LITHUANIAN UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATIONAL SCIENCES

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A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL SPEECHES OF PRESIDENTS BILL CLINTON AND VALDAS ADAMKUS: POLITICAL PERSUASION AND PROPAGANDA THROUGH METAPHORS

MA Paper

Academic Advisor: Prof. Dr. T. McCarthy

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This MA paper is submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of the MA in English Philology

By Irina Miler

I declare that this study is my own and does not contain any unacknowledged work from any source.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this research was to investigate and to compare/contrast the use of conceptual metaphors and common language items in the first election speeches and re-election speeches of Presidents B. Clinton and V. Adamkus. To achieve this aim **Critical Metaphor Analysis** (CMA) was employed and the following **objectives** were set: *to collect* the Corpus of political discourse of two presidents: B. Clinton and V. Adamkus; *to identify* metaphorical expressions used in political speeches and to investigate if language items changed in first election and re-election speeches; *to compare* and *interpret* metaphorical expressions according to their implied conceptual meaning; finally, *to find* and *explain* the interdependence between the use of conceptual metaphors and the political views of the speakers on the state of the union before and after election. **The results** of the study showed that both presidents use conceptual metaphors to persuade the masses in their pre- and post-elective speeches. However, the conceptual metaphors appeared to be different in the speeches of each president. The study also demonstrated that B. Clinton's and V. Adamkus' metaphorical expressions conveyed different ideas because their choices were influenced by specific political factors in the USA and Lithuania respectively.

INTRODUCTION

Politics is a campaign for power in order to persuade people to except certain political, economic and social ideas. In this process, language plays an important role, because every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and performed by language. Persuasion is an interactive communicative process in which a message sender aims to influence the beliefs, attitudes and behavior of the message receiver due to various reasons (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, p. 21).

In a world where peace is often elusive, where cynicism and inaction are frequently the norm, a leader with the ability to motivate constructive action through political speech making has the potential to be a powerful force in the international arena (Schwartz, 2006).

Persuasion involves exploiting existing beliefs, attitudes and values rather than introducing completely new ones. A political speaker analyzes an audience in order to be able to express people's needs, desires, personal and social beliefs as well as attitudes and concerns about the social outcome of the political situation. According to Jowett and O'Donnell, "the persuader is a voice from without speaking the language of the audience's voice within" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992, pp. 25-26). Jowett's and O'Donnell's term *persuader* is an apt description of today's politicians and their speech making.

Because of politicians' strong desire to persuade and their instincts to speak to the common man and woman in their audiences, metaphors are one of the effective ways political leaders effectively communicate the 'voice within' to their audiences.

This paper concentrates on the conceptual metaphors in political discourse used by the former president of Lithuania, Mr. Valdas Adamkus and former president of the USA, Mr. Bill Clinton. **The research questions** of the paper are: What conceptual metaphors were used by the two presidents from the same political era, each winning two terms, and how these conceptual metaphors impacted their speech making and therefore the successes in the winning of their nations' elections? Evaluation is done through comparison and contrast of both their pre- and post-presidency elections. What were the significant factors in the political environment and national ethos (atmosphere) which influenced the choice of metaphors in the political discourse of presidents B. Clinton and V. Adamkus in relation to their first election and their re-election?

The aim of this research is to investigate and to compare/contrast the use of conceptual metaphors and common language items in the first election speeches and re-election speeches of B. Clinton and V. Adamkus.

To achieve this aim the following **objectives** were set:

1) To collect the Corpus of political discourse of two presidents: B. Clinton and V. Adamkus.

2) To identify metaphorical expressions used in political speeches and to investigate if language items changed in first election and re-election speeches.

3) To compare and interpret metaphorical expressions according to their implied conceptual metaphor.

4) To find and explain the interdependence between the use of conceptual metaphors and the political views of the speakers on the issue of the state of the union before and after election (i.e. crises before first election; stability in re-election).

The method which was used for the research was Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) which is the blend of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CMA consists of three main steps, namely the identification of metaphors, the interpretation of metaphors, and the explanation of metaphors. First of all, I collected the corpus and then identified the metaphors, which was done by applying a method for linguistic metaphor identification suggested by Steen et al (2010) which is based on close reading of the text and finding possible metaphorical expressions. The interpretation stage was performed by applying Conceptual Metaphor Theory (the cognitive semantic approach) the fundamental principle of which is that metaphor operates at the level of thinking. The last step was to explain how conceptual metaphors and their corresponding metaphorical expressions conveyed the hidden political persuasion and propaganda in pre- and post-elective speeches of two presidents and what factors influenced the choice of metaphors in each president's political speeches.

The data collected for this research is the corpora of 68, 296 words in 40 political speeches of Adamkus and Clinton. **The scope of data** used in the research paper is 36, 025 words of 33 speeches by Valdas Adamkus which were delivered in the period of first elections (1998.04.23 – 2000.02.16) and re-election campaign (2002.07.02 – 2004.07.12) and 32, 271 words of seven speeches by Bill Clinton which were delivered in the time of first election (1991.10.03 - 1993.01.20) and re-election campaign (1996.01.23 – 1996.11.05), see Appendix 1.

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The paper is significant because the research contributes to the explanation of how word choices and descriptions can influence and even affirm people. The research also provides the insights into the relatively new style of political discourse, i.e. Lithuanian, in comparison to the more hyped and dramatic found in the USA. The study is valuable for individuals who are interested in politics because it illustrates the existence of a significant language difference in the first time elections and re-elections in the political speeches of B. Clinton and V. Adamkus. Finally, it provides a reliable source of reference to other researchers who share the same interest in studying metaphors in political discourse.

The paper consists of: content page, abstract, introduction, conclusions, summary in Lithuanian.

1. ON THE CONCEPT OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

1.1 Defining *Discourse Analysis*

The term Discourse Analysis was first introduced by Harris (1952) to name '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, p. 1)

Discourse analysis is a complex fast-developing interdisciplinary approach to the analysis of different types of language (written, spoken, or sign) use in context. Thus, the term Discourse Analysis has different interpretations, dimensions of analysis, and methodologies for scientists working in different fields. According to van Dijk's theory, Discourse Analysis involves the following disciplines: linguistics, poetics, semiotics, psychology, sociology, anthropology, history, and communication research. Thus, "we should devise theories that are complex and account both for the textual, the cognitive, the social, the political and the historical dimension of discourse" (van Dijk, 2002, p. 10).

According to linguist Finlay's definition, "...discourse analysis is the study of the way in which an object or idea, any object or idea is taken up by various institutions and epistemological positions, and of the way in which those institutions and positions treat it. Discourse analysis studies the way in which objects or ideas are spoken about" (Finlay, 1987, p. 2). The study of discourse is the study of any aspect of language use (Fasold, 1990, p. 65). In other words, it is one of the ways of describing and understanding social interactions. For instance, this paper discusses the political discourse area, in particular, political speech making and how it is used to influence people.

As far as the object of discourse analysis is concerned, it analyzes written, oral and visual texts which are used in specific contexts. As a result, the concept of *discourse* is directly related to the concept of a *text*, which includes every single type of utterance, from a newspaper article or a television interview to a contemporary fiction or to a political speech making in its broad context.

1.2. Defining *text* and *discourse*

The word 'discourse' originates from Latin *discursus* originally meaning *running to and fro*; the word 'text' also originates from Latin *textere/textus*, meaning *a weaving web, texture, structure*. In modern linguistics, however, these two words have a wide range of definitions.

For example, De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) describe *text* as a *communicative event* that includes the following criteria:

1) **Cohesion** includes the function of syntax and its relation to a text. The main phenomena which are under discussion are the following cohesive devices: conjunction, ellipsis, anaphora, cataphora or recurrence.

2) **Coherence** includes the very meaning of the text and refers to elements of general knowledge or to cognitive structures that do not have a linguistic realization but are implied by the language used, and as a result influence the perception of the message by the addressee.

3) **Intentionality** refers to the attitude and purpose of the speaker or writer.

4) **Acceptability** refers to the interpretation of the hearer or reader to assess the relevance or usefulness of a certain text.

5) **Informativity** relates to the quantity and quality of any type of information.

6) **Situationality** describes the importance of the context in which the utterance is produced to the production and perception of discourse.

7) **Intertextuality** relates to the conditions and their interaction with a context when a text becomes a discourse. The following aspects are important: 1. a text is always related to some preceding or simultaneous discourse; 2. texts are always linked and grouped in particular text varieties or genres e.g.: narration, explanation, argumentation, description, etc. by formal criteria.

On the basis of the above mentioned aspects, it could be stated that there are two main factors which influence discourse: internal and external. The first two, cohesion and coherence, are related to the internal categories, which constitute the text, whereas the rest are the external factors, which constitute the context. From that follows, that the external factors are much more important to the analysis of discourse. However, according to the linguist Schiffrin (1994), text and context are the two elements which contribute equally to any type of communicative event. In his paper Schiffrin analyses political speech making. As Schiffrin puts it, a *text* has to be differentiated from other linguistic material. For example, what is said (assuming a verbal channel) and the environment (where it occurs). So we must look at both where and why it is said, because *context* is a phenomenon formed from people producing utterances text becomes a linguistic content (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 363). As a result, it could be said that discourse and society are interrelated because discourse is defined by social phenomena, which is influenced by discourse.

1.3 Origin and brief history of Discourse Analysis

1.3.1 Historical background

In van Dijk's book (1985), Discourse Analysis is said to be both an old and a new discipline. The origin of the phenomenon dates back more than 2000 years ago. The most significant source is said to be classical rhetoric, the art of good speaking, which dealt with the issues of planning, organization, and performance of public speeches in political and legal settings (van Dijk, 1985, p. 1).

In the period of the Middle Ages, rhetoric lost all its importance and remained insignificant until the nineteenth century. That time, it was replaced by historical and comparative linguistics and structural analysis of language at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The developments of several fields in humanities and in social sciences, such as anthropology, poetics, and linguistics lead to the formation of discourse analysis. One of the most influential books of that time is said to be *Morphology of the Folktale* by Propp (1984), in which the first roots of structural discourse analysis could be found. To be more specific, the author distinguished 31 thematic plot component of Russian folktale to identify their basic narrative elements, e.g. *absentation* (a member of a family leaves home); *interdiction* (the hero is warned against some action); *violation of interdiction* (the interdiction is violated (villain enters the tale), etc. Consequently, Russian formalism gave the initial point for structuralism in Europe, to which is associated the name of Lévi-Strauss and his structural analysis of culture and myths. Also, it motivated the development of other interdisciplinary branches of humanities, which were later labeled semiotics and locates the origin of modern Discourse Analysis in the middle 1960s, to which is associated the names of Barthes, Greimas, Todorov, Eco, Genette and other linguists engaged in the analysis of different discourse forms (van Dijk, 1985).

The first publication of structural analysis of discourse came into existence in 1964. Despite the fact that all the methods introduced by the scholars mentioned above were not homogeneous, the common interest in discourse analysis continued to develop. To be more specific, at that period in the USA appeared one more important book, *Hymes' Language in Culture and Society*, which provided the first attempts to differentiate between the notions of *text* and *discourse* (van Dijk, 1985)

1.3.2 Discourse Analysis as a new discipline

In the early 1970's Discourse Analysis was already seen as an independent interdisciplinary, which was influenced by two important developments. First of all, sociolinguists described the importance of language variation in the sociocultural context against Chomsky's notions such as 'ideal speakers' and 'homogeneous speech community'. Secondly, Austin, Grice, and Searle discovered the phenomenon of speech acts in accordance with any verbal utterance—not only a sentence, but also the specific form of social action. To be more specific, sentences which are used in a certain context gain additional meaning or function, e.g. speaker intentions, beliefs, or evaluations, or relations between speaker and hearer. Generally speaking, the development of speech acts theory added a pragmatic component to the analysis of discourse (van Dijk, 1985). In other words the typical features of the text began to be studied within a new perspective and the emphasis was put on the structure of language in use.

Later, the 1970s were the beginning of psychological studies of discourse carried out by Kintsch, Bower, and Rumelhart based on early works of Bartlett (1932), which brought the development of cognitive approach to memory models for texts and of processing for text understanding and production, and a greater interest in semantic memory and the representation of knowledge (Carroll & Freedle, 1972; Lindsay & Norman, 1972). At the same time, there were some important developments about knowledge representations in memory, which were influenced by artificial intelligence.

Finally, during that period, sociolinguists emphasized the importance of everyday conversations and natural dialogues in a social context, claiming that people have both an implicit knowledge of the rules of grammar and knowledge of the rules of turn taking in conversation (van Dijk, 1985). As a result, such theories contributed to the investigation of language and other forms of communication (apologies, greetings, storytelling, gestures, etc.) in different cultures, which proved the relation of discourse to one more interdisciplinary-anthropology (Bauman & Scherzer, 1974; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972).

1.4. Approaches to the phenomenon of Discourse Analysis

As Discourse Analysis is interdisciplinary, meaning it is related to other academic fields, it could be studied from a wide-range of different perspectives, but it should always be along the lines of analyzing the different aspects of language use/usages.

To begin with, according to Harris, language has to be analyzed above the sentence level, where the focus is on the relation of language to context and the relations of cohesion within a text. To be more specific, discourse occurs within the language and the analysis focuses on language in use (Harris, 1952).

However, cognitive linguists are only interested in the production and comprehension of discourse with an account of Halliday's ideational function of language, where our experience of "reality" is structured by a variety of *construal operations:* conceptual metaphor, conceptual blending, conceptual framing, and profiling as described in cognitive grammar (Croft & Cruse, 2004).

As far as functionalists and sociologists are concerned, they are interested in all the cases of language in use i.e. in what context and with what purpose people use the language (Fairclough, 1989).

According to Fairclough and van Dijk, Critical Discourse Analysis is a field which focuses on the analysis of political and social domination through discourse (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1998a). Therefore, this paper approaches discourse analysis from a perspective of Political Discourse Analysis.

1.5 Defining political discourse

As this paper focuses on the political speech making of two presidents, Adamkus and Clinton, it is important to define the phenomenon of political discourse and its object. As van Dijk puts it, political discourse studies are mainly concentrated on the texts and talks of professional politicians[1] or political institutions (e.g. *members of parliament, presidents, political parties, ministers, etc.)* which involve the public by means of the publicity of the phenomenon. According to van Dijk's theory, the notion of *political discourse* and *politics* are closely interrelated. As a result, in order to identify the domain of politics in political discourse, Van Dijk provides some relevant categories for the definition of political text and context to distinguish it from other types of discourse:

1) **Societal domain or field**, an inclusive notion for all the spheres which the domain of politics comprises (*e.g. Arts, Education, Health, Law, Business, etc.*)

2) **Political systems**, the organization and principles of distribution of power.

[1] Politicians are the group of people who are being paid for their (political) activities, and who are being elected or appointed (or self-designated) as the central players in the polity (van Dijk 1997, p. 13).

3) **Political values,** specific political ideologies, attitudes, or ideas in political systems (*e.g. Freedom, Justice, Equality, Independence, etc.*)

4) **Political ideologies,** basic beliefs and ideas in the organization of political systems which are shared by social groups (*e.g. democracy, communism, dictatorship, etc.*)

5) **Political institutions,** institutions which organize the political system *(e.g. government, Ministries, Parliament, etc.)*

6) **Political organizations**, organizations which structure political actions.

7) **Political groups**, independent figures in political organizations (e.g. *opponents, dissidents, demonstrators, coalitions, etc.)*

8) **Political actors**, political figures besides the elected representatives.

9) **Political relations**, this term implies how the State relates to its citizens and politicians to each other.

10) **Political process,** complex sequences of political actions and policy.

11) **Political actions**, certain political acts which have their own function e.g. voting, demonstrations, revolutions, etc.

12) **Political discourse**, any form or genre of political text or speech including "…propaganda, political advertising, political speeches, media interviews, political talk shows on TV, party programs, ballots, etc" (van Dijk, 1997, p.18).

13) **Political cognition,** social or political knowledge or attitude towards certain political actions or events.

Taking everything into consideration, it is clear that any genre of political discourse (*e.g. leaflets, slogans, propaganda, inauguration speeches, etc.*) must satisfy all the aspects of the domain of politics mentioned above.

1.5.1 Political discourse structure

Having analyzed the notion of political discourse, it is important to differentiate its structure from other types of discourse. According to van Dijk's theory, the most obvious aspect which distinguishes political discourse from other types of discourse is its lexicon. To be more specific, political discourse inevitably involves typical political terms and jargon. For example, metaphors and other stylistic devices in political context have completely different functions (*e.g. manipulation of public opinion, parliament debates, law regulations, political speeches, etc.*) than, for instance, in educational context (*e.g. home or classroom reading*). Consequently, the purpose of this paper is to discover the function of *conceptual metaphors* in

political discourse of two presidents, Adamkus and Clinton and to specify the political context in which the speakers use certain *conceptual metaphors*.

As far as political discourse topics are concerned, they are reflexive to van Dijk's categorization mentioned above. To be more specific, as it is mentioned above, political discourse is always related to politics, i.e. political systems, political ideologies, political organizations, etc. 'Campaigning politicians will speak about themselves as candidates, about the elections, about voting for them, and the policies they promise to support when elected' (van Dijk, 1997, p. 25). Although, political discourse topics can also be interrelated with other social domains or communicative events, Political Discourse is primarily an interdisciplinary field. As for this paper, the political discourse topics of interest are first elections and re-elections speeches of two presidents, Adamkus and Clinton, in particular, differences in their metaphorical language.

Generally speaking, a systematic analysis of specific topics of political discourse of these two presidents (for example conceptual metaphors of crisis, change and transformation), may reveal the characteristic constraints of political discourse of each speaker, which reflect the political context mentioned above as well as the awareness of the politicians of their influence and power on public opinion.

2. ON THE CONCEPT OF METAPHOR

Nowadays, political speech making is one of the most influential and significant areas in modern society, where language is the most powerful and important tool. As Peggy Noonan (2010) puts it, "A political speech is poetry: cadence, rhythm, imagery, sweep! A political speech reminds us that words…have power…" (Noonan, 2010, p. 68). Naturally, politicians who run for political offices are always aware of this influence and power of their language. However, to affect people's decisions and choices, to propagate their own ideas and values, different politicians select different approaches. According to Vidal, "As societies grow decadent, the language grows decadent, too. Words are used to disguise, not to illuminate, action: You liberate a city by destroying it. Words are used to confuse, so that at election time people will solemnly vote against their own interests" (Vidal, 2004, p. 43).

As far as this paper is concerned, it concentrates on elements of language as metaphors in the political speeches of two former presidents, Lithuanian Valdas Adamkus and American William (Bill) Clinton, which were used as a manipulative instrument during pre- and post-presidency elections.

2.1 Metaphors from different perspectives

In linguistics, there are two completely different approaches to metaphor and to the explanation of reality, i.e. scientific view and relativistic view. According to scientific view, language of science must be precise and unambiguous, thus literal language is said to be the most appropriate tool for describing reality. For example, such scholars as Russell (1956) and Wittgenstein (1921, 1961) believed in the privileged status of literal language, claiming that reality could only be explained by means of clear, testable, and unambiguous manner. As a result, other uses of language were said to be meaningless, because of their violation from this empiricist criterion of meaning (Russell, 1956; Wittgenstein, 1921, 1961). According to the relativistic view, there is no strict differentiation between scientific or literal language and other types of language because the process of cognition is said to be the result of mental construction. Due to this theory, the objective world is not directly accessible, but it is constructed on the basis of human knowledge and language (Sapir, 1921; Whorf, 1956).

These two different views mentioned above, provide different approaches in linguistics, i.e. nonconstructivism which is related to scientific view and constructivism which is related to a relativistic one. Nonconstractivists emphasize that metaphors are appropriate only for political

and poetic purposes, but not for scientific purposes because of deviant and inaccurate violations from linguistic rules. As a result, metaphors can only characterize rhetoric, but not scientific discourse (Russel, 1956; Wittgenstein, 1921, 1961).

Aristotle also had an enormous impact on the development of rhetoric discipline. He was a representative of non-constructivism, who was interested in metaphors' roles in language and in communication. According to Aristotle, a metaphor is "the application of an alien name by transference either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or by analogy, that is, proportion" (Aristotelis, 1990). In other words, metaphors are said to be the implicit comparisons which are based on principles of analogy. He also emphasized the ornamental function of metaphors and discriminated metaphor (*e.g. John's answer to the problem was just a Band-Aid, not a solution*) from authentic definition of a word (*e.g. a Band-Aid is a piece of thin material that is stuck to the skin to cover cuts and other small wounds*). Consequently, Aristotelian Metaphors are divided into four kinds, where types 1 to 3 are considered to be metonymy and synecdoche, in modern linguistics:

1) **A part represents a whole**, *e.g.* "*Verily ten thousand noble deeds hath Odysseus wrought*", where "*ten thousand*" is a species of the genus "*large number*".

2) **A whole represents a part**, *e.g. "there lies my ship",* and "*lying at anchor*" is a species of the genus "*lying*".

3) **From species to species**, *e.g. "with blade of bronze drew away the life",* where *"to draw away"* is used for *"to cleave"; "cleft the water with the vessel of unyielding bronze",* where *"to cleave"* is used for *"to draw away."* Both, to draw away and to cleave, are species of *"taking away".*

4) **Analogy**, *e.g. (a) "To call the cup "the shield of Bacchus", to call the shield "the cup of Mars",* where a cup bears the same relation to Bacchus as a shield does to Mars (b) *"To call old age "the evening of the life" or the evening "old age of the day",* where old age to life is the same as the evening to day.

As far as similes are concerned, they differ from metaphors in the form of expression, i.e. similes compare two things with each other, using such words as 'like' and 'as', while metaphors are identified or substituted by something *e.g., "Achilles was like a lion"* versus *"Achilles was a lion".*

However, constructivists provide completely different perspective on the issue of metaphors. First of all, there is no differentiation between metaphorical and literal meaning

because it has to be constructed rather than directly perceived. Secondly, on the basis of this approach, metaphors play an important role in both language and thought, where production and comprehension of language are essentially creative activities. Thus, the difference between metaphorical and literal meanings is quantitative, but not qualitative which depends on the amount of creativity.

Another influential linguistic figure, Ivor Richards (1936), claimed that metaphors should be divided by their function, and he separated them into two parts: the **tenor**, which refers to the underlying idea, and the **vehicle**, which conveys the underlying idea, resembled by the tenor, *e.g. The sun is a red balloon; "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players"* (Shakespeare). The term **ground** represents the similarities between the **tenor** and the **vehicle**. He also proposed a **tensive** view theory, according to which, there are conceptual incompatibilities, in other words dissimilarities or **tension** between the **tenor** and the **vehicle** in metaphors.

The first attempts to consider metaphors as a cognitive phenomenon were made by Max Black (1979) who turned the issue of metaphors from a level of words to the level of concepts. According to Black's **interaction** theory, in literal language, two concepts are combined to obtain a new concept without changing the original concepts (*e.g. bad* and *news* form *bad news*); however in metaphorical language, two concepts are combined so that they form a new concept, each acquiring different meanings (*e.g. news as a nightmare*). A word which undergoes a metaphorical expression is called **the primary term** and a word which introduces a new concept, is called **the secondary term,** which evokes particular associations. For example, the metaphorical expression *"Juliet is the sun"* may arouse the associations of beauty, kindness, love, etc (Black, 1979).

Developing the issue of metaphors from the point of view of cognitive and conceptual aspects of language, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in the book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), concluded that almost all language is metaphorical and metaphors are part of ordinary language, not only literal or poetic. First of all, the authors claimed that metaphors are not in the words, but in the ideas. In other words, meanings are in the mind, but not in the external world. As a result, it could be stated that metaphors are used for reasoning.

Secondly, according to Lakoff and Johnson, metaphors are not only in language and thought but also in actions. To be more precise, the conceptual system of a human being is basically metaphorical in its nature, because the vast majority of concepts are understood in

terms of other concepts. In other words, a metaphor is a mapping of knowledge from a domain sphere to a target sphere, which results in numerous concrete manifestations and this phenomenon is called **conceptual metaphor** (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 4).

In the book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), the authors provide us with the following examples: (a) ARGUMENT IS WAR, where the concept ARGUMENT is understood in terms of the concept of WAR because metaphorical linguistic expressions include the vocabulary of war e.g. *attack a position, indefensible, strategy, new line of attack, win, gain ground,* etc., which allows us to draw a conclusion about the battling aspects of arguing; (b) in the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY, the concept of TIME is understood in terms of the concept of MONEY. Accordingly, metaphorical linguistic expressions include the vocabulary of money e.g. *waste, spend, borrow, budget, to run out of, etc*. Therefore, any example of *metaphor* should be understood as *metaphorical concept* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

2.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which is sometimes called Cognitive Metaphor Theory, became widely well-known after publication of Lakoff and Johnson's book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). The theory was developed by a number of scholars within the field of cognitive linguistics such as Gibbs, Lakoff, Johnson, Kövecses, Evans, Green, Deignan, etc.

According to cognitive linguistics and in particular to CMT, metaphor is said to operate at a level of thinking but not at a level of words, i.e. in CMT, thought is above the language. Metaphor is said to be existent in language only because it exists in thought. Moreover, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain (A) in terms of another conceptual domain (B), which could be any coherent organization of experience (*e.g. we talk and think about ARGUMENT in terms of WAR or about TIME in terms of MONEY*). In other words, metaphor is the central element which links to conceptual domains, *the source domain* and *the target domain (*Kövecses, 2010).

There is also a set of systematic correspondences between the source domain and the target domain in the sense that constituent elements of conceptual domain (B) correspond to constituent elements of conceptual domain (A) and vice versa. According to CMT, these conceptual correspondences are referred to as mappings. In the book, *Metaphors and Corpus Linguistics* (2005), the author states that mappings are necessary conditions in CMT, which should be coherently and systematically chosen and the emphasis should be put on concrete-abstract mappings (Deignana, 2005, p. 39).

The source domain is the conceptual domain (A) from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain (B). The conceptual domain (B) that is understood this way is called the target domain. The source domain tends to be rather concrete and tangible and consists of processes and relationships, linked semantically and kept together in the mind. At the level of language, these are expressed through related words and expressions, which are described as 'lexical sets' or 'lexical fields'.

The target domain employs a more abstract concept than the source domain and takes its structure from the source domain, by means of conceptual metaphor. Therefore, the target domain mirrors the processes and relationships found in the source domain. In language, these are conveyed with the help of words and expressions from the source domain, which are called 'linguistic metaphors' or 'metaphorical expressions', to discriminate them from conceptual metaphors (Evans & Green, 2006).

Furthermore, as Deignan (2005) puts it, there should be a clear distinction between 'linguistic metaphors' or 'metaphorical expressions' and conceptual metaphors. According to the author, linguistic metaphors are primarily the evidence of the existence of conceptual metaphors. As well as that, linguistic metaphors imply the way people speak, whereas conceptual metaphors imply the way people think. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor is realized by the linguistic one. For example, the conceptual metaphor HAPPY IS UP is realized by the linguistic metaphor in the following expressions: f*eelings on top of the world; I'm feeling u*p; *that boosted my spirits*, *etc.* As it was mentioned above, the meaning of a linguistic metaphor is usually described in terms of *tenor* and *vehicle*. As a result, the *vehicle* is the meaning which a word has in the source domain and the *tenor* is the meaning which a word has in the target domain; in the example of *up*, it is *happy.*

On the basis of CMT, all metaphors both conceal and emphasize aspects of the target domain. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), it is almost impossible to find expressions used to talk about life, which are not metaphorical at least partly. As a result, there is a huge and growing amount of linguistic metaphors to prove the existence of conceptual metaphors and their role in humans' interpretation and understanding of abstract topics and ideas in communication. Therefore, the fundamental purpose of conceptual metaphor theorists is to study the conceptual structures that both reflect and form the thought patterns of the society.

In Gwyn's book *Captain of my own ship: Metaphor and the discourse of chronic illness* (1999), the author analysed the metaphors that seriously ill people used to talk about their

experience, and drew conclusions that linguistic metaphors may not only uncover subconscious choices of the speaker or writer, but also may help people to talk about difficulties or uncommon experiences in general.

Further on, conceptual metaphor theorists support the hypothesis of embodiment, i.e. the most central metaphors are grounded in our physical experience. To be more specific, our experiences with the physical world serve as a natural and logical foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains. For example, if we want to better understand a concept, we are likely to use another concept that is more concrete, physical, or tangible (Deignan 2005, p. 19).

Deignana (2005) claims, that despite different and unrelated languages, people have the same metaphors, which she believes is an evidence for the connection between the two domains. According to her, the roots of the metaphorical connections lies in only one possible thing which people of different cultures and generations have in common – human body (Deignana, 2005, p. 19).

As well as that, Gibbs (1994) examined the emotions which are experienced by a human being, in particular, anger. He drew a conclusion that many linguistic metaphors (*e.g. She got all steamed up; I was fuming, He got hot under the collar, etc*) are motivated by the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. According to his theory, people who get angry perceive their bodies as a container, experiencing physical sensations of heat and internal pressure.

According to CMT, one more aspect should be mentioned, particularly, the principle of unidirectionality, which explains why the source and target domains are not reversible. Let's consider the above mentioned example ARGUMENT IS WAR, where the metaphorical process typically goes from the more concrete to the more abstract domain, but not vice versa, i.e. the target domain WAR is not understood as the source domain ARGUMENT (Evans & Green, 2006, pp. 296-297). However, every rule has its exception and in some cases the source and target domains can be reversed. To be more specific, these are cases of personification (*e.g. COMPUTER IS A HUMAN BEING/MIND vs. A HUMAN BEING/MIND IS A COMPUTER; ANGER IS A STORM vs. STORM IS ANGER (ANGRY PERSON*), where the rule of unidirectionality is not applicable (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 33).

Kövecses (2010) distinguished the most common source and target domains. According to the author, the most popular source domain is HUMAN BODY and its parts including head,

face, legs, hands, back, heart, bones shoulders, etc. Since the embodiment of meaning is the central idea of cognitive linguistic view of metaphor, such a source domain is another evidence of this hypothesis. For example, *face of the waters; head of the department, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; shoulder a burden, etc.* One more source domain HEALTH AND ILLNESS is closely related to the first one because it has a connection with a human body as well. It includes both the general properties of health and illness and particular illnesses may constitute source domains, *e.g. the war on drugs; the war on cancer; battling the spread of AIDS, etc* (Keiger, 1998). ANIMALS is also a productive source domain, where human beings are often understood in terms of (assumed) properties of animals e.g. being *a brute, a tiger, a dog, a sly fox, a bitch, a cow, a snake*, etc. The source domain of PLANTS, which are cultivated for a number of reasons: for eating, pleasure, making things, etc. People are also aware of different stages of growth that a plant goes through and distinguish between various parts of plants.

As this paper analyzes metaphors in political discourse, it is crucial to mentions such a target domain as POLITICS. Kövecses (2010) points out that this particular domain is conceptualized as a physical force which takes its roots from the following source domains: GAMES AND SPORT, BUSINESS, and WAR. For example, *they forced the opposition out of the House; the president plays hardball; the fight erupted over abortion; there was a great deal of haggling over the issue, etc.* (Kövecses, 2010).

2.3 Metaphor classification

There are several ways to classify metaphors. In CMT, metaphors are classified according to conventionality, function, nature, and their level of generality. Also, metaphor could have a corpus-based classification.

2.3.1 The conventionality of metaphor

Kövecses (2010) gives an exhausting analysis on the issue of conventionality. According to him, conventionality concerns two main aspects, the first - to which extent the metaphor is ingrained in the language and the second is the level of its establishment in everyday usage by a speech community. In other words, metaphors are conventionalized when a linguistic community fluently and effortlessly applies them for domestic purposes to talk about abstract ideas in terms of more tangible concepts. For instance, LOVE IS A JOURNEY: *We'll just have to go our separate ways* or IDEAS ARE FOOD: *I can't digest all these facts* (Kövecses, 2010, p. 34).

Furthermore, the subject of conventionality includes both, and conceptual metaphors and their corresponding metaphorical expressions because, according to Deignana (2005), one phenomenon cannot exist without another. To support the theory, Kövecses (2010) compares highly conventionalized conceptual metaphors, which are said to be almost clichés, to highly unconventional (novel) metaphors and provides the following examples: *(a) He had a head start in life (b) Two roads diverged in a wood, and I - I took the one less traveled by, and that has made all the difference* (Frost). On the basis of these two examples, it could be stated that both metaphorical expressions correspond to one and the same conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. However, the example (b), according to the author, is not conventionalized by English speakers in natural language as it only has a poetic function in a Robert Frost's poem "*The Road Not Taken*". Despite the fact, that unconventional metaphors are more frequent in different pieces of poetry and literature, they could be found in other discourses (*e.g. political, media, military, religious, etc*) as well (Kövecses, 2010, p. 35).

2.3.2 The cognitive function of metaphor

On the basis of Kövecses' theory (2010), metaphors could also be classified according to the cognitive function they perform, i.e. metaphors could be of three types: *ontological, structural*, and *orientational*.

To begin with, according to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), people's understanding of their own bodies in space goes beyond mere orientation. To be more specific, the authors state that understanding of the experiences allows people to comprehend the surrounding in terms of objects, substance, or containers, therefore, providing the basis for *entity and container metaphors*.

Understanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances allows us to pick out parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind. Once we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them—and, by this means, reason about them (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 26).

Naturally, people's experience with physical objects in particular, bodies, provides the foundation for the development of **ontological** metaphors used to conceptualize different ideas and events. For example, (a) THE MIND IS A BRITTLE OBJECT: *Her ego is very fragile. She is easily crushed. I'm going to pieces* (b) THE MIND IS A MACHINE: *My mind just isn't operating today. Boy, the wheels are turning now! I'm a little rusty today.* Such metaphors illustrate the

ability of human beings to concentrate on different aspects of experience, i.e. metaphor (a) implies emotional or psychological state, while metaphor (b) provides the concept of the mind as an operating mechanism (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 29).

Moreover, the authors emphasize humans' peculiarity to separate from the external world establishing boundaries by surface of their skins. Thus, every person is considered to be a container, experiencing the world and its objects as if outside of the body (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 30).

Finally, as Kövecses (2010) puts it, *personification* is also a kind of ontological metaphor. The reason is that in personification inanimate objects are given human qualities, which allows people to conceive of unknown experience making it a perfect source domain – A HUMAN BEING (*e.g. Life has cheated me. Inflation is eating up our profits. Cancer finally caught up with him*) (Kövecses, 2010, p. 39).

As far as **structural** metaphors are concerned, they are said to be the biggest group according to their cognitive function. Structural metaphors are based on the ability of the human mind to understand a highly abstract concept in terms of a well-known experience. In other words, the function of structural metaphors is to enable the speaker to understand the target concept in terms of the structure of the source concept (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 62). As Kövecses (2010) describes this group, the source domain provides the structure for the target domain by means of conceptual mappings between their elements. For example, TIME IS MOTION: *The time for action has arrived. Thanksgiving is coming up on us. Time is flying by.* According to this example, a concept of TIME is conceptualized as a concept of MOTION, which is considered to be a basic element of people's experiences. In addition to that, TIME is also understood as a moving object in relation to a speaker, who is considered to be a stationary deictic centre i.e. *the present time is at the same location as a speaker; the future time is in front of the speaker; the past time is behind the speaker* (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 37-42).

Further on, in Lakoff and Johnson's book *Metaphors We Live By* (2003), **orientational** metaphors are said to bear another type of metaphorical concept. To be more specific, an orientational metaphor "…does not structure one concept in terms of another but instead organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 15). These metaphors are closely interrelated with a hypothesis of embodiment, in particular, body function in its physical environment, because of their connection with different spatial orientations *e.g. up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral.* For

instance, (a) HAPPY IS UP: *I'm feeling up. That boosted my spirits. My spirits rose. You're in high spirits* (b) SAD IS DOWN: *I'm feeling down. He's really low these days. I fell into a depression. My spirits sank* (c) HIGH STATUS IS UP: *He has a lofty position. She'll rise to the top. He's at the peak of his career* (d) LOW STATUS IS DOWN: *He's at the bottom of the social hierarchy. She fell in status.*

The first two examples (a) and (b) illustrate that unstable posture typically reflects disappointment and depression, whereas vertical/stable posture is likely to express optimistic attitude or positive emotional state. In comparison, examples (c) and (d) have social and physical backgrounds, i.e. status is correlated with (social or physical) power which is UP. All in all, there are numerous physical and social bases for orientational metaphor and all of them prove the coherent systematicity of human reasoning that descends from physical and cultural basis (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003, p. 18).

2.3.3 The nature of metaphor

According to Kövecses (2010), metaphors could be based on basic knowledge concerning conceptual domains (e.g. structural and ontological metaphors) and images including orientational, image-schema and one-shot image metaphors. Image-schema metaphors are said to be the skeletal source domains because they almost do not reflect knowledge onto the target domains. For example, IN-OUT: I'm *out* of money; UP-DOWN: I'm feeling *low,* FRONT-BACK : He's an *up-front* kind of guy, MOTION: He just *went* crazy, FORCE: You're *driving* me insane) (Kövecses, 2010, p. 43).

As far as one-shot image metaphors are concerned, Kövecses (2010) describes it as an ability of the human mind to project one rich image onto another rich image and provide an example of a woman's body which is conceptualized in term of an hourglass (Kövecses, 2010, p.327).

2.3.4 Levels of generality of metaphor

On the basis of Kövecses' (2010) theory, metaphors could be found at different levels of generality: specific or generic. Accordingly, Gibbs (2008) considers these levels to be the hierarchy of conceptual systems (Gibbs, 2008, p. 258).

To begin with, as it has already been said, image-schemas contain little detail. However, highly generic-level schemas are said to be enriched with detail. Kövecses (2010) compares the schema of MOTION, which only supposed to have initial location, movement along a path, and

final location, to a generic MOTION schema in a concept of a JOURNEY, which appears to have much more detail: a traveler, a point of departure, a means of travel, a travel schedule, difficulties along the way, a destination, a guide, etc. Consequently, the generic-level MOTION schema can be perceived not only in a specific-level concept of JOURNEY, but also in many other different specific-level examples of a walk, a run, a hike, or mountain climbing. However, the author stresses that there are not so many cases of generic-level metaphors, e.g. GENERIC IS SPECIFIC and EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, because the majority of conceptual metaphors are at a specific level of generality (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 44-45, 326).

2.3.5 Corpus-based classification of metaphor

As Deignan (2005) puts it, a corpus-based classification was primarily developed by two scholars, Lakoff and Goatly. Deignan (2005) describes metaphors with reference to the corpus linguistics and provides the following four types of metaphors: *innovative, conventionalized, dead, and historical.*

Innovative and *historical metaphors* are stated to be easily found and identified using corpus. Moreover, Deignan (2005) claims that *innovative metaphors* are claimed to be compared to *conventionalized* ones because the boundary between them is said to be rather vague due to several reasons. To be more specific, conventionalized metaphors are believed to be innovative at their initial point; accordingly, some speakers are likely to express their misgivings about their novelty. As far as corpus is concerned, innovative metaphors are said to be those, which are "found less than ones in every thousand citations of the word" *e.g. He held five icicles in each hand* (Goatly & Lakoff, 1997/Deignan, 2005, pp. 39-40).

As for *historical metaphors*, they are believed to be based on metaphors which lost their literal meaning. In corpus such metaphors are identified "if citations of a linguistic metaphor show no instances of a related literal sense" e.g. *comprehend, pedigree* (Lakoff, 1987b/Deignan, 2005, p.39).

Furthermore, according to Deignan (2005), *conventionalized metaphors* are said to be dependent on a literal sense of a word or expression. Consequently, it could be stated that a literal sense of a word or expression is closely related to its corresponding metaphorical expression e.g. *there is no barrier to our understanding* (Halliday, 1994/Deignan, 2005, p. 39-42).

Finally, in Deignan's book (2005) *dead metaphors* are referred to as the opposite counterparts of conventionalized ones, where literal meaning does not depend on its

metaphorical word or expression e.g. *deep (of colour); crane (machine for moving heavy objects)* (Goatly, 1997/Deignan, 2005, p. 39-42).

3. METAPHORS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Nowadays, there are different approaches to the phenomenon of metaphor. This paper considers the issue of metaphors from both cognitive and pragmatic perspectives which are based on Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA).

3.1 Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA)

According to Charteris-Black (2004), CMA provides the analysis of the issue of metaphors from two perspectives: cognitive and pragmatic, as it is a blend of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The author emphasizes the inseparability of textual aspects of metaphor to its pragmatics and seeks to investigate metaphors which are used by institutions or individuals vested with any kind of power (*e.g. politicians, newspapers, religious documents, etc*). As Charteris-Black (2004) puts it, "…a better understanding of language is the basis of creating a better society" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 12). Besides, supporting Charteris-Black's ideas on metaphor, Maalej (2004) points out that the contemporary "cognitive-pragmatic discourse model of metaphor" aims to allow "the mind to interact with concepts, discourse, and the socio-cultural context in which they both occur" (Maalej, 2004, p. 133).

To be more specific, by using "the presence of incongruity or semantic tension – either at linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive levels – resulting from a shift in domain use" (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 35), the model comes in three main steps consisting of *identification*, *interpretation*, and *explanation of metaphors*. As for *identification* of metaphors, Steen et all (2010, p. 5) underlines the following essential aspect: first, close reading of the text in order to get a general understanding of it and then, lexical units of the text/discourse should be determined by either establishing contextual meaning of a lexical unit or establishing a more basic contemporary meaning (*e.g. what it evokes and how it is related to bodily action*) of a lexical unit in other contexts.

Secondly, as human beings' perception and understanding of the world is connected with their bodily experiences, the *interpretation* of metaphors is said to be dependent on this factor. As a result, abstract concepts are said to be highly metaphorical. As far as the *explanation* stage of metaphors is concerned, it is claimed to be a rather subjective aspect because each person is unique as a result of their experiences and how they see the world differently. Therefore, the assumptions of metaphors tend to be different, too. Consequently, Charteris-Black (2004)

claims, that the usage and explanation of metaphors are reflections of cultural ideologies of certain individuals i.e. politicians/political leaders, where cultural background plays an important role.

All in all, on the basis of the studied material, it could be stated that this critical model of metaphoric discourse, which is based on the nature and functioning of the CTM as represented by conceptual metaphor, comes in three steps consisting of description, interpretation, and explanation. These steps are argued to work in a complementary fashion, with each step serving as a connection to the next one. Description seeks to discover a potential frame, explicit or implicit, to which metaphoric processing and/or processing metaphor are applied in view of writing the conceptual metaphors behind the discourse being analyzed, or interpreted.

3.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

As CDA is an important constituent of CMA, it is important to identify it. To begin with, the basic ideas of CDA were first mentioned in the late 1970s by Critical Linguist [2](CL) (Fowler et al., 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979). Later, one of the CL, Trew, pointed out the importance of "isolating ideology in discourse" and showing "how ideology and ideological processes are manifested as systems of linguistic characteristics and processes" (Trew, 1979a, p. 155), which gave the initial point for the development of these ideas in works of other theorists.

To be more specific, according to Fowler et al., speaker's choices of vocabulary and grammar are ideologically grounded, where language is said to be a social act which is ideologically driven, because the "relation between form and content is not arbitrary or conventional, but…form signifies content" (Fowler et al., 1979, p. 188).

According to van Dijk (1993), CDA is primarily connected with social problems such as *social power, social dominance, and social inequality*. As van Dijk (1998a) puts it later, CDA is also a field which is connected with studies and analysis of written and spoken texts to disclose the social problems mentioned above. Upon van Dijk (1998a), CDA examines the cases when sources of power, dominance, and inequality are used within specific social, political, or historical contexts. In addition to that, Fairclough (1993) puts CDA as a phenomenon which aims:

> to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures,

[2] Critical linguist view the world as social structures manifesting different ideologies, and study the way language use reflects these; they study the wider social connotations of language use (Fairclough, 1985; Fowler et. al., 1979).

> relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power (Fairclough, 1995, p. 132).

Consequently, it could be stated that Fairclough (1995) developed three different approaches to studying discourse, where the aim is to separate the forms of analysis, i.e. analysis of spoken or written language (*e.g. text's syntax, metaphoric structure, etc*.), analysis of discourse practice (*e.g. text's production and consumption, concentrating on how power relations are established*) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice (*e.g. understanding of social contexts which effect the discourse*).

Taking everything into consideration, CDA is an interdisciplinary methodology according to which the emphasis is put on ideology, power, and language. CDA is used by a large number of different scholars because it provides the evaluation of what is meant when written or spoken language is used. Moreover, CDA provides not only the interpretation of discourses but also their explanation. In addition to that, CDA examines how power relations are produced, exercised, and reproduced through various discourse.

However, as with any discourse analysis there may appear a number of limitations. Maalej (2004) states:

> In this critical model of metaphoric discourse, the stage of understanding and explaining is the product of the critical mind, pursuing the results of the description offered by discourse, and following the entailments of the conceptual metaphors being used. Therefore, like CDA, this critical model of metaphoric discourse is an intentional, critical enterprise (done thanks to language awareness), and may be accused of overdoing thinking things. If the critical assets of the CTM are psychologically real, it remains, however, an empirical question whether the critical model of metaphoric discourse offered here is the one that real people in real socio-cultural contexts use to make sense of metaphor and its cohesive role in discourse construction and processing (Maalej, 2004, p. 153).

4. PERSUATION THROUGH METAPHORS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

According to Natalie Pennington's paper (2010), the issue of systematic employment of metaphors usage in political discourses has been studied by different scholars at various points. Moreover, the topic is deeply explored in Jonathan Charteris-Black's (2005) book **Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor.** According to both authors, metaphor is a perfect tool, which helps to reproduce a complex concept in terms of an easily understandable one. Besides, Charteris-Black (2005) also states, that metaphors help the politicians to create and propagate their political myths, ideas, and values which as a result, influence people's choices by means of unconscious perception of the information. Apart from that, Charteris-Black (2005) also states, that the right usage of metaphors not only affects the voters, but also the political opponents by depicting their villainous intentions. To be more specific, as it is said in Charteris-Black's (2005) book, politicians who are able to operate on metaphors can easily enlist a great number of supporters in comparison to those, who are not able to enrich their political speeches with metaphors. In other words, in this book, Charteris-Black (2005) demonstrates, by analyzing political speeches of such politicians as Barack Obama, Ronald Reagan and Enoch Powell, how political leaders persuade the masses by using different speech strategies, the most influencing being **metaphors**.

In addition to that, Mio et al. (2005) also claim that politicians, who are aware of the exceptional effects of their metaphorical language on the audience, increase the usage of metaphors in their political propaganda. As an example Mio et al. provide two of the most inspirational speeches in English-speaking history: Martin Luther King Jr. "I Have a Dream" and Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain", which were both built on metaphors (Mio et al., 2005, p. 288). To put it simply, according to this particular source, speeches which are filled with metaphors are said to be more inspirational and more persuasive because they evoke certain emotions in the addressee by conveying a hidden message to the speaker.

Furthermore, Kendall-Weed (2007) analyzes one more aspect of political persuasion. To be more specific, he claims that political propaganda is not only simple lying to the public audience because every message and at the same time, metaphor, must always contain a truthful idea, i.e. "truth-value". Otherwise, even a very good speaker would not have an opportunity to enact any campaign promises because of the vague meaning:

> Being epistemologically defective is not the same as being false. "Defective" means it has a flawed portion while other aspects are correct. A completely false metaphor would contradict itself to the point that it is meaningless (Jeff Kendall-Weed, 2007).

This idea is also reflected in Peggy Noonan's book **On Speaking Well: How to Give a Speech with Style, Substance and Clarity (1999).** She states that "without substance, the speech will perish", emphasizing that speaking strategy is only important when the speech has content, which is the reflection and a combination of different aspects: specific political ideologies, attitudes, or ideas of the speaker (Noonan, 1999, p. 78).

Consequently, as rhetoric is of upmost importance in the political arena, politicians must be able to communicate well and clearly to the voting population. The purpose of this portion of the paper is to provide a comprehensive study of political speeches of these two presidential candidates: Adamkus and Clinton. To do this, I look at two different points in time: pre- and post-presidency elections, and then I identify the conceptual metaphors and their conceptual correspondences in Adamkus' and Clinton's political speeches. I then examine the role of metaphors in communication of complex ideas which as a result are used to persuade the masses.

5. PERSUASION THROUGH METAPHORS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE OF CLINTON AND ADAMKUS

The data collected for this research is the corpora of 40 pre- and post-presidency elective speeches of Valdas Adamkus and Bill Clinton. The scope of data used in this research is 36 025 words of Valdas Adamkus' speeches which were delivered in the time of pre- and post-presidency elections in Lithuania within the time interval from 1998.04.23 until 2000.02.16 and 2002.07.02 until 2004.07.12 and 32 271 words of Bill Clinton's speeches which were delivered in the time of pre- and post-presidency elections in the USA within the time interval from 1991.10.03 until 1993.01.20 and 1996.01.23 until 1996.11.05. The data for the study was taken from the official websites which contain Clinton's political speeches: http://cstlcla.semo.edu/renka/modern_presidents/clinton_speeches.htm#Speeches_pre-presidential and http://australianpolitics.com/united-states-of-america/president/clinton and from the websites with the official Adamkus' political speeches: http://adamkus.president.lt/en/sarasas.phtml?nuo=81&kat=12&search= and http://archyvas.lrp.lt/en/news.pranesimai/12.4?sev=page. To carry out the research the following steps were taken: first of all, metaphorical expressions were identified by using MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure) method; secondly, metaphorical expressions were interpreted and grouped according to their underlying conceptual metaphor and their conceptual correspondences, last but not least, metaphorical expressions were compared and contrasted by explaining what impact their speech making had in the winning of their nations' elections.

5.1 Metaphors used by Clinton and Adamkus in pre-presidency elective speeches

As already mentioned, metaphors give us an enormous insight into our perception of the world. Also, metaphors are one of the best ways to persuade and influence people with our own ideas and beliefs. Never is this truer than in the political arena. For example, B. Clinton is a politician who tends to overuse various metaphorical expressions. To be more precise, at the start of his presidential career, in his first pre-elective speeches, Clinton emphasizes the extreme need for all kinds of changes in the USA, but especially in the nation's economy. Clinton is facing an America with a struggling economy and he knows how to use this to his advantage. Consequently, he implies (through metaphor) that the country is being lead in the wrong direction and he portrays himself as the only candidate who will turn the nation around—of course in the case of his victory in the presidential elections.

As far as V. Adamkus is concerned, he also tends to be rather metaphorical in his speeches and there is a great number of interesting cases which illustrates his attempts of persuasion of the public audience through metaphors. To begin with, in his first speeches, Adamkus in comparison to Clinton mainly conceptualizes the *integration* and *cooperation* by means of the concept of *membership*, which as a result, is one of the prevailing source domains in his pre-elective campaign. According to Matsuzato and Gudžinskas' (1991) paper, which analyzes the political context of presidential governing in Lithuania after the restoration of independence and which tries to explain Lithuanian politics of that period and on the basis of their provided survey of **„Lithuanians' opinions on future relations between president and parliament"**, it is obvious, that the reason for such conceptualizations reflect people's needs of post suppression period: president's strength and country's balance, which upon Adamkus could be achieved by means of membership with large Alliances: NATO, EU, UN and others. Thus, such results illustrate Adamkus' hidden political propaganda of himself as the best presidential candidate who is able to ensure and fulfill the country's needs by following certain politically strategic steps which are discussed later. Nevertheless, Adamkus, in his pre-elective speeches, in comparison to Clinton, avoids being straightforward in relation to the previous governor of the country, as he mainly expresses metaphorically his own political strategies and goals, whereas Clinton strategically uses metaphors which emphasize and point to the mistakes of his predecessor and opponents in elections.

5.1.1 The JOURNEY IN THE WRONG DIRECTION metaphor in Clinton's pre-elective speeches

In Clinton's corpus of pre-elective speeches which makes 17 663 words there were found 109 metaphorical expressions which generally speaking, underlie the structural conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY; however, the biggest part of the metaphorical expressions imply a more detailed conceptual metaphor, i.e. POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN A WRONG DIRECTION. Apart from that, according to a scholar Shogan (2004), *change* and at the same time *a change of direction*, is said to be the central element of Clinton's 1992 campaign proposals (Shogan, 2004, p. 9). As Shogan (2004) puts it, *"Clinton pursued several policy goals that didn't necessarily cohere as a policy program. Clinton's desire to effect change […] is reflective of his campaign promises […]"* (Shogan, 2004). To be more specific, Clinton conceptualizes the target domain POLITICS through A JOURNEY IN A WRONG DIRECTION source domain.

To support the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN A WRONG DIRECTION let's consider the quotation from one of Clinton's pre-elective speeches: "*[…] Well everything is not*

fine. We have had it their way for 11 years. And we're going downhill as a nation. The middle class is collapsing. Poverty is exploding. Even the wealthiest people know that we're on the wrong track". In other words, the speaker indirectly states, that America *needs change of a direction* if it is going to survive.

As far as the very conceptual metaphor of JOURNEY is concerned, by taking into consideration Lakoff's (1992) example of a *journey* metaphor, it can be stated that understanding politics as a journey is "*a set of ontological correspondences that characterize epistemic correspondences by mapping knowledge about journeys onto knowledge about*" politics. In other words, by such mappings, if we think of politics in terms of journey, it necessarily evokes knowledge about journey, which is exceptionally individual for every person (Lakoff, 1992, p.5). As well as that, the exceptional pervasiveness of *journey* metaphor is said to be connected with the relation to the process of life in its broad sense:

> Our understanding of life as a journey uses our knowledge about journeys. All journeys involve travelers, paths travelled, places where we start, and places where we have been. Some journeys are purposeful and have destinations that we set out for, while others may involve wandering without any destination in mind, consciously or more likely unconsciously, a correspondence between a traveler and person living life, the road traveled and the 'course' of a lifetime, a starting point and a time of birth, and so on (Lakoff & Johnson, 1989, pp. 60-61).

Accordingly, Clinton, by conceptualizing *politics* in terms of *journey*, map the ontology of *journey* onto the ontology of *politics*. As a result, according to Lakoff (1992), the process of mapping requires the application of source domain language and equivalent patterns in the target domain (Lakoff, 1992, p. 6). Let's consider the conceptual correspondences between the source domain (JOURNEY IN A WRONG DIRECTION) and the target domain (POLITICS), which result from such a mapping of knowledge:

Source: JOURNEY IN A WRONG DIRECTION Target: POLITICS

a) wrong track/route/path → inappropriate political strategies
b) wrong destination → inappropriate political goals
c) changing direction → reelecting government
d) movements backwards → political changes/actions/reforms
e) obstacles → political challenges/problems
f) travelers → the government, the president, and the nation

By using the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN A WRONG DIRECTION, Clinton indirectly implies inappropriate political strategies of the current government through the concepts of wrong tracks, routes, and paths, in that way propagating himself as a person who knows the right track. To illustrate that the government leads and shows the America wrong ways, Clinton uses the following metaphorical expressions: *we need to reinvent government […] in different ways; […] we are lost here in America, but I believe that we shall be found; […] a powerful symbol of where our country went wrong in the 1980s, etc.*

The most important point in the process of travelling is the destination, accordingly, in politics, the most important issue is reaching the political goals. As a result, inappropriate political goals of the government in Clinton's pre-elective speeches are understood as a wrong destination, the idea of which could be supported by the following metaphorical expressions: *the country is headed in the wrong direction fast, slipping behind, losing our way*; *I will spell out my plans to turn this country around […]; the country is losing our way; we need a President who will turn our country […].* Naturally, Clinton implies his own candidature as the one who is able to lead the country in the right direction to reach the destination, which underlies the correctness of his political goals, *e.g. […] reforming America's schools, radically changing government, making our streets safe again from drugs and crime, opening up world markets,* in case of his presidential victory.

To achieve the destination of the journey, the direction should be chosen precisely and these two phenomena are almost inseparable. Correspondingly, Clinton conceptualizes the wrong destination because of the wrong direction, implying that the direction should be changed, which in this case, corresponds to the reelections of the government meaning that the best change to the USA is the change of its president, i.e. to the new one – Clinton: *primary aim is to turn our children away from drugs; you and I vowed to turn our country around, etc.* In other words, destination terminology used in Clinton's speeches, indirectly illustrates the purpose of his pre-elective campaign, i.e. Clinton indirectly gives clues for the voter, what is the right change of the direction to the destination.

> How do I know we can come together and make change happen? Because I have seen it in my own state. In Arkansas, we are working together […] there are a lot of miraculous people. And because of them, our schools are better, our wages are higher, our factories are busier, our water is cleaner and our budget is balanced. […] (Clinton, 1992)

For instance, to persuade and influence the audience to vote for Clinton's candidature and in the re-election of the government, the speaker strategically uses the following metaphorical expressions: *we're going to turn this country around and get it moving again; without a change […] we couldn't turn our country around; […] fundamentally change the way we do business at home and around the world […], etc.*

The movements and steps in journey metaphor are understood as political actions, which lead to change or reforms. As well as that, every traveler decides upon the path on the way towards destination. To emphasize the lack and absence of the progress in the country in various spheres of life, Clinton uses the metaphorical expressions which correspond to backward movements and presuppose the political changes, actions, and reforms of the government: *I wanted to come back to this convention […]*; *this election is about putting power back in your hands and putting government back on your side; we'll put government back on the side of the hard-working middle-class families of America […], etc.* By means of these and other corresponding metaphorical expressions, Clinton enumerates and thus, illustrates his political actions to the voting audience.

Furthermore, on the journey a traveler can meet some obstacles *e.g. a gap, any body of water, a wrong path, crossroads, stones, etc.*, which in politics correspond to political challenges and problems. As far as Clinton is concerned, in the pre-elective speeches, the politician underlies that the political problems in the country, i.e. obstacles, can be solved with his help, of course, in the case of his elections victory: *[…] as we stand at the edge; […] we can meet the challenges we face […]; we must meet challenges abroad as well as at home, etc.* Consequently, the usage of such metaphorical expressions illustrates Clinton's attempts to persuade the people to vote for him.

Finally, any journey could not be started, performed, and finished without a traveler. As a result in the concept of politics in terms of journey, politicians are seen as travelers, accordingly, in Clinton's pre-elective speeches the travelers are all the people who are involved in his presidential campaign, i.e. the government, the president, the speaker (Clinton) and the nation: *I got into this race for President […]; as America was entering the greatest economic boom […]; […] Government does not step in to organize the health-care system […], etc.*

Obviously, on the basis of the analysed material in literature review part of my MA paper, in particular according to the book **Metaphors We Live By** (1980), the concept of POLITICS is understood in terms of A JOURNEY IN A WRONG DIRECTION, because the corresponding

metaphorical expressions of the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN A WRONG DIRECTION, include the vocabulary of the concept of a journey in a wrong direction *e.g. a change of the way, being lost, a need to turn around, etc.* As a result, it could be concluded that the implied metaphors of *journey* embrace the aspects of its *wrong destination* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

5.1.2. The ECONOMY IS DOWN metaphor in Clinton's pre-elective speeches

The second prevailing conceptual metaphor in Clinton's pre-elective speeches is ECONOMY IS DOWN, where the target domain ECONOMY is understood in terms of the source domain DOWN. There were found 69 metaphorical expressions which underlie the idea of the economy being down. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), this particular conceptual metaphor belongs to an orientational type of metaphors, that involves special orientation, where the source domain DOWN is used to express negative aspects of the phenomenon in the target domain.

The conceptual correspondence between the target domain (ECONOMY) and the source domain (DOWN) could be represented by the following mapping of metaphor:

Source: DOWN Target: ECONOMY

a) movement down → economic instability; crisis; economic fall down, etc

Despite the fact that there is only one conceptual correspondence in relation to a source domain, there could be a number of different mappings in relation to a target domain. To be more specific, orientational metaphor DOWN in Clinton's pre-elective speeches is also applied to different areas of social, political, and economic lives. For example, Clinton, during his election campaign, speaks about the financial instability in country and uses the following metaphorical expressions: *why are all of our incomes going down; […] middle-class income went down […]; America had the highest wages in the world. Now we're tenth, and falling, The U.S. fell from 8th to 22nd in wage inequality […]; The stock market tripled, but wages went down, etc.* Although, Clinton does not use the word *crisis*, it is obvious that the economic fall down is conceptualized through the conceptual metaphor DOWN which means that the country is in deep *economic crisis* and that the level of the economy of the USA, at that period (1992), is in its lowest level, i.e. *down*. In other words, Clinton propagates that at the moment of his first presidential campaign, America experiences *"an economic disaster"* because of the wrong and unsuccessful economic strategies by the current government. Moreover, Clinton emphasizes that the government not only ran the country's economy *"into the ground"* but also *"holds it back",* which could be

considered as a political propaganda of himself to change the government and to correct its mistakes in case of his victory as a candidate.

Clinton, however, still uses the word *up*, 32 times. Actually, it refers to another orientational metaphor UP, but only as an antecedent to the target domain DOWN and with a reference to the clear future, i.e. the candidate promises the growth and the development of the economy when he becomes a president. For instance, Clinton states that "*every other advanced nation is governed by a body with a strategy for increasing growth, developing high-wage jobs through increasing investment, and enhancing cooperation among government, business, labor and education*" (Clinton, 1992). Thus, Clinton implies that he is the right person who is able to "*revitalize the economy*" of the USA.

Similarly to the previous metaphor of pre-elective speeches, Clinton uses the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS DOWN, to illustrate the result of the wrong choice of government, by means of proposing his own, right, candidacy. Moreover, Clinton speaks about the extreme need for the restoration of America's economy and about the level to which he, personally, is able to restore the county's economy, e.g. world and global levels, by systematically comparing the current economic situation, i.e. its bottom, and the possible economic opportunities, of course, in case of his victory, i.e. *"real economic growth"*.

All in all, as Shogan (2004) states, "Clinton's message in 1992 was straightforward and succinct: "the fundamental principles of our nation's economy were outdated and broken" (Shogan, 2004). In other words, during the pre-presidency elective campaign, Clinton, in his speeches, propagated that America's economy was in its lowest level and would have an opportunity to be raised only with his presidency elections' victory, which was evidently the main purpose.

5.1.3 The MEMBERSHIP IS DESTINATION metaphor in Adamkus' pre-elective speeches

In Adamkus' corpus of pre-elective speeches which makes 14570 words the first prevailing conceptual metaphor completely differs from Clinton's prevailing conceptual metaphors as it is MEMBERSHIP IS DESTINATION. There were found 88 metaphorical expressions which underlie this particular conceptual metaphor. Moreover, after the analysis of Adamkus' pre-elective speeches, it could be stated that the usage of the word *security* (78 occurrences) and the word *stability* (40 occurrences*)* is also significant in relation to the size of the corpus, since Adamkus tends to speak about *security* and *stability* as an outcome of the incorporation with the bigger alliance as NATO (77 occurrences) and EU (19 occurrences). Thereby, the abstract ideas of

security and *stability* are represented by means of a more concrete one, i.e. *membership* in NATO and EU, which as a result, is a target domain.

Let's consider the following conceptual correspondences between the source domain (DESTINATION) and the target domain (MEMBERSHIP):

Source: DESTINATION Target: MEMBERSHIP

a) seeking the destination → achieving political goals
b) the open door → political/economic/social opportunities
c) movement towards destination → political actions
d) obstacles on the way towards destination → political challenges/problems

According to a Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2009), the definition of the word *destination* is as follows: *the place that someone or something is going to.* As a result, according to Adamkus' pre-elective speeches it could be said that the main promised goal or, in other words, *destination, i*s to enable the country to become a member of different Alliances: NATO, EU, UN, etc. For example, to persuade the voting audience Adamkus uses the following metaphorical expressions: […] *to seek interoperability with NATO; […] my country is seeking membership in the World Trade Organization,* where the idea of seeking, corresponds to the idea of achieving political goals, which according to Adamkus, were becoming a member of a larger force.

Furthermore, usually at the end of each point of destination, could be a door. From a positive perspective, the door at the point of destination is opened. As a result, Adamkus conceptualizes membership as an open door to bigger opportunities in Lithuania and Lithuanian people. For instance: *The EU enlargement and NATO open door policy […]; The Alliance, on the other hand, is faced with the necessity to adapt to the changing environment by designing the mechanisms which break the old psychological stereotypes, invigorate co-operation among partners, open the door to new members, etc,* where the concept of the open door corresponds to political, economic, and social opportunities at the time of reaching the destination, i.e. becoming a member of any Alliance mentioned above.

As it follows, the point of destination requires the whole journey on the way to it. As a result, in the metaphor MEMBERSHIP IS DESTINATION, movements towards destination correspond to the concept of political actions and the following metaphorical expressions are used: […] *advancing at the same time towards the membership of the European Union and*

NATO […]; Our shared vision of the future has guided us towards the signing of the U.S.-Baltic Charter.

Moreover, every journey on the way towards destination may have different obstacles. In the conceptual metaphor MEMBERSHIP IS DESTINATION, obstacles on the way towards destination, underlie the idea of political challenges and problems: […] *to meet the criteria set for the membership: air defense, command, control and communication, logistics and infrastructure, Lithuania…willingly pays this price for the prize of political stability and security in Europe; This prospect helps to overcome the internal constraints, proceed with political, democratic and economic reforms and create the armed forces that meet NATO standards, etc.* In other words, Adamkus indirectly implies that Lithuania may overcome the problems not only as a part of a larger force, in this case, NATO and EU, but also with a right head of the state, in this case, Adamkus.

Apparently, Adamkus, by conceptualizing MEMBERSHIP in NATO and EU as DESTINATION, propagated the strategically useful integration to the alliances mainly emphasizing that *membership* would become a main purpose of his government in case of the successful persuasion of the voters, i.e. victory of the presidential elections. Despite the fact that Adamkus was able to fulfill his promises only during his second time presidency, Lithuania still became a full member of NATO and the EU in the spring of 2004.

Finally, according to the terminology which is used in the conceptual metaphor MEMBERSHIP IS DESTINATION, it could be stated that Adamkus mainly speaks about the advantages of being a member of a large force, *e.g. membership contributes, guarantees, expands, opens the door, etc.* Accordingly, by positively conceptualizing membership (as it is also said to be "*the bedrock*" of everything), Adamkus was trying to speculate the needs of Lithuanian people of that period: need of security, stability, and prosperity. Consequently, such conceptualizations and such a rhetoric strategy as metaphor were the right choice because Adamkus managed to persuade the nation, which as a result, lead him to win the elections.

5.1.4 The POLITICS IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD metaphor in Adamkus' pre-elective speeches

The second prevailing conceptual metaphor in Adamkus' pre-elective speeches is POLITICS IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD. To support this metaphor, there were found 44 metaphorical expressions. The conceptual correspondences of this conceptual metaphor in Adamkus' pre-elective speeches mainly comprise the idea of foreign policy and affairs, i.e. friendly relationships with the neighboring countries, and could be illustrated by the following mappings:

Source: NEIGHBOURHOOD Target: POLITICS

a) neighbors → foreign countries

b) neighborly relations → foreign policies/affairs

c) friendly neighbourhood → peacemaking/diplomatic policies

The notion of neighbourhood in the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2009) is defined as *"the area around you or around a particular place, or the people who live there"*, thus, it is obvious that Adamkus conceptualizes *foreign countries* through the concept of *neighbors*. Let's consider some of the metaphorical expressions: *We achieved this by promoting practical regional cooperation in fields of economy, environment and political dialogue with all our neighbors; This Council unites geographical neighbors who however enjoy many more binding links - the promotion of mutual confidence, trade, culture and environmental protection; I consider that secure and prospering Lithuania also serves the interest of our neighbors and our region, etc.* On the basis of such metaphors, it could be stated that during Adamkus' first elective campaign, one of his main political purposes was to establish and renew the cooperation with the foreign countries, especially with those which share borders with Lithuania, and he spoke as follows: *"Bilateral relations between Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have evolved into a trilateral partnership […]"; "We constructively cooperate with Belarus and are interested in the development of democracy in this neighboring country".* Through such a concept, Adamkus also demonstrated the attempts to propagate his own and Lithuania's diplomatic policy towards *neighbors, e.g. "Lithuania is interested in the prosperity and security of its neighbors".*

Moreover, the concept of *neighborly relations* presupposes the idea of *foreign policies and affairs* by means of which, Adamkus persuades the audience that *"good neighborly relations"* are vital to Lithuania's cultural and economic growth; as a result, he convinces the audience that it is necessary to support and to maintain such relations: *Good neighborly relations and close regional co-operation are prerequisite conditions of peaceful coexistence of nations to which all the peoples of the world aspire; Good neighborly relations, mutual confidence and peaceful coexistence of nations were the key subjects of the 1997 Vilnius Conference […] and draw new guidelines for future cooperation, etc.*

The following concept implies that the establishment of *friendly neighbourhood* insures safety and stability to the country, which were the main issues of Adamkus' political promises to the people of Lithuania during his first time elections. As a result, he communicates this idea through the concept of *peacemaking and diplomatic policies* by means of these metaphorical

expressions: *Lithuania is guided by those principles and maintains friendly, constructive relations with all its neighbors (Russia among them); Our country attaches a particular importance to the development and broadening of good neighborly relations, which are the most important guarantee of security and stability, etc.*

As well as that, a number of metaphorical expressions in POLITICS IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD conceptual metaphor in Adamkus' post-elective speeches include the elements of cooperation, interaction, elaboration, and communication, all of which are the constituent parts of good relationship with neighbors.

All in all, it is obvious, that Adamkus' political strategies of that period in comparison to Clinton's, were aimed not at emphasizing the opponent's weak sides but at illustrating his own political ideas and purposes, i.e. foreign policies and affairs. Consequently, the POLITICS IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD conceptual metaphor perfectly illustrated Adamkus' attempts.

5.2 Metaphors used by Clinton and Adamkus in post-presidency elective speeches

Both, Bill Clinton (1996) and Valdas Adamkus (after the impeachment of Rolandas Paksas in 2004), were re-elected as presidents of their nations. However, the language of post-presidency elective speeches of the candidates appeared to be different from their first time presidential campaigns, despite the fact that the rhetorical strategy remained unchanged, i.e. both candidates were still consistent in the usage of metaphors.

According to Shogan (2004), it could be claimed that Clinton campaign's main purpose was to distinguish himself from the opponent and to emphasize "*his first term record of peace and prosperity"* (Shogan, 2004, p.14). In other words, Clinton, in his post-elective speeches conceptualized completely opposite ideas and focused mainly on the positive aspects of his first term's governing without introducing new innovations (Shogan, 2004, p. 14).

As far as Adamkus is concerned, he, in comparison to Clinton, tends to introduce some new concepts in his post-elective speeches, however, without opposing these concepts to the ones in the pre-elective speeches. In addition, Adamkus, with the help of the metaphorical language, mainly conceptualizes his future long-term purposes and political strategies.

5.2.1 The JOURNEY IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION metaphor in Clinton's post-elective speeches

In Clinton's corpus of post-elective speeches which makes 14 608 words, there were also found 100 metaphorical expressions which underlie the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY. However, in this case in comparison to Clinton's pre-elective speeches, the concept of

journey is completely opposite. To be more precise, in Clinton's post-elective speeches the target domain POLITICS is understood through A JOURNEY IN A RIGHT DIRECTION source domain. For example, by conceptualizing the POLITICS through A JOURNEY IN A RIGHT DIRECTION, Clinton, of course, underlies his governing of the USA, and implies himself as *"the Little Engine"* who *"set forth on a journey to bring the vision to the country".* In addition, as Charteris-Black puts it, *journey* metaphors are used "to conceptualize long-term purposes" (p. 131). Accordingly, Clinton conceptualizes himself as the USA president whose *journey* must be continued, which implies that Clinton must be re-elected for the second term, *e.g. "We'll keep going until normal life is returned", "But the best is yet to come if we all do our parts"* (Clinton, 1996).

To support the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN A RIGHT DIRECTION let's consider the following mappings:

Source: JOURNEY IN A RIGHT DIRECTION **Target: POLITICS**

a) way/track/route → political strategy
b) continuation of a journey → reelection
c) changing the course → changing government
d) movements → political changes/actions/reforms
e) destination → political goals
f) obstacles → political challenges/problems
g) travelers → the government, the president, and the nation

To begin with, in post-elective speeches, Clinton ingeniously changes the idea of *a wrong track* to the idea of *travelling in the right way,* i.e. to a better and prosperous future, with the help of such an element of a journey like *a different means of achieving a result is a different path* (Lakoff, 1992, p. 15). Therefore, this time, Clinton tends to communicate the issue of his own political strategies instead of the preceding government's by means of the following metaphorical expressions: […] *Government must work in an old-fashioned American way […]; […] to work with us in a positive way on concrete ways to improve […]; […] the only way we can make real welfare reform […]; […] let us resolve to run our country the way we try to run our lives […], etc.* In his post-elective speeches, Clinton constantly conceptualizes his governing as *the right track* in a journey *into the future, e.g. the best is yet to come,* and *the need to stay on this right track,* consequently, propagating that he is the most appropriate candidate for the presidency of the USA, who must be re-elected to the second term and who has *to go forward to the era of working together.* Moreover, it could be stated that the usage of metaphorical expressions like *the*

right way and *the right track* in Clinton's speeches, illustrate his obvious attempts to persuade the voters that the change of the government (president) is unnecessary and wrong because of few remaining political challenges in America. He wants to emphasize that during his presidency he has brought stability, peace, and prosperity to the nation (Shogan, 2004), *e.g. that trip showed that hope is back in America, a*nd that the political goals will not be reached and fulfilled without Clinton as a president, *e.g. we must end the race; none of us can finish the race alone, etc.*

As it follows, in comparison to Clinton's pre-elective speeches it is obvious that the idea of *changing the direction* (which is equivalent to reelecting the government) is not relevant anymore. Instead, Clinton conceptualizes the idea of reelecting the same government, i.e. himself as a president for the second time, through the concept of *continuation of a journey,* and uses the following metaphorical expressions: *Who would say that having come so far together, we will not go forward from here?; We'll keep going until normal life is returned […]; These initiatives are right for America, and we should keep them going, etc.*

However, in Clinton's post-elective speeches, the speaker still emphasizes the idea of *changing the course of a journey* which implies the idea of *changing the government* but only as means of stressing and indirectly putting forward his political achievements and fulfilled promises which have been made since Clinton's first presidential victory: […] *we set forth on a journey to change the course of America for the better; […] American people […] affirmed our course, etc.*

Furthermore, in Clinton's post-elective speeches the concept of *backwards movements* is changed to the concept of *movements* in its general sense which correspond to political changes, actions, and reforms, e.g. *[…] administration has taken steps to stop the massive marketing campaigns […]; Now <u>we move to</u> an age of technology, information, and global competition […]; But tonight, we should <u>spell out the next steps</u> […], etc.* The concept of *movements* of a journey first of all, includes the initial point, i.e. the beginning of Clinton's governing, *e.g. "I set forth on a journey to bring our vision to our country",* and the final destination, i.e. Clinton's political purposes, which have not been achieved yet, as he puts it *"our journey is not done".* To be more specific, Clinton in his post-elective speeches constantly emphasizes the significant work that has been done during his first term, *e.g. we've come a long way*, however, he also stresses that the work should be continued because of the existence of unfinished goals in particular areas, *e.g. If we fail to address these threats today, we will suffer the consequences in all our tomorrows,* thus, implying that he will be able to fulfill the promises only in case of the victory of

his reelections. All in all, the concept of *movements* in a journey metaphor in Clinton's post-elective speeches convey the speaker's intentions to persuade the audience of his ability to fulfill the aims and promises by performing strategically useful and necessary political actions to reach the destination of his journey.

As far as *obstacles* in a journey metaphor are concerned, Clinton ingeniously conceptualizes political challenges and problems, which according to him, the nation was more than able to overcome together with a right leader, who was *ready to meet tomorrow*. For instance, Clinton, in his post-elective speeches, underlies the idea of himself as the one who helped the nation to solve the problems and who will take the responsibility for America's future, thereby, indirectly persuading people to vote for him for the second time: *Americans […] can meet any challenge; we must face our challenges together […]; […] challenges we all face as a people; the challenge begins in our homes, meeting the new threats, etc.* Also, the usage of the inclusive pronoun 'we' in this particular metaphor, makes the speech more dramatic and influential, and at the same time, it makes the voters believe the speaker by means of his involvement in the process of overcoming obstacles.

Moreover, in comparison to Clinton's pre-elective speeches the concept of destination, in post-elective speeches, has a number of significant differences. To be more precise, in pre-elective speeches Clinton used to emphasize the government's wrong destination, i.e. inappropriate and wrong aims, although, in his post-elective speeches he tends to speak about the correctness of the destination which corresponds to the correctness of his political aims, which of course, are his presidential elections' victory. To propagate the idea of a right destination, Clinton uses the following metaphorical expressions: *Will you stay with me until we reach that good day? But the best is yet to come if we all do our parts; None of us can finish the race alone […]; We must end the race […], etc.*

Finally, as any action involves the performer, the journey metaphor involves the concept of travelers, the conceptual correspondence of which, is the politicians, in this case, the government of the USA, the president B. Clinton, and the American nation. To be more specific, Clinton speaks about himself as *the Little Engine* which implies that he is the governor who leads the country and the nation. Clinton, in some cases, tends to use the words *nation*, *citizens*, *Americans*, and *America* solemnly, i.e. he separates himself from the nation, in order to show his significance and to underline that America needs him as the president, *e.g. you have to lead the way; report back to me on ways to do this; American people […] affirmed our course, etc.*

However, in most of the cases, Clinton uses the inclusive pronoun 'we', mentioned above, to communicate the idea that he is the right leader of America, e.g. *we must go forward as one America; one nation working together to meet the challenges; as we move into the future, etc.*

Taking everything into consideration, it is obvious that Clinton, before his first election, is trying to convince the American voter that *change of the direction* is vital because the idea of *a wrong direction* percolates through every sphere of life in his speeches of that period. For example, as Shogan (2004) puts it, Clinton promised an exceptional *change* in almost all his campaign proposals, as a result, his "…emphasis on "change" catapulted him into the White House and enabled George Bush's defeat" (Shogan, 2004). However, in comparison to Clinton's pre-elective speeches, his post-elective speeches are not enriched with *a journey in a wrong direction* metaphor, because this time, Clinton aims at persuading the voting audience to leave him in the position as the USA president. As a result, during that period, he uses a *journey* metaphor but only *in a right direction* in order to show the voters how and what good was done in the country since his first victory. As it is said in Shogan's (2004) paper, Clinton's 1996 campaign strategically focused almost only on domestic programs, with only brief references to his foreign policy concerns, which were his primary focus of attention during his first election speeches (Shogan, 2004, p. 15).

5.2.2. The ECONOMY IS A GROWING PLANT metaphor in Clinton's post-elective speeches

One more dominating conceptual metaphor in Clinton's post-elective speeches comprises completely opposite idea to the one in his pre-elective speeches. To be more specific, in his second time presidential campaign, Clinton changes the idea of ECONOMY IS DOWN and emphasizes the development of the USA economy which is communicated through ECONOMY IS A GROWING PLANT conceptual metaphor.

The following conceptual correspondences between the source domain (A GROWING PLANT) and the target domain (ECONOMY) support this conceptual metaphor:

Source: A GROWING PLANT **Target: ECONOMY**

a) seeds → choice of government

b)growth → economic development

c) gardener → the president/the government/the nation

d) roots → the political actions/reforms

e) health of the plant → right political strategies for economic development

To begin with, Clinton conceptualizes country's economic growth as a plant and parts of a plant, i.e. in this conceptual metaphor, different aspects of economic development correlate with the stages of the growth of a plant. For example, just like a plant starts from a *seed*, according to Clinton's post-elective speeches, the development in the country began from the moment he won the presidency elections first time, *e.g. […] we created a strong and growing economy.*

Furthermore, a *seed* develops into a *plant*, which is supposed *to grow* under the favorable conditions. Thus, in Clinton's post-elective speeches, the idea of a plant's *growth* corresponds to the idea of economic development and could be illustrated by the following metaphorical expressions: *My tax cuts will not undermine our economy. They will speed economic growth; That is the right way to cut taxes: Pro-family, pro-education, pro-economic growth; Do we really want to stop economic growth again? etc.* Obviously, Clinton propagates himself as a person who contributed to the issue of economic progress which leads to another concept which is necessary for the growth of the plant, i.e. a *gardener*.

In Clinton's post-elective speeches the concept of a *gardener* corresponds to the concepts of the president, the government, and the nation. To be more specific, Clinton understands himself and the American nation as people who contributed to the growth of the plant, i.e. the development of the economy. In other words, according to the ideas conveyed in Clinton's post-elective corpus, it could be stated that the nation contributed to the development by means of voting for Clinton. Naturally, Clinton contributed to the development of the economy during his first term by making right decisions and taking certain political actions: *And my plan gives Americans tax cuts that will help our economy to grow; […] we create a strong and growing economy […]; And we all have a responsibility, […] for a change […] to give poor a chance to grow and support their families, etc.*

In the following group of metaphorical expressions, the *roots* of a plant represent *the political actions and reforms* which are supposed to be the foundation for the change in the country. According to Clinton, there have been a number of positive changes in the USA during his first term. Thus, it is obvious that Clinton indirectly tried to persuade the audience that his government has good and strong *roots*, stating that "*[…] economy takes roots in the country",* otherwise, if roots are shallow, the plant could be damaged or even destroyed in the wind, which could be a perfect example to disarm the political opponent.

Last but not the least, the idea of the *right political strategies for economic development* is conceptualized in terms of *the health of the plant*. Generally speaking, according to Clinton, if the

government's strategies are appropriate and motivated, the country's economy will be in a good state, i.e. the plant will be healthy. For instance, it could be said that Clinton is rather categorical in that issue as he puts it as follows, e.g. *Our economy is the healthiest it has been in three decades*. However, the growth of a healthy plant is also, a very complex process which requires serious efforts, e.g. watering, pruning, fertilizing, etc, which implies that Clinton is able to perform all the stages.

All in all, since the PLANT conceptual metaphor presupposes different kinds of change, it is obvious that Clinton strategically chose the metaphorical expressions which underlie this particular conceptual metaphor. As a result the stages of the plant growth are mapped on the stages/reasons of economic development in the USA, i.e. *gardener, seeds, roots, growth, and healthy plant*, all of which are motivated by our physical experience of growing a plant.

5.2.3 The LITHUANIA IS A BUILDING metaphor in Adamkus' post-elective speeches

The biggest group of metaphorical expressions in Adamkus' post-election speeches comprises the conceptual metaphor LITHUANIA IS A BUILDING. In comparison to Clinton's conceptual metaphors, Adamkus' metaphors have no coincidences in target and source domains, e.g. POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN A WRONG DIRECTION (Clinton's pre-elective speeches) and POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN A RIGHT DIRECTION (Clinton's post-elective speeches); as a result, Adamkus' metaphors are not opposed to each other in relation to pre- and post-elective campaigns. In other words, Adamkus conceptualizes two different concepts in two different periods: first, MEMEBERSHIP as DESTINATION, second, LITHUANIA as a BUILDING. As far as the BUILDING metaphor is concerned, there were found 46 metaphorical expressions to support this metaphor.

Before the deeper analysis of the mappings, the following conceptual correspondences between the source domain (BUILDING) and the target domain (LITHUANIA) should be considered:

Source: BUILDING Target: LITHUANIA

a) builders → politicians/government/the nation
b) project → political strategy
c) foundation → policies/values/ideas
d) tools for building → political changes/actions/reforms
e) restoration → change of political strategies

f) ruins → oppression/occupation

To begin with, the very definition of the word *building* according to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2009) presupposes that it is *a structure with a roof and walls, such as house, church, or factory.* Naturally, to establish a building it is necessary to give it a strong foundation. Also, not least important aspect is building's constituent parts, e.g. bricks, from which a wall or roof are built, and, of course, a highly qualified and equipped people who are able to construct (build) the building.

First of all, Adamkus in his post-elective speeches sees not only politicians, in terms of builders but also the whole society, i.e. Lithuanian nation, and uses the following metaphorical expressions: *[…] we have to build on them in our endeavour […]; […] our policies should be based on common values […]; Lithuanians are destined by history to build their house on Mount Vesuvius, etc.* What is really important at that point is that Adamkus' speech, with the help of this particular metaphor, illustrates the politician's attempt to treat all the people equally, namely, calling Lithuanian people "the builders of their house".

Secondly, every building in order to be started needs a good project, which in Adamkus' speeches corresponds to political strategies: *the state is a joint project of all its people, etc.* However, while giving such a statement, Adamkus suggests that a country's prosperity should not only be under the responsibility of the government, but also under the responsibility of all the people of Lithuania, which implies that political strategies could lead to a good result in case the government has the support of the citizens.

Thirdly, the building could only be strong in case it is based on a good foundation. In Adamkus' post-elective speeches, the concept of foundation is understood in terms of the concept of political values and ideas e.g. "*I pledged to establish three fundamental pillars of society: free individual, open society and strong and secure state"* (Adamkus, 2004). For example, to express that, he uses such linguistic expressions, where the main attention is paid to equality, friendly neighbourhood, and independence and security of the state: […] *our policies should be based on common values; […] to join the other nations building a new modern world, based on integration and, most importantly, on common values; […] college students have a solid foundation to build on […]; During those two decades of independence our nation had laid down the foundation for a future modern state […], etc.*

Furthermore, despite the highest qualifications of the builder or worker, it is impossible to process without appropriate tools and materials. As a result, these building tools and materials in

politics, particularly in Adamkus' post-elective speeches, are understood as political changes, actions, and reforms. To illustrate this mapping, the following linguistic expressions were selected: *[…] education as a tool for building a better future […]; […] decisions are often built on the argument of stiff and compulsory EU standards; […] our thinking was built on absolute terms, etc.*

After the building is successfully finished, it is ready for the exploitation, the result of which may cause some damage to the building. However, the damage may also appear because of the wrong choice of the building materials during the process of creation. As a result, in politics, the restoration of a building is understood as a change of political strategies and according to Adamkus' speeches could be illustrated by these metaphorical expressions: *We should restore a more complete and far-reaching university life and independent university communities; we should restore the universal nature of studies and the traditional role of universities as intellectual cultural and social centers.* Adamkus, through such expressions propagates the idea that some sectors in Lithuania are more important because of their fall down, thus, should be "restored" quicker than others, e.g. education, healthcare system, foreign policies, etc.

Finally, in Adamkus post-elective speeches, in BUILDING metaphor, there was found a concept, which is highly relevant to the Lithuanian state, i.e. the concept of *ruins*. The idea is that during the period of suppression, the state experienced the processes that "ruined the building". Consequently, Adamkus puts it in the following way:*"From the ruins of totalitarianism, Lithuania has emerged as a modern country, democratic and economically sustainable, and although much remains to be done, we are confident that the way we have chosen is the right road"* (Adamkus, 2002).

All in all, it could be stated that the building process in Adamkus' speeches represents the political process not only in its general sense but also the process of creating a wealthy and developing country - Lithuania. In addition to that, the building process like the political one, are understood as highly complicated, where every constituent part is essential. By means of this conceptual metaphor, the speaker obviously persuades the masses to join him in this complicated process of building Lithuania; otherwise, without the nation's support, the results will not be satisfying. However, it should be stated that the BUILDING metaphor presupposes the long and complicated process which underlie long-term purposes. As a result, it is obvious that Adamkus sees himself as the right governor of the country who is able to finish the process qualitatively.

5.2.4 The POLITICS IS A JOURNEY metaphor in Adamkus' post-elective speeches

The second prevailing conceptual metaphor in Adamkus' post-elective speeches appears to be POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, which corresponds to Clinton's JOURNEY metaphors. However, Adamkus uses this metaphor in its general sense, i.e. without changing the concepts of the *direction of the journey* in relation to pre- and post-elective speeches. Adamkus also uses the idea of physical *journey* to conceptualize the phenomenon of *politics*, the conceptual correspondences of which match the mappings in Clinton's JOURNEY IN A RIGHT DIRECTION metaphor.

To begin with, Adamkus sees politicians and the Lithuanian nation as *travelers* on the road towards destination. For example, he uses this concept in the following metaphorical expressions: *[…] the road we have chosen; May we always have enough wisdom and enough strength to complete this journey; […] we need extremely large investment in order to catch up with the rest of Europe, etc.* Further on, Adamkus, like Clinton, tends to use the inclusive pronoun 'we' which makes speeches closer and more understandable to the audience. Moreover, such a strategy makes the listeners feel the unity with the government in the *journey towards destination*, i.e. being a part of Lithuania.

Furthermore, Adamkus speaks about *political actions and changes* in terms of the concept of *movements*. He uses this concept to show what exactly has been done by the government to reach the destination and, also, to prevent the masses from certain actions in order not to miss the track by means of the following linguistic expressions: *Each of these steps and encounters, I hope, has increased our mutual understanding, brought Lithuania closer to other states […]; Today Lithuania needs to step up transformations […]; […] we need good memory and will in order not to stumble and hesitate […], etc*

The following concept is the *obstacles* on the road, which conforms to the concept of political problems and challenges. Adamkus communicates the idea of *obstacles* because of choosing the wrong way, being behind, stumbling over, etc.: *And one of the major obstacles on this way is the existing social and economic disparity […]; […] we need extremely large investment in order to catch up with the rest of Europe; This is a challenge we must cope with, etc.* Political problems in Adamkus' speeches are caused by different reasons: social and economic fall down, financial instability of the country, social inequality and other reasons.

Other concepts which were found in Adamkus' JOURNEY metaphor which agree with the mappings in Clinton's Journey metaphor are: *destination*, corresponds to *political goals*;

way/track corresponds to *political strategies*; and *guidelines*, correspond to *common values and ideas*.

Taking everything into consideration, despite the fact that Adamkus uses less parts in conceptual correspondences in JOURNEY metaphor, he, in his post-elective speeches, still uses the same metaphor as Clinton, i.e. he understands the concept of *politics* as travelling towards destination on the right road, thus, making a complex notion of *politics* more understandable and accessible to the voting audience. In addition to that, the usage of JOURNEY metaphor is a perfect strategic choice to illustrate the progress and the achieved goals as well as to emphasize the right actions and performers on the way towards destination.

CONCLUSIONS

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

1. Presidents, Bill Clinton and Valdas Adamkus, in their pre- and post-elective speeches use conceptual metaphors as a persuasive tool. The prevailing conceptual metaphors in B. Clinton's pre-elective speeches are: POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN THE WRONG DIRECTION and ECONOMY IS DOWN; in post-elective speeches: POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION and ECONOMY IS A GROWING PLANT.

2. The prevailing conceptual metaphors in V. Adamkus' pre-elective speeches are: MEMBERSHIP IS DESTINATION and POLITICS IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD; in post-elective speeches: LITHUANIA IS A BUILDING and POLITICS IS A JOURNEY.

3. The predominant conceptual metaphors mentioned above in the speeches of B. Clinton and V. Adamkus were used as a manipulative tool in order to persuade the voting audience and to communicate complex ideas in terms of more concrete ones. To be more specific, each conceptual metaphor contains the ideas which were indirectly delivered and implied the concepts which were produced by means of metaphorical expressions. In fact, it could be said that B. Clinton and V. Adamkus were successful in propagating their political ideas and in persuading the masses by means of the metaphorical language. After all, both presidents not only won their first presidential elections, but went on to be re-elected, which usually is an indicator of voters' confidence in the candidates' first-term performance.

4. Despite the fact that both presidents, B. Clinton and V. Adamkus, used metaphorical language as a means of propagation and persuasion, the conceptual metaphors in their discourses appeared to be different in relation to their pre- and post-elective speeches. It is also important to note that the candidates use different metaphorical language in relation to each other. For example, B. Clinton, in his post-elective speeches appeared to oppose the conceptual metaphors to the ones which were used in his pre-elective speeches: POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION versus POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN THE WRONG DIRECTION; ECONOMY IS DOWN versus ECONOMY IS A GROWING PLANT, whereas in V. Adamkus' speeches there were not found any conceptual coincidences, i.e. he appeared to introduce completely different concepts in his post-elective speeches in comparison to his pre-elective speeches: MEMBERSHIP IS DESTINATION and LITHUANIA IS A BUILDING; POLITICS IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD and POLITICS IS A JOURNEY.

5. The choice of conceptual metaphors was influenced by a number of significant factors in the discourses of B. Clinton and V. Adamkus. First of all, both presidents stood for the first time for the position of the presidents of their countries. As a result, B. Clinton, in order to win the elections, in his pre-elective speeches tried to distinguish himself from his opponent George Bush and to illustrate to voting audience that the government of that period led the country to its decline and stagnation through POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN THE WRONG DIRECTION and ECONOMY IS DOWN conceptual metaphors.

6. In the post-elective speeches, Clinton's main purpose was to win the presidential elections for the second time and to stay at the position of the president of the USA. As a result, in the post-elective speeches, he opposed the concepts of conceptual metaphors to the concepts used in his pre-elective speeches: POLITICS IS A JOURNEY IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION and ECONOMY IS A GROWING PLANT, to illustrate the progress which was done during his presidency, thus, concentrating the voting audience's attention only on the positive aspects of his governing instead of introducing new campaign's promises or ideas.

7. As far as Adamkus is concerned, his first elective speeches were influenced by the issue of the restoration of Independence and the restoration of the Lithuania's state in general sense. As a result, his pre-elective speeches appeared to be filled with foreign policy affairs such as establishing good relationships with the neighboring countries and, of course, strengthening the country's safety and stability by means of entering NATO and EU: MEMBERSHIP IS DESTINATION; POLITICS IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD.

8. In the post-elective speeches, Adamkus also was consistent in conceptualizing his political purposes and strategies. However, this election time he was able to have a more general perspective. In order to win the second term presidential elections, Adamkus had to illustrate the progress which was made during his governing. As a result, he strategically chose LITHUANIA IS A BUILDING and POLITICS IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphors, with the help of which he managed to propagate his future destination in politics.

SUMMARY

DISKURSO ANALIZĖ PREZIDENTŲ BILO KLINTONO IR VALDO ADAMKAUS POLITINĖSĖ KALBOSE: POLITINIS ĮTIKINĖJIMAS IR PROPAGANDA NAUDOJANT METAFORAS

Santrauka

Šio tyriamojo darbo tikslas išsiaiškinti ir palyginti konceptualių metaforų naudojimą prezidentų Bilo Klintono ir Valdo Adamkaus politinėse kalbose prieš ir po rinkimų. Buvo iškelti šie tiriamojo darbo uždaviniai: pirmiausia, sukaupti prezidentų Klintono ir Adamkaus prieš ir po rinkimines politines kalbas; tuomet surasti metaforinius pasakymus ir ištirti jų skirtumus prieš ir po rinkiminėse politinėse kalbose; suklasifikuoti šiuos pasakymus pagal priklausymą konceptualiąjai metaforai ir galiausiai, surasti ir paaiškinti tarpusavio ryšį tarp konceptualiųjų metaforų naudojimo ir prezidentų Klintono ir Adamkaus politinių pažiūrų valstybės valdymo klausymais prieš ir po rinkimų. Tyrime buvo naudojamas Kritinis metaforos analizės metodas pasiūlytas Charterio-Blako, kuris susideda iš trijų dalių: pirmiausia, metaforinių pasakymų suradimas, jų priskyrimas konceptualiąjai metaforai ir galiausiai, paaiškinimas. Pagrindiniai tyrimo klausimai: kokios konceptualios metaforos buvo naudojamos dvėjų prezidentų, iš to paties politinio laikotarpio, laimėjusių rinkimus du kartus, prieš ir porinkiminėse kalbose; ir kaip šios konceptualios metaforos įtakojo jų politines kalbas ir tuo pačiu pergalę rinkimuose; taip pat, kokie buvo svarbūs politiniai faktoriai kiekvieno prezidento šalyje, kurie įtakojo metaforų pasirinkimą Klintono ir Adamkaus prieš ir porinkiminėse politinėse diskursose. Tyrimas parodė, kad politiniam įtikinėjimui ir propagandai ir Klintonas ir Adamkus naudoja konceptualiąsias metaforas, tiek priešrinkiminėse tiek porinkiminėse kalbose. Tačiau, šios konceptualios metaforos yra skirtingos, t.y. B. Klintonas priešrinkiminėse kalbose naudoja: POLITIKA YRA KELIONĖ Į BLOGĄJĄ PUSĘ ir EKONOMIKA YRA ŽEMYN; V. Adamkus: NARYSTĖ YRA PASKIRTIS ir POLITIKA YRA KAIMYNYSTĖ, o porinkiminėse kalbose B. Klintonas naudoja: POLITIKA YRA KELIONĖ Į GERĄJĄ PUSĘ ir EKONOMIKA YRA AUGANTIS AUGALAS, o V. Adamkus: LIETUVA YRA PASTATAS ir POLITIKA YRA KELIONĖ. Taip pat, buvo pastebėta, kad metaforinų pasakymų pasirinkimą, dviejų prezidentų diskursose, lėmė politiniai veiksniai Lietuvoje ir JAV.

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Appendix 1

The Research Scope

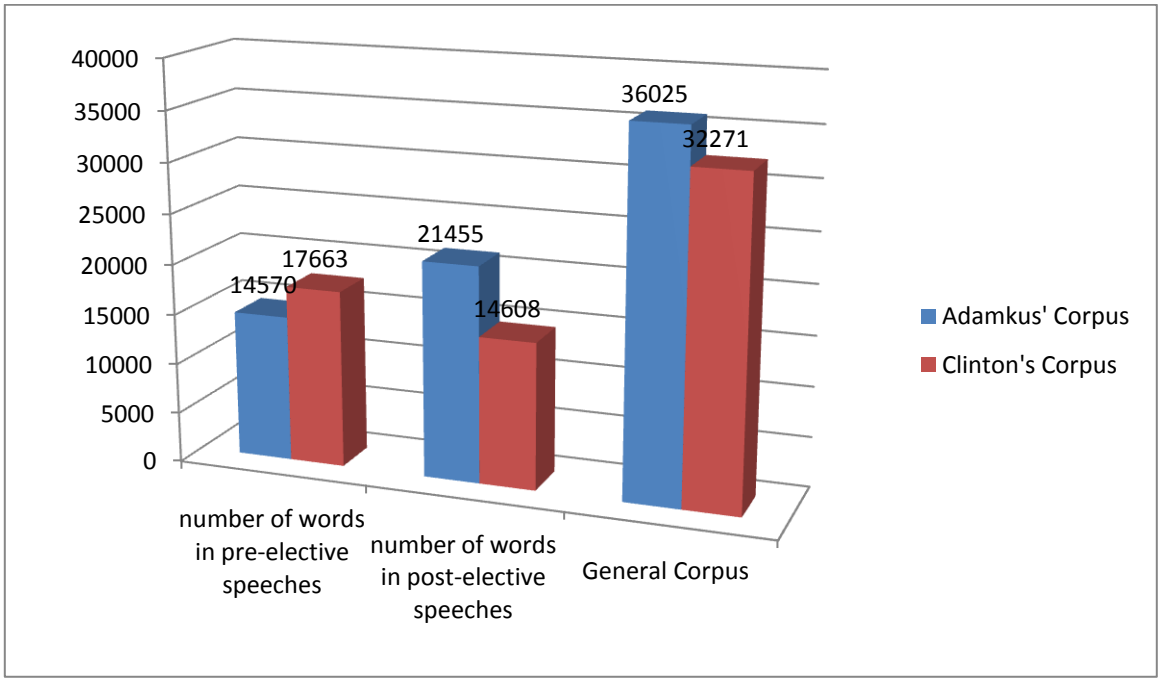


Figure 1. Number of words in the speeches of Bill Clinton and Valdas Adamkus

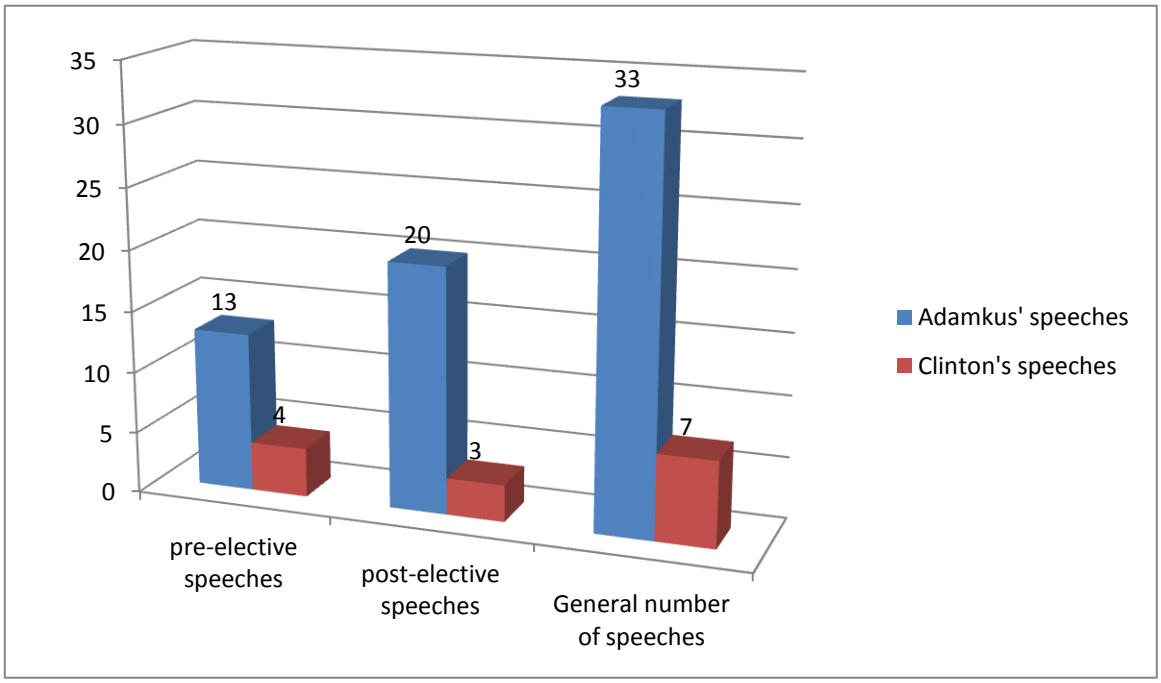


Figure 2. Number of speeches in the Corpus of Bill Clinton and Valdas Adamkus