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METAPHORICAL LEGITIMIZATION STRATEGY IN AMERICAN PRESIDENTS’ INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

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METAFORINĖ LEGITIMIZACIjos STRATEGIIA
AMERIKOS PREZIDENTŲ INAUGURACINĖSE KALBOSE

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ABSTRACT

The present study aims at analysing metaphor in the inaugural addresses of American Presidents. It is hypothesised that metaphor is a legitimization strategy which is employed to affect the audience. The research questions were formulated as follows: What conceptual metaphors and their linguistic realizations are used for legitimization in American Presidents’ inaugural addresses and what are their rhetorical implications? The study was carried out within the framework of the Critical Metaphor Theory suggested by Charteris-Black (2005), which is a blend of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis. The corpus of the study was compiled of 14 and 16 inaugural addresses delivered by American Presidents affiliated to the Democratic and Republican parties respectively. To achieve the aim the following objectives were set. Firstly, metaphorical expressions were identified and ascribed to the conceptual metaphors they manifest. Secondly, the quantitative analysis was carried out to reveal the frequency of the metaphorical expressions underlying the prevailing conceptual metaphors in the inaugural addresses delivered by the members of both political parties. Finally, the realizations of the conceptual metaphors were contrasted and interpreted across the two political parties. The analysis revealed the following prevailing conceptual metaphors: AMERICA IS A FAMILY, AMERICA IS A PERSON, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, SIGNIFICANT IS BIG, POLITICS IS A BUILDING, DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS, SOCIAL EVILS ARE ENEMIES, SOCIAL GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS, POLITICAL CHANGES ARE FORCES OF NATURE, POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS A PLANT. The source domains of these metaphors are closely related to people’s daily life and experience, which make the abstract ideas in political speeches more understandable for common people, thus together playing a very important legitimizing role by arousing strong emotional responses. In general, the findings reveal that conceptual metaphor has a powerful rhetorical and legitimizing impact upon the consciousness of politicians and ordinary people.
INTRODUCTION

Metaphor in politics as the focus of the research lies at the intersection of cognitive linguistics and discourse analysis. It seems that both disciplines contribute to the study of metaphor in politics, presenting a more complete display of the nature and characteristics of its functioning. American presidential inaugural addresses, which are studied in this paper, are a specific type of political discourse through which politicians seek to win the largest support from their citizens by persuading, motivating and encouraging them. Therefore, to achieve goals and make a favourable impression on the public, the president must carefully weigh his words in his speech; he must polish his addresses by implementing different language strategies. Among them, metaphor as a legitimization strategy appears to be used widely and effectively.

The forerunners of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999) showed that conceptual metaphors used in political discourse can successfully persuade and influence the public. Secondly, the interest in the language of politics has increased due to significant researches in discourse studies. Fairclough (1997), Wodak (1996), Chilton (2004) and others have undoubtedly contributed to the studies of political discourse. Thus, linguists study the performance of politicians, the documents of political parties and movements, publications in mass media, the language of round tables, debates, and campaign speeches of candidates in order to reveal ideological implications lying behind what politicians do or say. As Charteris-Black (2005: 30) puts it, metaphors help be more relevant and even become closer to the audience. In other words, metaphors are used to simplify, to motivate and to persuade the listener. Lakoff (2002: 86) underlines the importance of metaphors used in political discourse as politicians show their ideology and declare the values they have. Mussolf (2004: 8) suggests that whereas political discourse can be treated as a part of social domain, it should be seen metaphorically as we organize our thinking and social experience metaphorically as well.

The research question, which is to be answered in the present study, could be formulated as follows: what conceptual metaphors and their linguistic realizations are used for legitimization in American Presidents’ inaugural addresses? Thus, this paper examines the metaphors used by American Presidents in inaugural addresses as they are significant to the newly elected president, because at this special moment he faces the whole nation to express his fundamental political policies and principles. Legitimization as a strategy employed to affect the audience deserves special attention because in the case of the US leaders the entire world, including Lithuania, seems to be affected.
Therefore, the aim of this research was to investigate metaphor as one of legitimization strategies in American Presidents’ inaugural addresses and to find out their rhetorical implications.

To achieve this aim, the following objectives were set:

1. to identify the prevailing metaphorical expressions in the inaugural addresses of American Presidents, representing the Democratic Party and the Republican Party.
2. to interpret metaphorical expressions by relating them to the underlying conceptual metaphors;
3. to explain and analyse rhetorical implications of the conceptual metaphors used in inaugural addresses and their contribution to legitimization;
4. to compare metaphors and their rhetorical implications used by the Presidents of two political parties.

The method applied in the present study was Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) which is the blend of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The starting point of the research was to identify metaphorical expressions by employing Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) procedure (Steen et al. 2010) and group them according to underlying conceptual metaphors. It was performed within the framework of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (the cognitive semantic approach), which states that the mind is mostly embodied, thinking is unconscious, and abstract concepts are metaphorical (Lakoff, Johnson 1999). The second point was to explain their rhetoric implications. The last point was to analyse the relationship between semantics of conceptual metaphors and their contribution to legitimization strategies in political discourse.

The scope of data. The present study is based on the contructed corpus consisting of 78 832 words in total. It consists of American Presidents’ inaugural addresses grouped by presidents’ political affiliation. The subcorpus of Democrats was compiled from inaugural addresses of Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, James K. Polk, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton and Barack Obama. The overall scope of the inaugural addresses of the members of the Democratic Party is 14 which makes up 31 711 words. The corpus of Republicans was compiled from Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush
and George W. Bush first inaugural addresses. The total number of the inaugural addresses of the members of the Republican Party is 16 which makes up 47 121 words.

The paper is significant for several reasons. Firstly, the present paper contributes to the analysis of metaphors in politics. Secondly, application of the CMA contributes to highlighting what politicians attempt to downplay or hide while presenting their policies. Finally, the analysis of the inaugural addresses shows the politicians’ various attitudes towards their nation, society and the country overall.

The paper consists of introduction, literature review, empirical part presenting the results of the study and is finalized with conclusions.
1. COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

Cognitive linguistics has firmly taken its place in the modern world. Its appearance and rapid development at present are key features of linguistic turn of the century. Cognitive linguistics studies language as a cognitive mechanism, this plays a significant role in the encoding and transformation of information. In cognitive linguistics we see a new stage of studying the complex relationship of language and thought.

According to Skrebtcova (2004), cognitive linguistics is not a common direction with the general concept, the object and method of research, rather the opposite. Cognitive linguistics is usually related to a research, supported by a set of general postulates, which openly declare their affiliation with the respective traditions. No other restrictions are imposed, and every researcher himself defines the object, the material and the method of research, theoretical constructs and terminology, which creates a very mixed picture and complicates the comparative analysis of different concepts.

Cognitive linguistics emerged from the works of researchers who were actively interested in the relation of language and mind, and who rejected explaining linguistic patterns by means of appeals to structural properties internal to and specific to language in the 1970s (Kemmer, 2010). Cognitive direction in linguistics grew out in the United States and is still highly represented by American scientists, at least in terms of its most prominent figures. The founders and most influential linguists focusing centrally on cognitive principles and organization are Gilles Fauconnier (1997), Charles Fillmore (1982), George Lakoff (1998), Ronald Langacker (1990), and Leonard Talmy (2000). Their studies have become the "core" of cognitive linguistics, its "golden fund".

All these linguists share the assumption that the meaning is the central object of interest. This view is directly opposed to the view of Chomskyan linguistics, which primarily focused on syntax (Kemmer, 2010).

Fauconnier claims (1999: 1) that cognitive linguistics focuses on the study of language use and explains that any language activity draws unconsciously on huge cognitive and cultural resources, depicts models and frames, creates numerous connections, coordinates a large range of information, and sets up mappings, transfers, and elaborations. Metaphor and metonymy are redeemed from rhetorical periphery of language by cognitive linguistics. Moreover, thought and language are embodied. Sensorimotor experience and the neural structures give rise to conceptual structure. Grammar is seen as a neural system.

Evans and Green (2006: 3) described cognitive linguistics as a ‘movement’ or an ‘enterprise’ because it is not a specific theory. They claimed it is an approach based on a
common set of guiding principles, assumptions and perspectives which have given rise to a various complementary, overlapping and even opposing theories. This idea is supported by Geeraerts (2006: 2), who claims that cognitive linguistics constitutes a cluster of many partially overlapping approaches rather than a single well-defined theory that identifies in an all-or-none fashion. Cognitive linguists study language for its own sake. They analysed and accounted for its systematicity, its structure, the functions it performs and how they are realised by the language system. Cognitive linguistics predominantly differs from other studies of language in that language is assumed to reflect certain fundamental properties and design features of the human mind.

To put it otherwise, the focus of cognitive analysis is the language itself and purpose of the study of different linguists may vary – from thorough study of language with the help of specific cognitive terminology to modelling the content and structure of individual concepts as units of the national consciousness. The difference between cognitive linguistics and other cognitive science is in its subject, which explores the mind in terms of language. Also, it differs in its methods – it explores the cognitive processes, makes conclusions about the types of mental representations in the mind through the use of the language available to the linguistics followed by the cognitive interpretation of the study results (Popova, 2004).

Metaphor is systematically analysed as a part of cognitive linguistics and Conceptual Metaphor Theory introduced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) has gained a lot of followers since. Its main thesis states that the metaphor in the traditional sense of the word, as the figurative language expressions, is the surface manifestation of the so-called "conceptual metaphors", embodied in the human conceptual system and structuring his perception, thought and action (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 5). As metaphor is a surface manifestation of our thinking which results in language expressions, the more detailed overview of metaphor is going to be presented in the further parts of this paper.
2. ON THE CONCEPT OF METAPHOR

2.1. Traditional Approach towards Metaphors

As far as this paper is concerned, it focuses on metaphors in American Presidents’ inaugural addresses, which seem plausible to be employed for legitimization, accreditation and licence of their speech acts and further action. It is relevant to overview two approaches towards metaphors. There are two different approaches to account for and analyze metaphors. According to Ortony (1993: 32), the first view can be described as a traditional or non-constructive and the second one is cognitive or constructive.

Evans and Green claim that „the traditional position is that there is a stable and unambiguous notion in literality, and that there is a sharp distinction to be made between literal language and non-literal or figurative language“(2006: 287). Literal language is seen as precise and lucid, while figurative language is imprecise, exotic and is predominantly used by poets and novelists.

Metaphors in traditional approach are treated as unimportant and rather parasitic. Metaphor studies within the discipline known as rhetoric date back to the times of Aristotle. Metaphor was one of the central devices to persuade others of a particular point of view. Metaphor was identified by implicit comparison as its schematic form was: A is B ( ibid. 293). Nowadays this phenomenon is known as the comparison theory of metaphor.

A more contemporary influential figure was Ivor Richards (1936), who proposed to analyse metaphor according to its components. He distinguished two of them: the tenor, which refers to the underlying idea, and the vehicle, which conveys the underlying idea, resembled by the tenor. Also, he introduced the term ground, which represents the similarities between the tenor and the vehicle.

Max Black (1979) was the first who considered metaphors as a cognitive phenomenon. The scholar started speaking of metaphors in terms of concepts rather than in terms of words. He noted that metaphors can function as “cognitive instruments”.
2.2. Cognitive Approach towards Metaphors

Taking into consideration what was stated above, traditionally a metaphor is treated as a rhetorical device. However, in the seminal book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), Lakoff and Johnson claim that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not only in language, but in thought and action as well. Our conceptual system is initially metaphorical in nature. The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 4). Similarly, Kövecses (2002: 4) claims that in cognitive linguistics metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain (A) in terms of another conceptual domain (B). The phenomenon that conceptual domain (A) is conceptual domain (B) is regarded as the *conceptual metaphor*. The domain B is called the *source domain* as it provides metaphorical expressions to understand the conceptual domain A. Whereas the domain A that is understood in this way is called the *target domain*. The conceptual correspondences between the two domains are regarded as mappings (Kövecses, 2002: 6).

The core of this approach seems to be that cognition is the result of mental construction. This manifestation is of the cognitive view. The use of language and its comprehension are a purely creative process. Metaphors and other figures of speech seem to require more creativity than any other literal language. In cognitive linguistics metaphor plays an important role in both language and thought, undermining the distinction between the metaphorical and literal issues (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980).
3. DEFINING DISCOURSE

Mills (2004: 1) claims that the term ‘discourse’ has become very common in a variety of disciplines, namely, critical theory, linguistics, social psychology and many other fields. However, as if being a common knowledge the term is frequently undefined or has a wide range of possible additional meanings of any term. Thus, it is used in analyzing literary and non-literary texts as well as vague and complex disciplines to show theoretical sophistication. The most obvious way to find out its range of meanings is to consult a dictionary. For instance:

*Discourse* 1. a serious speech or piece of writing on a particular subject; 2. serious conversation or discussion between people; 3. the language used in particular types of speech or writing.


*Discourse* 1. spoken or written communication between people, especially serious discussion of a particular subject; 2. a serious talk or piece of writing which is intended to teach or explain something; 3. If someone discourses on something, they talk for a long time about it in a confident way.

(Cobuild Advanced British English Learner’s Dictionary, 2013).

Close study of these definitions makes it possible to find out the meaning and scholars’ views towards the phenomenon of discourse. However, the term discourse cannot be pinned down to one meaning, even the history of the use of the term is very complex as it shifts from one aspect of usage to another.

Harris was the first to define the term as “a method for the analysis of the connected speech or writing for continuing descriptive linguistics beyond the limit of a single sentence at a time and for correlating culture and language” (Harris, 1952: 1). According to Poškienė (2004: 10), the first insights into the issue of discourse were far from a modern definition, though structural view towards the study of narrative was of great importance. British discourse analysis was markedly influenced by Halliday’s (2004) functional approach to language. The scholar emphasizes the social functions of language and the thematic and informational structure of speech and writing. Also, the issues of discourse were studied at Birmingham University (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975) where it was defined as the analysis of text structure above the sentence. American discourse analysis was dominated by works within the ethnomethodological tradition. It emphasized the research method of close observation of groups of people communicating in natural settings. It is often called conversational analysis and studies the behavior of participants in talk and patterns which recur over a wide range of natural data (Labov, 1972). Moreover, discourse analysis was greatly developed by such grammarians as van Dijk (1972), Wodak (1996) and Hassan...
(1976). They made a significant impact in the area of written language, showing the links between grammar and discourse.

Similarly, Kress (1993) suggests there is no objective beginning and no clear end while defining a unit of discourse, because every discourse is related to many others and can be understood on their basis as well. In order to introduce some clarity, this paper presents some fairly straightforward working definitions that are largely used within various disciplines. As it is already mentioned, discourse cannot be pinned to one particular meaning, thus, this paper employs Foucault’s viewpoint. The scholar puts his comments as follows: the word ‘discourse’ is “general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements” (1977: 80). The first part of the definition was used by the scholar as a broad definition generally used as the concept of discourse at a theoretical level. By using this widest definition Foucault accounts for all utterances with meaning and which have some effects in the real world or discourse. The second definition is usually employed to speak about particular structures within discourse. Thus, the scholar identifies “groups of utterances which seem to be regulated in some way and which seem to have a coherence and a force to them in common” (Foucault, 1972: 81). This part of the definition makes it possible to speak about femininity, imperialism and other ideological issues of discourse. Foucault’s third part of the definition focuses on the rules and structures which produce certain utterances and texts. Defining discourse in this way the scholar provides the most resonance for many theorists. However, all these parts are widely used by various theorists interchangeably.

At this point one more theorist should be mentioned as he tried to analyse the meaning of words and the way they relate to larger structures without assuming that words and sentences have their own meaning. A proponent of French Discourse Analysis school Pecheux (1982) claims that discourse shapes our interpretation of texts. The scholar stresses the conflictual nature of discourse and ideological struggle, stating that ideology is the essence of discourse structure.

As it is seen from the discussions above, the notion of discourse displays a variety of understandings. As this paper primarily focuses on the ideological power of discourse, it has to be noted that the research is conducted within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and it seems relevant to discuss the peculiarities of this type of analysis.
3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

To reveal the ideological nature of discourse the following definition provided by scholars working within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) should be mentioned (Fairclough, Wodak 1996: 15):

Critical discourse analysis sees discourse – the use of language in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice’. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institution, and social structure that frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it.

From this definition it becomes evident that discourse is closely connected with issues of power, legitimization and ideology. As Wodak (1996: 18) puts it, being socially consequential, discourse gives rise to important issues of power, have ideological effect, and legitimizes actions through the ways in which things, situations and people are presented.

As for CDA itself, it is a kind of analytical research that initially studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are represented in social and political contexts in terms of linguistic means (van Dijk, 2002: 352).

Chilton believes (2011: 771) that CDA differs from other analyses of discourse in its insistence that ‘discourse’ has primarily to do with language, or more specifically the use of language in society. Litosseliti (2010) notes that CDA analyses real and often extended examples of spoken and written discourse. Nevertheless, no single research study can be considered prototypical of CDA and its contribution to the field of linguistics is of immense value. CDA can be successfully applied while studying institutional discourse, where differentials in power relations are often systemic.

Hart (2010: 13) claims that the task of CDA is to identify manipulation and ideology in text that is below the notice. To empower the public with a new critical awareness, CDA needs to look behind the language use and to bring instances of manipulation to the level of public consciousness. Hart (2010: 14) identifies three stages of critical discourse analysis. The description stage analysis deals with the text itself, interpretation stage accounts for psychological and cognitive concerns, and the explanation stage involves socio-cultural analysis and accounts for the significance of texts. However, the scholar says that much of CDA has been restricted to the description stage using Halliday’s Systemic Functional Grammar.
Litosseliti (2010: 126) suggests that CDA adopts a macroanalytical view of the world and the notion discourse is taken in its widest sense as social and ideological practice. Therefore, to uncover overt or often covert inequalities, it is crucial for CDA to consider how language works within institutional, political and specific discourses. CDA regards itself as a ‘critical’ perspective and relates to both linguistic and social sciences. Litosseliti (2010: 126–128) claims that the following key features are central to CDA’s critical perspective:

1) **Language and social practice**: language use in speech and writing is described as social practice. It covers a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation which frame social practice. Thus, discourse may be considered both socially constitutive and socially shaped.

2) **Relationship between language and power**: being so influential, discourses can produce unequal power relations between various social classes, genders, groups of people.

3) **A committed, emancipatory agenda**: Litosseliti adopts Van Dijk’s definition who uses ‘critical’ to mean ‘discourse analysis with attitude’. CDA analyses social problems and therefore critically describes those in power as they are responsible for solving problems.

4) **Text and context**: CDA largely examines textual features such as sentence structure, syntax, lexical choice and so on. That accounts for a dialectical relationship between the reading of the text and its context, institution or social structure that frames this reading.

5) **Self-reflexivity**: a self-correcting principle that of self-reflexivity is of great importance. It means that *a priori* assumptions, motivation and value system in conducting linguistic research need to be explicitly self-referential. Marxist critical theory often informs value systems and offers an objective reference point on social reality.

6) **Interdiscursivity or intertextuality**: interdiscursivity refers to the way in which one discourse is involved into another discourse. Intertextuality is where one text involves traces of preceding texts, thus reinforcing historical presupposition.

7) **Deconstruction**: CDA tries to unravel exactly how binary power relations constitute identities, subject positions and relations between discourse and texts, and the way social inequalities are created.

Similarly, Hart (2010) accounts for all these features or strategies as more or less intentional or institutionalized plans of practice. These strategies aim at achieving particular goals. As it was stated earlier, this paper deals with political discourse, thus such strategies
aim at achieving political goals or legitimize actions by these linguistic means. At this point, it is worth defining political discourse and its peculiarities.

3.2. Political Discourse

As this paper focuses on American Presidents’ inaugural addresses, it is important to define the phenomenon of political discourse. Political discourse accounts for a genre that involves political actors speaking publicly. Such speech events are usually made in public forums in which politicians try to project their political agendas (Reyes, 2011: 783). Similarly, it is believed by van Dijk (1997: 12) that the easiest description of the phenomenon is that political discourse is identified by its actors, authors or politicians. The scholar notes that other participants in the domain of politics are crucial to be discussed. From the interactional point of view of discourse analysis, such recipients in political communicative events as the public, the people, citizens, and other groups or categories should be mentioned. He claims that if politics and its discourses are located in the public sphere, many more participants in political communication appear on the stage.

Moreover, political discourse studies the texts and speeches of professional politicians or political institutions (e.g. Members of parliament, presidents, political parties etc.) which engage the public by unrestricted means of this phenomenon. The idea of political discourse and politics are closely related. According to van Dijk, lexicon is the core which distinguishes political discourse from other types of discourse. To be more precise, lexicon stands for typical terms and jargon. For instance, various linguistic realizations or, the interest of this study, metaphors take different functions in political discourse (e.g. persuasion of politician’s view, legitimization of actions, parliament debates) than in what it can be in other discourses.

At this point it is essential to overview legitimization strategies in political discourse, as the purpose of the paper is to discover the functions of linguistic legitimization strategies in American Presidents’ inaugural addresses mainly in terms of conceptual metaphors.
4. LEGITIMIZATION STRATEGIES

According to Reyes (2011: 782) legitimization stands for the process by which speakers accredit or license social behaviour. To put it otherwise, legitimization is a justification of a type of behaviour. This process is enacted by argumentation, by explaining our social actions, ideas, thoughts and declarations. Moreover, the act of legitimization is related to a goal which seeks interlocutor’s support and approval. In politics, this search for approval gives one power and social acceptance, improves community relationships, provides popularity or fame.

Originally, the term legitimization refers to making something legal or legalized. From the Latin word ‘legitimus’ (lawful or legal), it is related to ‘lex/legis’ (law or agreement). Nowadays, the word is also used outside the legal domain and often entails the semantics of ‘justification’. In political life as well as in our daily life, we come across conversations in which we hear legitimizations that partially, mainly in their core structures, respond to cognitive structures that have been adopted through time by our psyche, which we all share as a society. For instance, when politicians state that if people do not do what they suggest the world could have another 9/11. By doing this, politicians appeal to the emotions triggered by the events of 9/11 (ibid.).

As the process of seeking approval becomes the main goal, Charteris-Black (2006) claims that legitimization is the key to help politicians to provide arguments to achieve social acceptance. Also, legitimization shows that one politician is more trustworthy than another. Cap (2008) accounts for legitimization as a principal discourse goal sought by politicians in front of their audience.

Legitimization deserves special attention in political discourse. From presidents’ inaugural addresses political leaders justify their further agenda to maintain the direction of a whole country, in the case of American presidents, the entire world. Various authors present different linguistic strategies to achieve legitimization of speech acts. Taking into consideration previous studies on legitimization, this particular literature review presents some key strategies of legitimization described by Reyes (2011), Charteris-Black (2005), Hart (2010) and Chilton (2004).

Reyes (2011: 786) distinguishes five strategies for creating legitimization in political addresses, namely, legitimization through emotions, legitimization through a hypothetical future, legitimization through rationality, voices of expertise and altruism. He accounts for legitimization through emotions as follows: it „allows social actors to skew the opinion of their interlocutors or audience regarding a specific matter“ (Reyes, 2011: 786). Politicians usually create two-sided society, including the speaker and the audience into us-group and
others to negatively attributed them-group. Politicians usually appeal to emotions to justify their words or behavior. The relationship between emotions and social behaviour is generally predictable as it is part of our cognitive understanding of reality. Thus, emotions become the effective way to manipulate by political power to achieve goals. Similarly, Chilton (2004) describes political discourse in relation to strategies of legitimization that employ emotional effect, fear of outsiders, madness or death, etc. As well as Chilton (2004), Charteris-Black (2006) highlights emotional impact of a speech (pathos) while creating legitimization in political addresses. Linguistically metaphors are used widely and effectively by politicians to evoke emotional side of the audience.

Legitimization through a hypothetical future is described by Reyes (2011) as a strategy in which politicians, using various linguistic means, try to pose a threat in the future by immediate actions in the present. Among these linguistic choices Reyes presents conditional sentences.

Legitimization through rationality is employed when politicians present their decisions after evaluated and thoughtful process. A politician can even consult other sources and explore all possible options before making a decision. As a result, this strategy is linguistically articulated by clauses such as “after consultations with”, or verbs denoting mental and verbal processes such as “explore” or “consult” (ibid.). A parallel could be drawn to Charteris-Black (2006), who claims that politicians justify their addresses by developing and challenging political arguments (logos). They find ways to approve their agendas by creating accessible cognitive ways of understanding. They may use analogy or reversed metaphors to achieve this goal.

As Reyes (2011: 787) puts it, legitimization through the voices of expertise refers to a type of authorization or authoritative speech that politicians bring to the immediate context of the current speech to strengthen their positions. Linguistically, Reyes claims that this legitimization strategy appears in the text with quotation marks or verbs such as “say”, “report”, etc. At the same time, politicians share possible blame if mistakes are made in the future. Moreover, authorization is displayed by the fact that politicians themselves stand as authoritative sources. Also, politicians employing some statistics reinforce legitimization of their actions through the voices of expertise.

Finally, in order to legitimize their actions, politicians propose altruistic actions to their audience. As doing things for others, especially the poor or vulnerable, is well-perceived and can help the process of justification. Such altruistic proposals do not appear driven by personal interests. This strategy is related to a system of values (Reyes, 2011). Lakoff (1991) considers this type of legitimization as the plot of the story, where one can find a villain, a
victim and a hero (ibid.). Similarly, Charteris-Black (2006) claims that politicians may use myths to justify their policies. They compare themselves with the personality in the myth, usually negatively presented, thus creating a positive view of their addresses and themselves. Linguistically, politicians use metaphors, consciously or unconsciously manipulating with the meaning.

As the fundamental issue of legitimization strategies becomes justification or, in other words, persuasion, metaphors occupy a central place in the addresses of politicians. According to Mio (1997: 269), Lippmann was the first, who claimed that politics is too difficult and abstract to be directly experienced, thus the language of politics needs certain linguistic means to reduce political world to simple accessible models to successful management and manipulation. The vast majority of theorists of political rhetoric do not separate political language, language of justification or persuasion from metaphors. Metaphors are defined as a means of perception to which people respond. Metaphors seem to become subtle highlighters of what politicians want their audience to believe.

Having defined what legitimization stands for, having discussed several linguistic legitimization strategies, it comes inevitable to get deeper into the ways of examining metaphors as a means of persuasion or justification in political discourse.

4.1. Persuasion through Metaphors

Metaphor becomes an important feature of persuasive political discourse as it mediates between conscious and unconscious means of persuasion, namely cognition and emotions. By doing this, metaphors create a moral perspective on life. Thus, as it was stated above, metaphors become a central strategy for legitimization in political speeches (Charteris-Black, 2005: 13).

Using language to activate unconscious emotional associations, metaphor influences people’s beliefs, attitudes and values. It has an impact on the value we place on ideas and beliefs while deciding whether something is good or bad. It is achieved by transferring positive or negative associations of different source words to a metaphor target. Various connotations aroused by the words in their normal non-metaphorical use determine metaphorical meaning. Thus, the role of metaphors in discourse is to legitimate policies, actions or words by accessing the underlying social and cultural value systems (ibid.).

Similarly, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 159) have produced ample evidence what matters most about a metaphor is its conceptual nature. The scholars even reinforced this claim stating that metaphorical thinking, in the form of cross-domain mapping, is primary, whilst
metaphorical language is secondary (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999: 123). Such claim only supports the statement that if our social experience is organized metaphorically, then the language of politics, as part of the social domain, must also be constructed and then perceived in terms of metaphors. However, Musolff (2004: 5) stresses that the whole ensemble of speeches produced by political actors can become a coherent whole when the participants agree on a shared discursive context and refer to each others’ statements to advance their arguments.

In the book Moral Politics: What Conservatives Know That Liberals Don't, Lakoff (2002) analyses the world-views underlying political thinking in the United States of America. He asserts that the central conceptualization of the society is represented by the conceptual metaphor of the FAMILY. The general metaphor looks like the following:

- A Community Is a Family.
- Moral Authority Is Parental Authority.
- An Authority Figure is a Parent.
- Moral Behaviour by Someone Subject to Authority Is Obedience. (Lakoff, 2002: 7)

The FAMILY metaphor is by no means an isolated concept. It is related to other concepts such as WELL-BEING IS WEALTH, MORAL ACTION IS GIVING SOMETHING OF POSITIVE VALUE, IMMORAL VALUE IS GIVING SOMETHING OF NEGATIVE VALUE.

Musolff (2004: 6) notes that Lakoff’s examples of NATION-AS-FAMILY conceptual source domains can be used for different argumentation and ideology. Thus, the scholar believes that political conclusions drawn from the mappings provided by opposing sides, for instance, liberals and democrats may also be diametrically contrasting.

According to Charteris-Black (2005: 16), speakers cannot escape common metaphors referring to political ideas, but these metaphors can be modified in order to accommodate shifts in political position. Political actors become even more persuasive when their metaphors interact with other linguistic strategies. When a politician employs a metaphor in isolation the audience is quick to identify the message. The audience may arise against the speaker as it understands that a politician intentionally uses such linguistic feature. However, when a linguistic strategy is used in combination with other rhetorical strategies, the focus of the audience is on processing the whole message rather than on separate linguistic means. Thus persuasion in terms of metaphor becomes a multi-layered discourse function mainly used by political actors to advocate their behavior, beliefs and values. Such a function is the outcome of a complex interaction between speaker’s intention, linguistic choice and context.

At this point, it is relevant to discuss the method Critical Metaphor Analysis which will be applied for the analysis of persuasion in terms of metaphors.
4.2. Critical Metaphor Analysis

As Charteris-Black puts it, CMA is “an approach to the analysis of metaphors that aims to identify the intentions and ideologies underlying language use” (2005: 26). The scholar describes three stages of the approach: Metaphor Identification, Interpretation and Explanation.

The identification of metaphorical expressions appears to be subjective. What is literal in one situation may become metaphorical in another situation; what is literal for one speaker may be metaphorical for another as the judgements of what is normal depends on language users’ idiosyncratic experience of language. The context allows any word become metaphorical as metaphor is an aspect of language use. Thus, the change in use implies two domains (as it was already stated above): a source domain where the term normally belongs and a target domain where it does not belong (ibid. 15).

The interpretation of metaphors is assisted by the cognitive approach to metaphors originated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The basic claim of this approach is that our mind is embodied, consequently our thoughts are unconscious and abstract concepts are metaphorical (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999: 3). Consider the following examples:

- Forward or back.
- I can only go one way.
- I have not got a reverse gear.
- This is our challenge.
- To stride forward where we have always previously stumbled. (Charteris-Black, 2005: 27)

In the examples above the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY accounts for the choice of such words as “go one way” or “to stride forward”. Charteris-Black (2005: 27) suggests that abstract target (LIFE) is related to the source domain (JOURNEY) and it is grounded in bodily experience. As it was already stated, the identification of metaphors depends on speakers’ language experience, thus, it does not mean that metaphors can take only this form but it is rather a probability than a possibility in language use (ibid.).

Having identified conceptual metaphors, it is important to explain the ideological motivation of language use, namely, to justify the choice of metaphorical language. Charteris-Black believes that “metaphor is both pervasive and persuasive when employed discursively in the rhetorical and argumentative language of political speeches” (2005: 28). The identification of conceptual metaphors makes it possible to explain the interrelation between what is literal and what is figurative and to propose the underlying language use. The scholar
proposes that CMA enables us to identify what metaphors are employed, for what reason and what legitimizing power they have on the audience. Also, while analyzing political speeches Charteris-Black (ibid.) notes that CMA needs to be accomplished with social context in which these speeches were made and overall verbal context of metaphors as well. In order to account for particular metaphorical preference, it is vital to consider the leader’s intentions within speech-making, as the choice of rhetorical strategies is not a requirement but a matter of individual choice. Therefore, the scholar claims that cognitive approach and CMA are essential for analyzing political speeches.

5. METAPHORICAL LEGITIMIZATION STRATEGY IN AMERICAN PRESIDENTS’ INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

5.1. Data and Methods

The corpus of the present study consists of American Presidents’ inaugural addresses grouped by presidents’ political affiliation. The corpus of Democrats was compiled from inaugural addresses of Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren, James K. Polk, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton and Barack Obama. The overall scope of the inaugural addresses of the members of the Democratic Party is 14 which makes up 31,711 words. The corpus of Republicans was compiled from Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, Benjamin Harrison, William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Warren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, George W. Bush first inaugural addresses. The total number of the inaugural addresses of the members of the Republican Party is 16 which makes up 47,121 words. The speeches were accessed via the Internet through the http://www.inaugural.senate.gov/swearing-in/addresses online database. Since some of the presidents were elected several times, for the reliability of the results it was decided to select the speeches of the first inaugural addresses. The main factor determining the decision was that the first inaugural address produces the most profound impression on public, citizens and in case with American Presidents on the whole world.

A vast range of approaches for metaphor analysis in political discourse is possible to employ and which approaches are used depends on the research aims and the discipline
studied. Since metaphor and public communication are of interest to linguistics in this particular research, the analysis was conducted within the framework of the Critical Metaphor Analysis, which is a blend of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis. Firstly, metaphorical expressions were identified and ascribed to the conceptual metaphors they manifest. Secondly, the quantitative analysis was carried out to reveal the frequency of the metaphorical expressions which show the prevailing conceptual metaphors in the inaugural addresses delivered by American Presidents representing the Democratic and Republican Parties. Finally, the relationship between rhetorics of the conceptual metaphors and their contribution to legitimization strategies was compared across two political parties. Each of the three steps is described below in greater detail.

5.2. Results and Discussion

The present section discusses the quantitative results of the conducted study. As it was already stated, the present study was carried out within the framework of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). According to Charteris-Black (2014: 174), CMA aims to identify which metaphors are used in political discourse, to explain why these metaphors are chosen and how metaphors are used to create legitimization that produces ideologies and global views. Critical analysis of metaphors in political discourse demonstrates how the choice of linguistic means influences the audience by providing a legitimizing representation of speakers and their policies. The scholar distinguishes three main stages of Critical Metaphor Analysis: Metaphor Identification, Metaphor Interpretation and Explanation. The first stage, the Identification of Metaphors, involves deciding what to count as a metaphor in a text.

At metaphor identification stage, the quantitative analysis has been carried out in order to reveal the frequency of metaphorical expressions in American Presidents’ inaugural addresses. Table 1 summarises the findings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATA</th>
<th>The Democratic Party</th>
<th>The Republican Party</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of articles</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of words in articles</td>
<td>31.711</td>
<td>47.121</td>
<td>78.832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of words per article</td>
<td>~2.265</td>
<td>~2.945</td>
<td>~2.605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tokens of metaphoric expressions</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average number of tokens of metaphoric expressions per article</td>
<td>~15</td>
<td>~21</td>
<td>~18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As Table 1 demonstrates, the distribution of metaphorical expressions across the Democratic and Republican parties reveals slight differences. The inaugural addresses represented by the Democrats contain 213 expressions in total with the average number of expressions per article being ca. 15. In inaugural addresses of American Presidents representing the Republican Party, the overall number of metaphorical expressions is 336 with the average number of expressions per article being ca. 21. As the results indicate, the Republicans use metaphorical expressions more extensively than the members of the Republican Party. For the reason that the number of articles chosen for the study in each language is almost identical (14 of the Democrats and 16 of the Republicans), the quantitative results may be considered reliable.

As for metaphor interpretation stage, the metaphorical expressions were grouped according to semantic fields they belong to or, in other words, they were ascribed to the source domain they represent. As a result, the most prevailing ten conceptual metaphors have been distinguished. Since the frequency of metaphorical expressions differed in inaugural addresses by American Presidents representing the Democratic and the Republican Parties, for the sake of consistency, the findings are presented in a decreasing order in Table 2. It presents the conceptual metaphors and the number of the metaphorical expressions in the inaugural addresses delivered by American Presidents representing both political parties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual metaphor</th>
<th>The Democratic Party</th>
<th>The Republican Party</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POLITICS IS A JOURNEY</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMERICA IS A PERSON</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMERICA IS A FAMILY</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLITICS IS A PLANT</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLITICS IS A BUILDING</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLITICS IS WAR</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIGNIFICANT IS BIG</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL EVILS ARE ENEMIES</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As it can be seen from Table 2, American Presidents representing both political parties share ten conceptual metaphors identified in the analysed inaugural addresses. What differs strikingly is the number of linguistic metaphorical expressions suggesting particular conceptual metaphors in the inaugural addresses delivered by American Presidents. POLITICS IS A JOURNEY is the most prevalent in the inaugural addresses delivered by American Presidents representing the Democratic Party. The second largest conceptual metaphor is AMERICA IS A HUMAN BEING manifested by almost 20% smaller number than the previously discussed conceptual metaphor of JOURNEY. POLITICS IS A PLANT metaphors take the third place among the analysed metaphors. SIGNIFICANT IS BIG and SOCIAL EVILS ARE ENEMIES cannot be considered as particularly resourceful, but are still one of the ten most frequent ways of conceptualisation of politics in the inaugural addresses delivered by the Democrats. The rest of the conceptual metaphors have been scarcely productive in linguistic realisations and were not included in this table (see Appendix 2).

What concerns the Republican Party, AMERICA IS A HUMAN BEING, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, POLITICS IS A BUILDING and SIGNIFICANT IS BIG are the most productive conceptual metaphors. The striking feature about the inaugural addresses delivered by the Republicans was that they conceptualise RACE in terms of COLOUR, which was not observed in the inaugural addresses delivered by the Democrats.

An important observation that has to be made in reference to the quantitative findings is that the number of metaphorical expressions representing each metaphor is greater in inaugural addresses delivered by the members of the Republican Party.

In addition to the presented conceptual metaphors, the analysed corpus provided 11 president-specific metaphorical expressions. Table 3 reveals the results:

**Table 3. President-specific conceptual metaphors**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual metaphors</th>
<th>Tokens of metaphorical expressions</th>
<th>American President (The Democratic Party)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MORE IS UP</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Franklin D. Roosevelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAD IS DOWN</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Franklin D. Roosevelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAD IS DARK</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Franklin D. Roosevelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMERICA IS A HOUSE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Franklin D. Roosevelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A PRESIDENT IS A CONTAINER</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Franklin D. Roosevelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHANGES ARE FORCES OF NATURE</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>George H. W. Bush.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As it can be seen from Table 3, the language used by American President Franklin D. Roosevelt in his inaugural address is characterised by specific metaphorical expressions that underlie such conceptual metaphors as MORE IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BAD IS DARK, AMERICA IS A HOUSE and A PRESIDENT IS A CONTAINER.

Similarly, another American President George H. W. Bush, though representing the Republican Party, used specific metaphorical expressions that underlie the conceptual metaphor CHANGES ARE FORCES OF NATURE. This conceptual metaphor was manifested by 7 instances.

As it may be concluded, the findings of the study are consistent with the main assumption that metaphor is particularly vital in politics, since politics is an abstract and complex domain for understanding, and metaphors can provide ways of simplifying abstract issues and legitimizing behaviour of politicians.

The following subsections analyse the above mentioned conceptual metaphors as they are presented in Table 2. Due to the limited scope of the present paper, it would be impossible to focus on all linguistic manifestations of the ten conceptual metaphors. Thus, in the course of the analysis only the most representative examples are discussed. The conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS A JOURNEY and AMERICA IS A PERSON are compared across both political parties as they are manifested by the highest numbers of metaphorical expressions; whereas the third prevailing group of conceptual metaphors differs within these political parties, they are discussed in separate sections of the paper.

5.2.1. POLITICS IS A JOURNEY used by members of both political parties

The JOURNEY domain is one of the most prevailing sources used for presenting a vast number of abstract ideas in a more simple and concrete way. Thompson (1996: 186) notes that there is no participation in political discourse without simplifying function of metaphors. Such notions as politics, life or love are usually conceptualized in terms of a journey. Such abstract notions become more concrete and get their concrete correspondences when they underlie this conceptual domain (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980: 44–45, 91–92; Kövecses, 2002: 3–4). Similarly, as pointed out by Chilton (2004: 204), the main input of the JOURNEY source domain is that it defines the target as having a starting point, a destination, and a direction of movement. This image schema gives rise to metaphorically constructing goals as destinations, ways of reaching these goals as moving forward, problems on the way as obstacles to movement or reaching a destination.
As far as the conceptual JOURNEY metaphor is concerned, Lakoff (1992: 5) claims that understanding politics as a journey is “a set of ontological correspondences that characterize epistemic correspondences by mapping knowledge about journeys onto knowledge about” this issue. The scholar notes that mapping requires the application of source domain notions and their equivalents in the target domain. Thus, when American Presidents speak about politics in terms of a journey, they evoke certain knowledge about this domain which is individual for every person. In the scope of the present study, the conceptual target domain POLITICS is presented in terms of source domains A JOURNEY or A SEA VOYAGE. Let’s consider the conceptual correspondences between the source domain (JOURNEY) and the target domain (POLITICS), which result from such a mapping of common knowledge:

**Source:** JOURNEY  **Target:** POLITICS

a) track/route/path → political strategies  
b) destination → political goals  
d) movements forward → political changes/actions/reforms  
e) obstacles → political challenges/problems  
f) travellers → the government, the president, and the nation

The most frequently encountered metaphorical expressions in the inaugural addresses of American Presidents representing the Democratic Party are those making up the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY or A SEA VOYAGE. To put it otherwise, the Democrats conceptualize the target domain POLITICS through A JOURNEY or A SEA VOYAGE source domains. It is manifested by 52 expressions in the corpus of the presidents representing the Democratic Party. However, this conceptual metaphor accounts only for the second major group of metaphorical expressions used by American Presidents representing the Republican Party. It is manifested by 57 instances.

These are prevailing instances of the conceptualisation. Consider the following examples:

(1) …our Nation’s course is abundantly clear…(Source 11, the Democrats);  
(2) …principles which will guide me in the administrative policy of the Government…(Source 3, the Democrats);  
(3) …the sheet anchor of our peace at home and abroad…(Source 3, the Democrats);  
(4) …four major courses of action...(Source 9, the Democrats);  
(5) …the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans...(Source 10, the Democrats);
As the examples above illustrate, the development of issues in politics is thought of in terms of a journey. In examples (1), (3), (4) and (13) the movement is achieved through the use of terms related to the vocabulary of travelling by sea, while the rest examples demonstrate movement through the words of travelling by land. There are several instances in examples (6) and (7) with verbs and nouns revealing that the journey is realised by walking.

Moreover, as the majority of the metaphorical expressions are from the source domain of journeys, these contribute to the cohesion of inaugural addresses and to the main theme that the citizens have to overcome difficulties in order to get social and economic progress for the country. According to Charteris-Black (2014: 215), when the rhetorical purpose is to give emphasis on the agency and effort by the audience, politicians turn to journey metaphors. In example (11), the speaker does not want to end this journey, he refuses to give up and seeks support from his citizens to help him and their country. This idea is expressed in examples (8), (9), (10), (11), (13), (14), (20) and (21) where the inclusive use of the first-person plural pronoun ‘we’ suggests a collective effort and, as a consequence, a collective success. In
examples (20) and (22), the idea of cooperation is presented directly, not only inclusive ‘we’ is used, but also the word ‘together’ is employed to highlight this idea.

In example (10), the choice of the metaphorical expression also implies some emotional involvement. The expression ‘how far’ suggests that being in a place where the nation has never been before may be associated with excitement and joy. A party leader provokes this kind of feelings in his audience. Furthermore, it may suggest that it is not the end of the journey; it is not its destination, but a point in a longer journey towards the country’s growth and prosperity. However, in example (12) this journey can be full of obstacles which have to be overcome as the ‘path’ towards social and economic progress may be or is ‘rugged’. These obstacles in politics correspond to political challenges and problems. Even if the journey is difficult, citizens still have to continue the journey. Thus, in example (6) ‘step by step’ implies progress even if it is hard and time consuming to achieve. Still, it is worth trying. Such metaphors arouse emotions of courage that unify citizens for a common purpose, for the prosperity of their native country.

In example (14), citizens are described in terms of passengers. A party leader calls them ‘fellow passengers’, which may imply that the leader moves together with them, overcoming together all difficulties during this journey. In example (17), America is presented as the leader of this journey, probably for other countries to follow its example as well. Moreover, example (21) shows that this is not a short journey; it is a journey that must be continued by the following generations and was carried on by the predecessors. The steps in political domain are understood as political actions, which lead to significant changes or reforms. Not to mention the fact, in example (7), if somebody follows some footsteps, he is not the first to move on this road or path. Also, in example (5), ‘the torch’ becomes a symbol of light and knowledge which is transferred from one generation to another to continue this journey.

The idea of movement is rendered by a number of verbs and nouns. For example, these are such verbs as follows: ‘guide’, ‘give direction’, ‘go forth’, ‘go forward’, ‘go upward’, and ‘travel’; and the following nouns: ‘departure’, ‘course’, ‘footstep’s and ‘journey’. These verbs and nouns are constantly used to concentrate on the process of travelling, to emphasize constant development and to contribute to the coherence of the text overall. The majority of them are not specific, except for the word ‘anchor’, ‘course’ and ‘drift’ in examples (1), (3), (4) and (13) which belong to the field of sea travel. Furthermore, examples (15), (16), (18) and (19) delivered by the Republicans emphasize movement in the right direction, which was the most striking feature of the metaphorical expressions underlying the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY. Probably the main idea of these examples was to stress that America is moving towards a better and prosperous future and doing it correctly. In example (18), the
idea of no other proper or possible course is emphasized. It is probably implied that other course could even bring bad faith or destiny for the country. In addition, in example (1), the phrase ‘Our nation’s course is clear’ links up this course with something good and morally pure. According to Goatly (2007: 48), the Nation’s course to be followed by citizens must be clean, pure and light as “cleanliness is next to godliness”.

To sum up, the conceptual mappings from the source domain of JOURNEY to the target domain of POLITICS have provided certain images. Thus, American Presidents representing the Democratic Party highlight the aspects of walking, a long lasting journey and indicate the complexity of the path or distance to be covered together with a president. Also, in addition to the mentioned aspects of a journey, the members of the Republican Party emphasize the movement in the right direction and provide the ways for such movement.

5.2.2. AMERICA IS A HUMAN BEING used by members of both political parties

Another prevailing conceptual metaphor used by American presidents representing both political parties is AMERICA IS A HUMAN BEING. It is realized by 175 metaphorical expressions. The target domain AMERICA is understood in terms of the source domain HUMAN BEING. The legitimizing strategy of conceptualizing America as a human being was analysed and the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A HUMAN BEING was subdivided into the conceptual metaphors NATION IS A PERSON (41 out of 55) and NATION IS A FAMILY (14 out of 55). The source domain of FAMILY and A PERSON are usually employed by American Presidents representing both political parties. However, the number of metaphorical expressions used by the the Republican Party is almost twice as big as by the Democrats. It is manifested by 106 (out of 120) metaphorical expressions underlying the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A PERSON and 14 (out of 120) expressions underlying the conceptual metaphor NATION IS A FAMILY, which is surprisingly equal to the number used by the Democrats.

As assumed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 33), personification allows us to comprehend nonhuman entities in terms of human characteristics. Moreover, the scholars claim that this domain is rather general and is usually subdivided into smaller and specific ones employing particular characteristics of a person. In the limited scope of the present paper, though, it was decided to overview two prevailing source subdomains, namely A PERSON and A FAMILY, which were frequently used by the members of the Democratic and Republican Parties for legitimizing. When American Presidents speak about politics in terms of a family, they evoke certain knowledge about this domain. As it was already claimed, it depends on a politician’s
understanding how a family should be organized. Let’s consider the conceptual correspondences between the source domain FAMILY and the target domain NATION, which result from the examples delivered by American Presidents representing the Democratic and Republican Parties:

Source: FAMILY  Target: NATION

 a) A family → the country
 b) A sister → other countries that need help or support
 c) A father → the president, the government
 d) Children → citizens
 e) Members of the family → the States

Let’s consider the following examples:

(23) ...to our sister republics… (Source 10, the Democrats);
(24) ...increasing family of free and independent State… (Source 3, the Democrats);
(25) ...no form of government <...> can compensate the loss of peace and domestic security around the family altar ... (Source 5, the Democrats);
(26) ...our fathers who founded and preserved the Republic… (Source 7, the Republicans);
(27) ...they are members of the same political family, having a common destiny… (Source 3, the Democrats);
(28) ...the venerated father of the Republic… (Source 2, the Democrats);
(29) ...a member of the great family of nations… (Source 5, the Democrats);
(30) ...must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children...
   (Source 13, the Democrats);
(31)... brotherhood of mankind... (Source 9, the Republicans);
(32)...the common brotherhood of man... (Source 10, the Republicans);
(33)... our sister Republics... (Source 11, the Republicans).

The above examples show that American Presidents conceptualize the country in terms of a family. According to Lakoff (2002), the family is a central model understanding the country for American Presidents representing both the Democratic and the Republican Parties. In examples (24), (27) and (29) this idea is supported. Moreover, the vocabulary chosen suggests that this family is developing and it is worth being a part of it as it is ‘increasing’ and it is ‘great’. Also, in example (27), the use of metaphor provokes an action
for a better future and a better life as people of the country have ‘common destiny’, which depends on them, on their hard work and determination.

The way they understand how a family should be organized directly implies what linguistic means will be applied. Thus, they consider the president or the government being a parent and citizens being children (ibid.). Therefore, in examples (26) and (28), the president of the country is presented as a father. Even the collocation ‘the venerated father’ demonstrates that this father is respected and highly valued in this family; probably he is the head of this family who has to be obeyed. It can be stated that American Presidents representing both political parties conceptualize America as a family that is caring and looks after their children. Thus, in examples (23) and (33) they speak about other countries as sisters, which evokes some positive emotions and feelings of love and care when we think of our own family members. In example (30), America is presented as a child that needs care and support. The president appeals to the emotions of the listener that would provoke action for the nation’s growth and strength.

Americans highly cherish their traditions, religious events and the sense of unity, thus, in examples (31) and (32), the choice of the metaphor demonstrates how important the family and close relations between its members are. According to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2003), the altar is “a holy table or surface used in religious ceremonies”, which implies that the president using the metaphor ‘family altar’, in example (25), implies moral connotations and tries to provoke certain emotions in the minds of his citizens in order to give them food for thought. For example, how valuable the peace and domestic security are for each family. Probably he is likely to legitimize his future action in gaining the previous peace and security which people lived in before.

Another conceptual metaphor employed for legitimization was NATION IS A PERSON. There were 41 metaphorical expressions identified while analyzing the inaugural addresses of American Presidents representing the Democratic Party and the overwhelming majority of 106 metaphorical examples used by the Republicans. This metaphor is considered as a constituent element of the broader conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A HUMAN BEING. On the basis of extralinguistic knowledge, the following set of correspondences (mappings) can be identified between the source domain of a PERSON and the target domain of a NATION:

**Source: A PERSON**  **Target: NATION**

a) infancy  ➔ early years of the country  
b) birth  ➔ formation/establishment of the country  
c) behaviour of a person  ➔ political actions  
d) protecting arm  ➔ social security
e) positive qualities of a person \(\rightarrow\) positive aspects of the country

Analyzing the inaugural addresses of American Presidents representing both political parties the following typical metaphorical expressions were chosen for a thorough analysis:

(34) \textit{...our Nation's birth} (Source 12, the Democrats);
(35) \textit{...from secret places of the American heart} (Source 11, the Democrats);
(36) \textit{...America is a friend} of each nation and any man (Source 14, the Democrats);
(37) \textit{...protect our beloved country from its infancy to the present hour} (Source 3, the Democrats);
(38) \textit{...privilege as a nation to speak of} (Source 4, the Democrats);
(39) \textit{...America has carried on} (Source 14, the Democrats);
(40) \textit{...the Constitution has expressly required Congress to defend} (Source 5, the Democrats);
(41) \textit{...we have the pure heart} (Source 7, the Democrats);
(42) \textit{...protecting arm of our Government} (Source 3, the Democrats);
(43) \textit{...the Constitution itself the safeguard of our federative compact, the offspring of concession and compromise} (Source 3, the Democrats);
(44) \textit{...the heart of America is good} (Source 13, the Republicans);
(45) \textit{...the face of the Nation} (Source 15, the Republicans);
(46) \textit{...America, at its best, is also courageous} (Source 16, the Republicans);
(47) \textit{...America, at its best, is compassionate} (Source 16, the Republicans);
(48) \textit{...to make our country more just and generous} (Source 16, the Republicans);
(49) \textit{...the mind of America} (Source 10, the Republicans);
(50) \textit{...the defense chest of the Nation} (Source 9, the Republicans);
(51) \textit{...America is ready to encourage, eager to initiate, anxious to participate} (Source 9, the Republicans);
(52) \textit{...the recorded progress of our Republic, materially and spiritually} (Source 9, the Republicans);
(53) \textit{...the United states can maintain her interests intact and can secure respect for her just demands} (Source 8, the Republicans);
(54) \textit{...she never intends to back up her assertion of rights} (Source 8, the Republicans).
Examples (35) and (41) differ from the rest examples delivered by the Democrats as they present the human organ, to be precise, the heart. Generally, we describe human organs when we speak about human beings, but the above examples show that this term is used to talk about an inanimate issue. It can be inferred that using the word ‘heart’, the president most probably wanted to appeal to the most important organ. The heart gives life, hope, love, faith and other feelings that people are used to ascribe to it. As a pure heart is free from moral fault or guilt, thus, the whole phrase could mean that being ‘pure’ or having ‘a pure heart’, America is worth supporting and being loved.

An important observation should be made that not only the heart is described. The members of the Republican Party used such parts of the body as the face and chest and even mentioned the mind of a person. In example (45), the leader speaks about the face of the country. As it is known, the face is a body part at which people pay attention first. It is located on our head and is thought to be the most aristocratic part of a human body. It might be stated that it represents the person. Thus, the face of the country is something that represents the country or in other words, it is a person – a president who might represent the country abroad in foreign affairs. Also, example (49) demonstrates that the country not only has its body and organs, but it is a thinking creature with its own mind.

America itself supports its citizens during difficult periods of life; it finds strength, faith and hope for a better future for the country and for the people who live there. In example (50), this country is not only morally or spiritually strong it is physically strong as it has a ‘defense chest’, implying that it can protect its citizens. Moreover, while the president conceptualizes nonhuman things in terms of a human being, especially a body part or a human organ, he makes it easier for the listener to understand such complex issues of politics. What is physically close and familiar to a person is always easier to comprehend. Thus, both legitimizing through simplification of political issues is achieved.

In examples (34) and (37), the president speaks about the country as a person who was born and encourages action for his or her protection. These examples are quite interesting as only a human being or animals can give birth and be born, raise and protect their infants. The president probably legitimizes his future actions for the country’s development, a better future and a better destiny of the country. Also, as protection is their common work, the president seeks support and appeals to emotions of responsibility and assistance. However, Americans can expect adequate protection from the country as well. Examples (42) and (43) demonstrate that the Constitution performs the role of a safeguard that not only protects the rights of the citizens but also can reach a compromise and concession. In addition, the government also
seems to be helpful. Metaphorically, it suggests its ‘protecting arm’, which could probably mean that the government is strong and is capable of taking care if its citizens.

The above examples (38), (39) and (40) delivered by American Presidents representing the Democratic Party, show a slightly different aspect, namely, an active or acting nation. It is achieved by the verbs of action: to ‘carry on’, ‘to speak’ and ‘require’. Similarly, example (51), delivered by the members of the Republican Party, emphasizes the readiness of the country to act, to encourage the citizens, to be kind of an engine which moves forward. All the actions described are typically performed by a person.

America is also described as a friend, i.e. as a person you know, are fond of and enjoy spending time with. In example (36), America is seen as such type of a person. The politician unconsciously appeals to the positive emotions of love, happiness and joy of being together. Also, a friend is a person who usually helps in difficult situations, thus, ‘each nation and every man’ can expect this from America.

An important striking observation that has to be made is that in examples (53) and (54) it is implied that this country is described as a woman as the third-person pronoun ‘her’ allows us to presume that. Moreover, the whole phrase may probably imply this woman is a strong personality as she can protect her rights, her needs and make others respect her. It is not surprising as in 1920s the role of a woman in society changed because of huge work they did during the war. Women got the right to vote, their clothes became more convenient and more and more women refused to stay at home as housewives any more. By using this pronoun, the leader provokes emotions of respect and boast, thus legitimizing future actions required for such condition to be continued. American Presidents representing the Republican Party also highlight that this country is ‘courageous’ and ‘compassionate’ which might imply that the citizens can be safe as their country will act as a brave person if it gets in danger.

All in all, the systematicity of metaphorical expressions related to life stages, human organs and actions performed allowed to join these slightly different source domains into a broad one.

5.2.3. POLITICS IS A PLANT used by American presidents representing the Democratic Party

The third major group of conceptual metaphors manifested by 24 expressions delivered by American Presidents representing the Democratic Party was formulated as POLITICS IS A PLANT. Since soil gives living creatures the bounty that our lives depend on, it is not surprising that so many metaphors receive their mappings from the source domain PLANT.
According to Kövecses (2002: 17), various parts of the plant, the development of plants or actions performed by plants are usually metaphorically transmitted to the abstract domain of POLITICS. On the basis of common knowledge and the metaphorical expressions used by the presidents representing the Democratic Party, the following conceptual correspondences between the source domain PLANT and the target domain POLITICS support the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A PLANT:

**Source: A PLANT  Target: POLITICS**

- a) growth → political development
- b) plant → politics, the country
- c) preservation → remaining without change and in good condition
- d) fruitful life → producing good results
- e) branch → part

Historically, people work on their land, fertilize the soil and look after the plants. If the harvest is rich, people survive. Thus, what is close to people, what is simple and easy to understand, makes political issues easier understandable as well. Consider the following examples:

(55) …the growth and prosperity of the country… (Source 5, the Democrats);
(56) … the preservation of the rights… (Source 4, the Democrats);
(57) …branches of the Government… (Source 4, the Democrats);
(58) …branch of Congress… (Source 3, the Democrats);
(59) …assure a more fruitful life for all mankind… (Source 10, the Democrats);
(60) …our power grows through its prudent use… (Source 14, the Democrats);
(61) …flourishing people… (Source 2, the Democrats).

Just as a real fruit can be ripe and juicy or rotten and unripe, metaphorical expressions having this lexeme can indicate something positive or negative respectively. In example (59), the president speaks about “a fruitful life” that must be assured for the American people and even for “all mankind”. Thus, the whole phrase could mean that such fruitful life is positive, having all the crops for a better living of the people.

As any fruit develops from a plant, any plant develops from a seed only under favourable conditions. Thus, it can be seen from examples (55) and (60), the idea of growth corresponds to the idea of the country’s development. You may find expressions applied creatively from the source domain PLANT to the target domain POLITICS. These examples
make use of rather conventional expressions. At first sight they even do not attract attention as they are habitual to our perception. However, both phrases ‘the growth of the country’ and ‘our power grows’ undoubtfully represent the terminology from the source domain PLANT. Thus, the phrases bear the figurative meaning of development and getting stronger. Probably politicians appeal to emotions of cooperation and common work for their mutual goal legitimizing future actions and behavior.

Examples (57) and (58) show that Congress and the Government have their parts, as when we speak about the branches we speak about parts of the whole. These metaphorical expressions are rather conventional and while analyzing any text they are comprehended without any effort. When these phrases are used figuratively in political discourse, the existence of these constituent parts ensures and protects individual freedoms and prevent the government from abusing its power. In the US, there are three separate branches of Government: the legislative, the executive and the judicial. By writing the Constitution in 1787 and dividing the Government into three parts, the US leaders believed that they can form a strong and fair government which can take care of the citizens. Thus, it can be presupposed that using these metaphorical expressions the leaders of the country appeal to the knowledge of history and a long way covered for a free and better life of the country.

Similarly, example (56) speaks about the preservation of the rights. Initially, preservation is a situation when something remains without change and in good condition. Therefore, when the political leader emphasizes the preservation of human rights, he appeals to positive emotions or emotions of respect of the listener. Someone wants to preserve something when it is precious and valuable to him or her. Having such a long history, covered such a long distance, Americans fought for their rights and they cherish the result, they cherish what they achieved for their country and its citizens.

In example (61), the people of the country are ‘flourishing’. Since plants are beautiful when they flourish and blossom, the figurative use of the word has a positive connotation. If people flourish, they develop in a good and successful way. The president appeal to positive and pleasant emotions probably legitimizing the state and the way citizens are presented in the world political arena.
5.2.4. POLITICS IS A BUILDING used by American presidents representing the Republican Party

The third largest group of metaphorical expressions used by American Presidents representing the Republican Party differed from the underlying conceptual metaphor delivered by the members of the Democratic Party it was decided to overview it in a separate subpart. The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A BUILDING was manifested by 37 instances out of overall 336 examples. Before the systematic analysis of the conceptual metaphor, the following conceptual correspondences between the source domain BUILDING and the target domain POLITICS should be considered:

Source: BUILDING Target: POLITICS
a) builders → politicians/government/the nation
b) base → political strategy
c) foundation → policies/values/ideas
d) tools for building → political changes/actions/reforms
e) restoration → change of political

According to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2009), a building is “a structure such as a house, church or factory, that has a roof and walls“. From the conceptual correspondences presented above it becomes clear that in politics to have a building on strong foundation means to have significant policies, certain political values and ideas and a highly qualified political leader who is able to bring positive changes to the political life of the country.

The metaphorical expressions that presuppose the existence of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A BUILDING in the inaugural addresses delivered by the Republicans are: foundation, basis, base, cement, unshaken, build and form. Let’s consider the following examples delivered by American Presidents representing the Republican Party:

(62)...cementing a happy union...(Source 2, the Republicans);
(63)... resting upon this sure and substantial foundation...(Source 3, the Republicans);
(64)... the foundations of order and peace have been strengthened...(Source 4, the Republicans);
(65)... put the Government upon a sound and financial and economic basis...(Source 6, the Republicans);
(66)...unshaken temple of representative democracy...(Source 9, the Republicans);

(67)... if we are to surmount what divides us and to cement what unites us...(Source 13, the Republicans);

(68)... the rigid enforcement of the laws applicable to both groups is the very base of equal opportunity and freedom...(Source 11, the Republicans);

(69)... the America builded on the foundation laid by the inspired fathers...(Source 9, the Republicans);

(70)... the Union <...> was formed...(Source 1, the Republicans).

Example (70) shows that this union was formed and started its existence long age as this metaphorical expression was used by Abraham Lincoln. It implies that certain steps were followed to complete this task: the right place was chosen, the material was found and the process itself was done. In politics that would probably mean that certain policies and actions were carried out to establish a union. Not to mention the fact that somebody had to be inspired to manage to do this hard job. Therefore, in example (69), it can be observed that these people were ‘inspired fathers’, which also implies that this is not a recently formed union or country; it is a country with a long history. Later on, the development of this union can be observed, as example (62) illustrates that citizens or forefathers of the country tried to make this union ‘happy’ by making the relationship between its citizens and the leaders of the country firm and strong.

On the basis of extralinguistic knowledge, it can be stated that any strong house stands on stable and strong foundation. The initial stage of building is to put durable foundation. Therefore, example (63) implies that country’s development is surely and substantially grounded, thus, legitimizing the right political strategies and policies chosen and actions performed. Moreover, as example (64) demonstrates this foundation is constantly strengthened. It is usually very safe in a place that is peaceful and well organized. In political discourse the president is probably seeking to imply that such a place could be this country for its citizens.

A valid construction is not possible without appropriate building materials. In politics, such materials correspond to political programs, ideas or strategies. Examples (65) and (68) might be connected to the previous example (64), it is like its continuation in a way that it describes possible foundations on which one can build a strong country. Thus, it is observed that those foundations could be financial, economic, probably educational and other policies that comprise the overall system of the country. These political areas are very important for the president as they are closely related to our everyday life and life of every citizen. Thus, it
is important for a politician to justify his actions, decisions and behavior concerning these political issues. In this particular case it is achieved employing legitimizing strategy in terms of metaphors.

When all processes are finished one can admire his successful construction and live in it in peace and quiet. Such a construction is usually called a house, a place where one can hide from the outer world and be warmed by the hearth. In example (66), it is not an ordinary construction, it is an ‘unshaken temple’ which implies that it is a holy place where every person can find shelter. Moreover, this temple is unshaken, which provokes emotions of stability, safety and peace. It sounds like a praise. It seems that America is willing to help others and provide shelter for everyone in need.

The last example to be commented on is example (67). According to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2009), cement is “a thick sticky substance that becomes very hard when it dries and is used for filling holes or sticking things together”. Thus, it can be presupposed that by using such a metaphor the political leader provokes emotions of stability, long-lasting relationships and democratic atmosphere – the atmosphere of freedom and equal opportunities

5.2.5. President-specific conceptual metaphors

Having analyzed the inaugural addresses of American Presidents representing the Democratic Party, it was noticed that Franklin D. Roosevelt’s inaugural address slightly differs from other addresses in a way that some metaphorical expressions are used systematically throughout his speech. To be more precise, these metaphorical expressions show the existence of the following conceptual metaphors: MORE IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BAD IS DARK, AMERICA IS A HOUSE and A PRESIDENT IS A CONTAINER. On the basis of extralinguistic knowledge and taking into consideration the metaphorical expressions used by the president, the following conceptual correspondences between the source and target domains of the above mentioned conceptual metaphors were identified:

Source: UP, DOWN, DARK, HOUSE, PRESIDENT  Target: MORE, BAD

a) rise → become bigger in number
b) shrink → become smaller in number
c) fall → decrease
d) dark → difficult
e) house → the country
Consider the following examples:

(71) ...taxes have risen...(Source 8, the Democrats);
(72)...to rise the values of agriculture...(Source 8, the Democrats);
(73)... the growing loss... (Source 8, the Democrats);
(74) ...values have shrunked ...(Source 8, the Democrats);
(75)...ability to pay has fallen...(Source 8, the Democrats);
(76)...in every dark hour of our national life...(Source 8, the Democrats);
(77)...the dark realities of the moment...(Source 8, the Democrats);
(78)...these dark days...(Source 8, the Democrats);
(79)...putting our own national house in order...(Source 8, the Democrats);
(80)...would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbour... (Source 8, the Democrats);
(81) ...the trust reposed in me... (Source 8, the Democrats).

All the examples presented above were not taken randomly by the president. The country was at the edge of the Second World War. Thus, the times are getting darker, losses increase and the country needs support. To emphasize the importance of the moment, to justify and legitimize the actions, the president seeks support from the citizens and appeals to the emotions of togetherness, closeness, courage and hope. In his own turn, the leader of the country promises to work together and not to let his people down.

Another American president characterized by a number of certain metaphorical expressions possessing features of natural forces is George H. W. Bush (the Republican Party). All these expressions signal the existence of the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL CHANGES ARE FORCES OF NATURE accounting for 7 instances. The following set of corresponding conceptual mappings can be identified between the source and target domains:

**Source: NATURAL FORCES  Target: CHANGES**

a) the intensity of natural phenomenon  ———> the intensity of changes

b) kind of natural phenomenon  ———> different changes

The following examples were found and analysed in the inaugural address of George H. W. Bush:
(82)...a new breeze is blowing...(Source 15, the Republicans);
(83)...a world refreshed by freedom...(Source 15, the Republicans);
(84)...old ideas blown away...(Source 15, the Republicans);
(85)...a nation refreshed by freedom...(Source 15, the Republicans);
(86)...the future seems thick fog...(Source 15, the Republicans);
(87)...the mists will lift and reveal the right path...(Source 15, the Republicans);
(88)...new breeze blows...(Source 15, the Republicans).

It is common knowledge that when a new wind is blowing it brings changes. Examples (82) and (88) illustrate new changes in terms of a gentle wind, probably encouraging citizens not to be afraid of coming changes. However, the future is not optimistic and clear as example (86) shows that it is foggy, which means it is difficult to foresee what is waiting for the country. On the other hand, the president assures his citizens that there is nothing to worry about as such weather will be over some day and the ‘right path’ will be found as it is shown in example (87). Finally, in example (84), the country and the whole world will feel pleasantly different as these new changes will bring them freedom instead of ‘old ideas’. In example (83) and (85), the world and the nation are presented as thirsty creatures who need some kind of refreshment and get it in terms of freedom.

All in all, the inaugural addresses of these two American Presidents were characterized by certain metaphorical expressions that underlie conceptual metaphors that were not noticed while analysis of other inaugural speeches, which makes them specific.

5.2.6. Observations made on the basis of statistical data

Having analysed the prevailing conceptual metaphors, it was interesting to highlight the observations based on the quantitative analysis of the metaphorical expressions.
As it can be seen from the chart presented above, James K. Polk (Source 3)\(^1\) used metaphorical expressions the most frequently, which makes up 33 expressions out of 198 instances. Another two more American Presidents representing the same Democratic Party, whose language can be treated as highly metaphorical, were Franklin Pierce (Source 4) and John F. Kennedy (Source 10). On the other hand, Andrew Jackson’s (Source 1) address showed the lowest number of metaphorical expressions. However, these observations cannot be regarded completely reliable, as the identification of metaphors greatly depends on the identification method chosen by the researcher as well as on the researcher’s intuition.

In comparison to the members representing the Republican Party, the most metaphorical language was used by Warren G. Harding (Source 9), manifested by 37 instances, while the least metaphorical language characterizes Theodore Roosevelt (Source 7), which is manifested by 5 metaphorical examples. Figure 2 summarises the results. As it was already claimed, the identification of metaphorical expressions and assigning corresponding conceptual metaphors is closely related to the lexicon and intuition of the researcher, thus, the above mentioned results are rather subjective.

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\(^1\) See Appendix 1 for other names and equivalent sources.
Figure 2. The frequency of metaphorical expressions, underlying ten conceptual metaphors, used by each of American Presidents representing the Republican Party.

The chart presented below demonstrates the distribution of 10 prevailing conceptual metaphors used by each American President representing the Democratic Party in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. As it is seen from the chart the most frequently used conceptual metaphor in the 19th century was AMERICA IS A PERSON, while the least frequent conceptual metaphor used by the Democrats was SOCIAL GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS, manifested by 1 example. It can be probably assumed that the reason for such a low number might be the fact that a mass popular movement to secure social goals or civil rights started only in this century and later on developed during the following civil wars and struggles.

As for the 20th century, the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON greatly decreases in number, it falls from 25 instances to 12 examples. Therefore, the highest number of instances was represented by the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, which decreased in number by 1 example in comparison to the 19th century’s largest conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON. However, the least frequently used conceptual metaphor of the 20th century was SIGNIFICANT IS BIG (assuming that AMERICA IS A FAMILY is regarded as part of the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A HUMAN BEING, which also includes AMERICA IS A PERSON.

As it was already noted, the third largest group used by the Democrats was POLITICS IS A PLANT and it can be stated that this conceptual metaphor dominated in the 19th century with a great disparity in frequency.
Figure 3. The distribution of 10 prevailing conceptual metaphors used by each American President representing the Democratic Party in particular century.

In comparison to metaphorical expressions used by American Presidents representing the Republican Party, a slightly different tendency was noticed. The following chart presents the results:

Figure 4. The distribution of 10 prevailing conceptual metaphors used by each American President representing the Republican Party in particular century.
It can be seen from the chart that the 19th century was dominated by the conceptual metaphor AMERICA IS A PERSON, which supports the results by the members of the Democratic Party. In the 20th century the same conceptual metaphor takes the leading position and is already manifested by 60 instances. As for the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, it is the second used by the Republicans. This conceptual metaphor is represented by an equal number of instances in the 19th century and it increases in the 20th century; the same tendency is observed in the discourse of the Democratic Party. That could probably imply that both political parties conceptualize their politics in terms of a journey emphasizing the way covered and still to be travelled, the obstacles on the way and the importance of cooperative passengers or travellers. The third major group of conceptual metaphors analysed was POLITICS IS BUILDING and now it can be stated that this metaphor was more popular by the presidents in the 19th century than in the 20th.

The overall distribution of metaphors used by American presidents representing both political parties during the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries can be seen from the following chart:

![Figure 5](image-url)

**Figure 5.** The frequency of metaphors delivered by American presidents representing the Democratic and the Republican Parties in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries.

An overall increasing tendency of metaphorical expressions used by American presidents can be observed. However, the members of the Democratic Party showed the decreasing tendency, while the Republicans were characterised by the rise of employed metaphorical expressions. It must be stated that the results of the 21st century cannot be taken for granted as they were based upon two sources (Source 14 of the Democrats and Source 16...
of the Republicans). Though, for the sake of the observations, it might be presupposed that if the tendency continued, a slight overall increasing tendency comparing these three centuries might be established.

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2 See Appendix 1
CONCLUSIONS

Taking everything into consideration and on the basis of the analyzed data, the following conclusions could be drawn:

1. American Presidents, representing both the Democratic and the Republican Parties, in their inaugural addresses use a legitimizing strategy in terms of conceptual metaphors. However, inaugural addresses delivered by the members of the Republican Party are half larger in metaphorical expressions than the ones of the Democrats. Using this legitimizing strategy as a manipulative means, American Presidents simplify complex political issues, persuade the electorate and justify their political behavior.

2. The prevailing conceptual metaphors used by American Presidents representing the Democratic Party in their inaugural addresses are: POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, AMERICA IS A PERSON, AMERICA IS A FAMILY, POLITICS IS A PLANT, POLITICS IS A BUILDING, POLITICS IS WAR, DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS, SOCIAL GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS, SIGNIFICANT IS BIG, SOCIAL EVILS ARE ENEMIES.

3. Whereas American Presidents representing the Republican Party give preference to the same conceptual metaphors, though with some distinctions. The ten prevailing conceptual metaphors presented in a decreasing order are as follows: AMERICA IS A PERSON, AMERICA IS A FAMILY, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, POLITICS IS A BUILDING, SIGNIFICANT IS BIG, POLITICS IS A PLANT, SOCIAL GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS, RACE IS COLOR, POLITICS IS WAR, DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS.

4. The Democrats conceptualize America as a person who is ready to act and to encourage others, whereas the Republicans not only emphasize the same aspect of a person, but also describe the country as a “she-person” who is considered to have positive features, just like a person. Thus, such qualities are likely to make the citizens feel proud of their country and this is an appeal to the emotions of love.

5. As for the JOURNEY metaphors, metaphorical expressions used by American Presidents representing both political parties comply with the legitimizing objectives of the inaugural addresses. All American Presidents employ this conceptual metaphor to inspire cooperation on the common way, to encourage citizens not to be afraid of the difficulties and challenges and believe in the bright future ahead. However, the members of the Republican Party are more precise and give proper direction of movement and ways of solving difficult political issues stressing that no other ways are good or possible.
6. A striking feature of the inaugural addresses delivered by American Presidents representing the Republican Party is that they conceptualize race in terms of color.

7. The inaugural addresses of two American Presidents, Franklin D. Roosevelt (the Democratic Party) and George H. W. Bush (the Republican Party), were characterized by specific metaphorical expressions. The examples used by Franklin D. Roosevelt underlie the following conceptual metaphors: MORE IS UP, BAD IS DOWN, BAD IS DARK, AMERICA IS A HOUSE and A PRESIDENT IS A CONTAINER. Metaphorical expressions were employed to highlight the importance of the moment, to seek citizens’ support and cooperation and to appeal to their system of values. The examples delivered by George H. W. Bush are conceptualized as POLITICAL CHANGES ARE FORCES OF NATURE. The changes are presented in terms of light wind encouraging the citizens not to be afraid of them, thus legitimizing the president’s future political actions.

8. In general, the findings reveal that conceptual metaphor used by the members of both political parties has a powerful rhetorical and legitimizing impact upon the consciousness of ordinary people by arousing strong emotional responses and making the abstract ideas in political speeches more understandable.

9. As the current research is an interdisciplinary study, the present findings contribute to the analysis of metaphors in political discourse. The results demonstrated that there is an increasing tendency in the employment of metaphorical expressions over the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. Application of the CMA allowed to highlight what politicians attempted to downplay or hide while delivering their inaugural addresses.

10. Taking into account the results of the study, a further research can be carried out to analyze what other strategies of legitimization are employed together with metaphorical expressions and which of them are culturally bound. It might be assumed that some strategies provoke certain emotions and feelings in one country and seem illogical in another.

dominuoja šios konceptualios metaforos: AMERIKA YRA ŠEIMA, AMERIKA YRA ŽMOGUS, POLITIKA YRA KELIONĖ, POLITIKA YRA PASTATAS, SVARBŪS DALYKAI YRA DIDELI, SUNKUMAI YRA NAŠTA, SOCIALINĖS BLOGYBĖS YRA PRIEŠAI, SOCIALINIAI TIKSLAI YRA KELIONĖS TIKSLAS, POLITINIAI POKYČIAI YRA GAMTINĖS JĖGOS, POLITIKA YRA KARAS, ir POLITIKA YRA AUGALAS.

Šių metaforų šaltiniai yra glaudžiai susiję su žmonių kasdieniu gyvenimu ir patirtimi, kas daro abstrakčias mintis politinėse kalbose suprantames paprastems žmonėms ir tuo pat metu atlieka labai svarbų legitimizuojantį vaidmenį, sukelia stiprų emocinį atsaką. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, jog konceptuali metafora daro stiprią retorinę bei legitimizuojančią įtaką politikų ir paprastų žmonių sąmoningumui.
REFERENCES


SOURCES

**APPENDICES**

Appendix 1

**THE INAUGURAL ADDRESSES DELIVERED BY AMERICAN PRESIDENTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Republicans</th>
<th>The Democrats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Abraham Lincoln (1861–1865)</td>
<td>Source 1 Andrew Jackson (1829 - 1837)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ulysses S. Grant (1869–1877)</td>
<td>Source 2 Martin Van Buren (1837–1841)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. James A. Garfield (1881)</td>
<td>Source 4 Franklin Pierce (1853–1857)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. William Howard Taft (1909–1913)</td>
<td>Source 8 Franklin D. Roosevelt (1933–1945)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS USED BY AMERICAN PRESIDENTS REPRESENTING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

AMERICA IS A FAMILY

1. the hopes and happiness of the whole human family (Source 3, the Democrats);
2. increasing family of free and independent State (Source 3, the Democrats);
3. they are members of the same political family, having a common destiny…(Source 3, the Democrats);
4. adding another member to our confederation (Source 3, the Democrats);
5. our forefathers (Source 3, the Democrats);
6. by the Father of his Country (Source 6, the Democrats);
7. to our sister republics (Source 10, the Democrats);
8. our forefathers were deeply impressed (Source 2, the Democrats);
9. the venerated father of the Republic (Source 2, the Democrats);
10. the people of the sister States (Source 5, the Democrats);
11. no form of government <…> can compensate the loss of peace and domestic security around the family altar (Source 5, the Democrats);
12. a member of the great family of nations (Source 5, the Democrats);
13. a sister republic (Source 5, the Democrats);
14. must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children (Source 13, the Democrats).

AMERICA IS A PERSON

1. qualities in their public servants (Source 4, the Democrats);
2. while America rebuilds at home, we will not shrink from the challenges, nor fail to seize the opportunities, of this new world (Source 13, the Democrats);
3. their cause is America’s cause (Source 13, the Democrats);
4. we can feel the pain and see the promise of America (Source 13, the Democrats) the Constitution itself the safeguard of our federative compact, the offspring of concession and compromise…(Source 3, the Democrats);
5. the infancy of the Republic (Source 3, the Democrats);
6. the offspring of freedom, and not the power (Source 3, the Democrats);
7. our happy land (Source 3, the Democrats);
8. the true character of our Government (Source 3, the Democrats);
9. protecting arm of our Government (Source 3, the Democrats);
10. spirit of sectional policy (Source 3, the Democrats);
11. our present Union…reasons for its adoption (Source 3, the Democrats);
12. protect our beloved country from its infancy to the present hour (Source 3, the Democrats);
13. the nation’s confidence (Source 4, the Democrats);
14. the new-born nation (Source 4, the Democrats);
15. privilege as a nation to speak of (Source 4, the Democrats);
16. our Constitution was commended to adoption (Source 6, the Democrats);
17. Constitution had its birth (Source 6, the Democrats);
18. the health of the Nation (Source 7, the Democrats);
19. we have the pure heart (Source 7, the Democrats);
20. our national infancy (Source 1, the Democrats);
21. inner and spiritual strength of our Nation (Source 12, the Democrats);
22. our Nation’s birth (Source 12, the Democrats);
23. secret places of the American heart (Source 11, the Democrats);
24. America has carried on (Source 14, the Democrats);
25. America is a friend of each nation and any man (Source 14, the Democrats);
26. jealous and hostile States (Source 5, the Democrats);
27. the character of the government suffers (Source 5, the Democrats);
28. to strain the language of the Constitution (Source 5, the Democrats);
29. the Constitution has expressly required Congress to defend (Source 5, the Democrats);
30. we remain a young Nation (Source 14, the Democrats);
31. our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken (Source 14, the Democrats);
32. the master of its own house (Source 10, the Democrats);
33. our last best hope (Source 10, the Democrats);
34. the vital spirit of republics (Source 5, the Democrats);
35. gives birth to extravagant legislation (Source 5, the Democrats);
36. the public debt (Source 5, the Democrats);
37. under the protection of the American flag (Source 5, the Democrats);
38. the trust which our Nation earns (Source 12, the Democrats);
39. America must continue to lead the world (Source 13, the Democrats);
40. the great interests of the whole Union (Source 3, the Democrats).
POLITICS IS A JOURNEY

1. I am about to enter on the discharge of my official duties (Source 3, the Democrats);
2. direct me in the path of duty (Source 3, the Democrats);
3. principles which will guide me in the administrative policy of the Government (Source 3, the Democrats);
4. the chart by which I shall be directed (Source 3, the Democrats);
5. the States…do not overstep the limits of powers reserved to them (Source 3, the Democrats);
6. the sheet anchor of our peace at home and abroad (Source 3, the Democrats);
7. the path of prosperity and happiness (Source 4, the Democrats);
8. the course of their growth (Source 4, the Democrats);
9. higher objects than personal aggrandizement gave direction (Source 4, the Democrats);
10. illuminates our own way (Source 4, the Democrats);
11. points out their course (Source 4, the Democrats);
12. any departure from that foreign policy (Source 6, the Democrats);
13. I shall endeavor to be guided by a just and unstrained construction of the Constitution (Source 6, the Democrats);
14. we are moving on (Source 9, the Democrats);
15. four major courses of action (Source 9, the Democrats);
16. from this faith we will not be moved (Source 9, the Democrats);
17. our present course (Source 10, the Democrats);
18. final success or failure of our course (Source 10, the Democrats);
19. let us go forth (Source 10, the Democrats);
20. the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans (Source 10, the Democrats);
21. and step by step we should make it what it should be (Source 7, the Democrats);
22. to choose our high course of action (Source 7, the Democrats);
23. in the footsteps of illustrious men (Source 2, the Democrats);
24. I should not dare to enter upon the path of duty (Source 2, the Democrats);
25. evidence of the justice and the patriotism of their course (Source 2, the Democrats);
26. my standard of conduct in the path before me (Source 2, the Democrats);
27. our course of foreign policy (Source 2, the Democrats);
28. my path (Source 2, the Democrats);
29. it is the way to recovery (Source 8, the Democrats);
30. it is the immediate way (Source 8, the Democrats);
31. we must move (Source 8, the Democrats);
32. we are to go forward (Source 8, the Democrats);
33. temporary departure from that normal balance (Source 8, the Democrats);
34. take one of these two courses (Source 8, the Democrats);
35. I shall no evade the clear course (Source 8, the Democrats);
36. America’s long, heroic journey must go forever upward (Source 13, the Democrats);
37. this is the journey we continue today (Source 14, the Democrats);
38. we consider the road that unfolds before us (Source 14, the Democrats);
39. how far we have travelled (Source 14, the Democrats);
40. we refused to let this journey end (Source 14, the Democrats);
41. our journey has never been one of short-cuts (Source 14, the Democrats);
42. it has not been the path for the faint-hearted (Source 14, the Democrats);
43. rugged path towards prosperity and freedom (Source 14, the Democrats);
44. the right course of appointment (Source 1, the Democrats);
45. we cannot afford to drift (Source 12, the Democrats);
46. show the way for the liberation of man (Source 11, the Democrats);
47. we are all fellow passengers (Source 11, the Democrats);
48. our Nation’s course is abundantly clear (Source 11, the Democrats);
49. follow me down a long, winding road (Source 11, the Democrats);
50. looking forward to the far-distant future (Source 2, the Democrats);
51. instead, we have drifted (Source 13, the Democrats);
52. principles…from which we should never depart (Source 5, the Democrats);
53. all who made this journey (Source 11, the Democrats).

SIGNIFICANT IS BIG

1. the high duties (Source 3, the Democrats);
2. fulfilled the highest duty (Source 4, the Democrats);
3. higher objects (Source 4, the Democrats);
4. ask of us the same high standards of strength (Source 10, the Democrats);
5. the power and influence of the Republic have arisen to a height obvious to all mankind (Source 2, the Democrats);
6. standing as I now do before my countrymen, in this high place of honor and of trust (Source 2, the Democrats);
7. the money changers have fled from their high seats (Source 8, the Democrats);
8. high political position are to be valued (Source 8, the Democrats).
POLITICS IS A BUILDING

1. the Union has been cemented and strengthened (Source 3, the Democrats);
2. forming our present Union (Source 3, the Democrats);
3. furnishing abundant grounds for hopeful confidence (Source 4, the Democrats);
4. the construction of the Constitution (Source 6, the Democrats);
5. to build an even stronger structure of international order and justice (Source 9, the Democrats);
6. we have build up a great system of government (Source 7, the Democrats);
7. to set liberty upon foundations (Source 7, the Democrats);
8. the foundations of the new Government (Source 2, the Democrats);
9. the very foundations of our Nation (Source 13, the Democrats);
10. who are building democracy and freedom (Source 13, the Democrats);
11. build unity (Source 12, the Democrats);
12. we had build a lasting peace (Source 12, the Democrats);
13. a strict construction of the powers of the Government (Source 5, the Democrats);
14. we restore the vital trust between a people and their Government (Source 14, the Democrats);
15. supporting their own freedom (Source 10, the democrats);
16. the foundation of our hope (Source 4, the Democrats);
17. to frame the most perfect form of government and union (Source 5, the Democrats);
18. a scheme of government so complex in construction (Source 2, the Democrats);
19. the stability of our institutions (Source 2, the Democrats).

DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS

1. freed from the burdens and miseries of war (Source 3, the Democrats);
2. imposing too heavy burdens on their citizens (Source 3, the Democrats);
3. the burdens of government…should be distributed justly (Source 3, the Democrats);
4. the burdens and miseries of war (Source 3, the Democrats);
5. to lighten their burdens (Source 9, the Democrats);
6. the burden of a long twilight struggle (Source 10, the Democrats);
7. both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons (Source 10, the Democrats);
8. upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen (Source 7, the Democrats);
9. we had torn down the barriers that separated those of different race and region and religion (Source 12, the Democrats);
10. a call to bear the burdens of along twilight struggle (Source 10, the Democrats).
SOCIAL EVILS ARE ENEMIES

1. their ancient enemies—hunger, misery, and despair (Source 9, the Democrats);
2. a struggle against the common enemies of man; tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself (Source 10, the Democrats);
3. our wars against poverty, ignorance, and justice (Source 12, the Democrats);
4. this injustice to our people, this waste to our resources, was our real enemy (Source 11, the Democrats);
5. this enemy…will be conquered (Source 11, the Democrats);
6. brutal attacks on the rights of man (Source 9, the Democrats);
7. we have beaten back despair and defeatism (Source 9, the Democrats).

SOCIAL GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS

1. the conditions that will lead eventually to personal freedom and happiness for all mankind (Source 9, the Democrats);
2. events have brought American democracy to new influence and new responsibilities (Source 9, the Democrats);
3. we will advance toward a world where man’s freedom is secure…(Source 9, the Democrats);
4. we approach new affairs (Source 7, the Democrats);
5. to reach the stability of our institutions (Source 2, the Democrats);
6. the surest route to our common good (Source 14, the Democrats);
7. now advancing toward self-government under democratic principles (Source 9, the Democrats);
8. move this year a step toward ultimate goal—the elimination of all nuclear weapons from this Earth (Source 12, the Democrats);
9. to this end we will devote our strength (Source 9, the Democrats);
10. our progress toward a resumption of work (Source 8, the Democrats);

POLITICS IS WAR

1. struggling nations (Source 4, the Democrats);
2. the public domain should be protected from purloining schemes and unlawful occupation (Source 6, the Democrats);
3. brutal attacks on the rights of man (Source 9, the Democrats);
4. the lines of attack (Source 8, the Democrats);
5. we must move as a trained and loyal army (Source 8, the Democrats);
6. this great army of our people (Source 8, the Democrats);
7. a disciplined attack upon our common problems (Source 8, the Democrats);
8. casting off the chains of poverty (Source 10, the Democrats);
9. peaceful revolution of hope (Source 10, the Democrats);
10. to break the bonds of mass misery (Source 10, the Democrats);
11. we welcome to the rank of the free (Source 10, the Democrats);
12. the leadership of this great army of our people dedicated to the disciplined attack (Source 8, the Democrats).

POLITICS IS A PLANT

1. debt which has grown out of (Source 3, the Democrats);
2. branch of industry (Source 3, the Democrats);
3. branch of this home industry (Source 3, the Democrats);
4. branch of Congress (Source 3, the Democrats);
5. the cultivation of relations of peace (Source 4, the Democrats);
6. the preservation of the rights (Source 4, the Democrats);
7. we should cultivate kindly and fraternal relations (Source 4, the Democrats);
8. branches of the Government (Source 4, the Democrats);
9. the field of calm and free discussion (Source 4, the Democrats);
10. the executive branch of the Government (Source 6, the Democrats);
11. the prosperity of our Republic (Source 6, the Democrats);
12. our imponderable resources in technical knowledge are constantly growing (Source 9, the Democrats);
13. assure a more fruitful life for all mankind (Source 10, the Democrats);
14. branches of the Government (Source 2, the Democrats);
15. flourishing people (Source 2, the Democrats);
16. our power grows through its prudent use (Source 14, the Democrats);
17. the coordinate branches of the Government (Source 1, the Democrats);
18. the growth and prosperity of the country (Source 5, the Democrats);
19. a calm faith, springing from a clear view of the source of power in a government (Source 4, the Democrats);
20. in the course of their growth (Source 4, the Democrats);
21. the light of our prosperity (Source 4, the Democrats);
22. a new season of American renewal (Source 13, the Democrats);
23. I challenge a new generation of young Americans to a season of service (Source 13, the Democrats);
24. other extraneous institutions planted around the Government to control or strengthen it in opposition (Source 3, the Democrats).

MORE IS UP
1. taxes have risen (Source 8, the Democrats);
2. to rise the values of agriculture (Source 8, the Democrats);
3. the growing loss (Source 8, the Democrats);
4. the demand for freedom is on the rise (Source 12, the Democrats);
5. the power and influence of the Republic have arisen (Source 2, the Democrats).

BAD IS DOWN
1. values have shrunken (Source 8, the Democrats);
2. ability to pay has fallen (Source 8, the Democrats).

BAD IS DARK
1. in every dark hour of our national life (Source 8, the Democrats);
2. the dark realities of the moment (Source 8, the Democrats);
3. these dark days (Source 8, the Democrats);
4. the shadows of the cold war (Source 13, the Democrats).

AMERICA IS A HOUSE
1. putting our own national house in order (Source 8, the Democrats);
2. would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbour (Source 8, the Democrats).

PRESIDENT IS A CONTAINER
1. the trust reposed in me (Source 8, the Democrats);
2. confidence reposed in me (Source 3, the Democrats).
Appendix 3

METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS USED BY AMERICAN PRESIDENTS REPRESENTING THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

AMERICA IS A FAMILY

1. in the family of nations (Source 4, the Republicans);
2. our fathers (Source 4, the Republicans);
3. our fathers were (Source 5, the Republicans);
4. the mother country (Source 5, the Republicans);
5. our fathers (Source 6, the Republicans);
6. our fathers who founded and preserved the Republic (Source 7, the Republicans);
7. the founding fathers (Source 9, the Republicans);
8. brotherhood of mankind (Source 9, the Republicans);
9. the common brotherhood of man (Source 10, the Republicans);
10. our sister Republics (Source 11, the Republicans);
11. our fathers (Source 12, the Republicans);
12. Father of our country (Source 14, the Republicans);
13. father of our Country (Source 15, the Republicans);
14. the example of our fathers and mothers (Source 16, the Republicans).

AMERICA IS A PERSON

1. the rights of the States (Source 1, the Republicans);
2. the right of each State (Source 1, the Republicans);
3. in view of Constitution and the laws (Source 1, the Republicans);
4. the Union that will constitutionally defend and maintain itself (Source 1, the Republicans);
5. the Constitution does not expressly say (Source 1, the Republicans);
6. may Congress prohibit slavery (Source 1, the Republicans);
7. must Congress protect slavery (Source 1, the Republicans);
8. the Government must cease (Source 1, the Republicans);
9. our country believes (Source 1, the Republicans);
10. to protect the national honor (Source 2, the Republicans);
11. maintaining the national honor (Source 2, the Republicans);
12. national pride (Source 2, the Republicans);
13. a government which guards (Source 3, the Republicans);
14. the spirit of the Constitution (Source 3, the Republicans);
15. honest and efficient local self-government (Source 3, the Republicans);
16. the expression of the united voice and will of the whole country (Source 3, the Republicans);
17. the interests, as well as the public sentiment, of the country imperatively demand it (Source 3, the Republicans);
18. our relations with other lands (Source 3, the Republicans);
19. opinions of political parties (Source 4, the Republicans);
20. the will of the nation (Source 4, the Republicans);
21. honest local government (Source 4, the Republicans);
22. bad local government is certainly a great evil (Source 4, the Republicans);
23. the destinies of our government (Source 4, the Republicans);
24. the destinies of the Republic (Source 4, the Republicans);
25. American interests (Source 4, the Republicans);
26. the Constitution guarantees (Source 4, the Republicans);
27. the wisdom and patriotism of the Congress (Source 4, the Republicans);
28. where Congress was then sitting (Source 5, the Republicans);
29. weak but wisely ordered young nation (Source 5, the Republicans);
30. the young Republic (Source 5, the Republicans);
31. honest government (Source 5, the Republicans);
32. our friendly offices (Source 5, the Republicans);
33. enlarge our friendly relations with all the great powers (Source 5, the Republicans);
34. we shall neither fail to respect the flag of any friendly nation (Source 5, the Republicans);
35. God had placed upon our head a diadem and has laid at our feet power and wealth (Source 5, the Republicans);
36. the country is suffering from industrial disturbances (Source 6, the Republicans);
37. interests of the country (Source 6, the Republicans);
38. Congress should give prompt attention to (Source 6, the Republicans);
39. the United States has progressed (Source 6, the Republicans);
40. our diplomacy should seek (Source 6, the Republicans);
41. but justice and generosity in a nation <…> count most (Source 7, the Republicans);
42. our forefathers (Source 7, the Republicans);
43. national honor (Source 8, the Republicans);
44. the United states can maintain her interests intact and can secure respect for her just
demands (Source 8, the Republicans);
45. she never intends to back up her assertion of rights (Source 8, the Republicans);
46. Government must pay for (Source 8, the Republicans);
47. our Government is able to afford (Source 8, the Republicans);
48. the incoming Congress should promptly fulfill the promise (Source 8, the Republicans);
49. the incoming Congress will be alive (Source 8, the Republicans);
50. the attention of Congress (Source 8, the Republicans);
51. Congress may be induced to see the wisdom of a tentative effort (Source 8, the
Republicans);
52. The Executive <…> must exercise (Source 8, the Republicans);
53. The Government should make itself as responsible to employees injured in its employ as
(Source 8, the Republicans);
54. our Republic unshaken (Source 9, the Republicans);
55. the recorded progress of our Republic, materially and spiritually (Source 9, the
Republicans);
56. to work out our own destiny and jealously guarding our right to do so (Source 9, the
Republicans);
57. the unselfishness of these United States (Source 9, the Republicans);
58. will of America (Source 9, the Republicans);
59. America is ready to encourage, eager to initiate, anxious to participate (Source 9, the
Republicans);
60. the heart of America (Source 9, the Republicans);
61. the gratitude of the Republic (Source 9, the Republicans);
62. a generous country (Source 9, the Republicans);
63. the defense chest of the Nation (Source 9, the Republicans);
64. congress and the Administration will favor every wise Government policy (Source 9, the
Republicans);
65. her intuitions, her refinements, her intelligence, and her influence (Source 9, the
Republicans);
66. America living within and for herself alone (Source 9, the Republicans);
67. destiny of our Republic (Source 9, the Republicans);
68. our own country is leading the world (Source 10, the Republicans);
69. what America has done (Source 10, the Republicans);
70. the new sentiment of a united and independent Nation (Source 10, the Republicans);
71. this Nation believes (Source 10, the Republicans);
72. for America to respond with her counsel and her resources (Source 10, the Republicans);
73. this Administration has come into power (Source 10, the Republicans);
74. this country believes in (Source 10, the Republicans);
75. our Constitution guarantees (Source 10, the Republicans);
76. America represents (Source 10, the Republicans);
77. the encouraging feature of our country (Source 10, the Republicans);
78. the mind of America (Source 10, the Republicans);
79. what America has done has given renewed hope and courage (Source 11, the Republicans);
80. government should assist and encourage (Source 11, the Republicans);
81. nation as a whole is vitally concerned in its development (Source 11, the Republicans);
82. the idealism of America (Source 11, the Republicans);
83. the United States seeks (Source 11, the Republicans);
84. the embedded ideals and aspirations of America (Source 11, the Republicans);
85. our Nation’s strength and security (Source 12, the Republicans);
86. America hopes (Source 12, the Republicans);
87. the heart of America (Source 12, the Republicans);
88. America has suffered from a fever of words (Source 13, the Republicans);
89. government will listen (Source 13, the Republicans);
90. the heart of America is good (Source 13, the Republicans);
91. the heart of my country (Source 13, the Republicans);
92. putting America back to work (Source 14, the Republicans);
93. government can and must provide opportunity (Source 14, the Republicans);
94. we are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams (Source 14, the Republicans);
95. infant nationhood (Source 14, the Republicans);
96. the face of the Nation (Source 15, the Republicans);
97. America stand before the world united (Source 15, the Republicans);
98. America says something, America means it (Source 15, the Republicans);
99. the body, the soul of our country (Source 15, the Republicans);
100. our heart is larger <…> our will is greater (Source 15, the Republicans);
101. our Nation’s promise (Source 16, the Republicans);
102. America, at its best, is also courageous (Source 16, the Republicans);
103. our national courage (Source 16, the Republicans);
104. nation birth (Source 16, the Republicans);
105. America, at its best, is compassionate (Source 16, the Republicans);
106. to make our country more just and generous (Source 16, the Republicans).

POLITICS IS A JOURNEY

1. the course here indicated will be followed (Source 1, the Republicans);
2. I depart from my purpose (Source 1, the Republicans);
3. a step that you would never take deliberately (Source 1, the Republicans);
4. if other depart from this rule (Source 2, the Republicans);
5. by which it is my desire to be guided in the discharge of those duties (Source 3, the Republicans);
6. every moment for misrepresentation has passed away (Source 3, the Republicans)
7. in the path before me (Source 3, the Republicans);
8. difficult task of carrying them out <…> so far as depends (Source 3, the Republicans);
9. its fluctuation of values is one of the greatest obstacles to a return to prosperous times (Source 3, the Republicans);
10. the course to be pursued (Source 3, the Republicans);
11. the proper course to be pursued in solving the question (Source 3, the Republicans);
12. the guidance of that Divine Hand (Source 3, the Republicans);
13. the pathway along which our people have travelled (Source 4, the Republicans);
14. obstacles in the pathway of any virtuous citizen (Source 4, the Republicans);
15. let us <…> move forward (Source 4, the Republicans);
16. our nation will have fully entered its second century (Source 5, the Republicans);
17. it steps over the threshold into its second century (Source 5, the Republicans);
18. it is not a departure but a return (Source 5, the Republicans);
19. if moved by no higher motive (Source 5, the Republicans);
20. a departure from this policy (Source 5, the Republicans);
21. along our path (Source 5, the Republicans);
22. walk humbly in His footsteps (Source 6, the Republicans);
23. the steps which my predecessor took (Source 8, the Republicans);
24. in the long run (Source 8, the Republicans);
25. the course to be taken by Congress (Source 8, the Republicans);
26. adoption of a constitutional law is only one step in the right direction (Source 8, the Republicans);
27. making their path as smooth and easy as we can (Source 8, the Republicans);
28. the course of employment (Source 8, the Republicans);
29. our supreme task is the resumption of our onward normal way (Source 9, the Republicans);
30. there is no instant step from disorder to order (Source 9, the Republicans);
31. the forward course of the business (Source 9, the Republicans);
32. the all is for productive America to go on (Source 9, the Republicans);
33. what course should be pursued (Source 10, the Republicans);
34. to hold a true course (Source 10, the Republicans);
35. this policy represents a new departure in the world (Source 10, the Republicans);
36. America has taken the lead in this new direction, and that lead America must continue to hold (Source 10, the Republicans);
37. our continued success in that direction depends on (Source 10, the Republicans);
38. any other course is bad faith (Source 10, the Republicans);
39. the wise and correct course to follow (Source 10, the Republicans);
40. its determination to proceed in the right direction (Source 10, the Republicans);
41. ownership or operation is the course rightly to be pursued (Source 11, the Republicans);
42. nation has marched far (Source 11, the Republicans);
43. leaders for every walk of life (Source 11, the Republicans);
44. there is no short road to the realization of these aspirations (Source 11, the Republicans);
45. we have passed the midway point of a century of continuing challenge (Source 12, the Republicans);
46. how far have we come (Source 12, the Republicans);
47. courses are set (Source 13, the Republicans);
48. we will and must press urgently forward (Source 13, the Republicans);
49. to go forward at all to go forward together (Source 13, the Republicans);
50. we learn to go forward together at home (Source 13, the Republicans);
51. let us go forward (Source 13, the Republicans);
52. the business of our nation goes forward (Source 14, the Republicans);
53. I take as my guide the hope of a saint (Source 15, the Republicans);
54. we must follow no other course (Source 16, the Republicans);
55. we have a long way yet to travel (Source 16, the Republicans);
56. principles that unite and lead us onward (Source 16, the Republicans);
57. give direction to our freedom (Source 16, the Republicans).

POLITICS IS A BUILDING

1. the institution of slavery (Source 1, the Republicans);
2. the Union <…> was formed (Source 1, the Republicans);
3. placed in the platform for may acceptance (Source 1, the Republicans);
4. the destruction of the Union (Source 1, the Republicans);
5. the Union is unbroken (Source 1, the Republicans);
6. the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes (Source 1, the Republicans);
7. to compose a new union (Source 1, the Republicans);
8. the frame of the Government (Source 1, the Republicans);
9. cementing a happy union (Source 2, the Republicans);
10. resting upon this sure and substantial foundation (Source 3, the Republicans);
11. the superstructure of beneficial local government can be built up (Source 3, the Republicans);
12. upon equal footing with their former masters (Source 3, the Republicans);
13. restoring the South (Source 3, the Republicans);
14. the foundations of order and peace have been strengthened (Source 4, the Republicans);
15. the material foundation of self-support (Source 4, the Republicans);
16. the restored Union (Source 4, the Republicans);
17. the only safe foundation for a monetary system (Source 4, the Republicans);
18. retrospect will be a safer basis of judgment (Source 5, the Republicans);
19. to restore the prosperity of the former years (Source 6, the Republicans);
20. the restoration of confidence (Source 6, the Republicans);
21. put the Government upon a sound and financial and economic basis (Source 6, the Republicans);
22. to lay the foundations of our national life (Source 7, the Republicans);
23. the cause of free self-government throughout the world will rock to its foundations (Source 7, the Republicans);
24. combinations based upon legitimate economic reasons (Source 8, the Republicans);
25. our fundamental law (Source 8, the Republicans);
26. our foundations of political and social belief stand unshaken (Source 9, the Republicans);
27. the America builded on the foundation laid by the inspired fathers (Source 9, the Republicans);
28. unshaken temple of representative democracy (Source 9, the Republicans);
29. we are steadily building a new race (Source 11, the Republicans);
30. the rigid enforcement of the laws applicable to both groups is the very base of equal opportunity and freedom (Source 11, the Republicans);
31. building a racial character and a culture (Source 11, the Republicans);
32. the platform upon which the party was entrusted with power (Source 11, the Republicans);
33. the building up and preservation of equality of opportunity (Source 11, the Republicans);
34. if we are to surmount what divides us and to cement what unites us (Source 13, the Republicans);
35. to build a single nation of justice and opportunity (Source 16, the Republicans);
36. we will build our defenses beyond challenge (Source 16, the Republicans);
37. building communities of service and a nation of character (Source 16, the Republicans).

POLITICS IS A PLANT

1. branch of the Government (Source 1, the Republicans);
2. prosperity of their citizens (Source 3, the Republicans);
3. the influence of this force will grow greater and bear richer fruit (Source 4, the Republicans);
4. our growth has not been limited to territory (Source 5, the Republicans);
5. branch of the Government (Source 6, the Republicans);
6. this growing sentiment of unity and cooperation (Source 6, the Republicans);
7. growth of all business (Source 8, the Republicans);
8. branches of business (Source 8, the Republicans);
9. a suitable force can quickly grow (Source 8, the Republicans);
10. a strong navy as the best conservator of our peace (Source 8, the Republicans);
11. cruel injustice growing out of it (Source 8, the Republicans);
12. if we would prevent the growth of class distinction (Source 11, the Republicans);
13. the growth of their stability (Source 11, the Republicans);
14. executive and legislative branches (Source 11, the Republicans);
15. a strong and prosperous America (Source 14, the Republicans);
16. growing economy (Source 14, the Republicans);
17. the growth of government which shows signs of having grown (Source 14, the Republicans);
18. there has grown a certain divisiveness (Source 15, the Republicans);
19. 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. (Source 16, the Republicans).
SIGNIFICANT IS BIG

1. very high respect and consideration (Source 1, the Republicans);
2. supreme importance (Source 3, the Republicans);
3. supreme judiciary (Source 3, the Republicans);
4. let us pause on this height (Source 4, the Republicans);
5. the supreme authority of the government (Source 4, the Republicans);
6. supremacy of the Union (Source 4, the Republicans);
7. supreme authority (Source 4, the Republicans);
8. how dangerously high the tide of illiteracy has risen (Source 4, the Republicans);
9. supreme importance (Source 4, the Republicans);
10. a high sense of duty (Source 5, the Republicans);
11. to crown with highest honor the States (Source 5, the Republicans);
12. the responsibilities of the high trust (Source 6, the Republicans);
13. highest destiny (Source 6, the Republicans);
14. creative word of the highest order (Source 8, the Republicans);
15. the highest national interest (Source 8, the Republicans);
16. our government is the highest expression (Source 9, the Republicans);
17. the great weight of responsibility (Source 9, the Republicans);
18. God’s highest conception of human relationship (Source 9, the Republicans);
19. a high place in the moral leadership of civilization (Source 9, the Republicans);
20. the supreme inspiration (Source 9, the Republicans);
21. we invite the world to the same heights (Source 9, the Republicans);
22. our higher standards (Source 9, the Republicans);
23. the supreme commitment of life (Source 9, the Republicans);
24. high resolve (Source 9, the Republicans);
25. brotherly love be cultivated to its highest degree (Source 10, the Republicans);
26. a higher degree of comfort (Source 11, the Republicans);
27. a higher degree of individual freedom (Source 11, the Republicans);
28. high purposes of our Nation (Source 11, the Republicans);
29. the supreme purpose (Source 12, the Republicans);
30. this supreme aspiration (Source 12, the Republicans);
31. the highest aspiration of American people (Source 14, the Republicans);
32. democracy’s big day (Source 15, the Republicans).
SOCIAL GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS

1. it will go far toward strengthening a credit (Source 2, the Republicans);
2. to reach these riches (Source 2, the Republicans);
3. I will favor any course toward them (Source 2, the Republicans);
4. we have reached the close of a political contest (Source 3, the Republicans);
5. they were directed to the suppression of the lawlessness and abuse of power (Source 8, the Republicans);
6. to reach the highest degree of economic efficiency (Source 8, the Republicans);
7. we have come to a new realization of our place in the world (Source 9, the Republicans);
8. we turned to a referendum (Source 9, the Republicans);
9. we must strive for normalcy to reach stability (Source 9, the Republicans);
10. people are turning from destruction to production (Source 9, the Republicans);
11. first steps toward that end (Source 11, the Republicans);
12. they are moving toward stronger moral and spiritual life (Source 11, the Republicans);
13. pave the way to greater limitation of armament (Source 11, the Republicans);
14. a movement so fundamental to the progress of peace (Source 11, the Republicans);
15. as we reach toward our hopes (Source 13, the Republicans);
16. men turned their thoughts toward home and humanity (Source 13, the Republicans);
17. steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government (Source 14, the Republicans);
18. 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 (Source 15, the Republicans).

RACE IS COLOR

1. the interest of the white and of the colored people (Source 3, the Republicans);
2. wipe out in our political affairs the color line (Source 3, the Republicans);
3. the black man (Source 5, the Republicans);
4. white citizens (Source 8, the Republicans);
5. the colored men (Source 8, the Republicans);
6. white neighbors of the South (Source 8, the Republicans);
7. the white in the South (Source 8, the Republicans);
8. promise for black as well as for white (Source 13, the Republicans);
9. black and white together (Source 13, the Republicans).

POLITICS IS WAR

1. in the midst of the struggle of opposing parties for power (Source 3, the Republicans);
2. the Union emerged from the blood and fire (Source 4, the Republicans);
3. leaving behind them the battlefields of dead issues (Source 4, the Republicans);
4. invading neither the rights of the States nor the reserved rights of the people (Source 4, the Republicans);
5. the defense of our interests (Source 8, the Republicans);
6. to defend our interests and assert our rights with a strong hand (Source 8, the Republicans);
7. the legions which she sends forth are armed, not with the sword, but with the crosses (Source 10, the Republicans);
8. the times are on the side of peace (Source 13, the Republicans).

SLAVERY IS A CONTAINER

1. the elevation of the negro race from slavery (Source 4, the Republicans).

SLAVERY IS A PERSON

1. the funeral pile of slavery (Source 5, the Republicans);
2. the prejudices and paralysis of slavery continue to hang upon (Source 5, the Republicans).

GOOD IS LIGHT/PURE/WHITE

1. keeps the ballot free and pure (Source 4, the Republicans);
2. is bright with hope (Source 11, the Republicans);
3. we are nearing the light – a day of freedom and peace (Source 12, the Republicans).

AMERICA IS A HOUSE

1. our weaker neighbors (Source 5, the Republicans);
2. putting our public household in order (Source 9, the Republicans);
3. we enthusiastically join with all our neighbors (Source 12, the Republicans);
4. to those neighbors and allies who share our freedom (Source 14, the Republicans);
5. democracy’s front porch (Source 15, the Republicans).

SOCIAL DIFFICULTIES ARE EVILS

1. a Treasury surplus is not the greatest evil, it is a serious evil…(Source 5, the Republicans).

DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS

1. the burden of taxation (Source 8, the Republicans);
2. the crushing burdens of military and naval establishments (Source 9, the Republicans);
3. many of its burdens will bear heavily upon us (Source 10, the Republicans);
4. taxes become burdensome (Source 10, the Republicans);
5. the additional burdens imposed upon our judicial system (Source 11, the Republicans);
6. our tax burden (Source 14, the Republicans);
7. to lighten our punitive tax burden (Source 14, the Republicans).

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES ARE ILLNESSES

1. certain and easy remedy for most of our financial difficulties (Source 6, the Republicans);
2. the economic ills we suffer (Source 14, the Republicans);
3. we suffer from the longest and one of the worst sustained inflations (Source 14, the Republicans).

MORE IS UP

1. question has arisen (Source 8, the Republicans).

LESS IS DOWN

1. the powers of a court may be weakened (Source 8, the Republicans).

POLITICAL/SOCIAL ISSUES ARE FOOD

1. humanity hungers for international peace (Source 9, the Republicans);
2. the earth is thirsting for the cup of good will (Source 9, the Republicans).

CHANGES ARE FORCES OF NATURE

1. a new breeze is blowing (Source 15, the Republicans);
2. a world refreshed by freedom (Source 15, the Republicans);
3. old ideas blown away (Source 15, the Republicans);
4. a nation refreshed by freedom (Source 15, the Republicans);
5. the future seems thick fog (Source 15, the Republicans);
6. the mists will lift and reveal the right path (Source 15, the Republicans);
7. new breeze blows (Source 15, the Republicans).

FUTURE IS A HOUSE

1. the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room called tomorrow (Source 15, the Republicans).