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CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE
BACHELOR THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

From antiquity to the present day metaphor is widely studied by a great variety of scholars. There has been a rapid increase of interest in metaphor studies. In the course of time metaphor attracted philosophers', rhetoricians', literary critics' and of course linguists' attention and is still analyzed with a great interest. Such factors as time, the sphere of the science in which metaphor has been analyzed as well as human's knowledge and intelligence determined the perception of the metaphor. In the 20th century within the field of cognitive linguistics the term conceptual metaphor has emerged which defined metaphor as a means of cognition tool as well. Conceptual metaphor enables people to talk about abstract things in terms of concrete and simpler things. For this reason metaphor is used in everyday life and in all types of discourses. Political discourse is closely related to metaphor because the main role of a politician is to be persuasive and to attract the audience's attention. Metaphor helps to attract and hold audience's attention as well as to emphasize or hide particular aspects of reality.

The object of the work is conceptual metaphors in the electoral speeches of Barack Obama in the United States of America in 2012 – 2013 campaign.

The aim of the present study is to analyze conceptual metaphors in the electoral speeches of Barack Obama in the United States of America in 2012 - 2013.

To achieve this aim the following **objectives** have been set:

1. To present theoretical framework concerning the issues of conceptual metaphor.
2. To reflect upon the characteristics of political discourse.
3. To select and analyze conceptual metaphors used by Barack Obama in his electoral speeches in 2012- 2013 to the concept they correspond.
4. To define recurrence of conceptual metaphors used by Barack Obama in his electoral speeches in 2012- 2013.

The relevance of the work. Classical philosopher Aristotle (4th BC) treats metaphor as a rhetoric device while contemporary linguists (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Cibulskienė 2006, Punter 2007, Semino 2008, Gudavičius 2009, Kövecses 2010, Marcinkevičienė 2010) study metaphor as a matter of thought and the tool of cognition. The pervasion of metaphor in political discourse has been broadly studied by various scholars, however the research in this field is still challenging.

The novelty of the work is to describe and systematize the most frequently used conceptual metaphors in the electoral speeches of Barack Obama. The election of 2012 in the United States of America is an exceptional event because this country deals with one of the biggest economic crisis during its history. Decisions that will be made by the new president will make history and affect not only the United States but the rest of the world too because the economy of the United States is one of the biggest and most powerful in the world. Besides, the United States' impact to the world's development is enormous. That is why the political discourse raises interest.

The methods used in the work are the following:

1. Descriptive method allowed to present theoretical data concerning conceptual metaphor.
2. Sampling method distinguishes a range of concepts reflecting various political processes.
3. Contrastive method enabled to compare concepts and to determine the recurrence of certain concept used by Barack Obama.
4. Statistical method provided a possibility to classify conceptual metaphors according to the concept they correspond.

The examples of conceptual metaphors were selected from the electronic archives of electoral speeches of Barack Obama in 2012 – 2013 electoral campaign.

The scope of the research is 108 examples.

As regards **the structure of the work**, the study consists of: introduction, the main part which consists of theoretical part, methodology, practical part, conclusions, references and appendix.

The introduction presents the object, the aim, the objectives, the methods, the relevance, the novelty of the present research.

The first chapter presents the history of metaphor, classical and contemporary theories of metaphor and the main features of conceptual metaphor theory. The second chapter gives a brief study of cognitive linguistics, the relation between source and target domains and presents the classification of conceptual metaphor. The third chapter describes the role and types of metaphors used in political discourse. The methodology reveals the empirical process of the work. In the practical part all the collected examples are grouped according to the concept they correspond. Conclusions present the final results of the research. In the *references* section the used material is listed in the alphabetical order. All the collected examples are presented in *Appendix* section.

1. HISTORY OF METAPHOR

During its history the definition of metaphor has changed greatly. But despite various definitions, usually, metaphor is defined as transference of certain features of one object to the other. At first metaphor was understood as a matter of language. Later it was defined as a matter of thought. If to look more deeply, metaphor is not so easy to understand as it has its own history that originated from one of the most famous ancient scientist and philosopher Aristotle.

According to *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* (1992:653) metaphor is “A figure of speech which concisely compares two things by saying that one is another” (*OCEL*). In comparison *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* (1996:744) defines metaphor as, “Linguistic image that is based on a relationship of similarity between two objects or concepts based on the same or similar semantic features” (*RDLL*). Both definitions define metaphor as a linguistic figure which compares two things that have similar features. In other words, one compared thing is given particular features of another thing by saying that one is the other or similar to it.

To begin with, Zoltán Kövecses (2010:xii) states that up until recently, metaphor has been primarily studied by Aristotle, Hume, Locke etc., to mention just a few names from the thousands of people who have done work on metaphor over the past two thousand years. It could be pointed out that nowadays, metaphor is also widely studied by representatives by various studies. The concept of metaphor has varied appreciably during the 20th century. One of the reasons that metaphor is the object of the various researches or academic debate is that either accidentally or on purpose, people use metaphors in their everyday language. Some of them want to strengthen or adorn their arguments with metaphors, while others, seek to make a bigger impression and gain more attention of the audience. But in most of the cases metaphors are used as is already emphasized by numerous researchers, unconsciously, based on everyday human experience. During the experience in the analysis of metaphor, certain theories related to this means emerged. The detailed characterization about the most important theories is given below.

Liudmila Arcimavičienė (2010:15) states that all of the metaphor theories could be characterized on linguistic and cognitive level. The first is called traditional treatment of metaphor which is entirely linguistic, where metaphor is recognized as a tool of language or a figure of speech. The author here indicates what is known as classical or traditional theory of

metaphor. For the purpose of this paper a distinction between classical and contemporary theories of metaphor and their characteristics should be made.

1.1 Classical Theory of Metaphor

Throughout the time the definition of metaphor has constantly been comprehended differently. The first reference to it was made by a great Greek philosopher – Aristotle, who started to analyze metaphor in greater detail. It was the beginning of the history of metaphor.

David Punter (2007:11) claims that “There is no better place to begin the history of metaphor than with Aristotle, who is generally regarded as the first thinker to elaborate a theory of metaphor because in his *Poetics* (350 BC) Aristotle first characterizes it as a sign of absolute linguistic mastery and, therefore, of a certain type of genius”. It could be pointed out that Aristotle was the first who actually emphasized that metaphor is a linguistic subject and gave a birth to the first theory related to it. And as Aristotle himself stated, “The greatest thing by far is to be a master of metaphor“(PDB)¹. As one of the specific features concerning classical theory of metaphor, Kövecses distinguishes its usage. The author claims that if a person has a special talent he is able to use metaphor well (Kövecses 2010:ix). The famous Shakespeare’s line “all the world’s stage” or the myth of *Oedipus* in which the metaphors A LIFETIME IS A DAY, and LIFE IS A JOURNEY serve as important elements in saving Oedipus’s life from the Sphinx” represent examples of the usage of metaphor in antiquity (*Ibid.*,66). Beyond a doubt, what these examples of early usage of metaphors illustrate, they are not the only ones used in the past as there are thousands of others but it is just a confirmation, that metaphors have been used as a device for artistic or rhetorical purposes and without doubt, to affect people’s emotions.

One more opinion about classical theory of metaphor is given by George Lakoff (1992:1), “The classical theory was taken so much for granted over the centuries that many people didn’t realize that it was just a theory that was not merely taken to be true, but came to be taken as definitional”. The author also adds that “<...> *metaphor* was defined as a novel or poetic linguistic expression where one or more words for a concept are used outside of its normal conventional meaning to express a *similar* concept” (*Ibid.*). Following the above mentioned ideas it could be pointed out that metaphor was understood as a means to express certain words in terms of another words. Moreover, metaphor was considered as only a matter of poetic language but not as simple everyday expression.

¹ Public Domain Books - <http://www.authorama.com/book/the-poetics.html>. Accessed on 30 January, 2013

To sum up it could be stated that in the classical theory, metaphor is understood as the matter of language but not thought and is used for artistic or rhetorical purposes and not accidentally. In the course of time another – contemporary theory of metaphor emerged, which suggested completely different view of metaphor.

1.2 Contemporary Theory of Metaphor

None the less important is contemporary theory of metaphor which showed a whole new approach towards metaphor, its understanding and meaning in everyday language. On the contrary to the classical theory of metaphor, contemporary theory is related not only with linguistics but also philosophy. Since the 20th century the definition of metaphor turned to the absolutely different direction.

In the contemporary theory, metaphor is primarily conceptual, conventional, and part of the ordinary system of thought and language while the origin of metaphor is in thought, not language (Reddy quoted in George Lakoff 1992:2). Moreover, metaphor is a way of conceptualizing the world while everyday behaviour reflects metaphorical understanding of experience (*Ibid.*). It will be observed that within contemporary theory the rise of metaphor is not in language but in thought and its usage depends on the actions of people and the individual's understanding and communication with the external world.

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1999:35) emphasize that just by functioning in the world, people unconsciously acquire and use metaphors which are realized in the brains mostly beyond our control as they are consequence of the nature of our brains, bodies and the world we inhabit. It could be noted that in the contemporary view, metaphor is perceived unconsciously by the speaker in other words people do not have a choice whether to use metaphors or not. Moreover, the usage of metaphor is determined by everyday human experience.

Ning Yu offers a good exposition of the contemporary theory of metaphor. He claims that metaphors are rooted in our bodily experience which refers to our bodily function and interaction with the outside world (Yu 1998:43). It might be said, following Lakoff, Johnson and Yu, that the relation between human thought and their actions and behaviour with the outside world is indistinguishable. Person's activities are reflected in the mind. As a result, through this experience person expresses his or her thoughts using metaphors.

Recapitulating this subsection it should be noted that the contemporary theory of metaphor by contrast to the classical theory analyzes metaphor as a matter of thought. Person uses certain

metaphor not because he thinks that one or another metaphor is suitable for a certain situation but because metaphor is rooted in the mind. The usage of certain metaphors is based on everyday human experience such as moving, communication, travelling etc. and environment that surrounds people.

1.3 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

In the last decades, the interest in metaphor is increasingly gaining attention. In the most recent scientific inquiries, metaphor is defined not only as a matter of language or just an expressive means but also a method to know the world that surrounds people. For this reason, various researchers are interested in metaphor, its origin, usage and relation with other studies. New terms such as conceptual metaphor and conceptual metaphor theory emerged.

In the first instance, conceptual metaphor theory has originated within the field of cognitive linguistics (see chapter 2). It was developed by Lakoff and Johnson in the 1980's. "This theory is based on two central ideas: first, metaphor is not a matter of language, but it plays a central role in the way we conceptualize the world, because the human mind operates with concepts that connect metaphorically with other concepts of similar structure". (Lakoff and Johnson, Gibbs quoted in Maity Siquiera *et al.*, 2009:159). Second, reasoning has an embodied experimental basis which treats metaphor as a systematic correspondence or mapping between two conceptual domains (see subsection 2.2) (*Ibid.*). Sometimes, conceptual metaphor theory is called cognitive metaphor theory, because, as it was mentioned before, metaphor is also a means of cognition. According to Lakoff and Johnson person's ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which one thinks and acts, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (1980:3). The concepts that govern thought are not just matters of intellect as they govern everyday functioning, but also play a central role in defining everyday realities (*Ibid.*). It could be noted that people use certain metaphors because they exist in their mind, not depending on human will, i.e. unconsciously and not because we think that certain metaphor should be used in one or another situation.

Aloyzas Gudavičius (2009:138) states that concepts tangibly exist in every individual consciousness; consequently, its content has individual nature. Following the above mentioned ideas, it could be pointed out that concept is a matter of thought. It reflects our knowledge, daily experience, the results of our actions and cognition. People think through concepts, analyze them, compare them with each other or relate different concepts. New concepts emerge as the result of thinking.

In conclusion it could be stated that in the conceptual metaphor theory, the metaphor on the contrary to classical and contemporary theories of metaphor, is perceived as a means of cognition. Consequently, concepts that operate in human's mind cooperate with one another. Moreover, the conceptual metaphor theory treats metaphor as a mapping between two concepts.

2. COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS

Cognitive linguistics is a scientific discipline which has formed as a branch of cognitive psychology. It is closely related with psychology and philosophy. With the latter is related and new approach towards metaphor. The main interest studied by cognitive linguists is conceptual systems integrating the study of mind, brain, behaviour and language. Human thoughts and actions are basically shaped by a small set of cognitive categories, such as time, space or possession.

In the past twenty years, the cognitive linguistic movement gave a rich and satisfying view of language. Cognitive linguistics also provides researchers in linguistics, language acquisition and pedagogy with a powerful theoretical material.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:270) remark that cognitive linguistics seeks to provide explanatory foundations for conceptual systems and language in the general study of the brain and the mind. With reference to this idea, it could be pointed out that cognitive linguistics treats language as a reflection of not only human thought but also helps to reveal it. The other task of cognitive linguistics is to ascertain the most important principles of conceptual system and what role it plays in people's minds.

In comparison, Vyvyan Evans and Melanie Green (2006:50) state that "Cognitive linguistics is the study of language in a way that is compatible with what is known about the human mind, treating language as reflecting and revealing the mind". Cognitive linguistics can be broadly divided into cognitive semantics and cognitive approaches to grammar. The first one is defined as the study of the relationship between experience, embodied cognition and language while the latter is explained as the study of the symbolic linguistic units that comprise language (*Ibid.*). Since cognitive linguistics is a very broad scholarly discipline that also correlates with conceptual system and as it was mentioned before it is divided into two main areas, it is necessary to discuss it in greater detail.

2.1 Metaphor in the Framework of Cognitive Linguistics

Nowadays, more and more cognitive scientists, including cognitive linguists are involved in the investigation of metaphor. One of the reasons for this interest is that metaphor shapes our world and is intensively used in daily communication. People use metaphors to define various

aspects of their lives. Generally, abstract things are perceived by experiencing concrete things and are named by using the same words that are used to define concrete things.

The central task of cognitive linguists' that are particularly interested in researches on metaphor is the analysis of conceptual metaphor. *The Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (2008:98) gives such a definition of conceptual metaphor, "A conceptual metaphor such as THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, has physical objects as source and abstract, mental entities as target, and gives rise to an open set of linguistic expressions" (*DLP*). As it could be noted from the example stated above that conceptual metaphor is comprised of two concepts that is, source and target domains which have either physical or mental entities. In addition to the previous definition Kövecses (2010:45) states that "Conceptual metaphors involve two concepts and have the form A is B, where concept A is understood in terms of concept B". Both definitions emphasize that metaphor is comprised of two elements.

To begin with, Gerard Steen *et. al.*, (1997:1) state that "Metaphor in cognitive linguistics is a two-way affair: it can go from linguistic metaphor to conceptual metaphor or from conceptual metaphor to linguistic metaphor". A good example of this two way affair is as follows: "*John bit her head off*" shows how different metaphorical ways of conceptualizing concept (e.g. "anger") give rise to different linguistic expressions related to that concept (e.g. "*bit her head off*") (*Ibid.*) This example confirms that metaphor is a significant part of people's everyday conceptual systems and even in the most simplest daily situations conceptual metaphors are intensively used and are a key topic analyzed by cognitive linguists.

As pointed out by Rūta Marcinkevičienė (2010:92) the definition of metaphor proposed by cognitive linguists emphasize that metaphor determines people's thinking and cognition, so is conceptual. It could be noted that metaphor is no longer shaped by understanding that it is just a matter of thought or language. The definition of metaphor gained new meanings as it began to be treated as a cognitive device as well.

Kövecses (2010:4) states that "In the cognitive linguistic view, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another <...> when we talk and think about life in terms of journeys, about arguments in terms of war, about theories in terms of buildings <...>". As emphasized by Kövecses, the understanding of conceptual domains that people use to define certain things plays a very important role. Conceptual metaphors are based on a variety of human experience, including various kinds of non objective similarity, biological and cultural roots shared by the two concepts (*Ibid.* 79). It might be said, following Kövecses, that conceptual

metaphor is a linguistic reflection of thinking processes. It can be compared with a particular plan which is the key point whereby people work or think. Conceptual metaphor shows the peculiarities of emotional state apprehensible by each person. The usage of various conceptual metaphors is inseparable from daily human experience. This statement can be supported by the idea of Lakoff and Johnson (1980:272) that conceptual metaphors are grounded in everyday experience. The way one conceptual domain is expressed in terms of the other domain that is, given particular characteristics, defines the person's personal experience in one or another situation. It also shows how people think about reality and define it.

In conclusion it could be stated that metaphor is widely studied by cognitive linguists. In cognitive linguistic approach metaphor is defined as the correlation between source and target domains. Metaphor is closely related with people's cognition as well. Based on the everyday human experience metaphor is intensively used in everyday life.

2.2 Source and Target Domains

To enhance the understanding of the role of conceptual metaphor in cognitive linguistics it is of primary importance to get acquainted with cognitive models that is, source and target domains which conceptual mapping is the key in understanding conceptual metaphor.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:265) emphasize the structure of each conceptual domain and state that the target domain is constituted by the immediate subject matter, and the source domain, in which important metaphorical reasoning takes place and that provides the source concepts used in that reasoning. Peter Stockwell (2002:107) states that "Cognitive linguistics models the process of metaphor as a mapping of properties between the two spaces or domains". These two conceptual domains are the essence of conceptual metaphor. In cognitive linguistics, target domains are also defined as having an abstract meaning that is, something not concrete or related with particular human experience. Source domains on the contrary, are related with sensory experience and reality. For example, in conceptual metaphors *POLITICS IS WAR* and *LOVE IS A JOURNEY*, *politics* and *love* are the target domains while *war* and *journey* represent source domains. Kövecses (2010:4) gives such a definition for source and target domains, "The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain". The author also distinguishes common source and target domains which are presented in the following table below:

Table 1. Common Source and Target Domains according to Kövecses 2010

SOURCE domains	TARGET domains
1. The Human Body The <i>heart</i> of the problem.	1. Emotion He was <i>bursting</i> with joy.
2. Health and illness A <i>sick</i> mind.	2. Desire He's <i>burning</i> to go.
3. Animals <i>Heine</i> and his colleagues show.	3. Morality I'll <i>pay</i> you back for this.
4. Plants The <i>fruit</i> of the labour.	4. Thought I <i>see</i> your point.
5. Buildings and construction He's <i>in ruins</i> financially.	5. Society / nation A <i>friendly</i> nation.
6. Machines and Tools Conceptual <i>tools</i> .	6. Politics The president plays <i>hardball</i> .
7. Games and Sport <i>To toy</i> with the idea.	7. Economy The <i>growth</i> of the economy.
8. Money and Economic Transactions (Business) <i>Spend</i> your time wisely.	8. Human Relationships They <i>built</i> a strong marriage.
9. Cooking and food What's your <i>recipe</i> for success?	9. Communication That's a <i>dense</i> paragraph.
10. Heat and Cold A <i>warm</i> welcome.	10. Time Time <i>flies</i> .
11. Light and Darkness A <i>dark</i> mood.	11. Life and death Grandpa is <i>gone</i> .
12. Forces I was <i>overwhelmed</i> .	12. Religion Should we refer to God as <i>it</i> or <i>him</i> or <i>she</i> ?
13. Movement and Direction He <i>went</i> crazy.	13. Event and Actions She <i>turned</i> thirty last month.

As shown in the table source and target domains are of great variety. Source domain serves as a background for structuring and understanding the target domain.

As pointed out by Evans and Green (2006:296), conceptual metaphors are unidirectional which means that metaphors map structure from a source domain to a target domain but not vice versa. It should be noted that one domain might be related with one or many other concepts but their mapping never changes. The shift from the one domain to another is based on features which are familiar to a person from his personal experience.

There are two final remarks to be made about the role of metaphor in cognitive linguistics. The first has to do with the cognitive linguists' immense interest in metaphor as it is used in everyday language and their approach to the language as a reflection of the human mind. The second important remark is related with the conceptual system which is metaphorical in nature. Because conceptual system defines our everyday realities which are inseparable from using metaphors, cognitive linguists pay much attention to metaphor and how it is used every day.

2.3 The Classification of Conceptual Metaphor

Metaphor is widely analyzed by cognitive linguistics (see chapter 2). Its conceptual level is a matter of primary interest in this field. In time, the classification of conceptual metaphor has formed and is still broadly used nowadays.

The pioneers of the classification of conceptual metaphor are Lakoff and Johnson. As a result the classification of conceptual metaphor will be based on their ideas. The authors propose the division of conceptual metaphor into three types: orientational, ontological and structural Lakoff and Johnson (1980:264). In addition, Kövecses distinguishes the same three types as Lakoff and Johnson and adds that conceptual metaphors are also classified according to the cognitive function they perform (Kövecses 2010:37). In some cases, metaphors of different types coincide with each other. The more detailed review of each type is given below.

To begin with, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:14) claim that orientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation (up-down, in-out, etc.) and organize a whole system of concepts with respect to one another. In some cases spatialization is so essential a part of concept that it is difficult to imagine alternative metaphor structuring the concept as e.g. “high status”- is such a concept (*Ibid.*18). It should be noted that orientational metaphors embody the perception of space in various aspects of life. Concepts are spatially related with each other. Concept UP (HEALTHY IS UP) in many cultures usually refers to good emotions, something positive (bravery, happiness, self-confidence etc.), while concept DOWN (SICK IS DOWN) is related with negative emotions (fear, death, sadness etc.). Kövecses (2010:46) defines cognitive function of orientational metaphors as having evaluative function which makes large groups of metaphors coherent with each other. It could be pointed out following Kövecses ideas that the target concept is inseparable from the person’s physical and cultural experience. Orientational metaphors are not arbitrarily assigned because as it was mentioned before, such metaphors are rooted in physical and cultural experience which provides a great amount of possible cases to use orientational metaphors.

The second type of conceptual metaphors that will be discussed within this research is ontological metaphors. As pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson (1980:25) ontological metaphors are based on the person’s capability to identify his experiences as entities or substances and then categorize, group, quantify and reason about them. “Ontological metaphors are so natural and so pervasive in our thought that they are usually taken as self-evident, direct descriptions of mental phenomena” (*Ibid.*28). In order to enhance the understanding of ontological metaphors it is of primary importance to emphasize that such metaphors substantiate abstract things which are

perceived as things that have shape, weight, colour, size etc. It is important to understand that we perceive certain thing not as completely concrete but as an abstract thing that has certain features of a concrete thing. For example, *hard day*, *big happiness*, *strong will* etc. As it could be noted from the examples, abstract things, in this case *day*, *happiness* and *will* are given certain features of a concrete thing such as *hard*, *big* and *strong*. Kövecses (2010:38) claims that through ontological metaphors we conceive our experiences in terms of objects, substances or containers. That is to say, abstract things through ontological metaphors are perceived as concrete things in general through one or another feature that testify its substantiated feature (big, open, round etc.).

The third type of conceptual metaphors is structural. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:61) structural metaphors are grounded in systematic correlations within our experience and allow us to use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another. As noted by Marcinkevičienė (2010:94) structural metaphors are the most easy to identify because certain peculiarities of concrete concepts are given to abstract concepts, for example, to define *hope*, certain features of *fire* are invoked, for example, *hope smoulders*, *wavers*, *flashes* etc. As it can be seen from the example, hope is given particular features that usually a person uses to define fire. Such conceptualization might be based on several points. Firstly, the person relates abstract concept to the concrete concept throughout his personal experience. Secondly, such conceptualization is deeply rooted in a cultural background that the person lives in. Finally, one concept might be associated with many concrete concepts and thereby, the great amount of the concepts that define one or another thing helps to avoid abstract comparison with just one concrete thing (*Ibid.*). In other words, as it can be seen from the example with *hope*, structural metaphors refer that abstract concepts (*hope*) are metaphorically structured in terms of concrete concepts (*fire*). In addition to the above mentioned ideas, Kövecses states that cognitive function of structural metaphor is to enable speakers to understand target A by means of the structure of source B (Kövecses 2010:37). In other words, such metaphors provide the comprehension of one conceptual domain (see subsection 2.2) in terms of another.

To sum up it could be stated that structural metaphors are the most easy to understand because they refer to concrete concepts such as JOURNEY, WAR, ARGUMENT while ontological are the most difficult to understand because an abstract thing is not perceived as a concrete thing but is just given certain features of a concrete thing (cold, big, strong). Through orientational metaphors people understand themselves as having certain orientations (up-down, on-off, in-out) such as HEALTHY IS UP or SICK IS DOWN related to the surrounding culture.

3. METAPHOR IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Metaphor is probably one of the most used stylistic devices in the language of politics. Its usage as a part of figurative language aims to help the listener to visualize what is meant by a phrase or expression. Political processes are highly determined by political discourse. Generally, a good speech contains a great deal of various metaphors because they would be the ones that are the most influential means in order to achieve more attention of the audience. Consequently, a good speech may change the life of thousands of people. And the more compelling the speech is the more approval the politician will get.

As a convenient starting point, the ideas expressed by Kövecses are worth to be discussed. He claims that politics in general is rife with conceptual metaphors (Kövecses 2010:68). In American politics, political discourse is largely structured by such metaphors as POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS BUSINESS, SOCIETY IS A FAMILY, SOCIETY IS A PERSON and THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A RACE. Let us now examine some of these examples in greater detail. As it was mentioned in the previous chapter, conceptual metaphor consists of two domains, that is, the source and the target domain. Examples given by Kövecses illustrate *politics*, *society* and *presidential debate* which are target domains in terms of *war*, *business*, *family*, *person* and *race* which are source domains. Conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR defines politics as a difficult process where the terms of war such as deception, to have a win over the enemy, battle, the pursuit of recognition and others are used. Examples SOCIETY IS A FAMILY and SOCIETY IS A PERSON define those, who uphold family values as well as emphasize the importance of each person as an important part of society. When a politician addresses to the audience using various conceptual metaphors he seeks to gain more attention and more supporters for his ideas, values and politics. Consequently, the best way to gain more attention is to appeal to emotions of a person.

3.1 The Role of Metaphor in Political Discourse

Metaphor has long been recognized as an important stylistic device in political language. It helped to gain audience's attention, hide particular aspects or express attitudes towards various political issues.

The role of metaphor in political discourse is emphasized by Lakoff and Johnson. Firstly, the authors define metaphors as playing a central role in the construction of social and political

reality. Secondly, they define metaphor as able to hide aspects of reality and especially significant in the area of politics because metaphors constrain our lives. Furthermore, they claim that political ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:236). It could be pointed out that political discourse is inseparable from metaphors which play a key part interpreting political and social realia, highlighting its main points or hiding things about real political situations. Moreover, the importance of metaphor in the political discourse proves that certain political ideology is formed by particular metaphorical expressions.

By means of metaphors, the politician sets his goals, makes commitments to his political party and electorate. What kind of metaphors the politician or a political scientist uses let us decide which political ideology s/he represents, what values s/he emphasizes. The wide usage of metaphors helps the speaker to make his or her message persuasive and comprehensible to the listeners because the main fact for the politician is to be persuasive. As pointed out by Jurga Cibulskienė (2006:11-12) each political party has its own political discourse, for instance, Conservatives often use the concepts of *traitor*, *force* while Social Democratic Coalition emphasizes the concepts of *war* and *victory*. Between factors influencing certain political discourse could be mentioned historical and cultural background, development of a country, position of political affairs in it, none of the less important is personal features of the politician or political scientist that represents one or another political party and so forth. Paul Chilton (2010:203) remarks that in political discourse metaphors are modes of reasoning about the future and policies. Moreover, source domains from spatial cognition such as container to conceptualize groups of all sizes such as families and states and path schema to conceptualize time and presenting political policies, plans etc. are found in political discourse (*Ibid.* 204). In the light of these ideas it is possible to draw a conclusion that metaphor is inseparable from political discourse. It is used not only to adorn speech or make it convincing but also to present political strategies or programs, gain electorate's sympathies or to offer an opinion about a particular political subject.

3.2 Types of Metaphors Used in Political Discourse

A great amount of metaphors are related with many aspects of everyday life such as culture, history, emotions and many others. Political discourse is not an exception and certain metaphors are exclusively used in this discourse too. Two types of metaphor that are used intensively in political discourse are distinguished.

Adrian Beard writes that two common sources of metaphor in politics are sport and war, both of which involve physical contests of some sort (1999:21). It might be said, following Beard's ideas that the political stage is similar to a battle or sports contest. In politics as in sport always exists some kind of competition between politicians in order to prove that one may govern better than the other or one's ideas will bring more benefit to the country or to win elections and to prove that one is more advantaged. Elena Semino (2008:99) points out that popularity of SPORTS metaphors in the political language is associated with the idea that sports provides familiar and clear-cut scenarios, with clearly identifiable participants aiming for an unambiguous goal and simplify the complexities of politics and make accessible to the general public. It should be noted that in politics like in sport there are people who seek certain purposes and achievements. Furthermore, SPORTS metaphors make political language and its processes more comprehensible to the ordinary people.

In the run up to the elections and political discourse generally, the terminology of war is often used between politicians. Semino gives a clear explanation why WAR metaphors are so popular in political discourse. The author states that WAR metaphors tend to dramatize the opposition between different participants in politics and to emphasize the aggressiveness and seriousness in politics (Semino 2008:100). All in all it might be said that through war metaphors the politician expresses his state of mind towards a particular political question. Often politicians present elections as a battle that needs to be won. Political parties are divided into allies and enemies. Those who are not loyal to a particular party are called traitors. Speaking in political terms, it is essential to fight till the end, not to give up and to do whatever it takes in order to win the elections. Moreover, it is not easy to show who is stronger neither in war nor in politics. The desire to win and gain power and influence others is the main task in war and politics. That is why politics is quite often conceptualized in terms of war.

To sum up it could be pointed out that metaphor is intensively used in political discourse. As one of the main reason for this usage is the ability of metaphor to appeal to emotions of a person. The variety of metaphors used in political discourse is especially wide. But two types of metaphor are used most often. That is, metaphors related to sport and war. Sports metaphors are used to define competition between political parties or politicians. War metaphors express the desire to win, defines political allies and enemies.

4. METHODOLOGY

The material used in the research is the data collected from eight electoral speeches of Barack Obama delivered in 2012 – 2013 in the United States of America. The speeches have been extracted from the online archives of the following websites:

<http://apps.washingtonpost.com/politics/transcripts/2012/presidential/live/739/>

<http://apps.washingtonpost.com/politics/transcripts/2012/presidential/live/744/>

<http://apps.washingtonpost.com/politics/transcripts/2012/presidential/live/745/>

<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/barackobamaspeeches.htm>

The selective criterion of the speeches is their relation to the presidential elections in the United States of America in 2012 - 2013. Each speech is delivered in the United States of America either during Barack Obama's electoral campaign or right after he was elected the president. Quite a number of metaphorical expressions reflecting certain conceptual metaphors related to various concepts such as ECONOMY, WAR, BUILDING, JOURNEY, LIVING BEING and miscellaneous conceptual metaphors have been picked out from these sources. Overall one hundred and eight examples were collected.

The collected data is divided into six groups. Each group contains either one or several conceptual metaphors and particular number of corresponding metaphorical expressions. The first group consists of examples related to ECONOMY. The second group contains examples related to the terminology of WAR while the third group illustrates examples related to BUILDING. The fourth group is associated with JOURNEY while the fifth group is related to LIVING BEING. The last group represents miscellaneous conceptual metaphors which are not analyzed because their usage is not frequent. Miscellaneous conceptual metaphors are presented in the appendix section. The brackets with numbers after some words mark examples taken from the speeches. Microsoft Office Excel 2007 was used to illustrate the collected data graphically.

5. THE ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN ELECTORAL SPEECHES OF BARACK OBAMA

While studying Barack Obama's electoral speeches in 2012 - 2013 one hundred and eight various metaphorical expressions reflecting different conceptual metaphors have been found. They are grouped according to the concept they correspond. Conceptual metaphors related to ECONOMY, WAR, BUILDING, LIVING BEING, JOURNEY and miscellaneous conceptual metaphors are commonly used by Barack Obama in his electoral speeches. Several conceptual metaphors related to freedom, America, the truths were also found, but as they are used rarely no further explication is given.

5.1 Conceptual Metaphors Related to ECONOMY

The biggest group of conceptual metaphors that are analyzed within this thesis is related to economy, its processes, development etc. and are represented in 37 examples given below:

ECONOMY IS A BUILDING

1. <...> *plans that will lead to new jobs, more opportunity, and **rebuild this economy on a stronger foundation.*** (Obama 2012).
2. <...> *we need **to build a strong middle class and a strong economy.*** (Obama 2012).
3. *Conferences with these Egyptians to give them a sense of how they can start **rebuilding their economy.*** (Obama 2012).
4. *Ours is a fight to restore the values that **built the largest middle class and the strongest economy** the world has ever known.* (Obama 2012).
5. *And what I want to do, is **build on the five million jobs.*** (Obama 2012).
6. <...> *because they understood that their biggest asset was the community and the workers who had helped **build that business** -- they give me hope.* (Obama 2012).
7. <...> *it will take more than a few years for us to solve **challenges that have built up** over decades.* (Obama 2012).
8. *Companies that are **building surveillance** equipment for China to spy on its own folks.* (Obama 2012).
9. *America, I believe we can **build on the progress** we've made.* (Obama 2012).
10. *And all these things have contributed to us lowering our oil imports to the lowest levels. Now, I want to **build on that.*** (Obama 2012).

11. *The traditional **Medicare system will collapse**.* (Obama 2012).
12. *The federal government has the capacity to help open up opportunity and **create ladders of opportunity**.* (Obama 2012).
13. *And what we've done when it comes to trade we've set up a task force for trade that goes after anybody who is <...> not **creating a level playing field**.* (Obama 2012).
14. *<...> the same rate we had when **our economy created** nearly 23 million new jobs.* (Obama 2012).
15. *The **new businesses are created** here.* (Obama 2012).
16. *I think **the foundation for a deal** that helps the economy <...> is if we right away say 98 percent of Americans are not going to see their taxes go up <...>.* (Obama 2012).
17. *<...> we can **strengthen programs** like Medicaid and Medicare for the long haul.* (Obama 2012).
18. *We will **renew those institutions** that extend our capacity to manage crisis abroad.* (Obama 2013).
19. *We do have **to close our deficit**.* (Obama 2012).

ECONOMY IS HUMAN BEINGS

20. *Four years ago we went through the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression.* (Obama 2012).
21. *At a time when **our economy is still recovering** from the Great Recession, our top priority has to be jobs and growth.* (Obama 2012).
22. ***The financial system had frozen up.*** (Obama 2012).
23. *We believe that America's prosperity must rest upon the **broad shoulders of a rising middle class**.* (Obama 2012).
24. *We can **move this economy forward** for these young people.* (Obama 2012).
25. *You are going to be **gutting our investments** in schools and education.* (Obama 2012).
26. *<...> we reinvented **a dying auto industry** that's back on the top of the world.* (Obama 2012).
27. *What has to happen is, is that **the money has to come** from somewhere.* (Obama 2012).
28. *When I walked into the Oval Office, I had more than **a trillion-dollar deficit greeting me**.* (Obama 2012).

ECONOMY IS A PLANT

29. *We cannot only encourage **job growth** through small businesses.* (Obama 2012).

30. *I don't believe that firing teachers or kicking students off financial aid **will grow the economy**, or help us compete with the scientists <...>. (Obama 2012).*
31. *Help us work with colleges and universities to cut in half **the growth of tuition costs** over the next 10 years. (Obama 2012).*
32. *Governor Romney and I do share a deep interest in encouraging **small-business growth**. (Obama 2012).*
33. *<...> we've got to cut more out of our basic research budget that is the key **to growing the economy** in the long term. (Obama 2012).*
34. *<...> that's not what I believe is a recipe for **economic growth**. (Obama 2012).*

ECONOMY IS A MACHINE

35. *I said I would cut taxes for **small businesses, who are the drivers and engines of growth**. (Obama 2012).*
36. *We honour <...> **our free enterprise system, the greatest engine of growth and prosperity** that the world's ever known. (Obama 2012).*
37. *<...> because **health care costs** continue to be **the biggest driver of our deficits**. (Obama 2012).*

First of all, the example *The traditional Medicare system will collapse* (11) illustrates the difficult situation in America's economy herewith the steps and expectations to improve it, make people's life easier and better as in the example *to close our deficit* (19). Other examples represent positive economic rates such as *23 million new jobs* (14) which welfare for people. Economy and its processes are compared with a plant which grows. All of them such as *job growth through small businesses* (29) or *to cut in half the growth of tuition costs* (31) emphasize that in order to improve the economic situation, stabilize its processes and stimulate its growth you need to take care of economy just like you need to take care of a plant in order to grow it. Furthermore, economy in some cases is personified i.e. given particular features of a human. Middle class is depicted as a person who has broad and strong *shoulders* (23). The actions made by human are transferred to money which is illustrated as a human who has to come and save the economy and deficit which is compared with a person who *greets* (28). In the example *at a time when our economy is still recovering from the Great Recession* (20), economy is compared with a sick person who needs effective treatment in order to recover from the illness. Small business is also personified. It is collated with *drivers of growth* (35). Usually the driver is the one who controls the machine or the car and without him it is not able to go. Obama defines small business

as the driver of a vehicle i.e. without which economy is not able to move forward. The driver is defined as a negative person in *health care costs continue to be the biggest driver of our deficits* (35), because this driver drives economy wrong way, in other words, to the bigger *deficit* which will bring only bad consequences to the economy. Moreover, parts of the vehicles are also used to define economy. The engine is the most important part of the vehicle. Without it the vehicle cannot fulfil its main function – going forward. For this reason, *small business* and *free enterprise* are compared with engines meaning that America's economy is not able to move and function properly without these important components. Describing economy in terms of vehicles gives the impression that the economic situation is under control. Many examples are related to the building of economy. Economy is compared with a house which needs a strong foundation so that it won't collapse. If the foundation starts to crack it needs to be strengthened. The economic foundation is not stable and it needs to be strengthened through such programs as *Medicaid and Medicare* (17) to restore the stability it once had. Moreover, the building of a house usually means positive thing, consequently, *building of more jobs* (5) and *creation of business* (15) is emphasized as a good sign for the American society and economy.

To conclude, conceptual metaphors related to ECONOMY are of great variety. Economy, its processes and parts are compared with a plant, human being, machine and a building in order to make it easier to understand and to show that the behaviour of a person is the reflection of the functioning of the economy. The percentage recurrence of conceptual metaphors related to ECONOMY is presented in the figure below:

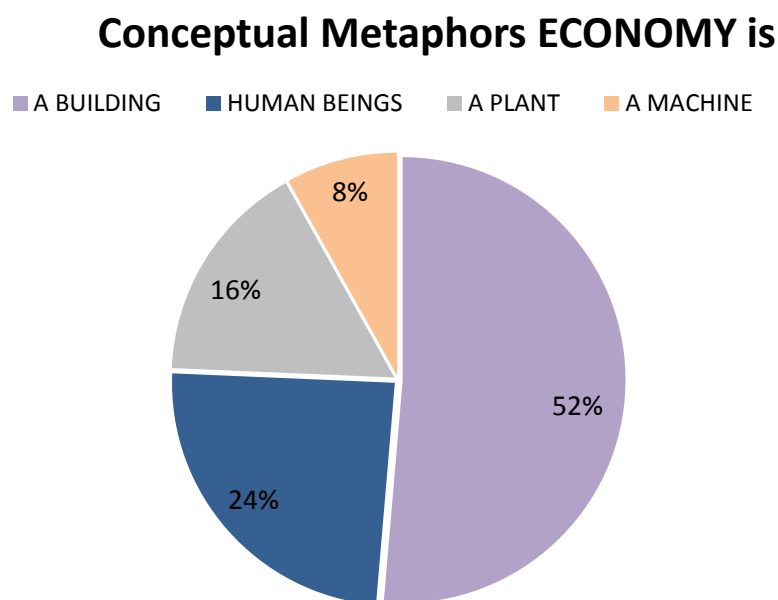


Figure 2. The percentage distribution of conceptual metaphors related to ECONOMY

Figure above represents conceptual metaphors related to ECONOMY which are divided into 4 groups. Conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A BUILDING forms the largest part and amounts to 52%. The percent of conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS HUMAN BEINGS is 24%. The percent of conceptual metaphors ECONOMY IS A PLANT is 16%. The last group with 8 % reflects conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A MACHINE.

5.2 Conceptual Metaphors Related to WAR

Conceptual metaphors related to terminology of WAR contain 30 examples. All the examples corresponding to terminology of WAR are presented and characterized below:

POLITICS IS WAR

38. *I want to thank **America's happy warrior** - the best Vice President anybody could ever hope for - Joe Biden.* (Obama 2012).
39. ***I'd fight** every single day on behalf of the American people.* (Obama 2012).
40. *And as I said during the campaign, there are going to be times where there are fights, and I think those are **fights that need to be had**.* (Obama 2012).
41. *If you turn away now, if you buy into the cynicism that **the change we fought for** isn't possible, well, change will not happen.* (Obama 2012).
42. ***No one who fights** for this country ever has to **fight for a job**.* (Obama 2012).
43. *And because of the resilience and the determination of the American people, **we've begun to fight our way back**.* (Obama 2012).
44. *I will **fight for your families** and I will work every single day.* (Obama 2012).
45. *And we need to **win that future**.* (Obama 2012).
46. ***We had some fights** between me and the Republicans **when they fought back against us** reining in the excesses of Wall Street.* (Obama 2012).
47. *That's part of what **I'm fighting for** as president of the United States.* (Obama 2012).
48. *And we **have fought back** for four years to get out of that mess.* (Obama 2012).
49. *We may have **battled fiercely**, but it's only because we love this country deeply.* (Obama 2012).
50. *But we are also heirs to those who **won the peace** <...>.* (Obama 2013).
51. *And then I went down to the border towns of Storok, which had experienced **missiles raining down from Hamas**.* (Obama 2012).

52. <...> *a freedom without love or charity or duty or patriotism, is unworthy of our founding ideals and those who died **in their defense***. (Obama 2012).
53. *We will **defend our people** and uphold our values through strength of arms and rule of law*. (Obama 2013).
54. *There's no reason why Americans should die when Afghans are perfectly capable of **defending their own country***. (Obama 2012).
55. *You and I have the obligation to shape the debates <...> with the voices we **lift in defense** of our most ancient values*. (Obama 2013).
56. *We will preserve our planet, **commanded to our care by God***. (Obama 2012).
57. <...> *when we start talking about **arming opposition figures***. (Obama 2012).
58. ***Blowing up our deficit** is to make drastic cuts in things like education*. (Obama 2012).
59. *Our brave men and women in uniform, tempered **by the flames of battle**, are unmatched in skill and courage*. (Obama 2013).
60. *The only question now is, are we going **to hold the middle class hostage** <...>*. (Obama 2012).
61. *We must act, knowing that **today's victories** will be only partial*. (Obama 2013).
62. <...> ***challenges** that we have **to grapple with** <...>*. (Obama 2012).
63. <...> *who **turned sworn enemies** into the surest of friends*. (Obama 2013).
64. *America will remain the anchor of **strong alliances** in every corner of the globe*. (Obama 2013).

NATURAL DISASTER IS WAR

65. *More droughts and floods and wildfires are not a joke. They are **a threat to our children's future***. (Obama 2012).
66. *We will respond to **the threat of climate change**, knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children <...>*. (Obama 2012).
67. *This hurricane is a tragedy from which we're still **fighting to recover***. (Obama 2012).

Terminology of war is used in order to highlight the desire to win the elections, present plans and strategies how to improve people's lives. The president defines the United States' enemies and allies, encourages grappling with challenges and overcoming them. Some metaphors define issues of foreign policy, especially conflict in Syria (51) and war in Afghanistan (54). The middle class is compared with *hostage* (60) on purpose to define its difficult situation because middle class families have become hostages of the economy as they pay more taxes and struggle

to make ends and cannot escape from this situation. The deficit is equated to a *bomb* (58) that might blow, so that to make the impression that if it will reach certain level, it might bring horrible consequences to the entire country and the world just like a bomb do when it blows. The president reminds that *today's victories will be only partial* (61) and no one should rest on these laurels. Consequently, activities and deeds made to help each other or the country should be done every single day because in a war, one victory does not mean the victory of the whole war. Climate change, floods, wildfires and droughts are named as upcoming *threats* to the future and children (65-66). These threats need to be eliminated that the life of future generations would be safer. As one of the main tasks, the president emphasizes the *defence* of people that they could have a dignified and secure life.

Moreover, the concept of *fight* is used quite often in order to emphasize that the president is going to *fight* for this country, its citizens and their families, but states that no one should *fight for a job* (42). He defines his most loyal ally Joe Biden as America's happy *warrior* (38) presenting him as a person who loves this country and is ready to fight for its future just like a soldier fights for his country in a war. The concept of *battle* is used while speaking about elections (49) to show that in order to win the elections life becomes everyday *battle* seeking one's goal.

In conclusion it could be pointed out that 2012 was a difficult period to America because the country had to get to grips with serious challenges especially in its economic situation and development, test its alliances and defend itself from threats. That is why terminology of war is so popular in Barack Obama's speeches. Besides, all nations have faced war in one or another way so the usage of war terminology is quite natural. The percentage recurrence of conceptual metaphors related to WAR is presented in the figure below:

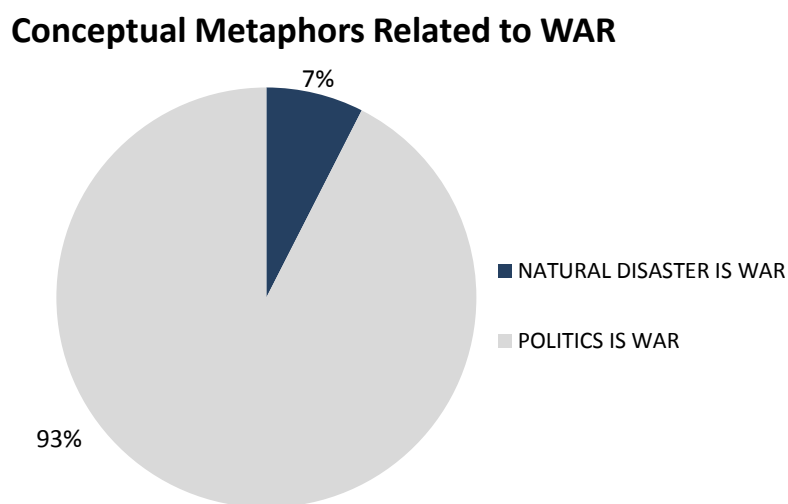


Figure 3. The percentage distribution of conceptual metaphors related to WAR

As the figure above shows, conceptual metaphors related to WAR is divided into 2 groups. Conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR constitutes the biggest part which makes 93%. Meanwhile least frequent conceptual metaphor NATURAL DISASTER IS WAR is used very rarely and makes only 7%.

5.3 Conceptual Metaphors Related to BUILDING

Quite a few conceptual metaphors in the speeches of Barack Obama are related to the building process, renovation, creation, or parts of a building. The necessity to build the new America and rebuild its economy is especially noticed in the examples. 15 examples defining *building* and its processes are manifested and explained in the sentences below:

STATE IS A BUILDING

68. *We wind down two wars **to rebuild America**.* (Obama 2012).
69. *That's not how **America was built**.* (Obama 2012).
70. *The auto workers that you meet in Toledo, they're helping to **build America**.* (Obama 2012).
71. *The generation that **built this country** and <...> the generation that will **build its future**.* (Obama 2013).
72. *Ours is a fight to **restore the values that built the largest middle class and the strongest economy** the world has ever known.* (Obama 2012).
73. *I want to **build on our strengths**.* (Obama 2012).
74. *<...> to help a community **rebuild from the wreckage** of a terrible storm.* (Obama 2012).
75. *We will **support democracy** from Asia to Africa <...>.* (Obama 2013).

POLITICS IS A BUILDING

76. *So across the board, we are engaging <...> in **building capacity** in these countries.* (Obama 2012).
77. *A **peace that is built on** the promise of freedom and dignity.* (Obama 2012).
78. *<...> we can't continue to do **nation building** in these regions.* (Obama 2012).
79. *<...> **build on the opportunities** that exist in the Middle East.* (Obama 2012).
80. *We then started to **build up Afghan forces**.* (Obama 2012).

81. *The painstaking work of **building consensus**, and making the difficult compromises.* (Obama 2012).

82. *<...> a choice between two **fundamentally different visions for the future**.* (Obama 2012).

In most of the sentences the president uses the word *build* or *building* referring mostly to the United States of America as a house that needs to be built (68 – 69) because the house is usually defined as the most important place for a person ensuring safety and stability. The president invites the nation to be a part of this building process i.e. to become builders of their own nation that is compared with a house. The house after certain accidents is restored. The values are compared with a building that needs to be *restored* (72) after the economic crisis. The building process itself is presented as requiring building consensus because without consensus of the builders of a house it cannot be built. The nation without consensus about how to improve their lives cannot create save environment and the country. The constant usage of *building* conceptual metaphors suggests that president Obama wants to show his appropriateness to be elected again and his capability and knowledge to *build* the country. The president expresses his desire *to support democracy from Asia to Africa* (75) referring that without support a country, like a building, cannot stand. Since the United States confronts with serious economic difficulties the president states that America cannot continue to do *nation building* abroad (78) because now America needs to settle its own affairs and to be rebuild.

To conclude it will be observed that examples related to the building has a positive meaning because it refers to future plans to make people's life better, to create a stronger economy that will not ruin or threaten people's welfare, help other countries to build their safety. The building process as well as building future plans is a long lasting process that can only be done with patience, cooperation and mutual understanding between the nation and its president. The percentage recurrence of conceptual metaphors related to BUILDING is indicated in the following figure:

Conceptual Metaphors Related to BUILDING

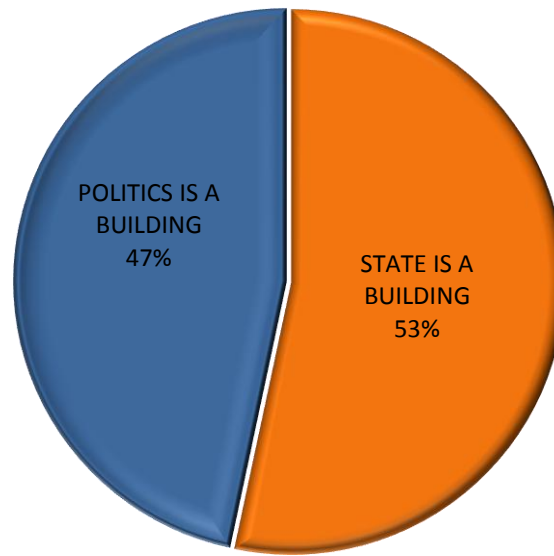


Figure 4. The percentage distribution of conceptual metaphors related to BUILDING

As it can be seen from the figure, conceptual metaphors related to BUILDING is divided into 2 groups, i.e. STATE IS A BUILDING and POLITICS IS A BUILDING. The usage of both conceptual metaphors is almost even and corresponds respectively to 53% and 47%.

5.4 Conceptual Metaphors Related to JOURNEY

The fourth group of conceptual metaphors is related to JOURNEY. Such conceptual metaphors are not very frequent in the speeches of Barack Obama. Altogether 11 examples were found in the analyzed data. They are introduced below:

POLITICS IS A JOURNEY

83. Yes, *our path is harder* but it leads to a better place. (Obama 2012).
84. Today we continue *a never ending journey* to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time. (Obama 2013).
85. For *our journey is not complete* until our wives, our mothers and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts. (Obama 2013).
86. America, I never said *this journey would be easy* and I won't promise that now. (Obama 2012).
87. And we should make sure that we give them *a pathway to citizenship*. (Obama 2012).
88. <....> yes, *our road is longer* <...>. (Obama 2012).

89. *And I do think that there should be a pathway for legal status* <...>. (Obama 2012).
90. <...> *but we travel together* <...>. (Obama 2012).
91. <...> *al-Qaida is on the path to defeat* <...>. (Obama 2012).
92. <...> *follow the same precise path to happiness*. (Obama 2013).
93. *The path towards sustainable energy sources will be long and sometimes difficult*. (Obama 2013).

Every journey has its own mode of travelling or a way to reach its goal. Not all journeys are successful, easy and carry happy memories. Sometimes, the journey has obstacles and lasts longer than anyone expected thus bringing an unpleasant after-effect but is unavoidable to the pursuit of happiness. Firstly, the president reminds that the *journey* towards equality of each men and women, unalienable rights such as life, liberty and pursuit of happiness is *never ending* (84). Each day every citizen should not forget to seek or help others to seek it. Secondly, the nation is compared with *travellers* and is invited *to travel together* (90) in order to show that it is not possible to reach the goal of the journey without agreement of the passengers i.e. if the nation does not travel together towards the goal it will not be reached. The concept *path* is used the most often. The president speaks in plain Saxon and states that the *journey* proceeds along the road which is not *easy* (86), the *path* which is *harder* (83) than usual, meaning that without hard work it is not possible to make life better and reach the goal soon. Every path needs to be taken without doubt no matter how hard it is while those who travel it needs to be ready to face difficulties. Thirdly, the president puts forward a sound argument and praises the job of the military because *al-Qaida is on the path to defeat* (91). This path for the rest of the world means peace and safety as al Qaida is no longer a threat to the humanity.

To sum up it could be stated that conceptual metaphors related to JOURNEY express the president's desire to persuade the electors that he is able to achieve the goal of the journey to make people's lives better and invites his country to travel towards their goal i.e. the welfare of the country, together, working hard. The goal of the journey is presented as a solution to all the problems.

5.5 Conceptual Metaphors Related to LIVING BEING

The speeches of Barack Obama contain a few expressions related to LIVING BEING, parts of the body, actions that define certain conditions, even features of a living being. 9 examples related to LIVING BEING were found while studying the speeches. They are introduced below:

COUNTRY IS A LIVING BEING

94. *We want our children to live in an **America that isn't burdened** by debt <...>.* (Obama 2012).

95. *<...> fulfil the basic bargain **at the heart of America's story**.* (Obama 2012).

96. *New schools can provide ladders of opportunity to this **nation of dreamers**.* (Obama 2012).

EVENT IS A LIVING BEING

97. *<...> the incredible brutality that his government displayed in **the face of peaceful protests**.* (Obama 2012).

98. *We are constantly consulting with the opposition <...> so that they're not splintered and divided **in the face of the onslaught** from the Assad regime.* (Obama 2012).

SOCIETY IS A SICK PERSON

99. *<...>nor have we succumbed to the fiction that **all society's ills can be cured** through government alone.* (Obama 2013).

STATE IS A LIVING BEING

100. *I'm not talking about **blind optimism** <...>.* (Obama 2012).

TRUTH IS A LIVING BEING

101. ***The truth gets buried** under an avalanche of money and advertising.* (Obama 2012).

PROCESS IS A LIVING BEING

102. *<...> parents must instil **a thirst for learning**.* (Obama 2012).

Conceptual metaphors related to LIVING BEING enable to perceive aspects of everyday life, political processes, certain state as a living being that has a face, heart or is burdened and similarly. In the examples given above *protests* (97) and *onslaught* (98) are presented as having a *face* which might be understood as the main thing or the centre of a certain event because the face is one of the main parts of the body of the living being. *America's story* (95) is depicted as having a *heart* which alludes to the certain main event that is not specified in the example. Particular features that usually belong to a living being are also attributed to special processes and everyday life area. The president notes that optimism - *blind* (100) like a person who believes in everyone and everything without finding out what is good or bad is not a solution to all the problems that the country now meets. *Society* is presented as a *sick person* (99) who needs to be cured. But this treatment might take longer than anyone expected. In order to cure this patient everyone should

unite. Moreover, the truth is compared with a buried living being in the example *the truth is buried under a money* (101) in order to conceal an important aspects or undesirable facts.

In conclusion it could be noted that the usage of conceptual metaphors related to LIVING BEING may be associated with the notion that body, its parts or actions might be related to every aspect of human life. Such concepts are deeply ingrained in politicians' consciousness too because it is a very comfortable way to show that every aspect of political and social life is as important as a living being and if it has some kind of trouble, it requires immediate solution. The percentage recurrence of conceptual metaphors related to LIVING BEING is presented in the figure below:

Conceptual Metaphors Related to LIVING BEING

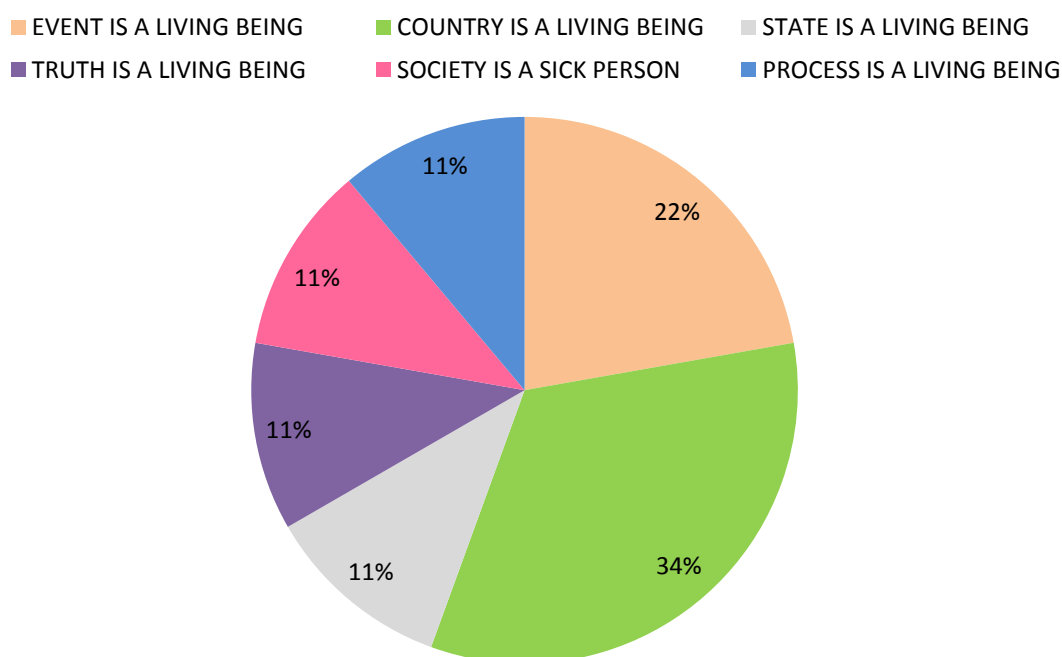


Figure 5. The percentage distribution of conceptual metaphors related to LIVING BEING

As it can be seen from the figure above conceptual metaphors related to LIVING BEING are divided into 6 groups. Conceptual metaphor COUNTRY IS A LIVING BEING was used most often and comprises 34% while conceptual metaphor EVENT IS A LIVING BEING amounts 22%. The usage of conceptual metaphors STATE IS A LIVING BEING, TRUTH IS A LIVING BEING, PROCESS IS A LIVING BEING and SOCIETY IS A SICK PERSON, is even as each conceptual metaphor corresponds to 11%

The percentage recurrence of conceptual metaphors according to the concept they correspond in the electoral speeches of Barack Obama is presented in the following figure:

Conceptual Metaphors in the Electoral Speeches of Barack Obama in 2012 - 2013

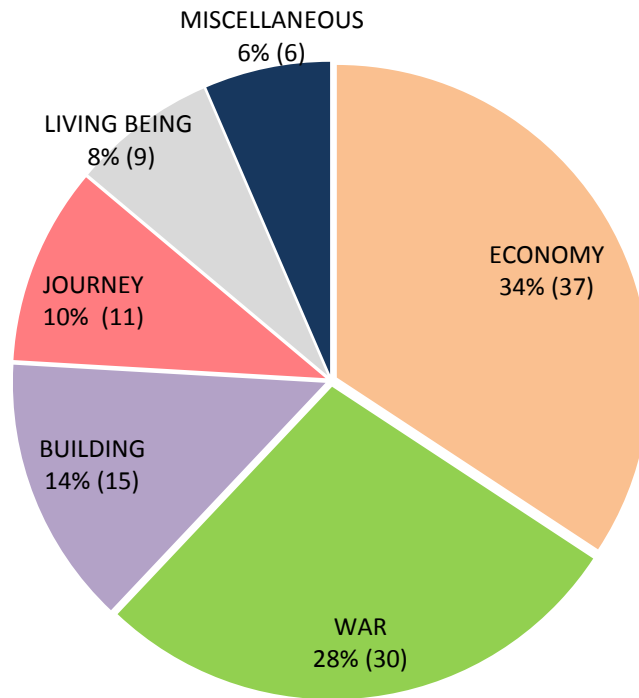


Figure 6. The percentage distribution of conceptual metaphors according to the concept they correspond in the electoral speeches of Barack Obama in 2012-2013

As indicated in the figure above, conceptual metaphors related to ECONOMY are the most frequent in the speeches of Barack Obama as 37 examples were identified which constitutes 34%. 28% or 30 conceptual metaphors developed through the terminology of WAR occupy the second place. Conceptual metaphors related to BUILDING are somewhat less prevalent in the speeches by 15 occurrences which correspond to 14%. 11 examples specifying conceptual metaphors related to JOURNEY comprise 10%. 9 examples or 8% highlight conceptual metaphors related to LIVING BEING. The last group with 6 examples or 6% reflect various conceptual metaphors presented as miscellaneous.

CONCLUSIONS

After the investigation of conceptual metaphors the following conclusions have been drawn:

1. Since the 20th century when cognitive linguistics emerged, the definition of metaphor has completely shifted. Cognitive linguists emphasize that the conceptual metaphor is a cognition method. Conceptual metaphor involves two concepts in other words, target and source domains and is understood as a comparison between them, using the features of the more concrete thing to define the abstract one. This comparison is based on everyday human experience such as moving, thinking, speaking, space, emotion etc. The formula used to describe a conceptual metaphor is A is B.
2. Political discourse is highly metaphorical. Many different metaphors are used to define various political processes, events, to express the opinion, future plans or goals of a politician. Scientists distinguish *war* and *sports* metaphors as the most common in political discourse. War metaphors express the need for victory, the fight in order to achieve the goals that have been set while sports ones highlight a competitive spirit. The usage of metaphors in political discourse is related to the expression of ideas more effectively, articulately so that the audience will get the bigger, better and stronger impression with regard to the speaker.
3. Conceptual metaphors used in Barack Obama's speeches are of great variety. Conceptual metaphors related to such concepts as ECONOMY, WAR, BUILDING, LIVING BEING, JOURNEY and miscellaneous conceptual metaphors were identified in the analyzed material. Most of the metaphors were used to define difficult economic situation in the United States of America and president's future plans in order to change people's life to advantage.
4. Conceptual metaphors related to ECONOMY are the most frequent in the electoral speeches of Barack Obama as they comprise 34%. Conceptual metaphors related to WAR reflect 28%. BUILDING conceptual metaphors make 14% while JOURNEY conceptual metaphors make 10%. Conceptual metaphors related to LIVING BEING correspond to 8%. The last group involves miscellaneous conceptual metaphors which correspond to 6%.

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APPENDIX No. 1

1. Conceptual Metaphors Related to ECONOMY

ECONOMY IS A BUILDING

1. <...> *plans that will lead to new jobs, more opportunity, and **rebuild this economy on a stronger foundation.*** (Obama 2012).
2. <...> *we need **to build a strong middle class and a strong economy.*** (Obama 2012).
3. *Conferences with these Egyptians to give them a sense of how they can start **rebuilding their economy.*** (Obama 2012).
4. *Ours is a fight to restore the values that **build the largest middle class and the strongest economy** the world has ever known.* (Obama 2012).
5. *And what I want to do, is **build on the five million jobs.*** (Obama 2012).
6. <...> *because they understood that their biggest asset was the community and the workers who had helped **build that business** -- they give me hope.* (Obama 2012).
7. <...> *it will take more than a few years for us to solve **challenges that have built up** over decades.* (Obama 2012).
8. *Companies that are **building surveillance** equipment for China to spy on its own folks.* (Obama 2012).
9. *America, I believe we can **build on the progress** we've made.* (Obama 2012).
10. *And all these things have contributed to us lowering our oil imports to the lowest levels. Now, I want to **build on that.*** (Obama 2012).
11. *The traditional **Medicare system will collapse.*** (Obama 2012).
12. *The federal government has the capacity to help open up opportunity and **create ladders of opportunity.*** (Obama 2012).
13. *And what we've done when it comes to trade we've set up a task force for trade that goes after anybody who is <...> not **creating a level playing field.*** (Obama 2012).
14. <...> *the same rate we had when **our economy created** nearly 23 million new jobs.* (Obama 2012).
15. *The **new businesses are created** here.* (Obama 2012).
16. *I think **the foundation for a deal** that helps the economy <...> is if we right away say 98 percent of Americans are not going to see their taxes go up <...>.* (Obama 2012).

17. <...> we can **strengthen programs** like Medicaid and Medicare for the long haul. (Obama 2012).
18. We will **renew those institutions** that extend our capacity to manage crisis abroad. (Obama 2013).
19. We do have **to close our deficit**. (Obama 2012).

ECONOMY IS HUMAN BEINGS

20. Four years ago we went through the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. (Obama 2012).
21. At a time when **our economy is still recovering** from the Great Recession, our top priority has to be jobs and growth. (Obama 2012).
22. **The financial system had frozen up**. (Obama 2012).
23. We believe that America's prosperity must rest upon the **broad shoulders of a rising middle class**. (Obama 2012).
24. We can **move this economy forward** for these young people. (Obama 2012).
25. You are going to be **gutting our investments** in schools and education. (Obama 2012).
26. <...> we reinvented **a dying auto industry** that's back on the top of the world. (Obama 2012).
27. What has to happen is, is that **the money has to come** from somewhere. (Obama 2012).
28. When I walked into the Oval Office, I had more than **a trillion-dollar deficit greeting me**. (Obama 2012).

ECONOMY IS A PLANT

29. We cannot only encourage **job growth** through small businesses. (Obama 2012).
30. I don't believe that firing teachers or kicking students off financial aid **will grow the economy**, or help us compete with the scientists <...>. (Obama 2012).
31. Help us work with colleges and universities to cut in half **the growth of tuition costs** over the next 10 years. (Obama 2012).
32. Governor Romney and I do share a deep interest in encouraging **small-business growth**. (Obama 2012).
33. <...> we've got to cut more out of our basic research budget that is the key **to growing the economy** in the long term. (Obama 2012).
34. <...> that's not what I believe is a recipe for **economic growth**. (Obama 2012).

ECONOMY IS A MACHINE

35. *I said I would cut taxes for **small businesses**, who are the drivers and engines of **growth**.* (Obama 2012).
36. *We honour <...> **our free enterprise system**, the greatest engine of growth and **prosperity** that the world's ever known.* (Obama 2012).
37. *<...> because **health care costs** continue to be the **biggest driver** of our deficits.* (Obama 2012).

2. Conceptual Metaphors Related to WAR

POLITICS IS WAR

38. *I want to thank **America's happy warrior** - the best Vice President anybody could ever hope for - Joe Biden.* (Obama 2012).
39. ***I'd fight** every single day on behalf of the American people.* (Obama 2012).
40. *And as I said during the campaign, there are going to be times where there are fights, and I think those are **fights that need to be had**.* (Obama 2012).
41. *If you turn away now, if you buy into the cynicism that **the change we fought for** isn't possible, well, change will not happen.* (Obama 2012).
42. ***No one who fights** for this country ever has to **fight for a job**.* (Obama 2012).
43. *And because of the resilience and the determination of the American people, **we've begun to fight our way back**.* (Obama 2012).
44. *I will **fight for your families** and I will work every single day.* (Obama 2012).
45. *And we need to **win that future**.* (Obama 2012).
46. ***We had some fights** between me and the Republicans **when they fought back against us** reining in the excesses of Wall Street.* (Obama 2012).
47. *That's part of what **I'm fighting for** as president of the United States.* (Obama 2012).
48. *And we **have fought back** for four years to get out of that mess.* (Obama 2012).
49. *We may have **battled fiercely**, but it's only because we love this country deeply.* (Obama 2012).
50. *But we are also heirs to those who **won the peace** <...>.* (Obama 2013).
51. *And then I went down to the border towns of Storok, which had experienced **missiles raining down from Hamas**.* (Obama 2012).

52. <...> *a freedom without love or charity or duty or patriotism, is unworthy of our founding ideals and those who died **in their defense***. (Obama 2012).
53. *We will **defend our people** and uphold our values through strength of arms and rule of law*. (Obama 2013).
54. *There's no reason why Americans should die when Afghans are perfectly capable of **defending their own country***. (Obama 2012).
55. *You and I have the obligation to shape the debates <...> with the voices we **lift in defense** of our most ancient values*. (Obama 2013).
56. <...> *when we start talking about **arming opposition figures***. (Obama 2012).
57. *We will preserve our planet, **commanded to our care by God***. (Obama 2012).
58. ***Blowing up our deficit** is to make drastic cuts in things like education*. (Obama 2012).
59. *Our brave men and women in uniform, tempered **by the flames of battle**, are unmatched in skill and courage*. (Obama 2013).
60. *The only question now is, are we going **to hold the middle class hostage** <...>*. (Obama 2012).
61. *We must act, knowing that **today's victories** will be only partial*. (Obama 2013).
62. <...> ***challenges** that we have **to grapple with** <...>*. (Obama 2012).
63. <...> *who **turned sworn enemies** into the surest of friends*. (Obama 2013).
64. *America will remain the anchor of **strong alliances** in every corner of the globe*. (Obama 2013).

NATURAL DISASTER IS WAR

65. *More droughts and floods and wildfires are not a joke. They are **a threat to our children's future***. (Obama 2012).
66. *We will respond to **the threat of climate change**, knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children <...>*. (Obama 2012).
67. *This hurricane is a tragedy from which we're still **fighting to recover***. (Obama 2012).

3. Conceptual Metaphors Related to BUILDING

STATE IS A BUILDING

68. *We wind down two wars **to rebuild America***. (Obama 2012).
69. *That's not how **America was built***. (Obama 2012).

70. *The auto workers that you meet in Toledo, they're helping to **build America**.* (Obama 2012).
71. *The generation that **built this country** and <...> the generation that will **build its future**.* (Obama 2013).
72. *Ours is a fight to **restore the values that built the largest middle class and the strongest economy** the world has ever known.* (Obama 2012).
73. *I want to **build on our strengths**.* (Obama 2012).
74. *<...> to help a community **rebuild from the wreckage** of a terrible storm.* (Obama 2012).
75. *We will **support democracy** from Asia to Africa <...>.* (Obama 2013).

POLITICS IS A BUILDING

76. *So across the board, we are engaging <...> in **building capacity** in these countries.* (Obama 2012).
77. *A **peace that is built on** the promise of freedom and dignity.* (Obama 2012).
78. *<...> we can't continue to do **nation building** in these regions.* (Obama 2012).
79. *<...> **build on the opportunities** that exist in the Middle East.* (Obama 2012).
80. *We then started to **build up Afghan forces**.* (Obama 2012).
81. *The painstaking work of **building consensus**, and making the difficult compromises.* (Obama 2012).
82. *<...> a choice between two **fundamentally different visions for the future**.* (Obama 2012).

4. Conceptual Metaphors Related to JOURNEY

POLITICS IS A JOURNEY

83. *Yes, **our path is harder** but it leads to a better place.* (Obama 2012).
84. *Today we continue **a never ending journey** to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time.* (Obama 2013).
85. *For **our journey is not complete** until our wives, our mothers and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts.* (Obama 2013).
86. *America, I never said **this journey would be easy** and I won't promise that now.* (Obama 2012).
87. *And we should make sure that we give them **a pathway to citizenship**.* (Obama 2012).

88. <...>yes, **our road is longer** <...>. (Obama 2012).
89. *And I do think that there should be a **pathway for legal status*** <...>. (Obama 2012).
90. <...> *but, **we travel together*** <...>. (Obama 2012).
91. <...> *al-Qaida is **on the path to defeat*** <...>. (Obama 2012).
92. <...> *follow the same precise **path to happiness***. (Obama 2013).
93. **The path towards sustainable energy sources** will be long and sometimes difficult. (Obama 2013).

5. Conceptual Metaphors Related to LIVING BEING

COUNTRY IS A LIVING BEING

94. *We want our children to live in an **America that isn't burdened** by debt* <...>. (Obama 2012).
95. <...> *fulfil the basic bargain **at the heart of America's story***. (Obama 2012).
96. *New schools can provide ladders of opportunity to this **nation of dreamers***. (Obama 2012).

EVENT IS A LIVING BEING

97. <...> *the incredible brutality that his government displayed in **the face of peaceful protests***. (Obama 2012).
98. *We are constantly consulting with the opposition <...> so that they're not splintered and divided **in the face of the onslaught** from the Assad regime*. (Obama 2012).

STATE IS A LIVING BEING

100. *I'm not talking about **blind optimism*** <...>. (Obama 2012).

TRUTH IS A LIVING BEING

101. **The truth gets buried** under an avalanche of money and advertising. (Obama 2012).

PROCESS IS A LIVING BEING

102. <...> *parents must instil **a thirst for learning***. (Obama 2012).

6. Miscellaneous Conceptual Metaphors

TRUTH IS CELESTIAL OBJECT

103. *The most evident of **truths** -- that all of us are created equal -- is **the star** that guides us still*. (Obama 2013).

COUNTRY IS POWER

104. *America is a Pacific power.* (Obama 2012).

STATE IS A GIFT

105. *Freedom is a gift from God.* (Obama 2013).

COUNTRY IS A COLLECTION

106. <...> *America remains more than a collection of red states and blue states.* (Obama 2012).

COUNTRY IS A DESIRE

107. *America - the land of promise.* (Obama 2012).

POLITICS IS A CONTEST

108. *The cynics who tell us that politics is nothing more than a contest of egos* <...>. (Obama 2012).

APPENDIX No. 2

The research paper has been rendered on the compact disc and attached below.