "МГИМО-Университет", 2015. С. 288-298.

Чес Н.А. О функционировании базовых метафорических концептов в политическом дискурсе // Когнитивные исследования языка. Тамбов: Общероссийская общественная организация "Российская ассоциация лингвистов-когнитологов", 2016. С.436–442.

Чес Н.А. Концептуальная метафора как средство конструирования политической реальности в современном медиадискурсе // Язык, сознание, коммуникация: сборник статей / Отв. ред. серии Красных В.В. ,Изотов А.И. . М.: МАКС Пресс, 2017. Вып. 57. С. 271-282.

Чудакова Н. М. Концептуальная область «Неживая природа» как источник метафорической экспансии в дискурсе российских средств массовой информации (2000 – 2004 гг.): автореф. дис. ... канд. филол. наук. Екатеринбург, 2005. 24 с.

Чудинов А.П. Россия в метафорическом зеркале: когнитивное исследование политической метафоры / Монография. Екатеринбург. 2001.

Чудинов А.П. Постулаты Уральской школы политической метафорологии// Уральский Филологический Вестник. No2. Язык. Система. Личность: Лингвистика Креатива. Екатеринбург, 2012.

Чудинов А.П. Россия в метафорическом зеркале: когнитивное исследование политической метафоры (1991–2000)/ Монография / Урал. гос. пед. ун-т. Екатеринбург, 2001.

Чудинов А.П. Метафорическая мозаика в современной политической коммуникации: монография / Урал. гос. пед. ун-т. Екатеринбург, 2003.

Чудинов, А.П. Политическая лингвистика: учебное пособие / А.П. Чудинов. 4-е изд. М.: Флинта: Наука, 2012. 256 с.

Чудинов А.П. Дискурсивные характеристики политической коммуникации // Политическая лингвистика. 2012. 2 (40). С. 53 – 59.

Чудинов А.П. Политическая лингвистика: учеб. Пособие. М.: Флинта, 2006. 256 с.

Чудинов А.П. Очерки по современной политической метафорологии: Монография/ Урал .гос. пед. Ун-т. Екатеринбург, 2013. 176 с.

Шахбаз С.А.С. Образ и его языковое воплощение (на материале английской и американской поэзии): автореф. ... канд. филол. наук. Москва, 2010.

Шейгал, Е.И. Семиотика политического дискурса. М.: ИТДГК «Гнозис». 2004. 326 с.