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## **'I will' vs. 'Yes, we can'**

*A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL SPEECHES OF GEORGE W. BUSH AND BARACK OBAMA DURING THEIR ELECTION PERIODS, WITH EMPHASIS ON THEIR CHOICE OF METAPHOR*

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*Master's thesis in English Linguistics – ENG-3991, April 2017*





To Thomas,  
Arthur & Anthony



# Acknowledgments

I would like to express my profound gratitude to Toril Swan, who has been not only an inspiring supervisor with insightful comments and remarks, but also a great friend who has encouraged me all the way and who has made me believe that I could complete this thesis.

My sincere thanks also goes to my friends who have been by my side and who have given me support when I needed it, and to my amazing colleagues and students at Andøy Videregående Skole, who have cheered me on and made my everyday life much better while I was working with this project.

I would also like to praise my beloved family: my parents, the strong foundation I can always rely on; my wonderful brothers, who know how to make me laugh and who always have the right words when I need to hear them; and my beautiful sisters-in-law, who have become my sisters-in-love. Dear family, I thank you for always believing in me, and for giving me love and support. I am so grateful for being part of this family.

Finally, I would like to thank the love of my life, Thomas, for being the most caring husband I could ever ask for, and for giving me the greatest gifts of all, our two sons, Arthur and Anthony. Thank you, my boys, for being patient and supporting me during this project. You make my life much happier.

To all of you who have contributed to the completion of this task, your invaluable support will never be forgotten. Thanks for all these blessings in my life.

Aline Alves-Wold



# Abstract

Even though signs of one of the worst American financial crises were already apparent by the end of the first presidential term of the Republican candidate George W. Bush, he managed to be reelected for a second term, and it can be argued that Bush's rhetoric, which relied heavily on his famous 'war on terror', has contributed to his reelection. When the Democratic candidate Barack Obama was elected in 2008, his rhetoric was different from that of his predecessor, and although Obama agreed that there were threats to be faced, he focused rather on the possibility of overcoming these challenges and managed to convince the voters that they could retake the path to prosperity and restore America's place as a superpower. In the present thesis, I propose that specific linguistic features employed by Bush and Obama in speeches from their election periods have contributed to the candidates' persuasiveness as the right candidates for the presidency of the United States. In particular, I argue that Bush's and Obama's choices of metaphors have contributed to the creation of political myths that, for instance, portray them as heroic figures and their opponents as incompetent candidates. Following Cognitive Metaphor Theory and Charteris-Black's framework for metaphor analysis in political discourses, I have used the NVivo software to code twelve of Bush's and Obama's speeches (six each), where I have identified different metaphors and grouped them with respect to their source domains. Thereafter, when a group of sentences shared the same source and target domains, conceptual metaphors have been inferred, and I present arguments as to which images Bush and Obama may have tried to evoke in the audience's minds by employing such metaphors and what the probable intention behind these choices may be. Furthermore, I argue that the linguistic environment in which metaphors are found also play a role in the act of persuasion and propose that distinctive linguistic features, such as antitheses, isocolons and repetition, have been employed by both politicians to heighten the rhetorical effect of their metaphor choices.

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# **PART I – THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**



# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

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*“In democracies, those who aspire to political leadership persuade their followers through their command of rhetoric and their skill in using metaphor.”*

(Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 1)

In the present thesis, the rhetoric of US former presidents George W. Bush (President 2001-2009) and Barack Obama (President 2009-2017), with emphasis on their choice of metaphor, will be analyzed. The thesis will demonstrate how rhetorical devices combined with specific metaphors have contributed to the politicians’ persuasiveness during their election periods.

### **1.1 Background**

The Republican candidate George W. Bush was first elected as the president of the United States in 2001, after the Democratic candidate Bill Clinton had been the president for two terms. When Bush took office, the country was going through a prosperous period with an enviable economic stability. Two terms later, the country had encountered one of its worst financial crises and its reputation abroad was badly weakened (Smith, 2016). The Al-Qaeda attacks against the US on September 11, 2001 had frightened the American people, and Bush promised the country that he was going to bring justice to the attackers. Instead, Bush expanded his mission and decided to move from a ‘national defense’ strategy to an international attack against “terror”. First, Afghanistan – where Al-Qaeda had their training camps – was bombed, then, in 2002 Bush portrayed Iraq, Iran and North-Korea as the ‘axis of evil’, and by picking out Iraq as a symbol for these evil states who ‘sponsored terrorism’, in 2003 Bush also initiated a preemptive war against Iraq, on the pretense that the country was hiding weapons of mass destruction and that the tyrant Saddam Hussein needed to be stopped before he attacked the US (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 257). Although such weapons were never found, Bush advanced his ‘war on terror’ and his mission as the liberator of the ‘victims of tyranny’. Bush’s call to freedom and his promise of securing the country guaranteed him his reelection, but he did not manage to deliver what he had promised, namely “a safer world and a more hopeful America” (Bush’s second term campaign slogan).

When Obama was nominated as the presidential candidate for the Democratic Party in 2008, he represented not only the ideals of his party but also the hope of many Americans, who saw in Obama the proof that the American Dream was still alive. In fact, Obama's campaign was built on the fundamental belief that anyone could achieve his or her dreams. Furthermore, as someone who had overcome obstacles and climbed the social ladder to achieve the highest office position in the country, Obama appeared to be the right candidate for leading the nation on the same successful path, and, hopefully, restore America's place as a virtuous superpower.

The language used by Bush and Obama to shape their speeches is impressive. The politicians combine an array of rhetorical devices and manage to convey the right message that convinces their voters that they should be elected, not only once, but twice. Given the cognitive and affective appeal of metaphors, I will argue that the rhetorical effect of the metaphors employed by Bush and Obama combined with specific linguistic features has contributed to the politicians' persuasiveness.

## **1.2 Aims and Hypotheses**

The aim of the present investigation is to analyze the rhetorical devices used by Bush and Obama, with particular attention to their choice of metaphor in speeches from their election periods (the chosen speeches are as shown in appendices A and C). The linguistic features that are employed by each politician and the rhetorical effect of the combination of these devices with metaphors will be identified; and based on the political circumstances of the time when the speeches were delivered and Bush's and Obama's party affiliation, I seek to find out what the motivation behind the politicians' linguistic choices may be. The hypothesis is that Bush and Obama will display distinctive metaphors and rhetorical devices, since they represent the ideologies of two distinctive parties. I will therefore focus on the following research questions:

1. Which rhetorical devices and which metaphors are mostly used by Bush and Obama respectively?
2. What images are the politicians trying to evoke by their choice of metaphors? What is probably their intention in evoking these particular images?
3. What is the rhetorical effect of the combination of the chosen metaphors and the other rhetorical devices?

### **1.3 Framework and scope of the study**

For the present investigation, I will adopt the methodological approach proposed by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 193). This framework stems from Cognitive Metaphor Theory, which concerns the study of metaphor as an underlying conceptual tool that allows a way of understanding numerous phenomena by the application of other, usually more familiar, concepts. The main implication of this theory for political discourse analysis is that the study of metaphor can reveal patterns of thought and how abstract concepts, such as politics and economy, can be understood, and, most importantly, conveyed in metaphorical terms. That is, a thorough analysis of the metaphors used by political leaders in their speeches may reveal underlying ideological purposes, because of the persuasive power of metaphors in evoking unconscious images and emotions in the audience. Nevertheless, as proposed by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 9), it is the combined effect of various rhetorical strategies that is most likely to make political speeches more persuasive. Therefore, in addition to identifying metaphors, other rhetorical devices, such as tropes and schemes (cf. section 2.1.1), will also be identified and included in the discussion.

With the present investigation, I hope to contribute to the fields of Cognitive Linguistics, and Discourse Analysis, by providing evidence for the effective power of words, and how specific linguistic combinations can contribute to the persuasiveness of political leaders.

### **1.4 Thesis structure**

The thesis has been divided into two parts: part I provides the theoretical foundation of the present investigation, whereas part II accounts for the analysis and discussion of the data. In chapter 2, the concept of ‘persuasion’ will be introduced and its relations to ideology and political myth will be discussed, followed by an account of the main rhetorical devices usually considered in discourse analysis. The Cognitive Metaphor Theory and Lakoff’s Nation-as-family theory, which are regarded as relevant theories for the investigation of metaphors in political discourse, will also be introduced in chapter 2. Chapter 3 will then provide a detailed description of the methodological approach adopted in the present thesis. Finally, chapter 4 will contain the analysis of the data, as well as a summary of the findings and a brief conclusion.



# CHAPTER 2

## Rhetoric and Metaphor

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Although in classical rhetoric a metaphor was regarded by scholars as an aesthetic device pertaining solely to the realm of language, contemporary approaches have demonstrated that this linguistic device is intrinsically connected to the domain of thought; a discovery that suggested that metaphors can, therefore, influence our thoughts and actions (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Based on this understanding of metaphors as a conceptual tool, recent discourse studies (Charteris-Black, 2011, 2014; Goatly, 2007a, 2007b; Lakoff, 2002, 2009a, 2009b) have investigated how metaphors can be used as a powerful asset for persuasion in political contexts. However, as powerful as metaphors can be, they “cannot be treated in isolation from other persuasive rhetorical features in the discourse context” (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 29). In order to provide an understanding of which ‘other persuasive rhetorical features’ one should take into account when approaching the use of metaphors for persuasion purposes in political discourses, the present chapter will introduce the theoretical foundation for such an approach. In section 2.1, I will define ‘persuasion’ and its relation to ideology and political myth, as well as discuss which other rhetorical devices are usually considered when analyzing political discourses. Finally, section 2.2 thereafter will present the relevant theory for the study of metaphor as a persuasive tool in political communication.

### 2.1 Rhetoric and Persuasion

Persuasion is generally seen as an act involving two parties: a persuader and a persuadee, where, by using language, the persuader intentionally tries to influence and thereby change the persuadee’s state of mind. According to Charteris-Black (2011, p. 13), persuasion is therefore characterized as a speech act, regarding an intention, an act and an effect on the persuadee’s mind. Rhetoric, in turn, is defined as the formal study of persuasion, i.e. it seeks to explain *how* persuasion takes place, analyzing the methods used for persuading under different circumstances. However, as pointed out by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 3), the term ‘rhetoric’ has developed negative connotations in contemporary English. This follows from the Platonic view of rhetoric as “inherently deceptive”, where, instead of conveying an absolute truth, the speaker shapes the truth according to his or her own perspectives in order to persuade an audience (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 4). Charteris-Black (2014, p. 5) notes that this view was

opposed by Aristotle, who argued that rhetoric and persuasion were an intrinsic part of civic life, which allowed the people the possibility of debating options, instead of being obligated to accept a specific one; thus one can say that rhetoric and persuasion contributes to democracy. Furthermore, as emphasized by O’Keefe (2002, p. 5), persuasion is undertaken when the persuadee has “some measure of *freedom*”, which is the cornerstone of democracy. Brown (2001, p. 4) suggests that “government emerges from the *consent* of the governed”, and in order for the electorate to be able to freely give consent to a representative, power needs to be negotiated; which is where rhetoric and persuasion play an essential role in democracies. Such negotiation is mediated, among others, by the use of speeches; and the rhetorical success of a speech and the consequent act of persuasion are measured by the response of the audience to the speech. In democracies, persuasion will ultimately result in the persuadee’s consent, namely through the vote.

Although the abovementioned Aristotelian perspective leads to a more positive view on rhetoric, nowadays, political speeches are rarely single-authored, and the participation of rhetorically skilled speechwriters in the process of speechmaking has raised questions about authenticity and authorship (Charteris-Black, 2011). Nevertheless, as pointed out by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 6), speechwriters can only use words that match a politician’s image and even though politicians may vary in their degree of contribution to the speechwriting process, “contrary to popular belief, the politician is usually the puppet master pulling the strings rather than the other way around”. Moreover, a well-written speech alone does not guarantee the success of a politician; other elements are correspondingly decisive, such as the politician’s ability to deliver the speech and to speak impromptu. These qualities help reveal the substance of a candidate, and no skillful speechwriter can substitute that.

However, what speechwriters can do is to contribute to the enforcement of a politician’s image, and in order to do that, together with the politician, they will rely on a range of the so-called rhetorical devices. What these devices are and how they contribute to persuasion in political speeches is what will be discussed in the next section.

### **2.1.1 Rhetorical devices to persuade**

The definition of rhetoric discussed in the previous section specifies that a rhetorical analysis should account for the methods used for persuading *under different circumstances*, i.e. different purposes will require different methods. According to Aristotle (2010, p. 12), a speech involves three parts: the speaker, the subject of the speech and the audience to whom

the speech is addressed; and he further argues that it is this last part, namely the audience, which determines the purpose of the speech. That is, if the audience is, for instance, a decision-making body for past events, such as judging crimes, or for future events, such as voting, these conditions are the factors that will determine the purpose of the speech. Aristotle (2010, p. 13) then divides rhetoric into three general types, as shown in Table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1 Aristotle's three genres of rhetoric

<b>Genre</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Example</b>
Political	To exhort or dissuade an audience	Political speeches and debates
Forensic	To accuse or to defend someone	Courtroom discourse
Ceremonial	To praise or to censure someone	Eulogies and graduation speeches

Since the purpose of the present work is to analyze the rhetorical strategies used in presidential speeches, it goes without saying that the main focus will be political rhetoric. However, it is worth mentioning that the distinction between these genres is not absolute, since they can be blended. For instance, a political speech intended to persuade an audience to take – or not to take – some action (political genre), may also praise the contribution and/or achievements of someone (ceremonial genre). Nevertheless, as pointed out by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 8), such a division has “stood the test of time quite well, since they highlight how a speech event can be classified according to its *social purpose*, its *audience*, and *the role played by this audience*”.

Another of Aristotle's doctrines that still plays an important role in contemporary rhetorical analysis is the division of persuasion means into three different appeals, which are (1) *ethos* – calling upon the character of the speaker, (2) *logos* – resorting to the logical reasoning of the argument itself and (3) *pathos* – appealing to the emotional state of the audience (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 8). A thorough work on the subject can be found in Halmari and Virtanen (2005), which proposes that different genres generally tend to tilt toward specific appeals, that is, the ceremonial genre, for instance, is more inclined to *pathos* than to *logos*, whereas the forensic genre displays the opposite inclination. However, literature has shown that a strong combination of these three modes of persuasion is commonly found in political speeches (Charteris-Black, 2011; Halmari & Virtanen, 2005; Sotirova, 2016), as illustrated by Halmari and Virtanen (2005, p. 6) in the example below:

In the State of the Union addresses, Reagan and Clinton appeal to the logic of the audience by providing verifiable, hard data in terms of for instance numbers to justify their policies; they appeal to ethos by aiming at convincing the audience that the Union is in competent hands; and, they appeal to pathos, by frequently using such words as *children* and *families*, which are likely to appeal to the emotions of the audience.

Yet, one should bear in mind that the combination of these three appeals does not happen arbitrarily in a speech. Classical rhetoric addressed the issue of structure and proposed that the sequencing of a speech is a relevant element that can influence the audience. According to this proposal, a speech should contain, at least four parts, characterized by their different rhetorical purposes: (1) an *introduction* (or *prologue*), where the speaker seeks to establish a relationship with the audience and show that he has integrity and is trustworthy, (2) a *narrative* outlining the main facts to be discussed, in a way that favors the speaker's views, (3) a *proof* presenting arguments that support the speaker's proposals, and (4) a *conclusion* (or *epilogue*), which should bring back the focus to the orator and summarize the main points from the previous parts; a fifth part, namely *refutation*, could be incorporated in the speech, depending on the genre; and this part should anticipate counterarguments and refute them (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 16). As pointed out by Rapp (2010), Aristotle suggests that the rhetorical purpose of each part could be reinforced by specific appeals; for instance, appealing to ethos would strengthen the purpose of a prologue, namely to establish the speaker's character, whereas appealing to pathos would have a better impact on the audience, when incorporated in the epilogue. As noted by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 9), many features of this Aristotelian speech disposition are still used in contemporary political speeches; as demonstrated by Charteris-Black (2011, 2014) through the analysis of the speeches of contemporary political leaders, such as Tony Blair and Bill Clinton.

In addition to structure issues, classical rhetoric was also concerned with style and delivery, where the former deals with the actual choice of words and how distinctive meanings are constructed, whereas the latter concerns the strategies and traits of performance, such as voice, gesture and facial expressions. Martin (2014, p. 71) claims that these elements could perhaps even be classified as the “‘theatrical’ aspects of persuasion”. How theatrical these features are is arguable, however, because of their distinctive nature, they are, indeed, closely related to the speaker's identity. In some cases, the way a speaker combines his words in a speech and delivers them, compared to the way he or she speaks impromptu can reveal a

discrepancy, which may question the authenticity of the speeches and, consequently, the speaker's character (ethos). For example, unlike his performances in rehearsed and memorized speeches, former president Reagan was criticized for being unprepared and occasionally being unable to answer journalists spontaneously, which was looked upon by some as a sign of weakness (Martin, 2014, p. 72).

As follows from Aristotle's proposals, it is not enough to know *what* to say, but one should also know *how* to say it, and, in this broad sense, style entails delivery (Sloane, 2001, p. 397), that is, the overall style of a speaker will draw on his or her choice of words, and, posteriorly, on *how* these words are performed. This wide-ranging definition, which connects style and delivery to various categories, such as linguistic choices, social group affiliation and geographical association, is what generates miscellaneous, and perhaps, endless labels like 'formal style', 'plain style', 'African-American style' and 'call to arms' style.

An essential contribution to the formation of one's style is connected to the selection of figures of speech, which in classical rhetoric was divided into two main categories: *schemes*, dealing with syntax and a switch in standard word order and/or pattern, such as anaphora and antithesis, and *tropes*, concerning mainly an unexpected twist in the meaning of words and phrases, like metaphor and metonymy (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 39). In order to optimize their impact on the audience, these linguistic choices are combined with a series of non-verbal elements, such as the speaker's appearance and body language. For instance, in an attempt – apparently successful – to corrupt the candidate Hillary Clinton's image, during his campaign in 2016, Donald Trump posed the question: "Does she look presidential, fellas?" and continued, "Give me a break!"

Although some non-verbal aspects will be brought into the discussion, since the present work is primarily concerned with the linguistic choices in Bush's and Obama's speeches, the main focus will be on the verbal aspects.

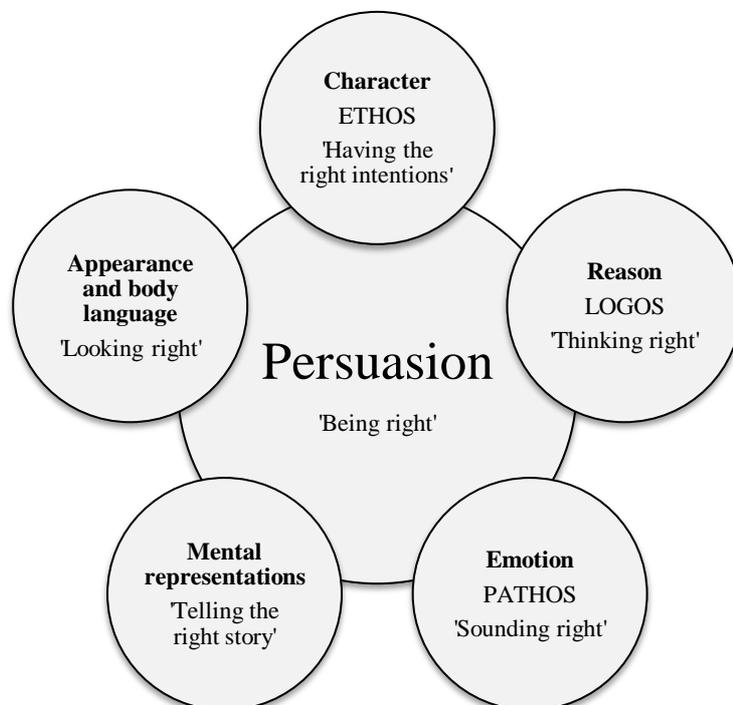
As proposed by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 14), in the act of persuasion, the speaker needs to convince the audience that he is right. Applying this view to democracies, for an audience to consign power to a speaker, namely through the vote, the speaker needs to assure the audience that he is the right person for the task. Charteris-Black (2014, p. 93) further argues that there are five fundamental elements that need to be taken into account for the speaker to achieve that, which are as follows:

- having the right intentions: dealing with the character of the speaker (ethos);
- thinking right: the orator is able to present logical arguments (logos);

- sounding right: the speaker is capable of evoking the right emotions in the audience (pathos);
- telling the right story: the elements in the speech fit into the preconceived mental representations of the audience (see section 2.1.2 and 2.2.2 for a detailed explanation of this concept);
- looking right: the non-verbal elements.

Charteris-Black's model brings together the elements discussed in this section, as summarized in Figure 2.1, and illustrates their *interaction*, which is fundamental in the act of persuasion, as pointed out by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 9):

[...] it is the combined effect of various strategies that can often be most effective in political speeches. The interplay between overlapping rhetorical strategies ensures political communication is persuasive because it conceals the contribution of any single strategy, and this avoids alerting the audience to the fact that they are being persuaded. For persuasion to become an art, its artifice should not be apparent.



*Figure 2.1* Rhetorical elements for persuasion in political communication

*Source:* Adapted from figure 4.5 in Charteris-Black (2014, p. 94). Adapted with permission.

Although this mosaic connects innumerable pieces in the art of persuasion, they are not joined randomly; on the contrary, they are put together systematically, thereby forming what is referred to as a ‘political myth’ (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 27), a term that will be examined in the next section.

### **2.1.2 Ideology and political myth**

The term ‘ideology’ was coined by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and, in its philosophical sense, it means ‘science of ideas’ (Eagleton, 1994). What distinguishes ideology from ideas is that ‘ideas’ are connected to an individual’s realizations, whereas ideology is rather seen as a *social phenomenon*. As remarked by many in the literature (Eagleton, 1994; Goatly, 2007b; Rejai, 2009; van Dijk, 1998), the term is considered to be notoriously fuzzy, but as a generic definition for the present discussion, I will adopt the one provided by van Dijk (1998, p. 8), where ideology is defined as the fundamental set of beliefs and values shared by a group and its members. This set of shared social representations allows members of a group not only to think similarly, but also to *act* accordingly (van Dijk, 1998, p. 8). In this sense, ideology functions as a guideline, which will classify ideas and, consequently, actions for the group as legitimate or not. Once established as some sort of guideline, this worldview can be communicated to others, and this is where persuasion comes into to play; namely, when one tries to convince others that a particular ideology is the “right” one. Note that in this process of conveying one’s perspectives to others, the mass media plays an indispensable role in the spreading of ideology.

As proposed by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 95) and shown in Figure 2.1 above, when communicating a set of mental representations, or worldview, to others, one needs to tell the right story; that is, the story needs to “fit with the audience’s assumptions about how the world works”. Such a narrative-based practice is closely related to the concept of myth, which, in general, is defined as a story that seeks to explain and/or convey an aspect or aspects of a group’s beliefs and values, i.e. a group’s worldview or ideology.

As pointed out by Flood (2002, p. 6), the word myth has had negative connotations and, in everyday language, it has come to mean “an untrue account of events”, following the ancient Greek distinction between *mythos*, related to “imagination, story-telling and fiction”, and *logos*, regarding reasoning and logical arguments, as defined in the previous section. Furthermore, myth tends to be primarily based on emotional appeals, that is, *pathos*, rather than reasonable thinking; and according to Segesten (2011, p. 78) the emotional power of myth

can have dangerous consequences, as for example in “Hitler’s rise to power and his use of symbols and myths to promote a political message of intolerance”.

The use of the term myth in such circumstances as in ‘promoting a political message’ is what correlates it to politics, giving rise to the modern term ‘political myth’, defined as “the continual process of work on a common narrative by which the members of a social group can provide significance to their political conditions and experience” (Bottici & Challand, 2006, p. 316). This definition agrees with the general definition of myth, given in the beginning of this section, where rather than negative connotations, the definition displays a rather neutral tone towards the concept of political myth. Nevertheless, following the ancient Greek dichotomy between *mythos* and *logos*, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 24) proposes that a critical analysis is needed in order to distinguish a ‘myth’ from the ‘truth’. However, who draws the line between those two? As remarked by Flood (2002, p. 8), “a story which is perceived as valid by one set of people can appear invalid – myth in the pejorative sense – to another set of people”. In this sense, it is understandable why groups adhere to different ideologies (e.g. Republican ideology vs. Democratic ideology); this occurs because their mental representations on how the world works fit with different stories, that is, myths. This understanding of political myth conforms with Lakoff’s (2002) claim that liberals and conservatives think according to two different systems of beliefs, which are conveyed through two different narrative-based family models; they are the Strict Father Model, representing the conservative ideology commonly held by Republicans, such as Bush, and the Nurturant Parent Model, accounting for the liberal ideology that characterizes Democrats, such as Obama (both models will be discussed in section 2.2.4).

In communicating their political ideology to others, “the artisans of modern myth” tend to use language in an innovative way, coining new meanings to words and subliminally evoking the audience’s emotions (Segesten, 2011, p. 78). In this process, as proposed by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 28; 2014, p. 155) metaphors come to be an essential tool, used by politicians to ‘tell the right story’; and with that in mind, we move to the next section, where I will define metaphor and discuss its contributions to persuasion through the creation of political myths.

## 2.2 Metaphor and Framing

### 2.2.1 Metaphor: classical vs. contemporary view

The study of metaphor as a figure of speech has a long tradition in the literature, and it was regarded by the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle, as “the application to one thing of a name belonging to another” (as cited in Aitchison, 2003, p. 163). According to classical philosophers, such as John Locke, this semantic twisting of words, which also leads to a pragmatic twist, confused thinking and should be wholly avoided in all discourses that aimed to inform or instruct (McGowan, 1982, p. 239). As suggested by Lakoff (1993, p. 204), this view is derived from a set of traditional assumptions that have since been falsified, such as the belief that “all everyday conventional language is literal, and none is metaphorical” and that “all subject matter can be comprehended literally, without metaphor”. Based on such false assumptions, metaphor, as well as other figures of speech, were seen as “instances of novel poetic language” belonging to the linguistic sphere, rather than the domain of thought (Lakoff, 1993, p. 202). Following this classic approach, ordinary language would be expected to contain no metaphor, or at least they would be rarely found.

Nevertheless, Lakoff (1993, p. 204) proposes that everyday language is intrinsically metaphorical, dismissing the traditional view that metaphor belongs primarily to the domain of “figurative” or poetic language. A claim that was further elaborated on by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their famous work *Metaphors We Live By*, where they argue that metaphor is pervasive not only in everyday language, but also in *thought* and *action*. According to them, “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3); a claim that would give rise to the distinction between the classical view, in which metaphors were seen as an aesthetic device pertaining solely to the realm of language, and the contemporary view, where metaphors are regarded as a cognitive tool which allows us to understand a concept in terms of another. This contemporary approach to metaphor, known as “Cognitive Metaphor Theory” (hereafter CMT), also called “Conceptual Metaphor Theory” (Deignan, 2005, p. 4), has had important implications for the field of Cognitive Linguistics, as well as Discourse Analysis, and it will be presented in the next section as an essential theoretical foundation for the current work.

### 2.2.2 Cognitive Metaphor Theory

In Cognitive Metaphor Theory, Aristotle's definition of metaphor (as described in section 2.2.1) is revised and comes to include the issue of thought, being further elaborated as "understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another domain" (Kövecses, 2010, p.4). The 'understanding' component of this definition is crucial to contemporary approaches. According to Lakoff (1993, p. 205), although false assumptions about the nature of metaphor (as illustrated in section 2.2.1) have led traditional views to rely heavily on the old literal-metaphorical dichotomy, this distinction is to some extent still valid in contemporary views. Sentences like "the book is on the table" are indeed non-metaphorical, however "as soon as one gets away from concrete physical experience and starts talking about abstractions or emotions, metaphorical understanding is the norm". In this cognitive approach, Lakoff suggests that abstract ideas are understood in terms of concrete ideas; or in linguistic terms, aspects of 'abstract targets' are understood on the basis of 'concrete sources'. This happens, for instance, when one talks about arguments in terms of war (e.g. She never *wins* an argument), time in terms of money (e.g. Don't *waste* my time) or love in terms of journeys (e.g. We're in a *dead-end* relationship).

One important hallmark in CMT is that the concrete sources used for understanding abstract targets are not chosen randomly, but fall into patterns (Goatly, 2007b, p. 15), that is, typical concrete sources, such as 'money', are frequently used to conceptualize typical abstract targets, such as time. This view is formalized in cognitive linguistics as CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B, a formulation referred to as 'conceptual metaphor' (Kövecses, 2010, p.4), where domain A (also called 'target') is understood in terms of domain B (also known as 'source'). Following this pattern, the examples above can be respectively conceptualized as ARGUMENT IS WAR, TIME IS MONEY and LOVE IS A JOURNEY.

It is therefore central in this approach to distinguish between 'conceptual metaphors' and 'metaphorical linguistic expressions' (Kövecses, 2010, p. 4). The former reflects the pattern of thought where one domain is understood in terms of another domain (e.g. ARGUMENT IS WAR), whereas the latter is the actual string of words manifesting the conceptual metaphor (e.g. She never *wins* an argument). As conventionalized in cognitive linguistics, small capital letters will be used for conceptual metaphors, while italics will be used for metaphorical linguistic expressions (Kövecses, 2010, p. 6), which may also be referred to as 'metaphorical expressions' or 'linguistic metaphors'.

According to Lakoff and Johnson's Experiential Hypothesis (1980, p. 14), many of the concrete sources used to conceptualize our abstract ideas are derived from our bodily infant

experiences. A proposal further discussed by Johnson (1987), where he argues that our embodied experiences are not innate, but developed as we interact with the environment around us; which is a fundamental proposition in Cognitive Linguistics (Swan, 2009, p. 460). According to Johnson (1987, p. 21), our experience of physical containment, for instance, derives from the awareness of “our bodies as three-dimensional containers into which we put certain things (food, water, air) and out of which other things emerge (food and water wastes, air, blood, etc.)”. Furthermore, containment is also experienced in one’s surroundings as one enters and leaves rooms, vehicles and many other bounded spaces (Johnson, 1987, p. 21). Such interactions give rise to what Johnson refers to as ‘image schemas’, defined by Gibbs (2006, p. 91) as “structures that organize experience at the level of bodily perception and movement”. In other words, image schemas are cognitive patterns derived from repeated embodied experiences, which may be used to interpret new experiences later. Johnson (1987, p. 126) divides these patterns into three main groups and proposes a list of the main image schemas, as shown in Table 2.2 below:

Table 2.2 Johnson’s list of image schemas

<b>Spatial motion group</b>	<b>Force group</b>	<b>Balance group</b>
Containment	Compulsion	Axis Balance
Path	Counterforce	Point Balance
Source-Path-Goal	Diversion	Twin-Pan Balance
Blockage	Removal of Restraint	Equilibrium
Center-Periphery	Enablement	
Cycle	Attraction	
Cyclic Climax	Link	
	Scale	

The reason why these schemas are relevant for metaphor studies is because they “are pervasive in experience, have internal structure, underlie literal meanings, and can be metaphorically elaborated to provide for our understanding of more abstract conceptual domains” (Gibbs, 2006, p. 91), as illustrated below by Goatly (2007a, p. 74):

For example, we experience the notion of proximity and warmth from being picked up, hugged or separated from our careers, so that RELATIONSHIP IS PROXIMITY, AFFECTION

IS WARMTH. We experience gravity and the sense of vertical orientation as well – MORE IS HIGH and POWER IS HIGH. The first most obvious changes that we notice are movements, thus CHANGE and ACTIVITY IS MOVEMENT. We learn to crawl and eventually walk towards objects that we want giving us PURPOSE IS DIRECTION and DEVELOPMENT / SUCCESS IS MOVEMENT FORWARDS.

Goatly (2007b, p. 15) also brings attention to the following question: when one begins to think abstractly, how does one decide which concrete sources to map into which abstract domains? He proposes that in order to answer this question, it is important to understand another concept, namely, metonymy.

The traditional distinction between metaphor and metonymy was viewed also in terms of domains, where metaphor was seen as the correlation between two domains, whereas metonymy was seen as an intra-domain mapping which involved only one domain (Allan, 2008, p. 11). Nevertheless, this definition is problematic, since delimiting domain boundaries has proven to be puzzling and highly subjective. Therefore, in contemporary linguistics, it has been proposed that metaphor and metonymy should rather be seen as ‘points on a cline’ (Allan, 2008, p. 13). Following the contemporary proposal, Radden suggests a ‘metonymy-metaphor continuum’, where:

the classical notions of metaphor and metonymy are to be seen as prototypical categories at the end points of a continuum of mapping processes. The range in the middle [...] is made up of metonymy-based metaphors, which also account for the transition of metonymy to metaphor by providing an experiential motivation of a metaphor” (as cited in Allan, 2008, p. 13).

This proposal supports Lakoff and Johnson’s Experiential Hypothesis and suggests that metaphors are metonymy-based, which answers Goatly’s question above, on the link between concrete sources and abstract targets. As he claims, “many of the basic links in conceptual metaphors can be traced back to metonymies such as cause and effect, or activity and place” (Goatly, 2007b, p. 15). For instance, the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT can be found in many different languages, and its origin, he argues, is probably one of cause and effect, that is, when one becomes angry, one does feel hot (Goatly, 2007b, p. 15). Nevertheless, he continues, such metonymies later transition into metaphors (Goatly, 2007b, p. 16), giving rise to metaphorical expressions about anger like “He *flared up* at me”.

When metaphorical expressions are frequently used, they become conventionalized and ultimately enter the lexicon; thereby they may no longer be perceived as metaphors by many, such as “*wasting* time” and “*losing* an argument”. Traditionally, these would be described as ‘dead’ metaphors; a label objected to by many conceptual metaphor linguists who argue that the term suggests that such metaphors are not wielding any significant influence on cognition (Goatly, 2007, p. 21), whereas quite the contrary is demonstrated by linguists such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980). As pointed out by Allan (2008, p. 9), many linguists argue in favor of the importance of such metaphorical expressions, which often can “provide linguistic evidence for concepts that are used to structure speaker’s views of the world, and their understanding of situations and experiences”. Furthermore, as remarked by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 55), the fact that such metaphorical expressions are conventionally fixed in the English lexicon does not make them less alive.

Nevertheless, as proposed by Goatly (2007, p. 22), as controversial as these labels may be, a relevant distinction must be made when it comes to language processing:

[...] unconventional metaphors show more right-hemisphere brain activity in fMRI brain scans [...]. The relative ease with which conventional metaphors and literal language are processed suggests the possibility for considerable latent ideological effects.

Goatly’s claim as to the ideological purpose of metaphors is supported by many in the literature (Charteris-Black, 2011; 2014; Deignan, 2005; Lakoff, 2002; Semino, 2008); and Geary (2009), based on a decision-making experiment, proposes that metaphors can *subtly* influence the decisions we make. The element of subtlety is fundamental to the discussion of how metaphors contribute to persuasion and the spread of ideology, which is a topic that will be discussed in the next section.

### **2.2.3 Metaphor and framing in political discourse**

As illustrated in section 2.2.2 above, conceptual metaphors help us understand new concepts based on the concepts that we already know. Nevertheless, this matching from one source domain to a target domain will only map aspects of the former to the latter; otherwise, there would not be a metaphorical link between the domains, but rather a literal one, where domain A would literally be domain B. Consequently, as remarked by Lakoff and Johnson

(1980, p. 10), this partial mapping allow us to *highlight* some aspects of a concept and *hide* others; a proposal that leads to another important concept in the study of metaphors, namely, ‘framing’, as defined below by Entman (1993, p. 52):

Framing essentially involves *selection* and *salience*. To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described (originally italicized).

For instance, when an argument is framed in terms of war, one may focus on the negative aspects of arguing, and downplay the cooperative aspects of it (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 10). Framing is therefore a very powerful tool when it comes to persuasion, and, consequently, to politics, because it allows a speaker to frame his ideology in a way that emphasizes its positive aspects, and de-emphasizes the negative ones; a proposal further elaborated by van Dijk (2011, p. 396) and represented in his model referred to as the ‘ideological square’. According to van Dijk (2011, p. 396), with the help of this conceptual tool, a speaker tries to evoke a feeling of belonging and group identity in the audience by reinforcing the division between *Us* and *Them* (also referred to as the ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ by Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 212). According to this schema, the speaker can shape the discourse to favor his views by (1) emphasizing the good things about *Us*, (2) de-emphasizing the bad things about *Us*, (3) emphasizing the bad things about *Them*, and (4) de-emphasizing the good things about *Them* (van Dijk, 2011, p. 396). Charteris-Black (2014, p. 211) suggests that metaphors can be an effective tool in discourse for the creation of such an ‘*in vs. out*’ image. For instance, Charteris-Black argues, by using conceptual metaphors like “THE IN-GROUP IS A FORCE FOR GOOD” and “THE OUT-GROUP IS A FORCE FOR EVIL” or “THE IN-GROUP IS A HERO” and “THE OUT-GROUP IS A VILLAIN”, one contributes to the creation of such a contrasting portrayal between *us* (in-group) and *them* (out-group) (for an elaborated list of conceptual metaphors used for this purpose, see Charteris-Black, 2014, pp. 212-213).

According to Charteris-Black (2014, p. 211), the choice of specific metaphors for different topics is motivated by ideology and by using metaphors in a *systematic way*, one can form ‘long-term mental representations’ that reinforce one’s view of the world, which brings us back to the notion of ‘political myth’ (discussed in section 2.1.2 above) and ‘framing’. In other words, the ideological purpose of metaphor is to *frame* the discourse in a way that favors

the speaker's perspectives and downplays his opponent's, and by purposefully<sup>1</sup> choosing the 'right' metaphors, a speaker can shape his discourse in a way that 'tells the right story', that is, a political myth that fits with the audience's view of how the world works, and expectations of how it should work.

The reason why conceptual metaphors are so relevant in this political framework is that they work at a subliminal level, and are able to "exploit both conscious beliefs and unconscious emotional associations in order to project particularly powerful representations of the speakers themselves and of the nations or groups they lead" (Semino, 2008, p. 86). Since metaphors are *unconsciously* linked to emotions such as fear, anger and happiness, they can influence the audience's perspectives towards different topics and lead to the audience's consent to controversial political actions (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 22).

In an interesting analysis of the use of metaphors in discourses related to the Gulf-War, Lakoff (2009a) demonstrates how specific metaphors were used to justify the war, and he goes as far as to claim that "metaphors can kill" (2009a, p. 5). According to him, metaphors such as 'Saddam Hussein has a *stranglehold* on our economy', 'Saddam is Hitler', 'the occupation of Kuwait is an ongoing *rape*' and 'the US is in the Gulf to *protect freedom, protect our future, and protect the innocent*' contribute to the creation of a political myth which emphasizes the 'hero' role of the US, at the same time that it frames Saddam and, consequently, Iraq as the 'villain' (Lakoff, 2009a, p. 5). Such a narrative evokes feelings of fear in the audience, and when influenced by fear, one may make decisions that one would not have made, had the element of fear not been there. This view supports Segesten's (2011, p. 78) claim, introduced in section 2.1.2, that "the emotional power of myth" can have dangerous consequences.

Nevertheless, choosing specific metaphors to evoke particular emotions in an audience is not as straightforward as it sounds. Although some emotions are said to be universal (c.f. Ożańska-Ponikwia, 2013) and some conceptual metaphors are claimed to be at least near-universal (Kövecses, 2005, p. 67), the metaphors used for eliciting these emotions may be culture-dependent; a condition that will be elaborated on in the next section.

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<sup>1</sup> As remarked by Charteris-Black, although such linguistic decisions are assumed to be purposeful, it has not been pinpointed how deliberate they are (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 211).

#### 2.2.4 Metaphor in culture

Kövecses (2005, p. 64) claims that some conceptual metaphors may be regarded as universal or at least near-universal at a ‘superordinate level’, such as THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER. He argues that this is possible because such metaphors are deeply rooted in universal physiological experience. Nevertheless, as expected, metaphors vary cross-culturally. According to Kövecses (2005, p. 231), this is due to two main causes: ‘differential experience’ and ‘differential cognitive preferences or styles’, and, as pointed out by him, although these causes are laid out separately for clarification purposes, they are, in reality, intertwined.

To mention a few, such variation causes include differences in the physical environment in which people live, social and cultural contexts, social and personal history, and different concerns and interests among cultures (Kövecses, 2005, pp. 231-258). As noted by Kövecses (2005, p. 235), culturally distinct key concepts may create differences not only in the production of metaphors, but also on how they are understood by speakers of languages associated with distinguishing core values. For instance, a study conducted by Boers and Demecheleer (as cited in Kövecses, 2005, p. 236) showed that French-speaking students were better able to infer the meaning of English idioms that were related to SLEEVE and FOOD, rather than those related to HAT and SHIP, providing evidence for the existence of distinguishing salient concepts across cultures. Deignan (2005, p. 100) points out that this means that culture has implications for metaphor choice, that is, “speakers choose metaphors from source domains that are salient to them”. It is therefore crucial to the analysis of metaphor use to be also aware of culturally bound metaphors – as, for example, the well-known AMERICAN DREAM metaphor in the American culture, which will be discussed in section 4.2.

Kövecses (2005, pp. 89) also argues that since specific cultures (societies) can be further divided into different ‘dimensions’ – such as ethnical, regional and/or ideological – variations in metaphor can also be found *within* cultures. Such a claim is thoroughly illustrated by Lakoff (2002; 2009b; 2014), where he argues that contrasting views of the family held by conservatives and liberals give rise to two different metaphorical frames, which are respectively called Strict Father model and Nurturant Parent model. These models proposed by Lakoff (2002; 2009b; 2014) are based on his Nation-as-family theory, where he argues that the relationship between government and its citizens is metaphorically viewed as that of parents and their children. He further argues that the language used to frame both systems is derived from metaphors of morality, reflecting how these contrasting ideal families distinguish right from wrong, that is, moral from immoral. According to Lakoff (2009b, 77), the Strict

Father model reflecting the Republican ideology is mapped onto “pure conservative politics” and is summarized by him as follows:

The strict father is the moral leader of the family, and is to be obeyed. The family needs a strict father because there is evil in the world from which he has to protect them – and Mommy can’t do it. The family needs a strict father because there is competition in the world, and he has to win those competitions to support the family – and Mommy can’t do it. You need a strict father because kids are born bad, in the sense that they do what they want to do and don’t know right from wrong. They need to be punished strictly and painfully when they do wrong, so they will have an incentive to do right in order to avoid punishment. That is how they build internal discipline, which is needed to do right and not wrong. With that self-discipline, they can enter the market and become self-reliant and prosperous. As mature, self-disciplined, self-reliant adults, they can go off on their own, start their own families, and become strict fathers in their own households, without meddling by their own fathers or anyone else.

Mapped onto politics, the strict father model explains why conservatism is concerned with authority, with obedience, with discipline, and with punishment. It makes sense in a patriarchal family where male strength dominates unquestionably.

Whereas the Nurturant Parent model, concerning pure liberal politics, reflects the Democratic ideology and is described by Lakoff (2009b, 81) as follows:

Two parents, with equal responsibilities, and no gender constraints – or one parent of either gender. Their job is to nurture their children and raise them to be nurturers of others. Nurturance is empathy, responsibility for oneself and others, and the strength to carry out those responsibilities. This is the opposite of indulgence: children are raised to care about others, to take care of themselves and others, and to lead a fulfilling life. Discipline is positive; it comes out of a child’s developing sense of care and responsibility. Nurturance requires setting limits, and explaining them. It requires mutual respect – a parent’s respect for children, and respect for parents by children must be earned by how the parents behave. Restitution is preferred over punishment – if you do something wrong, do something right to make up for it. The job of parents is protection and empowerment of their children, and a dedication to community life, where people care about and take care of each other.

[...] mapped onto the nation, the result is the progressive<sup>2</sup> politics of protection, empowerment, and community.

There is a reason why this model is gender neutral. Fathers can, and do, form deep positive attachments to their kids. They, as well as mothers, can do all the things required by the nurturance model.

The abovementioned models explain, for instance, why some Republican policies have been criticized and even called “War on Women” (Dworkin, 1997); as well as why some conservatives have referred to Democrats as the “mommy party” (Lakoff, 2009b, p. 81).

Nevertheless, as noted by Lakoff (2002, p. 103), the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent models are best seen as central members of “a radial category of family models and corresponding moral systems”, which allows *degrees of variation* for both models. Furthermore, one should bear in mind that one’s ideal family model may differ from how one actually interacts with his or her family. For instance, conservatives are not necessarily strict fathers in the literal sense. In addition, Republicans and Democrats may operate with both modes of thought in different situations, which is scientifically known as *biconceptualism* (Lakoff, 2009b, p. 82). Therefore, it is not uncommon to find liberals who may have conservative traits, as well as conservatives with liberal characteristics. For example, although there are more Democratic women in the Congress, there has also been an increase in the number of Republican women (Willis, 2015), a fact that might be seen as a challenge to Lakoff’s “mommy can’t do it”-component of the Strict Father model, had the model been rigid.

### 2.3 Summary

This chapter has provided the theoretical foundation for the present investigation, where I have defined ‘persuasion’ and ‘ideology’, their relation to rhetoric and their relevance for political communication. I have argued that in addition to linguistic strategies derived from classical rhetoric, specific metaphors chosen by the politicians contribute to the framing of speeches in a way that favors the politicians’ perspectives and conforms with the audience’s expectations of how the world works. By applying such strategies, the politicians increase their

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<sup>2</sup> Although the labels ‘progressive’ and ‘liberal’ have come to denote distinguishing ideologies, they are still used by many as synonyms for designating political views of Democrats, especially after negative connotations have been associated with the term ‘liberal’; thus, in the present work, these two terms will be used interchangeably.

chances in convincing the audience that ‘they are the right candidate’, which is the ultimate goal in election periods.

In the next chapter, I will present the methodology for analyzing Bush’s and Obama’s speeches in order to investigate how the politicians’ linguistic choices contribute to their persuasiveness.



# CHAPTER 3

## Methodology

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According to Charteris-Black (2011, p. 47), identifying which metaphors are systematically preferred by a particular politician may reveal the existence of underlying political myths, which are an essential component in ideology communication, as discussed in the previous chapter. Therefore, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 47) proposes that a thorough metaphor analysis can assist in the understanding and explaining of political myths, and thereby how particular linguistic choices contribute to a politician's persuasiveness<sup>3</sup>. When following Charteris-Black's approach and analyzing metaphors in political discourse one should thus be able to "identify *which* metaphors were chosen [by a particular politician] and to explain *why* these metaphors were chosen by illustrating *how* they contribute to political myths" (2011, p. 47). Charteris-Black (2014, p. 193) then suggests a framework consisting of the following four stages for this type of analysis:

- CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS and SELECTION OF SPEECHES: When and where metaphors are identified (time/genre/sub-genre); and who uses metaphors (individuals/groups/ comparison of individuals);
- IDENTIFICATION STAGE: How metaphors are identified (theory/definition); and what types of metaphors are identified.
- INTERPRETATION STAGE: How metaphors are classified (themes/ concepts); and what representations are implied;
- EXPLANATION STAGE: Why are these metaphors used (impact)? And how are these metaphors used (spread and discourse range)?

Although metaphors are a powerful conceptual tool for persuasion purposes, as argued in chapter 2, they cannot be analyzed in isolation from other rhetorical devices. I have therefore combined Charteris-Black's framework, as described above, with the analysis of other linguistic features, such as tropes and schemes – as presented in section 2.1.1. The procedure and its implications will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

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<sup>3</sup> Although metaphor analysis is a valid method for the investigation of political myths, it should not be regarded as the only one; for other methods, see Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 47.

### **3.1 Speech Selection: Corpus**

When selecting which data to analyze, the primary focus of the present work was to find speeches that were *directly comparable* between the two politicians. In addition to this main criterion, another factor has played a role in the construction of the present dataset, that is, Vertessen and De Landtscheer's claim that "politicians make an extra effort to use metaphorical language at election time" (2008, p. 279). I have therefore chosen to investigate metaphor use in the language of Bush and Obama in speeches connected to their election period, both during their first and second term.

In the United States, when campaigning around the country, it is common for politicians to make use of the so-called 'stump speech', that is, a standard speech that is delivered many times by a politician when visiting different cities. Although the beginning of stump speeches is usually customized by the politician to meet the local issues of the places visited, the basis for the content of this short type of speech is commonly derived from the politician's nomination acceptance speech. I have therefore restricted the data to include the nomination acceptance speeches, instead of their derivative stump speeches. In addition to the nomination acceptance addresses, the politician's victory and inaugural speeches have also been included, since they represent the important shift from candidate to elected president in the election periods. The speeches chosen for analysis are as shown in appendices A and C.

For clarification purposes, it is worth mentioning that when referring to the speeches from the two different terms, the words 'first' and 'second', corresponding respectively to the politician's first and second term may be employed. For example, when discussing Bush's address accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia, i.e. text 1 in appendix A, expressions like 'Bush's first nomination acceptance speech' may be used. Whereas when referring to his victory speech during his second term, that is, text 5 in appendix A, expressions such as 'Bush's second victory speech' may be employed. The same principle applies, of course, to Obama's speeches. Moreover, in order to identify the text in discussion when quoting passages from Bush's and Obama's speeches, the date when the speech was delivered, as shown in appendices A and C, will be given in parentheses.

### **3.2 Speech Coding: Rhetorical Devices and Metaphor Analysis**

Once the speeches were selected, I went through the texts with a text marker and highlighted the main topics used by the politicians, in order to get an overview of possible

target and source domains for metaphors, as defined in section 2.2.2. After that, to code the text and quantify the data, the QSR International's NVivo 11 qualitative data analysis software was used (for a detailed description of the software, see Richards, 1999). The software allows one the possibility of coding the speeches digitally and combining different features in order to analyze the data both quantitatively and qualitatively. The texts were then coded by me with respect to rhetorical devices and metaphorical source domains.

When annotating the text, I created several coding categories, including, for instance what Aristotle called artistic proofs, namely ethos, logos and pathos, as well as different tropes and schemes, such as antithesis, polysyndeton, anaphora and epiphora (cf. section 2.1.1). Since any part of the text, including single words, can be coded into different categories at the same time in NVivo, the positive outcome of using this software in the present investigation is that one is able to see, instantaneously, where different linguistic features are coded together and which ones are mostly used by a particular politician, which contributes to the understanding of the politician's linguistic choices. For example, after coding the texts, I could see that the following passage had been coded by me into three different categories, which are, pathos, tricolon<sup>4</sup> and metaphor:

I believe in grace, because I have seen it... In peace, because I have felt it... In forgiveness, because I have needed it. (3 August 2000)

When all the texts were coded, I could then easily see that this pattern of combining the literary device tricolon with a metaphor, and occasionally with pathos, was used more often by Bush than Obama.

With respect to metaphors, in particular, the criteria for their identification and classification will be described on the next two subsections.

### **3.2.1 Metaphor identification**

As remarked by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 163), when identifying metaphors many humanities researchers often overlook the question “what counts as a metaphor?”, and take for

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<sup>4</sup> A tricolon is a rhetorical device consisting of three successive parallel clauses, phrases or words that have almost the same length (although this condition is not a strict requirement), and which is usually uttered with increasing power.

granted that metaphors are “self-explanatory and unproblematic”, which leads to methodological weaknesses. Although different methods for counting metaphors have been presented, such as the Metaphor Identification Procedure (hereafter MIP) proposed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), there is still a degree of subjectivity in the identification and classification of metaphors. That is, it is never entirely predictable how an individual will process a particular expression as metaphorical or not, since such an interpretation depends on the individual’s knowledge of the word’s basic meaning and its metaphorical sense. Nevertheless, as an attempt to lessen this subjective gap in metaphor studies, Charteris-Black (20014, p. 163) argues that it is crucial to define clearly ‘what a metaphor is’ and state the criteria adopted when counting metaphors, especially in quantitative studies. The definition adopted in the present analysis is the one proposed by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 170):

A metaphor is a word or phrase that has a more basic meaning than the one that it has in the context where it has been used. The very concept of metaphor relies on the idea of words having more than one sense; [...] a more basic meaning is one that is more concrete, one that is related to bodily action, one that is more precise, or one that is historically earlier.

Charteris-Black (2014, p. 170) then suggests two resources to assist in the identification of metaphors: (1) a dictionary to identify basic meanings, and (2) a corpus to assist establishing how words are used. In the present work, when necessary, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) has been used for the former and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA) has been employed for the latter.

When deciding what to count as ‘a metaphor’, the MIP would analyze a phrase such as ‘the Iron Curtain’ as two separate metaphor instances, namely ‘iron’ and ‘curtain’, since these words are listed as two different entries in a dictionary. Charteris-Black (2014, p. 176), on the other hand, argues that “metaphors in political rhetoric typically occur in phrases, or collocations, rather than as separate words, and for this reason the unit of measurement should be the phrase rather than the word”. Following Charteris-Black’s reasoning, I adopt the phrase approach.

During this stage, Charteris-Black (2014, p. 160) also suggests that one should categorize metaphors in relation to their degree of conventionality. This is because, as we saw in section 2.2.2, since conventional metaphors and literal language are processed differently as compared to novel metaphors, they may reveal distinctive ideological purposes. Nevertheless,

categorizing metaphors has proven to be problematic and different researchers have suggested distinct approaches to the issue. Goatly's categorization, for instance, displays five degrees of conventionality, namely: (1) dead, (2) dead and buried, (3) sleeping, (4) tired and (5) active (1997, p. 32). According to Goatly (1997, p. 32), 'dead metaphors' are instances where the original literal meaning of a word has become rare and thereby usually unknown for most language users, such as the word 'germ', which originally meant 'a seed'; in such cases, the connection between the original meaning of a word and its metaphorical sense is usually unavailable for the brain to process the word or expression as being metaphorical. In the case of 'dead and buried', the two senses of the word, i.e. original and metaphorical, have also become formally different as illustrated by the pair 'clew', defined as 'ball of thread', and 'clue', meaning 'fact' or 'piece of evidence'. In 'sleeping metaphors', both the literal and the metaphorical senses of the word are active and the word may be perceived as polysemous, as in the case of the word 'crane', originally defined as 'a bird species' and metaphorically extended to mean 'machine used for lifting heavy objects'. 'Tired metaphors', are similar to 'sleeping metaphors', but although both senses of the word are available, when processing the metaphorical expression, the literal sense of the word is more likely to be activated, as in the case of 'cut', literally defined as 'an incision' and metaphorically interpreted as 'a budget reduction'. Lastly, 'active metaphors' are typical instances of novel and/or poetic metaphors, where in order to make sense of the metaphorical meaning of a word, one has to be aware of the word's literal sense. Goatly (1997, p. 34) illustrates this last category by making reference to the usage of the word 'icicles' in the following sentence: "He held five icicles in each hand", where the literal meaning of 'icicle' as "a pendent mass of ice formed by the freezing of dripping water" (definition from the online dictionary *Merriam-Webster*) is the explicit base for the metaphorical interpretation of 'icicle' as 'fingers as cold as ice'.

Charteris-Black (2014, p.178), in turn, avoids the so-criticized label 'dead', as discussed in section 2.2.2, and proposes three categories, which are:

(1) Novel metaphors, usually processed by *comparison*, i.e. the two entities related metaphorically are still cognitively separate;

(2) Entrenched metaphors; usually processed by *categorization*, i.e. as a metaphor becomes more conventionalized, an abstract category emerges to encompass both the metaphor and the entity referred to;

(3) Conventional metaphors; processed both by comparison and categorization, i.e. it shifts between the two depending on the context.

These three abovementioned categories, as proposed by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 178), correspond respectively to Goatly's 'active', 'sleeping' and 'tired' metaphors. In order to sort these three types of metaphors, Charteris-Black (2014, p. 179) proposes the following corpus-based procedure:

If using a corpus and a metaphor occurs fewer than five times in a sample of 100 corpus entries it is a candidate for being a novel metaphor; when more than half of the entries have a metaphoric sense it is an entrenched metaphor. Conventional metaphors are likely to be those that occur somewhere between 5 and 50 times in a sample of 100 corpus entries.

Despite the criticism on the terminology, Deignan (2005, p. 39), in turn, maintains the 'dead' label and, on a corpus-based approach, she categorizes metaphors into four types, as shown in Table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1 Deignan's corpus-based categorization of metaphors

Source: Adapted from table 2.3 in Deignan (2005, p. 47). Adapted with permission.

Category	Definition	Example
Innovative	Infrequent metaphors that are found less than once in every thousand citations of the word.	"...the <i>lollipop</i> trees"
Conventional	Metaphorical sense is dependent on a literal core sense identified by corpus linguistic and/or semantic criteria.	Don't <i>waste</i> my time!
Dead	Metaphorical sense is not dependent on a literal core sense, identified by neither corpus linguistic nor semantic criteria.	<i>deep</i> (of colour)
Historical	"Senses originally formed by metaphorical extension from a literal sense that has since dropped out of use" (Deignan, 2005, p. 40).	<i>comprehend, pedigree</i>

On the one hand, as proposed by Deignan (2005, p. 40), innovative and historical metaphors are easier to identify in a corpus, due to their distinctive nature and since "they lie outside conventional language". On the other hand, setting 'conventional' and 'dead'

metaphors apart is not as straightforward, but the former is claimed to be more dependent on a core literal meaning than the latter (Deignan, 2005, p. 47).

Nevertheless, although corpus-based approaches such as Charteris-Black's and Deignan's provide some sort of guidelines as to how to distinguish one category from the other, all the three approaches are still based on the possibility of demarcating the boundaries between these categories, which has proven to be problematic, if even possible. That is, even though one can use a corpus and/or a dictionary to assist in deciding how novel a metaphor is, the cognitive effect of its use and, consequently, of its interpretation by the listener is still dependent on the individual's knowledge of the word. Thus, in the same line of thought proposed by Radden when discussing the metonymy-metaphor continuum (cf. section 2.2.2), I suggest that the categorization of metaphors is at best seen as a continuum, where – following Deignan's terminology (2005, p. 47) – the fuzzy range in the middle accounts for the conventionality transition from innovative to historical metaphors.

Since the focus of the present work is not primarily concerned with dividing metaphors into specific categories, but to look at their interaction in general with other rhetorical devices in the construction of Bush's and Obama's rhetoric, I will not elaborate any further on this matter, rather than to mention that clearly historical metaphors, such as 'slate' in Obama's phrase "slate of candidates" (28 August 2008) will be left out of the metaphor count.

After identifying the metaphors in the corpus, I then move to the next stage in Charteris-Black's framework as proposed in the beginning of this chapter, namely, the interpretation stage, where metaphors will be classified according to their source domains.

### **3.2.2 Metaphor classification**

After the 'linguistic metaphors' per phrase have been identified, as described in the previous section, I assign source domains to them, i.e. the semantic field to which the words in the linguistic expressions belong, such as JOURNEY, FINANCE or WAR (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 187). Nevertheless, as pointed out by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 256), classifying metaphors in terms of source domains can be problematic as well, since different domains can interact conceptually in one single reference. Charteris-Black (2011, p. 256) illustrates this issue by referring to Bush's sentence: "And though our nation has sometimes halted and sometimes delayed, we must follow no other course", which can be classified both in terms of PERSON and JOURNEY metaphors. According to Charteris-Black (2011, p. 256):

Since personifications are based on the concept X IS A PERSON, and a person can also undertake journeys, the issue was whether the metaphor primarily brings to mind the image of a person or the action of travelling. In this case it seemed to be the idea THE NATION IS A PERSON that seemed to predominate, although the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS JOURNEY is also active.

Since the criteria for deciding what to regard as primary are not clearly established, and thus seems to be too subjective, in the present work I chose to cross-reference these types of conceptual interactions. That is, the abovementioned example is coded by me as both a PERSON and a JOURNEY metaphor. This approach leads, of course, to a higher number of linguistic expressions *per source domain*, but NVivo allows one to count the number of ‘unique references’, i.e. the number of entries that have been coded under the general category ‘source domains’, instead of the daughter categories PERSON and JOURNEY. Therefore, although, the example above will generate one PERSON metaphor plus one JOURNEY metaphor, when counting metaphors in general, the same example will be counted as only *one* ‘unique reference’, that is, *one* ‘linguistic expression’ connected to *two* different ‘source domains’. This is the reason why the sum of the amount of ‘linguistic expressions’ used *per source domain* and the total of *unique references* differ in both appendix B and D.

Once I have classified these linguistic metaphors in terms of source domains, NVivo groups together all of those that are coded in the same semantic field, for example, WAR. When immediately adjacent sentences are classified in terms of the same source domain, I code them as one single reference. That is, in a sequence of sentences like “We will continue this progress, and we will not turn back. At times, we lost our way. But we are coming home.” (3 August 2000), these four phrases will be counted by NVivo as *one* instance of the source domain JOURNEY.

Then, I examine each of these groups, and when linguistic metaphors share the same source and target domain, I can infer a ‘conceptual metaphor’ from those groups. For example, when a group of sentences is coded in terms of the source domain WAR, and they also share the same target domain POLITICS, a conceptual metaphor such as POLITICS IS WAR may be inferred.

Although I have counted the metaphors in Bush’s and Obama’s speeches, and the methodology for this procedure has been presented, the primary concern of the present investigation remains on the *qualitative* analysis of their linguistic choices and how metaphors

are used by them in combination with other rhetorical devices to persuade, rather than the *quantitative* aspect of it.

### **3.2.3 Metaphor explanation**

According to Charteris-Black (2014, p. 166-167), in the explanation stage, researchers should address the question regarding *how* and *why* metaphors were used, as well as *which other rhetorical features* have been used by a particular politician in conjunction with specific metaphors. Charteris-Black (2014, p. 176) argues that “explanation requires judging whether and how metaphors *influenced* an audience, how they interacted with other features and their persuasive role [...]. This may lead to the identification of underlying ideologies and political myths.”

Once the speeches have been coded in terms of different rhetorical devices and metaphors, in particular, as described in the previous sections, such patterns involving the interaction of metaphors and other discursive features may be identified and the researcher can then start to discuss the probable reasoning behind a politician’s specific linguistic choices. In the next chapter, the findings from Bush’s and Obama’s speeches will be presented and, based on the theory introduced in chapter 2, the role of the politician’s linguistic choices in persuasion and the creation of political myths will be discussed.

## **3.3 Methodological limitations**

Although the corpus chosen for the present analysis may reveal significant traits of Bush’s and Obama’s rhetorical choices, it encompasses only a small fraction of the politicians’ linguistic usage. Hence, other datasets may result in different findings. Furthermore, the act of persuasion analyzed in the present work, that is, the act of convincing the voters that one is the right candidate for the presidency of the United States, relies almost entirely on the rhetorical choices found in the corpus. Therefore, although significantly relevant for the politicians’ candidacy, the speeches and their linguistic attributes discussed in the present investigation should be regarded as a contribution to the candidates’ persuasiveness, rather than the sole cause of it.

Any other relevant methodology issues regarding the identification, classification and/or explanation of the metaphors, as well as their interaction with other rhetorical devices, will be discussed in the next chapter.



## **PART II - DATA ANALYSIS**

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# CHAPTER 4

## Bush vs. Obama

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In this chapter, I propose that although Bush and Obama make use of similar rhetorical devices and metaphor sources to depict themselves as the right candidates for the presidency of the United States and their opponents as incompetent candidates, they apply these linguistic features in very distinctive ways, which contributes to the construction of the politician's particular styles. I will argue that due to the attacks of 9/11, Bush's rhetoric undergoes a significant change in his second term campaign, which contributes to the creation of a political myth that depicts him as 'an honorable liberator' who will do "whatever it takes" to free the world from tyranny. Whereas Obama's background as 'the living proof of the American Dream' is the primary source for Obama's rhetorical choices, which portray him as a triumphant leader who has overcome obstacles and who is ready to lead the country in an arduous journey to a better future. Furthermore, both politicians employ a problem-solution argument schema to frame their campaigns in the right way. That is, in their first term campaign, Bush and Obama frame the need for shift in power, by portraying the ruling party as problematic and ineffective; whereas in their second campaign, they frame the need for being granted one more term, so that they can continue the positive work started in their first terms.

The chapter starts with an account of the source domains identified in the speeches of both politicians and a brief discussion of some relevant facts regarding the identification of these sources. Then I move to the discussion as to how the politician's linguistic choices have contributed to their persuasiveness. For descriptive purposes, the analysis is subdivided into three main sections: 4.2 – 'Having the right intentions', 4.3 – 'Sounding and looking right' and 4.4 – 'Thinking right and telling the right story', but these rhetorical elements are in reality intertwined strategies used for persuasion, as illustrated in Figure 2.1 (cf. chapter 2). Thus – when relevant – insights from other elements than the ones being discussed in the particular section may be brought into the respective discussion.

### 4.1 Metaphor overview

According to Charteris-Black (2007, p. 42), politicians tend to apply familiar source domains when using metaphors. A study conducted by him on the use of metaphor by western

leaders demonstrated that the six most commonly used source domains by American politicians were as follows: (1) journeys, (2) personification, (3) creation, (4) destruction, (5) reification and (6) conflict (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 315); a finding that is supported by the present investigation, as shown in appendices B and D. The metaphors are arranged in the appendices from the most to the least frequent, except for the ‘miscellaneous’ category, which is a collection of metaphors connected to source domains that appear only once or twice in the particular politician’s corpus, as well as complex metaphor clusters, where various source domains are combined together, as in the following example:

- 1) The historic change sweeping across the Arab world must be defined not by the iron fist of a dictator or the hate of extremists, but by the hopes and aspirations of ordinary people who are reaching for the same rights that we celebrate here today. (6 September 2012)

As shown in both appendices personifications and reifications stand out from the other categories. This should not come as a surprise, since metaphors are claimed to cause semantic tension *usually* by either ‘reification’, which is the objectification or concretization of something abstract, or ‘personification’, which occurs when animate characteristics are used to refer to something that in reality is inanimate (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 15). That is, these two categories should rather be seen as processes, which may function as a prerequisite for further source domain categorization. In order to illustrate this view, we can compare two different instances of what I have called JOURNEY and MOTION metaphor:

- 2) We cannot walk alone. At this moment, in this election, we must pledge once more to march into the future. (28 August 2008)
- 3) [...] the change we need doesn't come from Washington. Change comes to Washington. (28 August 2008)

In example 2), no personification is needed, because ‘we’, i.e. ‘the people’, display the necessary attributes to perform the movement entailed by the expression, even though “marching into the future” is not literally possible. However, sentence 3) requires personification, since the abstract concept of ‘change’ is not an animate being capable of moving voluntarily. Therefore, in order to capture these nuances, instead of categorizing such metaphors as either PERSON or JOURNEY based on which image they primarily bring to mind,

as proposed by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 256), I prefer to cross-reference them, as described in section 3.2.2. In fact, almost half of the personifications used by Bush and Obama are cross-referenced with other domains, as shown in appendix E. The personifications that are not cross-referenced are examples where the ‘animate being’ in the expression, instead of being part of a specific scenario, such as a JOURNEY or a CONFLICT, is rather referred to with adjectives or verbs that require person-like qualities, as in the following examples:

- 4) America, at its best, is compassionate. (20 January 2001)
- 5) Government has great responsibilities for public safety and public health, for civil rights and common schools. (20 January 2001)

In 4) and 5) above, there do not seem to be any other specific source domains activated, other than the PERSON domain. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 33), “personification is not a single unified process [...] each personification differs in terms of the aspects of people that are picked out”. In 4), for example, the conceptual metaphor is not merely AMERICA IS A PERSON, but AMERICA IS SYMPATHETIC. Other examples from the corpus show that, on the one hand, both Bush and Obama use adjectives and verbs that depict America as a person of virtue, a ‘hero’. On the other hand, countries, such as Iraq, may be depicted, especially by Bush, as ‘immoral people’ or ‘enemies’, which has ideological implications. That is, this contrast between America and other countries not only provides a very specific way of thinking about the countries, but also a way of acting towards them (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 33), as it will be discussed in the next sections. Therefore, a deeper analysis of which aspects of a person that are highlighted and concealed in each case is essential to the understanding of how conceptual metaphors affect our decisions.

It is worth mentioning that, as discussed by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 183), examples like 4) and 5) above can “be processed differently by different individuals”, since they can be seen as instances of *metonymy*, because of the relation GEOGRAPHICAL PLACE FOR PEOPLE THAT LIVE THERE in 4) and POLITICAL ORGAN FOR THE POLITICIANS WHO EXECUTE THE GOVERNING FUNCTION in 5), and because it is linguistically economical to talk about a nation and a political body as if they were people. However, as pointed out by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 183), such examples are also seen as metaphors, since neither a geographical place nor a political organ can literally be the subjects of sentences like 4) and 5). Therefore, I have also classified such examples as metaphors.

The understanding of personification as a process also applies to reifications, but to a much greater extent. That is, since the very nature of conceptual metaphors stems from the possibility of understanding aspects of ‘*abstract targets*’ on the basis of ‘*concrete sources*’, as discussed in section 2.2.2, although not an obligatory requisite, most metaphors will require some extent of concretization, i.e. reification. For instance, when talking about the abstract term ‘prosperity’ in terms of the concrete domain of CONSTRUCTION, reification is intrinsically a part of the metaphorical mechanism, as in the example below:

- 6) Prosperity can be a tool in our hands used to build and better our country. (3 August 2000)

Therefore, to avoid an overcount where almost every instance of metaphor found in the corpus would be cross-referenced as both reification and another specific source domain, I have decided to code examples like the one in 6) only in terms of the particular source domain being used in the reification process. That is, example 6), for instance, is only coded as CONSTRUCTION, instead of reification + CONSTRUCTION. As in the case of personifications, the references that are only coded as reifications are instances where no other specific source domains are activated, rather than the general process of attributing concrete-like properties to an abstract concept, as shown in the examples below:

- 7) Now is the time to give American workers security and independence that no politician can ever take away. (3 August 2000)
- 8) What has also been lost is our sense of common purpose – our sense of higher purpose. And that's what we have to restore. (28 August 2008)

In the same way that a personification should not be seen as ‘a single unified process’, but rather further evaluated according to which PERSON attributes that are elicited, as discussed above, reifications must also be further analyzed in terms of which concrete-like properties one tries to evoke and, most importantly, *why*. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 26), viewing an abstract concept in concrete terms serves various purposes, it “allows us to refer to it, quantify it, identify a particular aspect of it, see it as a cause, act with respect to it, and perhaps even believe that we can understand it”. The examples above, for instance, reify abstract concepts such as ‘security’ and ‘independence’ in 7), and ‘sense of common purpose’ in 8), and depict them in a way that they sound like ‘reachable’ and consequently ‘manageable

entities'. 'Security' and 'independence' cannot be literally 'given' to workers, but thinking of these abstract concepts in such concrete terms leads to the illusion that such an action is possible, and '*having* security and independence' is definitely highly desirable. Nevertheless, if one was to explain what 'security' and 'independence' *concretely* entail and *how* one can 'give them' to others, this would definitely be an arduous task, if even possible. Still, such reifications 'sound right', because they appeal to the listener's emotions, and unconsciously evoke a positive feeling of 'security' and 'independence' being possessed, which consequently contribute to the politician's persuasiveness, as it helps him or her 'sound right'; a condition that will be further discussed in section 4.3.

Although such reifications 'sound concrete', they are, in fact, remarkably vague, and, as pointed out by Pinker (2005), "the vagueness of language, far from being a bug or an imperfection, actually might be a feature of language, one that we use to our advantage in social interactions". Namely, as illustrated above, by using the expression "give American workers security and independence", Bush depicts the task as 'concretely manageable' and therefore 'achievable' at the same time that he downplays the necessity of actually spelling out which mechanisms that will be used to achieve the task, which is a positive outcome for Bush. Furthermore, being vague is indeed an intrinsic part of metaphors, as explained in section 2.2.3, that is, a metaphorical mapping is only able to map *some aspects* of one domain to the other; otherwise, there would not be a metaphorical link between the source and the target, but rather a literal one, where domain A would literally be domain B.

Vagueness is also found in the corpus of both politicians in terms of ambiguous linguistic choices. For instance, when Bush and Obama talk about 'strengthening Medicare', this expression can be understood both in terms of reification, as in 'strengthening a pillar', as well as in terms of personification, since animate beings can also be strengthened. I have therefore decided to gather such examples in a specific category called STRENGTH and WEAKNESS. However, where the interpretation of 'strength' is evident, as in "[...] the strong foundations of an American Century" (3 August 2000), the entry is then coded to the specific source domain, which in the current example is CONSTRUCTION. The same applies for the category GROW and SHRINK, including examples such as "Instead, they knew that our power *grows* through its prudent use" (20 January 2009). Although Kövecses (2010, p. 127) proposes analyzing 'growing complex systems' in terms of PLANTS, as in A COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEM BECOMING LARGER IS A PLANT GROWING BIGGER, I prefer to collect them in a separate category, since growing abilities can be applied to both animate and inanimate beings.

As can be seen in appendices B and D, Bush and Obama rely on similar source domains for their metaphors. In fact, out of the nineteen source domains that were identified for both Bush and Obama, only two of them seem to differ for each politician, that is, FIRE and HEAT as well as BOOKS and READING are only listed under Bush's source domains (appendix B), whereas ANIMALS as well as GAMES and SPORTS only appear in Obama's list of source domains (appendix D). Nevertheless, Obama has as well an occurrence of BOOKS and READING metaphor, when he talks in his first inaugural speech about 'civil war and segregation' as a 'dark chapter', but since single uses of a source domain are gathered under the category 'miscellaneous', as explained in the beginning of this section, this specific source domain does not appear in Obama's list. The same accounts for Bush's use of ANIMAL metaphors, where he talks about investments as a 'nest egg' in both of his nomination acceptance speeches. Curiously, all of the 28 instances of the collocation 'dark chapter' found in the COCA corpus are examples of cross-referenced metaphors relying on the source domains of both LIGHT and DARKNESS and BOOKS and READING. None refers to literal 'dark chapters' from books, but most of them refer to difficult times in the history of a country, a remark that contributes to the reasoning on the importance of cross-referencing metaphors to capture nuances.

Nevertheless, as pointed out by Charteris-Black (2007, p. 42), although political leaders usually employ familiar source domains, they do so in innovative and distinctive ways, which contributes to the formation of their own characteristic style. Indeed, although Bush and Obama rely on similar familiar source domains, the vocabulary they use as the basis for their conceptual metaphors is quite different. Similarly, the way they combine their metaphors with particular rhetorical devices differ as well, which is expected since Bush and Obama represent different ideologies, namely conservative and liberal respectively. How these characteristic linguistic choices are employed and how they contribute to their persuasiveness is what will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

## **4.2 Having the Right Intentions**

As described in section 2.1.1, the structure of a speech plays an important role in the act of persuasion, and, as proposed in classical rhetoric, the prologue is where a speaker should seek to establish a relationship with the audience and demonstrate that he or she is a credible person of virtue, or in Charteris-Black's words, that he or she has the right intentions. This classical introductory element is still present in contemporary speeches; and both Bush and Obama follow this pattern. I will therefore start this discussion by going through Bush's and

Obama's appeal to ethos and their attempt in demonstrating that they have the right intentions. Nevertheless, as it will be shown in the present section, although an appeal to ethos is evident in the politicians' prologues, establishing one's moral credibility as the right candidate for the presidency of the United States is in fact a recurring theme throughout the twelve analyzed speeches, and particularly in the nomination acceptance addresses, since they are significantly important speeches for the politicians' campaigns.

#### **4.2.1 The 'regular guy' vs. the 'living proof of the American Dream'**

Before introducing oneself and assuring the audience of one's altruistic motives, it has become standard in American nomination acceptance speeches to thank the audience and formally accept one's nomination for presidency. This simple element already shows an interesting difference between Bush's and Obama's styles, that is, Obama tends to be more formal and to use more words per sentence than Bush, as shown below:

I accept your nomination. Thank you for this honor. (03 August 2000)

With profound gratitude and great humility, I accept your nomination for the presidency of the United States. (28 August 2008)

In fact, Bush has an average of 12,9 words per sentence, whereas Obama has an average of 17,4, which accounts in part for the fact that Obama's corpus is considerably larger than Bush's (19% larger). These numbers point to another tendency in Obama's speeches, the use of periphrasis, where he uses several words to introduce something – or someone – instead of stating it directly in a single word or phrase:

Let me express my thanks to the historic slate of candidates who accompanied me on this journey, and especially the one who traveled the farthest – a champion for working Americans and an inspiration to my daughters and to yours -- Hillary Rodham Clinton. (28 August 2008)

I want to thank my partner in this journey, a man who campaigned from his heart and spoke for the men and women he grew up with on the streets of Scranton, and rode with

on the train home to Delaware, the vice president-elect of the United States, Joe Biden.  
(4 November 2008)

Note that in both citations, periphrasis is combined with a JOURNEY metaphor, which is a domain ubiquitously found in political speeches, and commonly conceptualized as POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, where diverse aspects of political experience are understood and conveyed in terms of embodied experiences of movement (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 47). As remarked by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 47):

The journey schema is rhetorically attractive to politicians and leaders because it can be turned into a whole scenario when they represent themselves as ‘guides’, their policies as ‘maps’ and their supporters as ‘fellow travelling companions’. All of these entailments of the source domain contribute to the trust they seek to establish.

Therefore, when appealing to ethos, the domain of journeys can provide a rich source of mental representations that contribute to the politician’s establishment of moral credibility; not only his or her own, but also the trustworthiness of the politician’s ‘fellow travelling companions’, as illustrated in Obama’s citations above.

The employment of periphrasis has been claimed to lend a poetic touch to prose (McCoy, 1965, p. 12); and, in 2008, ironically, Obama’s ‘journey companion’ – nominee Hillary Clinton – quoting former New York governor Mario Cuomo, indeed criticized the poetic style of the then Senator Obama by saying: “You campaign in poetry, but you govern in prose” (Parker, 2008). Nevertheless, despite Mrs. Clinton’s criticism, as pointed out by Martin (2014, p. 72), “Obama’s control of language and his thoughtful, well-prepared orations reflect a more ‘intellectual’ style that has mostly met with public approval.”

As discussed in section 2.1, although a politician relies on the help of skillful speechwriters, the politician himself is usually the pivot in the speechwriting process. An affirmation confirmed by Obama’s senior strategist David Axelrod, who says that when “working with Senator Obama the main player on a speech is Senator Obama, [...] He is the best speechwriter in the group and he knows what he wants to say and he generally says it better than anybody else would” (Newton-Small, 2008).

Bush, in turn, was often criticized for his lack of grammar skills and mangled sentences (Martin, 2014, p. 72), which could compromise the authenticity of his speeches, and consequently, his moral credibility. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Charteris-Black (2011, p.

252), even though the content of Bush's speeches "is largely the output of professional speech-writers, his awareness of his need for them was itself a leadership skill". Furthermore, as noted by Martin, (2014, p. 72), Bush's "lack of perfect diction and eloquent style endeared him to some of the public, making him appear unpolished but genuine, a 'regular guy'"; something that Bush humorously used in his own favor when appealing to ethos, as shown in the excerpt below from his second nomination acceptance address:

In the last 4 years, you and I have come to know each other. Even when we don't agree, at least you know what I believe and where I stand. You may have noticed I have a few flaws too. People sometimes have to correct my English. [*Laughter*] I knew I had a problem when Arnold Schwarzenegger started doing it. [*Laughter*] Some folks look at me and see a certain swagger, which in Texas is called walking. [*Laughter*] Now and then I come across as a little too blunt, and for that we can all thank the white-haired lady sitting right up there. [*Laughter*] (2 September 2004)

Although the 'regular guy' figure depicted, in part, who Bush was, a contrasting label was also an intrinsic part of who the candidate is, namely the son of a former US president, viz. George H. W. Bush; which creates a paradoxical image of a 'regular guy' who is actually not that regular, i.e. it is not really a regular quality among common men to be the son of a president. Nevertheless, this paradox did not seem to affect Bush negatively, quite the contrary, being the son of George Bush Senior was frequently used by Bush as a personal quality. Note, in the citation below, that in order to reinforce Bush Senior's parental link to Bush as something positive, Bush personifies the positive 'achievements' that he attributes to his father's mandate, and cleverly combines this personification with the expression 'sons and daughters' when referring to his own generation. Furthermore, Bush combines metaphors from distinct source domains with various rhetorical devices; a combination that, as pointed out by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 9), does not highlight any single strategy and avoids making the audience aware of the fact that they are being persuaded (cf. section 2.1.1). I have numbered (and underlined) Bush's passage to demonstrate some of the rhetorical devices and source domains that are used by him when appealing to both ethos and pathos and depicting himself as Bush Senior's successor, both as the next generation, but most importantly as the next president able 'to achieve great goals':

My father was the last president of a great generation. A generation of Americans who stormed beaches, liberated concentration camps and delivered us from evil (1). Some never came home (2). Those who did put their medals in drawers, went to work, and built on a heroic scale... highways and universities, suburbs and factories, great cities and grand alliances (3) -- the strong foundations of an American Century (4).

Now the question comes to the *sons and daughters of this achievement* (5). What is asked of us? This is a remarkable moment in the life of our nation (6). Never has the promise of prosperity been so vivid (7). But times of plenty, like times of crisis, are tests of American character (8). Prosperity can be a tool in our hands -- used to build and better our country (9). Or it can be a drug in our system -- dulling our sense of urgency, of empathy, of duty (10). Our opportunities are too great, our lives too short (11), to waste this moment (12). So tonight we vow to our nation (13). We will seize this moment of American promise. We will use these good times for great goals (14).  
(3 August 2000)

The underlined elements from Bush's passage above show a rich interplay of rhetorical devices, such as: (1) personification and CONFLICT metaphor, (2) euphemism and pathos, (3) tricolon, (4) CONSTRUCTION metaphor, (5) personification, (6) personification and LIFE and DEATH metaphor<sup>5</sup>, (7) personification, (8) reification, (9) CONSTRUCTION metaphor, (10) HEALTH and ILLNESS metaphor, (11) reification and antithesis, (12) reification, (13) personification, and (14) reification.

Combining metaphors with diverse rhetorical features in such complex clusters is also an attribute of Obama, but as pointed out by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 49), figures of speech in Obama's discourses seem to be combined in a more systematic way that contribute "to an aesthetically pleasing arrangement by clustering in particular sections of the speech". As demonstrated by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 45), Obama uses WEATHER, WATER and JOURNEY metaphors in the prologue of his first inaugural speech, and the same semantic fields are again used later in the epilogue. This metaphor matching, which heightens the pathos impact of the

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<sup>5</sup> Note that all instances of LIFE and DEATH metaphors are, as expected, cross-referenced with personifications, as shown in appendix E, otherwise they would not be metaphors, but literal instances of animate beings living and dying. Curiously, when 'death' is literally referred to, euphemisms are preferred, as in (2) – "some never came home".

prologue, results in an elevated style aesthetically arranged that has even been likened to the style of the classical orator Cicero (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 49).

Although Obama's heritage was quite different from Bush's, the Democratic candidate's background was also used as a positive quality in his appeal to ethos. As remarked by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 280), when analyzing Obama's appeal, it is important to "consider his symbolic significance as much as the language through which he persuades. This is because he is the living embodiment of the policies he advocates [...]", in other words, Obama is the embodied *promise* of the well-known *American Dream*. When talking about the *American promise*, one usually refers to the passage from the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness". The common belief is that it is this promise that enables people to achieve the so-called *American Dream*; a metaphorical term that allows individual interpretations, but that, in sum, can be described as follows:

The American Dream is the belief that life can be better than it has been previously and is now; it is the belief that much human suffering is inflicted by other humans and can be eliminated through struggling to achieve ambitions. Above all, the American Dream relates personal and social identity because the dream implies that any motivated individual can reach any social position, irrespective of their personal, ethnic or social background, including that of the highest office in the land (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 281).

To emphasize the vital importance of the American promise in the achievement of the American Dream, and that Obama himself is a perfect example of such an achievement, Obama acknowledges this correlation, as shown in the following passage from his first acceptance speech:

The fundamentals we use to measure economic strength are whether we are living up to that fundamental promise that has made this country great – a promise that is the only reason I am standing here tonight. (28 August 2008)

That is, if 'that fundamental promise' had not been kept, it would not have been possible for someone with Obama's background to become a candidate for the presidency of the United

States. It should not come as a surprise that Obama's first nomination acceptance speech is entitled "The American Promise", a title that can be interpreted in at least two ways: (1) a direct allusion to the excerpt from the Declaration of Independence, as presented above, and (2) Obama himself *is* the American promise, that is, the suitable 'keeper' of it, who, from his own experience, can ascertain that by 'keeping the promise' others as well can achieve the American Dream. Indeed, Obama does state that he intends to make sure that others will be given the same chances that he has had, as shown in the example below:

Michelle and I are only here tonight because we were given a chance at an education. And I will not settle for an America where some kids don't have that chance. (28 August 2008)

Coming from him – the living proof that the American Dream is still 'alive' – the promise certainly sounds very credible. Interestingly, Obama evokes this unconscious feeling of liveness by using what I have called LIFE and DEATH metaphor (italicized) when talking about both the 'promise' and the 'dream':

That's why I stand here tonight. Because for two hundred and thirty two years, at each moment *when that promise was in jeopardy*, ordinary men and women – students and soldiers, farmers and teachers, nurses and janitors -- found the courage *to keep it alive*. (28 August 2008)

If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible, who still wonders *if the dream of our Founders is alive* in our time, who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer. (4 November 2008)

In addition to allowing Obama make convincing references to the American promise and the American Dream, his background also granted him the possibility of relating himself to an important figure of the American history, namely, Martin Luther King Jr. As proposed by Charteris-Black (2011, p. 280), as an African American descendent, Obama "symbolises the hopes of those who previously struggled to realise the goals of that 'young preacher from Georgia' he referred to when accepting the nomination as Democratic Party candidate". This link between Obama and King is a crucial element in the construction of Obama's style and the depiction of himself as someone of virtue who, like King, has the right intentions. A link

so strong that was overwhelming even for Obama himself, as recounted by Berry and Gottheimer (2010, p. 227):

The first run-through was going well, until Obama reached the section of the speech where Favreau [Obama's chief speechwriter] had inserted a quote from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. It was then that the gravity of the moment hit Obama. Visibly choked up, he excused himself for a moment and went to the bathroom to collect his thoughts. He came back, apologized, and finished the speech. It was the first time Favreau had seen his boss visibly overwhelmed by the historic significance of his candidacy.

The reference inserted by Favreau brilliantly connected the three abovementioned distinguishing elements of Obama's rhetoric, which are: (1) promise, (2) dream, and (3) Martin Luther King Jr., i.e. that 'young preacher from Georgia'; at the same time that it fitted these three elements in a metaphorical frame pervasively used by Obama, namely the JOURNEY scenario:

And it is that *promise* that forty five years ago today, brought Americans from every corner of this land to stand together on a Mall in Washington, before Lincoln's Memorial, and hear *a young preacher from Georgia* speak of his *dream*. The men and women who gathered there could've heard many things. They could've heard words of anger and discord. They could've been told to succumb to the fear and frustration of so many *dreams* deferred. But what the people heard instead – people of every creed and color, from every walk of life – is that in America, our destiny is inextricably linked. That together, our *dreams* can be one. "We *cannot walk alone*," the preacher cried. "And as we *walk*, we must make the pledge that we shall always *march ahead*. We cannot *turn back*." (28 August 2008)

As mentioned above, Obama's background allowed him this direct reference to King, but such a connection does not suit everyone, and quoting such a historical figure without displaying sustainable associations to that figure can have negative consequences, as for the Norwegian Minister of Labor, Robert Eriksson, who was booed in 2015 when he quoted King and opened his speech by saying: "I have a dream" (Kvam, 2015).

Bush, as well, has met some criticism for comparing himself at times to the first president of the United States, George Washington (Rothschild, 2007), as he did in the opening of his first nomination acceptance speech:

Our founders first defined that purpose here in Philadelphia ... Ben Franklin was here. Thomas Jefferson. And, of course, George Washington -- or, as his friends called him, "George W." (3 August 2000)

As noted by Martin (2014, p. 72), it is never entirely certain how an audience will respond to a politician's words and stylistic choices, "but once politicians have found a style that works for them, they are likely to continue with it as much as possible".

#### **4.2.2 Van Dijk's ideological square**

In the process of reinforcing one's image and style, as well as portraying oneself as being the candidate with the right intentions, it is common to convey this message by making use of the concepts described in van Dijk's ideological square (cf. section 2.2.3). Interestingly, by following van Dijk's model, in addition to emphasizing that oneself has the right intentions, one may also suggest that one's opponent has the wrong ones. Both Bush and Obama make use of this conceptual tool, especially in their nomination acceptance speeches, where they emphatically have to contrast themselves to their opponents; but since the political circumstances of their campaign during their first and second terms change, so do their strategies. That is, in their first campaign, the other party had had the power for the last two terms, so Bush and Obama framed 'the need for change' – underlining the need for the transfer of power from the opponent's party to their own party; whereas in the election for their second term, they framed 'the need for continuity' – so that they could be granted one more term to complete what they had started in the previous one, or at least try to do it. Both frames contribute to 'telling the right story', which will be further analyzed in section 4.4, but the acknowledgment of their existence is necessary for the understanding of how the ideological square is used in the different terms.

During Bush's campaign for his first term, the president in power was the Democrat Bill Clinton, and although Clinton remains one of the most popular ex-presidents (Krishnakumar, 2016), his liability was crucially weakened under the Lewinsky scandal in 1998, when Clinton was accused of sexual harassment of the 22-year old White House intern,

Monica Lewinsky. By making use of two of the components of the ideological square, namely ‘emphasizing the positive things about myself’ and ‘emphasizing the negative things about my opponent’, in an appeal to ethos Bush alludes to this scandal in order to present himself as ‘a new beginning’, and most importantly, a trustworthy one:

My fellow citizens, we can begin again. After all of the shouting, and all of the scandal. After all of the bitterness and broken faith. We can begin again. (3 August 2000)

Even though Bush was not running against Clinton, and Clinton’s alleged wrongs should, in theory, not influence the audience’s perception of Bush’s opponent, Al Gore, it is not uncommon to emphasize the connection among candidates from the same party and ‘put everybody in the same basket’ – when convenient for the speaker. That is, Bush frames the previous administration as an untrustworthy one and Gore as a continuation of it; whereas Bush depicts himself as ‘something new’, ‘something better’; a *change* from what it was.

A similar strategy is used by Obama when talking about his opponent, John McCain. After Bush’s controversial ‘war on terror’ and the negative financial situation that he had led the US to, Bush’s ability to make the right decisions as President, and, not to mention Commander-in-chief, was highly compromised. Even though McCain portrayed himself as being different from his predecessor Republican candidate, Obama constantly talks about the connection between Bush and McCain as something negative about McCain. In the following passage, for instance, in addition to refuting McCain’s claim of being able to disconnect himself from the Bush’s policies and therefore being able to provide the desired change, Obama also deemphasizes ‘what is good about his opponent’, which is another elementary strategy in the ideological square. Note that Obama does recognize the importance of McCain’s service to the country, but anticipating the possibility of McCain using this fact in his own favor, Obama emphasizes that this quality in itself is not enough to prove that McCain displays the character necessary to deliver the needed change; quite the contrary, Obama challenges McCain’s character, by equating McCain’s judgement to Bush’s:

Now let there be no doubt. The Republican nominee, John McCain, has worn the uniform of our country with bravery and distinction, and for that we owe him our gratitude and respect. And next week, we’ll also hear about those occasions when he’s broken with his party as evidence that he can deliver the change that we need. But the record’s clear: John McCain has voted with George Bush ninety percent of the time.

Senator McCain likes to talk about judgment, but really, what does it say about your judgment when you think George Bush has been right more than ninety percent of the time? I don't know about you, but I'm not ready to take a ten percent chance on change. (28 August 2008)

The election of 2000 between Bush and Gore turned out to be the closest presidential election in the history of the United States (Toobin, 2002). Gore's popularity was noticeable and one of the surest ways of emphasizing something negative about him was to link him explicitly to Clinton and Clinton's records. Due to the Lewinsky scandal two years prior the election, Gore, the then vice president, and Clinton deliberately decided not to campaign together, but their connection was evident, and Bush highlighted this connection as much as possible. Almost as if taking into consideration the old saying 'any publicity is good publicity', Bush avoids using the name Gore in his nomination acceptance speech. The first time the name Gore is mentioned – out of only three occurrences in the entire speech – Bush, implicitly, brings into question Gore's integrity and character as vice president. At the same time, Bush portrays Dick Cheney as a man of virtue who is part of 'Bush's group', thereby emphasizing something positive about the in-group, and implying something negative about an out-group member, namely, his opponent:

I am proud to have Dick Cheney at my side. He is a man of integrity and sound judgment, who has proven that public service can be noble service. America will be proud to have a leader of such character to succeed Al Gore as Vice President of the United States. (3 August 2000)

The two other times that Gore's name is explicitly mentioned by Bush is to connect the Democratic candidate directly to Clinton, in order to point out negative elements about their cooperation. In the first occurrence, Bush also connects the expression 'Clinton/Gore administration' to JOURNEY metaphors with negative connotations, such as 'coast through' and 'downhill', as shown below, which unconsciously may evoke negative feelings in the audience associated with the Clinton/Gore administration.

For eight years, the Clinton/Gore administration *has coasted through* prosperity. And the path of least resistance is always *downhill*. But America's way is the rising road. (3 August 2000)

Another metaphor employed by Bush in conjunction with the expression ‘Clinton/Gore administration’ is in the present work defined as a FINANCE metaphor, and is linguistically manifested in the passage below by the use of the verb ‘to squander’; a verb that bears negative mental connections. Bush uses this metaphor to contrast Clinton and Gore’s capacity of leadership (or as he tries to depict it, lack of it) to Reagan and Bush Senior’s. The paragraph starts with an allusion to Reagan’s attempts to influence the Soviet Union to remove the Berlin Wall, which even culminated in his famous line “Tear down this wall”, uttered in a speech in 1987 when visiting West Berlin; and Bush Senior being the US president in power when the Berlin Wall finally came down. Although Bush does not provide any actual evidence of Reagan and Bush Senior’s involvement in the removal of the wall, he frames the event as an accomplishment related to the leadership of the Republican presidents.

Little more than a decade ago, the Cold War thawed and, with the leadership of Presidents Reagan and Bush, that wall came down. But instead of seizing this moment, the Clinton/Gore administration *has squandered* it. (3 August 2000)

By reifying the abstract concept ‘moment’, one conveys the idea that a moment can be handled in concrete terms, and as suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1981, p. 291), conceptual metaphors such as TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE and TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY allow one to conceptualize time as something “that can be spent, wasted, budgeted, invested wisely or poorly, saved or squandered”. In the excerpt above, Bush conceptualizes time by combining the abstract noun ‘moment’ with the verb ‘to seize’, here interpreted as “to avail oneself eagerly or dexterously of, take advantage of” (from OED), as in the well-known “feel-good expression” ‘carpe diem’, i.e. ‘seize the day’. Expressions like ‘seize the day’ and ‘seize the moment’ have positive connotations related to the idea of something being wisely spent and may, therefore, arouse positive emotions in the listener. Cleverly, by the use of an antithesis, which is the parallel arrangement of contrasting ideas, these positive feelings are contrasted to negative emotions evoked by the image of something being spent wastefully and foolishly, that is, squandered. As pointed out by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 95) the remarkable value of combining antithesis with metaphor is that the contrasting effect of an antithesis heightens the emotional impact of the metaphor. Consequently, the employment of this antithetical metaphor linked to the ‘Clinton/Gore administration’ and the ‘Reagan and Bush leadership’ creates in the listener’s mind an unconscious negative image associated with the leadership skills of Gore and his party, implying that instead of taking

advantage of the prosperous moment ‘like Reagan and Bush’, Clinton and Gore have wasted it unwisely.

In his second term nomination acceptance speech, Bush continues to avoid explicitly using his opponent’s name, and ‘Kerry’ is mentioned only once. Under the frame of ‘need for continuity’, linguistically expressed by Bush in the excerpt below as ‘exciting times of expanded opportunity’ – a frame that will be further examined in section 4.4.3 – Bush mentions Kerry in order to indicate what the Republican candidate thinks are negative facts linked to the Democratic nominee, that is, Bush emphasizes what is negative about his opponent. In order to reinforce the idea of necessity for continuity, where granting Bush a new term means ‘progression’ and voting for Kerry would mean ‘regression’, Bush again combines an antithesis with a metaphor in a very creative way. That is, he contrasts ‘past’ with ‘future’ and blends these opposing nouns with a JOURNEY metaphor expressing progression, where FUTURE IS A DESTINATION and MOVEMENT FORWARD IS GOOD. The past/future antithesis has been underlined and the linguistic expressions for the JOURNEY metaphor have been italicized as follows:

These changing times can be exciting times of expanded opportunity. And here, you face a choice. My opponent's policies are dramatically different from ours. Senator Kerry *opposed* Medicare reform and health savings accounts. After supporting my education reforms, he now wants to dilute them. He *opposes* legal and medical liability reform. He *opposed* reducing the marriage penalty, *opposed* doubling the child credit, *opposed* lowering income taxes for all who pay them.

*Audience members:* Boo-o-o!

*Bush:* Wait a minute—wait a minute. To be fair, there are some things my opponent is for. [*Laughter*] He's proposed more than \$2 trillion in Federal spending so far, and that's a lot, even for a Senator from Massachusetts. And to pay for that spending, he's running on a platform of increasing taxes, and that's the kind of promise a politician usually keeps. [*Laughter*] His tax—his policies of tax and spend, of expanding Government rather than expanding opportunity, are the politics of the past. We are on the path to the future, and *we're not turning back*. (2 September 2004)

Note that in the above passage, the mental representation of a journey that needs to be carried on by Bush, instead of ‘interrupted’ by Kerry is strengthened by the use of another linguistic device, namely, repetition (italicized and underlined). Bush repeats the verb ‘to

oppose' five times when presenting his opponent's policies, in a way that Kerry's 'oppositions' may be interpreted metaphorically as 'impediments' to the journey. Implicitly, Kerry's image as a 'guide' on this journey may be compromised as well, which consequently can arouse unconsciously negative feelings in the audience related to Kerry as a leader. Furthermore, Bush places these arguments in another interesting antithesis, namely, the proposals that his opponent opposes versus the policies that Kerry is for, a contrast that portrays Kerry negatively as a politician who opposes policies that *people* can benefit from and rather proposes tax policies that *Government* can benefit from.

The other eight times in the speech where Bush makes use of the ideological square to contrast himself with Kerry, Bush prefers to use the term 'my opponent'. Obama, on the contrary, explicitly mentions McCain's name twenty-one times when applying the ideological square in his first term nomination acceptance address; a choice that can be understood in terms of 'agency', i.e. the agent performing the action described can be foregrounded. In other words, what an 'agent' has said or done can be "brought to the front of our attention", when favorable to the speaker (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 101). Indeed, by repeating McCain's name so many times, Obama foregrounds McCain's involvement in numerous negative situations, which is a positive outcome for Obama. Furthermore, five out of the eight times where Obama mentions 'Bush', it is also to emphasize McCain and his connection to Bush as something negative, as shown in the example below (underlined):

We are the party of Roosevelt. We are the party of Kennedy. So don't tell me that Democrats won't defend this country. Don't tell me that Democrats won't keep us safe. The Bush-McCain foreign policy has squandered the legacy that generations of Americans – Democrats and Republicans – *have built*, and we are here *to restore* that legacy. (28 August 2008)

Note that Obama, similarly to Bush, also connects the link between his opponent and the current president, namely 'Bush-McCain', with a metaphor and an antithesis. Obama reifies the abstract noun 'legacy' and combines it with the verb 'to squander'. Although the metaphorical expression used by Obama contains the same verb as the one used by Bush, viz. 'to squander', in Obama's example, this verb has a different interpretation, i.e. 'to be brought to disintegration or dissolution' (from OED), and is, thus, classified in the present analysis as a DESTRUCTION metaphor. The antithesis is then created by contrasting 'to squander' with a CONSTRUCTION metaphor, viz. 'to build'.

Obama then adds to the above passage another rhetorical device – more commonly found in Obama’s speeches rather than Bush’s – namely refutation, which is a way of attributing words to one’s opponent (even though the words may not necessarily have been uttered by the other part) as one points out that his or her opponent is actually mistaken. Skillfully, this refutation is reinforced by the use of two other figure of speeches; they are repetition, which can be the repetition of a word or a phrase, and isocolon, which is the use of *two* sentences of similar length. By repeating “we are the party of” and “don’t tell me” twice, Obama mixes both figures of speech, and increases the rhetorical effect of the utterance, since repetition reinforces the speaker’s conviction and isocolon contributes to a balanced arrangement (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 41). According to Straker (2009), “repetition of any pattern of sounds gives a statement a beat, thus playing to the mind’s ability to recognize and pay attention to patterns and appreciate harmony; isocolon uses this aspect to give power to words”, thus making the words memorable.

In his second term nomination acceptance speech, Obama changes his tactics and mentions his opponent’s name, viz. Romney, only once; and the other five times that Obama contrasts his own policies to Romney’s, the Democratic candidate prefers to use the term ‘my opponent’. Similarly to Bush, Obama’s second term candidacy is about “continuity” and the emphasis on the necessity for being granted another term to ‘keep up the good work’. Again, the JOURNEY metaphor is rhetorically attractive, because it provides a rich scenario for depicting opposing proposals as *opposing paths*, where one is able to portray his or her own proposals as ‘a better path that leads forward’. Political proposals resulting in a desired outcome can be understood in terms of the conceptual metaphor first proposed by Lakoff (1993) as PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELING ALONG A PATH TOWARD A DESTINATION, which consequently implies that MOVEMENT FORWARD IS GOOD, as discussed above. In fact, Obama makes use of the linguistic metaphor ‘path’ more than twice as much than Bush and most of the times in an antithetical comparison between Obama’s own proposals and his opponent’s. In the citation below, for instance, Obama skillfully opposes a JOURNEY to a CONSTRUCTION metaphor (italicized) in an antithesis (underlined), where he contrasts his own proposals to Romney’s. By reifying the term *progress*, Obama depicts his own strategies as ‘continuing’ the progress made in a ‘concrete’ way, i.e. by ‘*building on it*’, whereas Romney’s proposals are portrayed as ‘*reversing the progress*’; an image that is unfortunate for Romney, since it depicts the exact opposite of moving forward, and, consequently, evokes the negative image of Romney as a bad ‘guide’ leading the nation in the wrong path to the opposite direction. Curiously, the official slogan for Obama’s 2012 campaign was “Forward!” (Baker, 2012).

So now you have a choice: between a strategy that reverses this progress or one that builds on it. We've opened millions of new acres for oil and gas exploration in the last 3 years, and we'll open more. But unlike my opponent, I will not let oil companies write this country's energy plan or endanger our coastlines or collect another \$4 billion in corporate welfare from our taxpayers. We're offering *a better path*. (6 September 2012)

As mentioned earlier, another way of using JOURNEY metaphors to portray the policies of one's opponent as negative proposals is by suggesting that they are 'impediments to a journey', preventing the people from reaching a desired destination. Both Bush and Obama evoke such images, as shown in the example bellow taken from Bush's first nomination speech:

Every one of the proposals I've talked about tonight, he [Al Gore] has called a "risky scheme", over and over again. It is the sum of his message -- the *politics of the roadblock*, the *philosophy of the stop sign*. (3 August 2000)

Note that Bush quotes Gore's own words (underlined above) in order to use them against his opponent, which is a strong rhetorical device that also emphasizes agency, as described above. Quoting in such terms is also employed by Obama, as shown in the example below:

The truth is, on issue after issue that would make a difference in your lives – on health care and education and the economy – Senator McCain has been anything but independent. He said that our economy has made “great progress” under this President. He said that the fundamentals of the economy are strong. And when one of his chief advisors – the man who wrote his economic plan – was talking about the anxiety Americans are feeling, he said that we were just suffering from a “mental recession”, and that we've become, and I quote, “a nation of whiners”.

A nation of whiners? Tell that to the proud auto workers at a Michigan plant who, after they found out it was closing, kept showing up every day and working as hard as ever, because they knew there were people who counted on the brakes that they made. Tell that to the military families who shoulder their burdens silently as they watch their loved ones leave for their third or fourth or fifth tour of duty. These are not whiners.

They work hard and give back and keep going without complaint. These are the Americans that I know. (28 August 2008)

In order to emphasize what his opponent had said, Obama combines this quotation with repetition (underlined above) and turn McCain's quote into a rhetorical question that Obama indirectly answers in an ironic manner by narrating events filled with pathos, viz. the circumstances at the Michigan auto plant and the struggles of military families. Such an appeal to emotions is remarkably persuasive and can arouse a feeling of outrage in the audience who may feel insulted by McCain's words, and therefore are left with a negative image of McCain as a disrespectful candidate.

Eliciting the right emotions in the audience is indeed an effective tool when communicating one's political message, but one should be cautious when appealing to pathos, since evoking the 'wrong' emotions can have damaging consequences, such as the proliferation of hatred and extremist ideologies, as discussed in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.3. How Bush and Obama employ pathos and other rhetorical features to 'sound right' will be discussed in the next section together with some brief comments on the politicians' appearance.

## **4.3 Sounding and Looking Right**

### **4.3.1 Bush's 'war on terror' and his metaphors of fear**

As pointed out by Knapp et al. (2014, p. 41), Americans watch television 30 hours per week on average, which is the same as approx. 10 years by the age of 65, and since television can highlight nonverbal elements that may influence voters, political candidates are highly preoccupied with sending the right signals; and thereby 'looking right'. As noted by Halmari (2005, p. 106), the media depicted Clinton as a candidate possessing a "multisided persuasive charm" and she quotes reporter David von Drehle from *Washington Post* who once described Clinton as "an Elvis Presley with a calculator on his belt, an outsized candidate with a drawl as big as his brain, a would-be president of both pie charts and Moon Pies". Purposefully, in his first term nomination acceptance speech, Bush refers to this charming attribute of his predecessor and presents it as a deceitful quality, which one should be aware of:

Our current president embodied the potential of a generation. So many talents. So much charm. Such great skill. But, in the end, to what end? So much promise, to no great purpose. (3 August 2000)

Interestingly, Bush was initially seen as very different from Clinton with regard to public appearance. As pointed out by reporter Adam Nagourney (as cited in Welch et al., 2012, p. 136), “he [Bush] was perhaps the least confident public performer of the modern presidency” and the candidate avoided television cameras as much as he could. Welch et al. (2012, p. 136) argue that “as governor of Texas, Bush had worked behind the scenes and evidently expected to do the same as president. [However] the terrorist attacks [of September 11, 2001] thrust Bush into the public role he had avoided”. Although Bush did not give an official speech right after the attacks, “later he visited the site of the World Trade Center and galvanized public support when he picked up a bullhorn and talked to the workers” (Welch et al., 2012, p. 136). Most of all, 9/11 provided a fundamental source to Bush’s rhetoric and, by converting grief into anger and to action, Bush declared his famous ‘war on terror’.

Indeed, the rhetoric of Bush shifts considerably from his first to his second term campaign. In his first term, under the slogan “Compassionate Conservatism”, Bush follows the structure pattern of starting with a *prologue* appealing to ethos, then a *narrative* outlining the topics to be discussed, such as education, military, Social Security and the tax code, followed by a *proof* containing a long list of arguments where he attempts to explain logically his proposals and finally an *epilogue* filled with metaphors appealing to pathos, which gives closure to the speeches. In his second term, the campaign slogan undergoes a tremendous shift and comes to encompass the element of danger and the necessity for transforming the world into a safer place, and becomes “A Safer World and a More Hopeful America”. For obvious reasons, Bush chooses to deliver his nomination speech in New York City. Intriguingly, after briefly accepting his nomination, Bush skips any self-promotion through ethos and goes straight to an appeal to pathos where he indirectly describes events from the 9/11 attacks and narrates the story of a nation who has been through a trying journey, but who victoriously is just about to arrive to its destination. Such a narrative is indeed an effective way of ‘sounding right’ and ‘telling the right story’, as shown in the passage below, which cleverly ends with the campaign’s official slogan (underlined) concretely reified by the use of the CONSTRUCTION metaphor ‘to build’ (*italicized*) and the adequately liberating JOURNEY metaphor ‘nothing will hold us back’ (*italicized*):

Thank you all. Mr. Chairman, delegates, fellow citizens: I am honored by your support, and I accept your nomination for President of the United States.

When I said those words 4 years ago, none of us could have envisioned what these years would bring. In the heart of this great city, we saw tragedy arrive on a quiet morning. We saw the bravery of rescuers grow with danger. We learned of passengers on a doomed plane who died with a courage that frightened their killers. We have seen a shaken economy rise to its feet. And we have seen Americans in uniform storming mountain strongholds and charging through sandstorms and liberating millions with acts of valor that would make the men of Normandy proud.

Since 2001, Americans have been given hills to climb and found the strength to climb them. Now, because we have made the hard journey, we can see the valley below. Now, because we have faced challenges with resolve, we have historic goals within our reach and greatness in our future. We will *build a safer world and a more hopeful America, and nothing will hold us back.* (2 September 2004)

Throughout his speeches, Bush appeals to morality by promoting conservative values and he reaches many Christians by alluding to Biblical passages, a feature that is astutely linked to the described journey above by alluding to Moses (Bible verse: Deuteronomy 34:1-3) when Bush says: “Now, because we have made the hard journey, we can see the valley below”. Since the allusion is indirect, for those in the audience who do not know the stories from the Bible, the journey can be interpreted as a heroic journey, and for those who do know the stories, it can be interpreted as a Messianic journey, which are persuasive interpretations that ‘sound right’ for both audiences. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Kellner (2005, p. 148):

Bush's rhetoric falsely suggested that the United States had emerged triumphant from its trials and tribulations and faced a great future. In fact, no president had lost more jobs, immersed the United States in such disastrous wars, piled up such an enormous deficit, so divided the U.S. public, and alienated the country from the rest of the world.

The shift in Bush’s rhetoric from his first to his second term can be seen not only in the way he changed his public appearances and the structuring of his narratives, but also in the type of metaphors that he chooses. Although most of the source domains used by him can be found in the speeches from both terms, FIRE and HEAT metaphors, are only present in his second

term speeches and often depict an apocalyptic image where TERROR IS HEAT. In the excerpt below, for instance, Bush appeals to pathos by evoking fear in the audience when he suggests that “whole regions of the world might spark a conflagration” (Lakoff, 2006, p. 232). As expected, Bush does not mention Osama bin Laden’s claims that the 9/11 attacks were closely related to the presence of US military bases in Saudi Arabia, which were there to mainly protect American interests in oil (Lakoff, 2006, p. 232). Rather, by saying “And then there came a day of fire”, Bush uses metaphorical religious language to refer to the 9/11 attacks as an unprecedented aggression against the innocent America:

After the shipwreck of communism came years of relative quiet, years of repose, years of sabbatical. And then there came *a day of fire*. We have seen our vulnerability and we have seen its deepest source. For as long as whole regions of the world *simmer in resentment and tyranny*, prone to ideologies that feed hatred and excuse murder, violence will gather and multiply in destructive power and cross the most defended borders and raise a mortal threat. (20 January 2005)

In addition, words such as ‘tyranny’ and ‘terror’ can only be found in the speeches for his second term, at the same time that there is a significant increase in the use of words such as ‘freedom’ and ‘liberty’, as shown in appendix F. In fact, the word ‘freedom’ alone stands for almost 2% of the coverage of his second inaugural speech (percentage calculated by NVivo); an address that was highly criticized for portraying Bush as a “self-appointed “apostle of freedom” (Campbell, 2005, p. 4), who turned his mandate of protecting America from terror into a personal mission of liberating the ‘victims of tyranny’. By personifying such words, Bush evokes feelings of fear in the audience as he suggests that there is ‘an ongoing threat of terrorism’ and that ‘freedom is in danger’, as when he says: “We felt the unity and fellowship of our nation when *freedom came under attack* [...]” (20 January 2005).

These abovementioned changes in Bush’s rhetoric contributed to the creation of a political myth filled with emotions, and especially fear, that highlights the ‘heroic and moral character’ of Americans and the ‘villain nature’ of ‘the enemies of freedom’, such as Saddam Hussein and the evil terrorists. At the same time, Bush’s political myth also downplays the circumstances around the preemptive war initiated by him against Iraq after the attacks of 9/11, on the pretense that Iraq was part of an ‘axis of hatred against freedom’, together with other states and organizations, such as Afghanistan, Al-Qaeda and Hezbollah, and that Saddam Hussein was hiding weapons of mass destruction and needed to be stopped before he attacked

the US (although such weapons were never found). That is, the American attacks are not portrayed by Bush as ‘immoral’ attacks, but rather ‘heroic and liberating’ ones. Bush’s war in Iraq has been widely criticized and the use of such a political myth to justify the war has been condemned by Campbell (2005, p. 3) who claims that “Bush hid from his unjust war [in Iraq] behind a false crusade that he created [...] and he got away with it!”.

#### 4.3.2 Obama’s hard path to a better future

The invasion of Iraq in response to the attacks of 9/11 was also criticized by Obama, who emphasized the lack of a link between the Al-Qaeda attacks against the US and Bush’s war in Iraq, as when he says: “I promised to refocus on the terrorists who *actually* attacked us on 9/11” (6 September 2012). In fact, Obama strengthened his first campaign by presenting Bush’s invasion in Iraq as a ‘misguided war’ that Obama promised to end if he became president. Nevertheless, although Obama opposed the Iraq war, he did not deny that there were, in fact, ‘threats that needed to be faced’, and this type of personification of abstract concepts such as ‘challenges’ and ‘threats’ placed in ‘conflict scenarios’ is found in both Bush and Obama’s speeches. Conceptual metaphors such as THREATS ARE VILLAINS and CHALLENGES ARE ENEMIES appeal to pathos and evoke negative feelings of fear in the audience, and are used by both Bush and Obama as a metaphorical frame for the self-presentation of a ‘heroic leader’ who has the right solutions for saving the ‘victims’ from the personified items. As exemplified below, in addition to eliciting emotions in the audience, the conceptual metaphor THREATS ARE VILLAINS (italicized) is combined in van Dijk’s ideological square with a quote from McCain emphasizing ‘agency’ (underlined), as discussed in the previous section, and an antithesis (italicized and underlined), in a way that it also provides a means of presenting Obama as the candidate with the right intentions, and, consequently, McCain as the candidate with the wrong ones:

For while Senator McCain was turning his sights to Iraq just days after 9/11, I stood up and opposed this war, knowing that it would distract us from *the real threats we face*. When John McCain said we could just “muddle through” in Afghanistan, I argued for more resources and more troops to finish the fight against the terrorists who actually attacked us on 9/11, and made clear that we must take out Osama bin Laden and his lieutenants if we have them in our sights. *John McCain likes to say that he’ll follow bin*

*Laden to the Gates of Hell – but he won't even go to the cave where he lives.* (28 August 2008)

Although, as shown above, Obama also used such personifications in his speeches, they were different from Bush's highly criticized dichotomized personifications and reifications, which often appealed to pathos by contrasting 'good' vs. 'evil', as when Bush says: "You have seen that life is fragile, and evil is real, and courage triumphs" (20 January 2005). Bush's rhetoric is rich in such emotional appeals that provided "a black-and-white view of the world" and that "made it difficult for him to convey any nuances in his comments" (Welch et al., 2012, p. 136). Obama, in this sense, is perceived as a contrast to Bush and "chooses his words carefully for their meaning as well as the sound they convey" (Welch et al., 2012, p. 137). Indeed, as exemplified below, Obama's speeches show a higher frequency in the use of alliterations (underlined), which is the use of the same sound in the beginning of adjacent words, and isocolons (italicized):

Four years ago, I stood before you and told you my story – of the brief union between *a young man from Kenya and a young woman from Kansas who weren't well-off or well-known, but shared a belief that in America, their son could achieve whatever he put his mind to.* (28 August 2008)

According to Straker (2008), "the effect of alliteration can be almost poetic, making it pleasant and comfortable on the ears"; and thereby 'sounding right' to the audience. Furthermore, this figure of speech fits with Obama's elevated and, often almost poetic style, which is reinforced by his elegant appearance and manner. 'Looking right' has, in fact, allowed Obama positive associations to historic figures, as remarked by Parker (2008):

Many Democratic candidates have attempted to evoke both John and Robert Kennedy, but Senator Obama seems to have had more success than most. It helps that Mr. Obama seems to have the élan that John Kennedy had, not to mention a photogenic family.

However, as polished as Obama's style may seem, his modest background is an elementary component in his rhetoric, which allows Obama to be seen as the 'embodiment of the American Dream', as discussed in the previous section. Intelligently, Obama's appeal to pathos reinforces this image as he connects the policies that he advocates to events that he has

experienced himself, which portrays Obama as a candidate that knows ‘for real’ what he is talking about, as shown below:

And as someone who watched my mother argue with insurance companies while she lay in bed dying of cancer, I will make certain those companies stop discriminating against those who are sick and need care the most. [...]

In the face of that young student who sleeps just three hours before working the night shift, I think about my mom, who raised my sister and me on her own while she worked and earned her degree; who once turned to food stamps but was still able to send us to the best schools in the country with the help of student loans and scholarships. (28 August 2008)

This is the meaning of our liberty and our creed, why men and women and children of every race and every faith can join in celebration across this magnificent mall. And why a man whose father less than 60 years ago might not have been served at a local restaurant can now stand before you to take a most sacred oath. (20 January 2009)

Being someone who had overcome many difficulties while he was growing up gave Obama authority to talk about the importance of the policies that he advocates, especially those related to equality (a value that will be further discussed in the next section). Obama’s fascinating trajectory and vision was captured by aforementioned Axelrod (cf. section 4.2.1) in the famous slogan “Yes, we can”, which would be repeated by Obama “to show that he and his supporters could overcome seemingly impossible obstacles” (Berry & Gottheimer, 209, p. 33). Again, the JOURNEY metaphor seems like the perfect scenario to depict this trajectory, its obstacles and Obama as the heroic guide for the journey. In fact, he repeatedly uses the JOURNEY metaphor to point out that the work ahead will be hard, as when he says:

Now, I won't pretend *the path I'm offering is quick or easy*. I never have. You didn't elect me to tell you what you wanted to hear. You elected me to tell you the truth. [...]  
But know this, America: Our problems can be solved. Our challenges can be met. *The path we offer may be harder, but it leads to a better place. And I'm asking you to choose that future.* (6 September 2012).

An affirmation that depicts Obama as a brave leader who is not afraid to engage in an arduous journey to achieve his proposals and lead the country to a better place. Moreover, by reifying the term ‘future’ and combining it with the verb ‘to choose’ (underlined above), he conveys the idea that even though the path he offers may be harder, it leads to a better place and by choosing his path, that better future is certainly achievable; it is only a matter of choice.

Interestingly, Obama not only points out that the journey ahead will be hard, but he ascertains that it is ‘never-ending’:

What makes us exceptional – what makes us American – is our allegiance to an idea, articulated in a declaration made more than two centuries ago:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.”

Today *we continue a never-ending journey* to bridge the meaning of those words with the realities of our time. For history tells us that while these truths may be self-evident, they've never been self-executing; that while freedom is a gift from God, it must be secured by His people here on Earth. (21 January 2013)

Although Obama depicts himself as the brave heroic guide ready to embark in this never-ending journey, he constantly emphasizes that he is not travelling alone, and that overcoming obstacles is not only *possible* for everyone, but it is everyone’s *task*. Therefore, Obama repeatedly points out that achieving what one hopes for is not a “self-executing” mechanism, one has to work and “fight” for it, as exemplified in the passage below, where he again employs a JOURNEY metaphor (italicized) to talk about challenges in terms of obstacles in a path:

And tonight, despite all the hardship we've been through, despite all the frustrations of Washington, I've never been more hopeful about our future. I have never been more hopeful about America. And I ask you to sustain that hope. I'm not talking about blind optimism, the kind of hope that just ignores the enormity of the tasks ahead or *the road blocks that stand in our path*. I'm not talking about the wishful idealism that allows us to just sit on the sidelines or shirk from a fight. I have always believed that hope is that stubborn thing inside us that insists, despite all the evidence to the contrary, that

something better awaits us so long as we have the courage to keep reaching, to keep working, to keep fighting. (6 November 2012)

This view of a common journey where everyone has to do their part to secure a better future is also highlighted in the epilogue of Obama's second victory speech where he heightens the emotional effect of the JOURNEY metaphor (italicized) by resorting to King's famous 'calm to storm' delivery style. That is, a style characterized by the crescendo effect in the way that the words are delivered (Charteris-Black, 2014, p. 51), marked by Obama's use of the anaphora "our journey is not complete until" (underlined). This draws even more attention to the topic being framed by Obama, namely, equality.

It is now our generation's task to carry on what those pioneers began. For our journey is not complete until our wives, our mothers and daughters can earn a living equal to their efforts. Our journey is not complete until our gay brothers and sisters are treated like anyone else under the law for if we are truly created equal, then surely the love we commit to one another must be equal as well. Our journey is not complete until no citizen is forced to wait for hours to exercise the right to vote. Our journey is not complete until we find a better way to welcome the striving, hopeful immigrants who still see America as a land of opportunity until bright young students and engineers are enlisted in our workforce rather than expelled from our country. Our journey is not complete until all our children, from the streets of Detroit to the hills of Appalachia, to the quiet lanes of Newtown, know that they are cared for and cherished and always safe from harm. That is our generation's task - to make these words, these rights, these values of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness real for every American. (21 January 2013)

Even though Obama conveys the idea that the path to success is going to be hard and that the journey to secure equality may even be never-ending, his message that the American people could overcome obstacles together, well-captured in his campaign slogan "Yes, we can", inspired voters and invited them to join him in a journey to a better future where unalienable rights, such as "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" could be available to every American.

Notwithstanding the effectiveness of pathos when presenting one's political proposals, emotional appeals by themselves are not sufficient for convincing the audience that one's

policies are ‘the right path to choose’. Following the narrative, the speaker also needs a ‘proof’, that is, logical arguments that support the speaker’s proposals (cf. section 2.1.1), and show that the politician ‘thinks right’. The contribution of logos to Bush’s and Obama’s persuasiveness, as well as the ‘frames’ used by both politicians for gathering their particular rhetorical devices into the ‘right story’ will be the topics for the next section.

## **4.4 Thinking Right and Telling the Right Story**

### **4.4.1 Strict Father vs. Nurturant Parent**

Although Bush’s and Obama’s speeches take up many of the same causes, such as education, taxes, health care and the military, the politicians’ proposals for dealing with these issues differ in many different aspects. Studying the possible causes for such opposing policies, Lakoff (2014, p. xiv) proposed that “all politics is moral, but not everybody operates from the same view of morality”. That is, actions that are considered moral for one group may be seen as immoral for another, because they hold different views on what is considered right and wrong. The political divide between liberals and conservatives in America has therefore been claimed to be a moral divide, and according to Lakoff (2002, 2014) this dichotomous system stems from two different views of the ideal family (cf. section 2.2.4), viz. the Strict Father and the Nurturant Parent models. Indeed, the language used by both politicians supports Lakoff’s Nation-as-family theory, where the relationship between government and its citizens is metaphorically framed as a relationship between parents and their children; a frame that is evident in Obama’s words, when he suggests that government should protect us and ‘keep our toys safe’, as shown in the example below. In fact, it has been claimed that Obama is perhaps one of the first Democratic candidates to consciously make use of Lakoff’s theory and frame his own discourses accordingly (Berry & Gottheimer, 2010, p. 66).

Ours is a promise that says government cannot solve all our problems, but what it should do is that which we cannot do for ourselves – protect us from harm and provide every child a decent education; keep our water clean and our toys safe; invest in new schools and new roads and new science and technology. (28 August 2008)

Lakoff (2009b, p. 44) argues that conservatives have excelled at communicating their ideas and values by conspicuously articulating them as much as possible. In the Strict Father

model, ‘self-discipline’ is the cornerstone, the value that allows one to enter the free-market and become self-reliant and prosperous, as explained in section 2.2.4. Thus, communicating the importance of values such as ‘self-discipline’ and ‘self-reliance’ has a high priority in Republican speeches, because mature, self-disciplined and self-reliant adults are ‘responsible’ citizens capable of taking care of themselves without the need of meddling from the government; a social/political outcome that matches the moral values of the Strict Father model. Therefore, supporters of Strict Father morality tend to see welfare programs as immoral policies, which interfere in people’s lives and “unfairly” help those who just did not manage to become self-independent and self-reliant enough to achieve prosperity. Indeed, this view is emphasized by Bush many times throughout his speeches, as exemplified in the passages below:

Americans are generous and strong and decent, not because we believe in ourselves, but because we hold beliefs beyond ourselves. When this spirit of citizenship is missing, no government program can replace it. When this spirit is present, no wrong can stand against it. (20 January 2001)

In all these proposals, we seek to provide not just a Government program but *a path, a path to greater opportunity, more freedom, and more control over your own life*. (2 September 2004)

Note that Bush again uses the conceptual metaphor PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELING ALONG A PATH TOWARD A DESTINATION (underlined above) to portray an unconscious image in the audience where voting for his proposals will lead to a better life.

Nevertheless, although liberals agree that being responsible citizens is everyone’s task, they usually oppose the idea that self-discipline by itself is sufficient to determine if one is to become self-reliant and prosperous or not. Liberals argue that such a view in a competitive world leads to the monopoly of resources where only a few are prosperous, and accuse conservatives of feeding the system by advocating policies that only favor the wealthy and those who already are prosperous, such as big corporations. In the passage below, for instance, Obama illustrates this point of view by reifying the desirable states ‘freedom’ and ‘happiness’ and conceptualizing them in terms of valuable commodities. Kövecses (2000, p. 106) argues that conceptualizing desirable states in such terms gives rise to a conceptual metaphor pervasively found in the English language, namely DESIRABLE IS VALUABLE, or more precisely

DESIRABLE STATES/THINGS/EVENTS ARE VALUABLE COMMODITIES. Obama's use of this conceptual metaphor also entails the idea that 'freedom' and 'happiness' are limited resources that should be 'fairly' divided, rather than concentrated in the hands of a small group:

We do not believe that in this country *freedom is reserved for the lucky, or happiness for the few*. We recognize that no matter how responsibly we live our lives, any one of us at any time may face a job loss, or a sudden illness, or a home swept away in a terrible storm. The commitments we make to each other through Medicare and Medicaid and Social Security, these things do not sap our initiative, they strengthen us. They do not make us a nation of takers; they free us to take the risks that make this country great. (21 January 2013)

In fact, in his speeches Obama often criticizes the conservative view on self-discipline as a direct source for self-reliance and prosperity, at the same time that he promotes the liberal interpretation on the issue, as in the passage above, where he argues that programs are not for the 'undisciplined', but for the unfortunate who, for one reason or another, may have come to need help. To get his message across, Obama appeals to the logical argumentation that no matter how self-reliant and responsible one may be, anyone can be subject to unexpected reversals of fortune; at the same time that he reinforces this argument by evoking unconscious emotions of fear by describing tragic situations that anyone could encounter. It can be argued that the situations used to illustrate Obama's point are not arbitrarily chosen, but carefully selected. That is, the Great Recession under the Bush Administration had led to many job losses and the United States had gone through one of its major financial crisis; furthermore, millions of Americans were without health care coverage and this issue was constantly brought up to discussion by the media and presented as a result of the failed policies of Bush. Finally, in 2005 the country had been hit by the catastrophic Hurricane Katrina where thousands of people lost their homes because of the storm, which spiced up the debate on climate change between Republicans and Democrats, in a way that favored the Democratic view on the issue. Therefore, these specific situations are considered highly effective for Obama, since they evoke in the audience negative feelings that are associated with events that occurred while Bush was the President. Moreover, by using two antitheses (underlined above), Obama draws even more attention to his perspective on the empathetic nature of programs, which he describes as 'the commitments we make to each other'.

This interpretation where welfare programs are seen as ‘a commitment to help each other’ derives from the empathetic viewpoint that is the hallmark of the Nurturant Parent model, as described in section 2.2.4; and according to Lakoff (2002, p. 417), encouraging empathetic behavior and promoting fairness should, thus, be the highest priorities when communicating the Democratic political views. Indeed, in his speeches, Obama underlines the importance of empathy and fairness, and very often he brings up the issue of equal rights. Controversially, he does this by explicitly listing different demographic groups when discussing policies, as exemplified in the excerpts below. In order to slow down the enumeration and bring attention to each group in the list, Obama relies on the use of yet another figure of speech, namely, polysyndeton (italicized), which is the use of multiple conjunctions close together.

We know that churches and charities can often make more of a difference than a poverty program alone. We don't want handouts for people who refuse to help themselves, and we certainly don't want bailouts for banks that break the rules. We don't think that government can solve all of our problems, but we don't think that government is the source of all of our problems, any more than are welfare recipients, *or corporations, or unions, or immigrants, or gays, or any other group we're told to blame for our troubles.* (6 September 2012)

It doesn't matter whether you're black *or white or Hispanic or Asian or Native American or young or old or rich or poor, abled, disabled, gay or straight.* (6 November 2012)

However, according to Lakoff (2009b, p. 53), for liberals to better articulate their political views through discourse – as in comparison to conservatives – the speaker should activate *liberal moral thought* in the audience “by openly – and constantly – stressing morality, not just the interest of demographic groups”. That is, liberal proposals, such as reducing middle-class taxes, giving cheaper loans for college students or conceding citizenship for immigrants without papers, are policies rooted in the moralities of ‘empathy’, ‘responsibility’ and ‘protection’; therefore, liberal political arguments should highlight these moral bases, rather than the particular groups which benefit from the proposals (Lakoff, 2009b, p. 53). Focusing on demographic groups instead of the moral foundations of the proposals allows conservatives “to criticize as “special interests” the groups whose interests are served [;] it

angers people in demographic groups whose interests are not being served, and gives conservatives an opportunity to look moral, rather than just playing partisan politics” (Lakoff, 2009b, p. 53). Indeed, Bush avoids referring to specific demographic groups, focusing instead on ‘values’ and ‘principles’, such as ‘responsibility’ and ‘civility’. In fact, the word ‘civility’ can only be found in Bush’s speeches, combined with other values (underlined) that are constantly brought up by the Republican candidate to stress Strict Father morality, as shown below:

I will live and lead by these principles: to advance my convictions with civility, to pursue the public interest with courage, to speak for greater justice and compassion, to call for responsibility and try to live it as well. In all these ways, I will bring the values of our history to the care of our times. (3 August 2000)

Note that Bush talks about ‘compassion’, which is seen as moral in the Strict Father model, instead of ‘empathy’, which is the foundation of the Nurturant Parent interpretation of morality. That is, compassion, on the one hand, is defined as “the feeling or emotion, when a person is moved by the *suffering* or distress of another, and by the desire to relieve it; pity that inclines one to spare or to succor” (from OED); a state that is much closer related to ‘charity’, defined as “generosity and helpfulness especially toward the needy or *suffering*” (from *Merriam-Webster*), and which is seen as a task that does not belong to government, as expressed in Bush’s words below:

I think of Mary Jo Copeland, whose ministry called “Sharing and Caring Hands” serves 1,000 meals a week in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Each day, Mary Jo washes the feet of the homeless, then sends them off with new socks and shoes. “Look after your feet”, she tells them. “They must carry you a long way in this world, and then all the way to God.”

Government cannot do this work. It can feed the body, but it cannot reach the soul. Yet government can take the side of these groups, helping the helper, encouraging the inspired. My administration will give taxpayers new incentives to donate to charity, encourage after-school programs that build character, and support mentoring groups that shape and save young lives. (3 August 2000)

Empathy, on the other hand, according to Nussbaum (2013, p. 146), “involves something morally valuable in and of itself: namely, a recognition of the other as a center of experience”, which means that being empathetic involves recognizing others’ experiences *whether they are good or bad*. Thus, promoting empathetic behavior, in accordance with the Nurturant Parent model, implies not only compassionate feelings for someone else’s *suffering*, but also trying to recognize others’ perspectives on what constitutes *happiness*, which accounts for liberal political views on, for instance, same-sex relationships. That is, one does not have to share the same interests with others, but one should be empathetic and try to understand and respect how others live their lives in their pursuit of happiness. The Strict Father model, on the contrary, interprets homosexuality as an immoral condition that according to the model should be punished, which explains discriminative behavior from some of its supporters; an issue that is brought up by Obama to encourage empathetic behavior instead, as shown below:

I know there are differences on same-sex marriage, but surely we can agree that our gay and lesbian brothers and sisters deserve to visit the person they love in the hospital and to live lives free of discrimination. [...] This too is part of America's promise – the promise of a democracy where we can find the strength and grace to bridge divides and unite in common effort. (28 August 2008)

Although demographic groups are still explicitly mentioned by Obama, in order to increase the foregrounding of moral values in the Democratic rhetoric, Obama’s speeches are much more “value-laden” than the speeches of Democratic candidates before him (Berry & Gottheimer, 2010, p. 66). Purposefully, Obama not only states liberal values in his speeches, but he also makes sure that values that have a high priority in the Strict Father model are openly articulated as well, which has a positive outcome for Obama’s rhetoric, since most people are neither pure conservatives nor pure liberals. Rather, as mentioned earlier, “many people have in their brains versions of both progressive and conservative moral values in all sorts of combinations [,] and they apply these different moral values to different issues” (Lakoff, 2014, p. 52). Therefore, although Republicans may be more inclined towards Strict Father morality and Democrats towards Nurturant Parent morality, aspects and values from both models will be found in the political arguments from both affiliations, which conforms with the concept of biconceptualism, as described in section 2.2.4. In the excerpt below, for instance, Obama also points out that some of the values that Republicans usually promote as conservative values are, in fact, values shared by Democrats too. Obama then combines the conceptual metaphor

DIVIDES ARE DISEASES with a JOURNEY metaphor to illustrate his point of view that categorizing values as if they only belong to one party is a negative outcome, which creates divides that prevent the country from making progress.

Let's resist the temptation to fall back on the same partisanship and pettiness and immaturity that has poisoned our politics for so long. Let's remember that it was a man from this state who first carried the banner of the Republican Party to the White House - a party founded on the values of self-reliance and individual liberty and national unity. Those are values we all share. And while the Democratic Party has won a great victory tonight, we do so with a measure of humility and determination *to heal the divides that have held back our progress*. (4 November 2008)

In fact, conceptualizing divides/divisions in terms of diseases that need to be healed, so that they do not impede the progression of a journey is also found in Bush's speech, as when he says: "We have known divisions, which must be healed to move forward in great purposes" (20 January 2005).

Another value that is frequently pronounced by Obama in his speeches is 'responsibility', a value that is commonly attributed to Republicans, and Bush, in special. Surprisingly, Obama uses the word 'responsibility' in his speeches almost as often as Bush. Nevertheless, Obama takes a step further and instead of simply promoting this value, he uses the term to highlight important differences between the views held by Republicans and Democrats. In the passages below, for example, Obama underlines that the Republican idea of 'individual responsibility' is not enough; 'social responsibility', that is, the Democratic focus on 'empathetic responsibility' is as important:

Individual responsibility and mutual responsibility – that's the essence of America's promise. (28 August 2008)

So let us summon a new spirit of patriotism, of responsibility where each of us resolves to pitch in and work harder and look after not only ourselves, but each other. (4 November 2008)

Many scholars claimed that in addition to conceding value-laden rhetoric to Republicans, Democrats had also conceded religious language (Berry & Gottheimer, 2010, p.

66). Obama agreed and argued that if Democrats were to promote their own progressive values in a way that was attractive to those that held different beliefs, Democrats could not “abandon the field of religious discourse” (Berry & Gottheimer, 2010, p. 66). Indeed, Obama’s speeches often include religious language, especially when encouraging equal rights, as shown below:

We are true to our creed when a little girl born into the bleakest poverty knows that she has the same chance to succeed as anybody else, because she is an American; she is free, and she is equal, not just in the eyes of God but also in our own. (21 January 2013)

The issue of equality is also emphasized by Obama through his careful choice of words. Deliberately, he often mentions both genders when communicating progressive values, as exemplified in the following passage:

That's the promise of America – the idea that we are responsible for ourselves, but that we also rise or fall as one nation; the fundamental belief that I am my *brother's* keeper; I am my *sister's* keeper. [...] And now is the time to keep the promise of equal pay for an equal day's work, because I want my *daughters* to have exactly the same opportunities as your *sons*. (28 August 2008)

Moreover, as exemplified below, when addressing the audience, Obama repeatedly uses the proper noun ‘America’ as a vocative (italicized), which can be seen as an inclusive expression that does not exclude immigrants, as the noun ‘Americans’ would. Given the Republican opposing view on immigration, it should not come as a surprise that this inclusive linguistic choice is not found in Bush’s speeches, as shown in appendix E.

Because, *America*, we understand that this democracy is ours. We, the people, recognize that we have responsibilities as well as rights; that our destinies are bound together, that a freedom which asks only "what's in it for me," a freedom without a commitment to others, a freedom without love or charity or duty or patriotism is unworthy of our founding ideals and those who died in their defense. (6 September 2012)

In conclusion, as illustrated in this section, Bush’s speeches display many traits of Strict Father morality, such as the portrayal of self-discipline and self-reliance as priorities in civic

life; whereas, Obama's political message is more inclined towards Nurturant Parent morality. Nevertheless, as follows from the proposition of biconceptualism, both candidates appeal to values that, as pointed out by Obama, both Republicans and Democrats share.

#### 4.4.2 First term: Need for change

Both Bush's and Obama's first term speeches are filled with cues that indicate that a *shift* from the party that had been in power for the last two terms, to the politicians' own party is needed. This is done by the application of an "argument scheme that allows a conclusion to be derived from certain premises", which is referred to as 'topos' by Charteris-Black (2014, p. 133). That is, throughout their speeches politicians will argue for issues in a particular way that favors their view and which leads to a logical conclusion. For instance, by constantly 'framing' the last administration in negative terms, one leads to the logical conclusion that the administration in question is a 'problem', and that something needs to be done about it. As expected, the policies of the speaker as well as the speaker himself can thus be presented as the solution to the problem. Both Bush and Obama make use of this strategy and frame their first term campaigns accordingly, leading to the conclusion that 'change is needed', as exemplified in Obama's words below:

Tonight, I say to the American people, to Democrats and Republicans and Independents across this great land – enough! This moment – this election – is our chance to keep, in the 21st century, the American promise alive. Because next week, in Minnesota, the same party that brought you two terms of George Bush and Dick Cheney will ask this country for a third. And we are here because we love this country too much to let the next four years look like the last eight. On November 4th, we must stand up and say: "Eight is enough". (28 August 2008)

Note that Obama repeats the word 'enough' to emphasize his point of view, and according to Charteris-Black (2014, p. 68), "while repetition is simple it is also very effective; in the same way that water dripping on a stone can eventually wear it away, it gains its effect through each successive reiteration and conveys determination and strength of purpose". Although it is not always the same word that is repeated to form what is known as a lexical chain, but a derivative (as in the case of 'reiteration'), still the strategy of repeating an argument is very persuasive. For instance, Obama constantly employs JOURNEY metaphors in his first

term speeches to emphasize the necessity of ‘moving forward’, i.e. changing from the politics of one party to the “next” one, instead of ‘going back’ to the same politics of the past administration, as shown in the passages below (italicized):

So now we have a choice. My opponent and his running mate are new to foreign policy, but from all that we've seen and heard, *they want to take us back* to an era of blustering and blundering that cost America so dearly. (28 August 2008)

This victory alone is not the change we seek; it is only the chance for us to make that change. And that cannot happen *if we go back to the way things were*. (4 November 2008)

Bush, in turn, frequently employs the word ‘new’ and its derivatives to get his message across, especially in collocation with ‘beginning’, as in the following passage (italicized):

And now they come asking for another chance, another shot. Our answer? Not this time. Not this year. This is not a time for third chances, it is a time for *new beginnings*. (3 August 2000)

‘New’ is also used repeatedly by Bush to advertise the “modernized ideals” of the Republican Party that was campaigning the memorable slogan “Compassionate Conservatism”, claiming that conservative ideals were now ‘up-to-date’ and attractive for demographic groups that before had not been prioritized in Republican policies, such as Mexican-American immigrants and single mothers (Kristof, 2016). In the excerpt below, for instance, Bush adds power to his words by uttering two consecutive tricolons (underlined), a figure of speech that is used more often by Bush than Obama, as mentioned in section 3.2.1. Furthermore, Bush emphasizes the Republican ideological shift as something unexpected to their opponents by employing three successive antitheses (numerated), where, under the general conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR, he conceptualizes opposing campaigns as battles between candidates, portraying his own party as better prepared for the conflict:

Their war room is up and running... but we are ready (1). Their attacks will be relentless... but they will be answered (2). We are facing something familiar, but they

are facing something new (3). We are now the party of ideas and innovation... The party of idealism and inclusion. The party of a simple and powerful hope. (3 August 2000)

Obama also uses the word ‘new’ to frame his arguments in a way that favors his perspectives and the ideals of his party. By regularly contrasting ‘new’ and ‘old’, Obama portrays the Democratic policies and its progressive values as something new, whereas the conservative policies advocated by the Republicans are depicted as something old and ‘unchanged’, as exemplified below (italicized):

For eighteen long months, you have stood up, one by one, and said enough to the *politics of the past*. You understand that in this election, the greatest risk we can take is to try the same *old politics* with the same *old players* and expect a different result. You have shown what history teaches us – that at defining moments like this one, the change we need doesn't come from Washington. Change comes to Washington. Change happens because the American people demand it – because they rise up and insist on *new ideas and new leadership, a new politics for a new time.* (28 August 2008)

Cleverly, Obama also employs novel metaphors to depict conservative politics not only as old, but as “rotten” strategies. As discussed in section 2.2.2 and 3.2.1, differently from conventional metaphors, novel metaphorical mappings show more right-hemisphere brain activity because they are usually processed by ‘comparison’, since the entities connected through metaphor are still cognitively separate, which has effective implications for persuasion. That is, when encountering a novel metaphor, the listener will use a longer time to process it, which consequently draws the listener’s attention to the topic being discussed. By applying the conceptual metaphor CONSERVATIVE POLITICS IS STALE FOOD (italicized), Obama evokes an unpleasant feeling of disgust in the audience connected with the strategies of the Republican Party, as shown in the passages below. Note that in order to heighten the emotional impact of the metaphor, Obama uses an antithesis (underlined), where he contrasts ‘fresh ideas’ and ‘stale tactics’, implying that progressive politics is seen as ‘fresh’, innovative strategies:

I know there are those who dismiss such beliefs as happy talk. They claim that our insistence on something larger, something firmer and more honest in our public life is just a Trojan Horse for higher taxes and the abandonment of traditional values. And

that's to be expected. Because if you don't have any fresh ideas, then you use *stale tactics* to scare the voters. (28 August 2008)

What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the *stale political arguments* that have consumed us for so long, no longer apply. (20 January 2009)

Portraying the policies of the opposite party as 'old tactics' is a strategy also employed by Bush, who insists on criticizing the 'welfare program-policy' of Democrats, by calling them 'same old programs', as shown below. Moreover, by combining this criticism with a JOURNEY metaphor where the word 'old' is repeated, Bush emphasizes his evaluation of the Democratic policies as something that does not lead to a new and, implicitly, better destination. Bush also highlights the image of the 'Clinton/Gore administration' as "ineffective guides" who have lost their chance to lead, at the same time that he presents himself and the Republican Party as "active leaders" who will direct the country, by repeatedly using his well-known epiphora "They have not led. We will" (underlined) throughout his first nomination speech. Epiphoras, i.e. the repetition of an exact string of words at the end of sentences, draws the attention of the audience to the repeated words, which contributes to the "hammering" of a point. Furthermore, in the same way that an appeal to pathos in the epilogue is more effective, because the last words that a person hears are the most likely to be remembered, repeating the last words of a sentence in an epiphora may also benefit from this effect.

This generation was given the gift of the best education in American history. Yet we do not share that gift with everyone. Seven of ten fourth-graders in our highest poverty schools cannot read a simple children's book. And still *this administration continues on the same old path* with the same old programs - while millions are trapped in schools where violence is common and learning is rare. This administration had its chance. They have not led. We will. (3 August 2000)

Following the classical arrangement, as discussed in section 2.1.1, after narrating the main arguments to suggest that voting for him is the solution to the problematic situations left by the previous administration, Bush appeals to logos in the proof section of his speeches and tries to explain his policies. There is an increase in the use of numbers and 'logical' arguments by Bush, when justifying his proposals; which contributes to the impression that the speaker is

able to ‘think right’. Bush talks about children, education, the military, Social Security, health care and, as expected, about his famous ‘tax relief’, as shown in the passage below. In order to prove his point, Bush mentions another issue typically criticized by Republicans, an increasing surplus that is not well spent by the government, and which should be seen as the people’s property. Again, to emphasize the conservative view on the issue, Bush applies an antithesis (underlined) and openly states values such as ‘fairness’, ‘common sense’ and principle:

Another test of leadership is *tax relief*. The last time taxes were this high as a percentage of our economy, there was a good reason... We were fighting World War II. Today, our high taxes fund a surplus. Some say that growing federal surplus means Washington has more money to spend. But they've got it backwards. The surplus is not the government's money. The surplus is the people's money. I will use this moment of opportunity to bring common sense and fairness to the tax code. And I will act on principle. On principle ... every family, every farmer and small businessperson, should be free to pass on their life's work to those they love. So we will abolish the death tax.

Bush’s *tax relief* is an effective frame that attracted the attention of the media, and which became a widespread term for conceptualizing taxation. As pointed out by Lakoff (2014, p. 1):

For there to be relief, there must be an affliction, an afflicted party, and a reliever who removes the affliction and is therefore a hero. And if people try to stop the hero, those people are villains for trying to prevent relief. When the word *tax* is added to *relief*, the result is a metaphor: TAXATION IS AN AFFLICTION (originally italicized, capitalized by me).

The TAXATION IS AN AFFLICTION frame was so attractive, that even liberals started adopting it. In fact, Obama also uses the term *tax relief*, but to criticize once more the Republican policies of tax reduction for large business organizations, as shown in the excerpt below. Astutely, in order to frame McCain as the ‘villain’ who is preventing the ‘afflicted middle class’ from getting relief, Obama uses the metaphorical expression *tax breaks* together with ‘big corporations’, whereas *tax relief* is used in conjunction with ‘millions of Americans’, at the same time that he emphasizes agency by explicitly stating McCain’s name:

Now, I don't believe that Senator McCain doesn't care what's going on in the lives of Americans. I just think he doesn't know. [...] How else could he propose hundreds of billions in *tax breaks* for big corporations and oil companies but not one penny of *tax relief* to more than one hundred million Americans? (28 August 2008)

After exposing his arguments as to why one should vote for him and thereby achieve the desired change, Obama also appeals to logos and provides a sequence of arguments to show that he 'thinks right'. Obama refers to statistics and numbers, and talks about the typical topics for campaign speeches, such as education, tax reform, health care and the military. As much as possible Obama continues to emphasize the challenges left by the previous government, especially the ones connected to Bush's preemptive war in Iraq, anticipating that a second term may be needed, as in the example below, which is filled with metaphors from different source domains, such as ANIMALS ('new energy to harness'), personification ('threats to meet', 'America' as vocative), reification, and, naturally, JOURNEY (italicized):

There's new energy to harness, new jobs to be created, new schools to build, and threats to meet, alliances to repair. *The road ahead will be long. Our climb will be steep. We may not get there in one year or even in one term*, but America, I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that *we will get there*. I promise you: *We as a people will get there*. (4 November 2008)

As illustrated in this section, by applying a problem-solution argument scheme, both Bush and Obama framed their first term campaigns in a way that depicted the 'need for change', which could only be achieved if there was a shift from the ruling political party to the candidate's own party.

#### **4.4.3 Second Term: Need for continuity**

In their second term campaigns, there is an obvious shift in the argument scheme employed by Bush and Obama. That is, differently from their first term, now it is not the opposite party who has had the previous mandate, but their own. Consequently, they cannot frame the need for change in power, rather they emphasize that the work they have started in their previous mandates needs to be continued, framing, therefore, what I will call 'need for

continuity'. Interestingly, since Obama cannot criticize himself, in his second term nomination acceptance speech, he still refers to the problems left by the Bush administration. In the example below, for instance, Obama appeals to pathos and portrays the Great Recession as a 'tragedy', implying that the Bush administration was unable to prevent it, which affected "millions of innocent Americans", at the same time that Obama presents himself as the hero who is still fighting to save the innocent victims from this tragedy:

And by 2008, we had seen nearly a decade in which families struggled with costs that kept rising, but paychecks that didn't; folks racking up more and more debt just to make the mortgage or pay tuition, put gas in the car or food on the table. And when the house of cards collapsed in the great recession, millions of innocent Americans lost their jobs, their homes, their life savings, a tragedy from which we're still fighting to recover. (6 September 2012)

In order to support their arguments and convey the message that they are on the 'right track' and, therefore, their work needs to be continued, both Obama and Bush try to demonstrate that they have accomplished some of the things they promised they would do when campaigning for their first terms. Bush, for instance, lists several achievements in his second nomination speech, such as tax relief and the strengthening of Social Security, and he proclaims that he has "passed the most important Federal education reform 'in history'", which is a very persuasive choice of words, since it gives the impression that Bush's achievement is unique. As shown below, to stress the importance of this accomplishment and make it memorable, Bush closes the paragraph with the metaphorical epiphora "nothing will hold us back" (italicized), which became the motto of his candidacy:

I believe every child can learn and every school must teach, so we passed the most important Federal education reform in history. Because we acted, children are making sustained progress in reading and math; America's schools are getting better; and *nothing will hold us back*. (2 September 2004)

In his second nomination speech, Obama, as well, lists a sequence of accomplishments that are connected with the "promises" from his first term campaign, such as reducing the American oil import from the Middle East, reducing carbon pollution, strengthening health care and creating half a million manufacturing jobs after a decade of decline. Then, once more,

Obama criticizes the Republican tax policies and argues that he has given tax reduction for those who actually need it, namely the middle class, which was constantly the focus group of his arguments. As shown below, Obama again applies the conceptual metaphor PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELING ALONG A PATH TOWARD A DESTINATION (italicized), and portrays his policies as being the right choice for the voters. As Obama often did in his campaign speeches, he then shifts the focus to the audience by repeating ‘you’ (underlined) and emphasizing that the outcome of the future is in the voters’ hands:

Now, I've cut taxes for those who need it: middle class families, small businesses. [...] And now you have a choice: We can give more tax breaks to corporations that ship jobs overseas, or we can start rewarding companies that open new plants and train new workers and create new jobs here in the United States of America. We can help big factories and small businesses double their exports, and *if we choose this path*, we can create a million new manufacturing jobs in the next 4 years. You can make that happen. You can choose that future. (6 September 2012)

Indeed, in his second victory speech, Obama recognizes the voters’ decisive contribution and, by referring to the slogan of his campaign, namely ‘Forward!’, derived from the conceptual metaphor MOVEMENT FORWARD IS GOOD, he acknowledges: “It moves forward because of you” (6 November 2012).

‘Moving forward’ conveys the idea of a journey that is being continued and Bush, as well, uses this metaphor to frame the importance of continuing the journey that he has started. In the excerpt below, for instance, he combines the metaphor MOVEMENT FORWARD IS GOOD with a CONSTRUCTION metaphor (underlined) to emphasize the idea of something that needs to be continued:

Two months from today, voters will make a choice based on the records we have built, the convictions we hold, and the *vision that guides us forward*. A Presidential election is a contest for the future. Tonight I will tell you where I stand, what I believe, and *where I will lead this country* in the next 4 years. [...] *We are making progress – we are making progress*, and there is more to do. (2 September 2004)

As discussed in section 4.3, Bush’s rhetoric shifts considerably from his first to his second term, due to the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>. By constantly alluding to the attacks and to

terror, Bush then frames a campaign based on fear. According to the Strict Father model (cf. section 2.2.4), immoral acts deserve punishment, and Bush turns the task of punishing the evil terrorists into a ‘personal quest’, which can be seen in the passage below in the way he repeats the expression ‘whatever it takes’ and the first person pronoun ‘I’:

This election will also determine how America responds to the continuing danger of terrorism, and you know where I stand. Three days after September the 11th, I stood where Americans died, in the ruins of the Twin Towers. Workers in hardhats were shouting to me, “Whatever it takes”. A fellow grabbed me by the arm, and he said, “Do not let me down”. Since that day, I wake up every morning thinking about how to better protect our country. I will never relent in defending America, whatever it takes. (2 September 2004)

Bush’s ‘war on terror’ is claimed to be the main cause for his reelection, since his policies had been widely criticized and signs of an imminent crisis had already started to show by the end of his first term (Campbell, 2005, p. 3). Furthermore, as proposed by Kellner (2005, p. 148), Bush had done little to promote “compassionate conservatism”, and it was inevitable for him to engage in a vague rhetoric that was remarked by the frequent use of “I will...”, rather than concrete proposals. In fact, Bush repeated many times that the work *he* had started for securing the country needed to be continued, and by evoking the ‘responsibility’ value from the Strict Father morality, he claimed that America had “accepted obligations that are difficult to fulfill and would be dishonorable to abandon” (20 January 2005).

Obama, by contrast, opposed the war in Iraq and emphasized that, differently from Bush, he had managed to fulfill the promise of ending the war – “responsibly”. Again, as exemplified in the passage below, Obama stresses that the choice is in the voters’ hands and, by reifying the abstract concept ‘leadership’, he suggests that they have the possibility of choosing “leadership that has been tested and proven”. This reification evokes a feeling of security in the audience connected to Obama’s administrative skills, and simultaneously implies that Obama’s opponent, Romney, is inexperienced. Furthermore, in order to add a tragic tone to his words, instead of resorting to euphemisms, as described in section 4.2, Obama underlines that Osama bin Laden is, ‘literally’, dead.

In a world of new threats and new challenges, *you can choose leadership that has been tested and proven*. Four years ago, I promised to end the war in Iraq. We did. I promised

to refocus on the terrorists who actually attacked us on 9/11. And we have. We've blunted the Taliban's momentum in Afghanistan, and in 2014, our longest war will be over. A new tower rises above the New York skyline, Al Qaida is on the path to defeat, and Usama bin Laden is dead. (6 September 2012)

Nevertheless, although both candidates framed a campaign that stressed the need for continuity, when the elections are approaching, it is common for voters to feel the desire for something new, something different, especially if one is not entirely satisfied with the present administration. To fulfill this need and to convey the idea that even though the same candidate may be reelected, things will be different, both Bush and Obama repeatedly state the words 'change' and 'new' in different collocations than the ones from their first term. That is, instead of talking about 'new beginnings' and 'the change we need' as they did in their first terms, Bush and Obama talk rather about 'new term', 'new opportunities' and 'time has changed'. Bush, for instance, when promoting his proposals, talks about "world of change", and uses this collocation in an antithesis (underlined) to contrast it with "things that do not change", namely, conservative values and ideals that justify his policies:

In this world of change, some things do not change, the *values* we try to live by, the institutions that give our lives meaning and purpose. Our society rests on a foundation of responsibility and character and family commitment. Because family and work are sources of stability and dignity, I support welfare reform that strengthens family and requires work. (2 September 2004)

Similarly, when trying to prevent voters from choosing Romney in the hope that the Republican candidate could represent the desired change, Obama advises them against it, warning that change will only happen if *he* is allowed to continue his 'heroic fight for change':

If you turn away now, if you buy into the cynicism that the change we fought for isn't possible, well, change will not happen. (6 November 2012)

In sum, as illustrated in this section the metaphorical scenario of a journey that needs to be continued (and built on) was very effective for both Bush and Obama in their arguments for the necessity of being granted a new term for continuing the positive progress that they had

started. Nevertheless, in order to lend a tone of change to their proposals, Bush and Obama filled their speeches with words associated with innovation, such as ‘new’ and ‘change’.

#### **4.5 Summary of findings and conclusion**

As demonstrated in the present analysis, although Bush and Obama rely on similar linguistic features for their political discourses, such as antitheses and isocolons, some devices are distinctive to only one of the politicians. Bush, for instance, employs tricolons more frequently than the Democratic candidate does, whereas Obama tends to use periphrasis and alliteration a little more often, which, as I have argued, contributes to the poetic tone of his rhetoric.

Even though the elevated style of Obama’s speeches is reinforced by his team of speechwriters, Obama’s own oratory skills are undeniable and have won him a great deal of public approval. Bush, however, was often criticized for not being able to deliver impromptu the same eloquent type of language that was found in his speeches. Nevertheless, some of the public seemed to like this unpolished manner displayed by Bush, which made him appear genuine. As the son of former president, George H. W. Bush, Bush gained even more credibility, and used this quality to reinforce his image as a trustworthy candidate. Obama, on the contrary, came from a much more modest background, but he climbed the social ladder and managed to achieve the highest office position in the country, which allowed him to portray himself as the living proof of the American Dream. Obama’s African heritage also allowed him positive associations to Martin Luther King Jr., a link that can be found in Obama’s linguistic choices and delivery style.

As a Republican, Bush promotes mostly conservative values and the language he uses for communicating his party’s ideals stems from a metaphorical frame derived from the conservative view on what constitutes the ideal family; a model referred to as the Strict Father. Obama, in turn, expresses in his speeches many of the characteristics encompassed in the Nurturant Parent model, which represents the progressive view on the ideal family. These opposing family models translated into politics accounts for Bush’s and Obama’s distinctive proposals, as captured by Lakoff, who stated in an interview that “liberals and conservatives aren’t just quibbling over policy details like the size of a tax cut or the structure of a Medicare drug benefit. They are fighting a war of opposing moral visions, rooted in notions of the ideal family” (Butler, 2003). Nevertheless, as follows from the proposition of biconceptualism, one may operate with both liberal and conservative modes of thought in different arenas of life,

therefore Bush and Obama appeals to values that, as pointed out by Obama, both Republicans and Democrats share.

Besides Bush's and Obama's distinctive views on morality, other elements have also played a role in the politicians' linguistic choices. As has been argued, the attacks of 9/11 led to a significant shift in Bush's rhetorical style, which contributed to the creation of a political myth that portrayed him as 'an honorable liberator' who was willing to make hard decisions to build "a safer world and a more hopeful America". Moreover, as mentioned in section 4.3.1, Bush's rhetoric was marked by a frequent use of "I will...", which reflected the politician's determination in combating terror and tyranny as a personal mission that he would carry "whatever it takes". Obama's rhetoric, in turn, was additionally shaped by his background and his extraordinary personal accomplishments, which led to the portrayal of a political myth that depicted Obama as a triumphant warrior who had overcome obstacles in his trajectory, and who was ready to face challenges and lead the country in an arduous journey to a better future, where unalienable rights, such as "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" could be available to every American; a myth that was well encapsulated in Obama's famous campaign slogan "Yes, we can".

In addition to the abovementioned metaphorical frames, the politicians' persuasiveness was also influenced by a problem-solution argument schema adopted by both politicians to frame their campaigns in the right way. That is, in their first term campaign, the politicians framed the need for shift in power, by depicting the ruling party as problematic and ineffective; whereas in the campaign for their second term, Bush and Obama framed the need for being granted one more term so that they could continue the positive work that they had started in their first terms. However, in order to give the impression that the proposals for their second term would also bring some novelty, Bush's and Obama's speeches for their second campaign were loaded with words associated with innovation, such as 'new' and 'change'.

Following the research questions introduced in section 1.2, this chapter has shown which rhetorical devices are preferred by Bush and Obama and which metaphors are most used by each of them. Thereafter, to a large extent I have been able to show what the probable intention behind their specific metaphor choices may be, such as when Bush and Obama portray themselves as heroic leaders and their opponents as incompetent candidates. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that the rhetorical effect of the politicians' particular metaphors is heightened by the combination of these metaphors with other rhetorical devices, such as antithesis, isocolon and repetition.

Based on these findings, with respect to my hypothesis that in order to portray themselves as the right candidates Bush and Obama would use distinctive metaphors and rhetorical devices, since they represent the ideologies of two distinctive parties (cf. section 1.2), I propose that this hypothesis is partially confirmed. That is, both politicians rely, actually, on familiar source domains for their metaphors and similar rhetorical devices for the construction of their speeches. However, the way Bush and Obama employ their metaphors and combine them with specific linguistic features is indeed different and reflects not only the politicians' characteristic style, but the ideologies of the parties that they represent.

Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that although Bush's and Obama's rhetorical skills have contributed to their persuasiveness, and van Dijk's ideological square has assisted the politicians in their portrayals of themselves as better candidates than their opponents, we should also consider other aspects of the persuasion act, such as the idea of Bush and Obama being 'the right candidates at the right time'. That is, after two terms with the same party, it is not uncommon for the electorate to desire a shift in power. Thus, although politicians can make use of the elements suggested in Charteris-Black's model (cf. figure 2.1) for portraying themselves as 'being the right candidates', external elements, such as the behavior of the candidate's opponents and the reputation of the candidate's party at the time of election, may also play a role in the process of convincing others that a particular candidate is the right one. Therefore, as mentioned in section 3.3, although relevant for the understanding of how specific verbal elements were employed by Bush and Obama to convince the voters that they were the right candidates for the presidency of the United States, the speeches and the linguistic choices discussed in the present thesis should be regarded as a contribution to the candidates' persuasiveness, rather than the sole cause of it.

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# APPENDIX A

## Bush Corpus

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<b>Text</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Speech</b>
1	3 August 2000	Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia
2	13 December 2000	First Term – Victory Speech
3	20 January 2001	First Term – Inaugural Address
4	2 September 2004	Remarks Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention in New York City
5	3 November 2004	Second Term – Victory Speech
6	20 January 2005	Second Term – Inaugural Address

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14890 words

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# APPENDIX B

## Bush's Metaphors

Source Domain	Qty.	Example
Personification	256	This nation is daring and decent and ready for change. (3 August 2000)
Reification	126	This generation was given the gift of the best education in American history. Yet we do not share that gift with everyone. (3 August 2000)
JOURNEY and MOTION	98	Start on this journey of progress and justice, and America will walk at your side. (20 January 2005)
CONFLICT (including WAR)	43	Then again, I don't have a lot of things that come with Washington. I don't have enemies to fight. (3 August 2000)
UP and DOWN	32	Our nation must rise above a house divided. (13 December 2000)
CONSTRUCTION/CREATION and DESTRUCTION	30	I'm running for President with a clear and positive plan to build a safer world and a more hopeful America. (2 September 2004)
TEXTURE	15	Bob was a Democrat, a crusty veteran of Texas politics, and my great friend. (3 August 2000)
HEALTH and ILLNESS	14	We agreed to meet early next week in Washington, and we agreed to do our best to heal our country after this hard-fought contest. (13 December 2000)
STRENGTH and WEAKNESS	14	We'll strengthen the Social Security for the next generation. (3 November 2004)
FINANCE	14	Some seem to believe that our politics can afford to be petty because, in a time of peace, the stakes of our debates appear small. But the stakes for America are never small. (20 January 2001)
RELIGION and SPIRITUALISM	8	Like generations before us, we have a calling from beyond the stars to stand for freedom. (2 September 2004)

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SLEEPING	7	But the themes of this day he would know: our nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream of dignity. (20 January 2001)
WEATHER and NATURAL PHENOMENA	6	We have seen a steady erosion of American power and an unsteady exercise of American influence. (3 August 2000)
GROW and SHRINK	6	We saw the bravery of rescuers grow with danger. (2 September 2004)
LIFE and DEATH	5	This is a remarkable moment in the life of our nation. (3 August 2000)
LIGHT and DARKNESS	4	And one day this untamed fire of freedom will reach the darkest corners of our world. (20 January 2005)
CONTAINER	4	Vice President Gore and I put our hearts and hopes into our campaigns. (13 December 2000)
FIRE and HEAT	4	By our efforts we have lit a fire as well; a fire in the minds of men. It warms those who feel its power. It burns those who fight its progress. (20 January 2005)
BOOKS and READING	3	We will write, not footnotes, but chapters in the American story. (3 August 2000)
MISCELLANEOUS	35	I do not need to take your pulse before I know my own mind. I do not reinvent myself at every turn. I am not running in borrowed clothes. (3 August 2000)
Sum	724	
Total of unique references	599	

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# APPENDIX C

## Obama Corpus

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<b>Text</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Speech</b>
1	28 August 2008	Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in Denver: "The American Promise"
2	4 November 2008	First Term – Victory Speech
3	20 January 2009	First Term – Inaugural Address
4	6 September 2012	Remarks Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in Charlotte, North Carolina
5	6 November 2012	Second Term – Victory Speech
6	21 January 2013	Second Term – Inaugural Address

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17860 words

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# APPENDIX D

## Obama's Metaphors

Source Domain	Qty.	Example
Personification	244	We believe in a generous America, in a compassionate America, in a tolerant America [...]. (6 November 2012)
Reification	177	Have a surplus? Try a tax cut. (6 September 2012)
JOURNEY and MOTION	119	The road ahead will be long. Our climb will be steep. We may not get there in one year or even in one term, but America, I have never been more hopeful than I am tonight that we will get there. I promise you: We as a people will get there. (4 November 2008)
CONFLICT (including WAR)	51	I just spoke with Governor Romney and I congratulated him and Paul Ryan on a hard-fought campaign. We may have battled fiercely, but it's only because we love this country deeply and we care so strongly about its future. (6 November 2012)
UP and DOWN	43	In this country, we rise or fall as one nation; as one people. (4 November 2008)
CONSTRUCTION/CREATION and DESTRUCTION	41	The Bush-McCain foreign policy has squandered the legacy that generations of Americans - Democrats and Republicans – have built, and we are here to restore that legacy. (28 August 2008)
FINANCE	24	Our citizens, seared by the memory of those we have lost, know too well the price that is paid for liberty. (21 January 2013)
SLEEPING	14	That together, our dreams can be one. (28 August 2008)
STRENGTH and WEAKNESS	13	The commitments we make to each other through Medicare and Medicaid and Social Security, these things do not sap our initiative, they strengthen us. (21 January 2013)

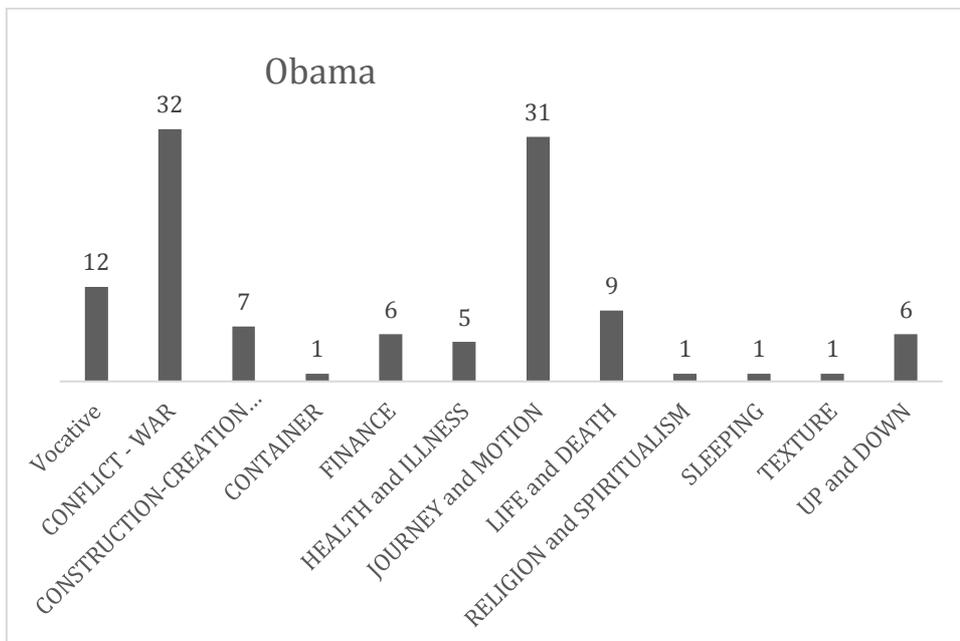
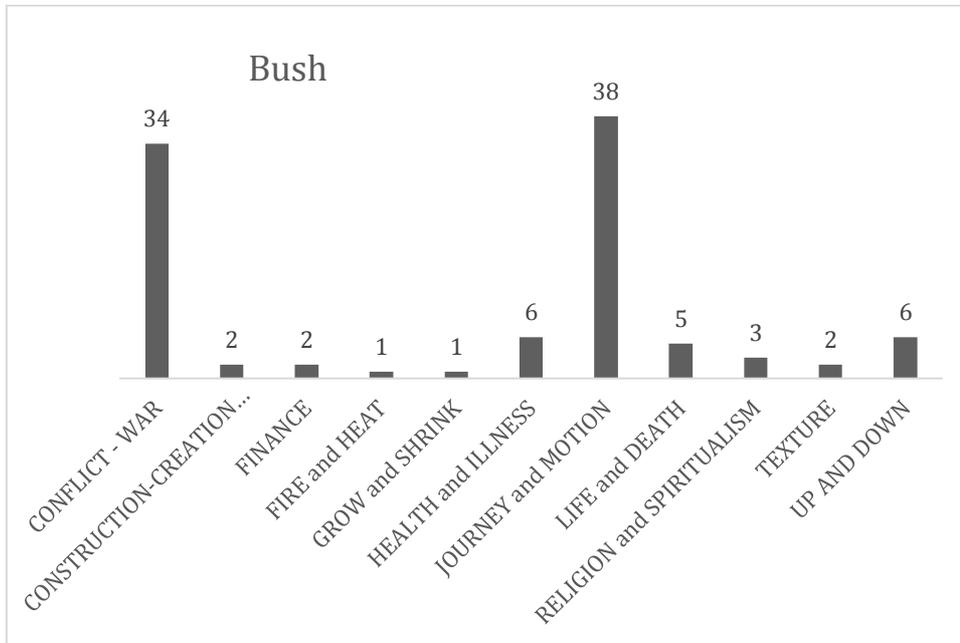
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LIGHT and DARKNESS	11	Those ideals still light the world, and we will not give them up for expedience's sake. (20 January 2009)
TEXTURE	10	[...] our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. (20 January 2009)
RELIGION and SPIRITUALISM	9	And yet, at this moment, a moment that will define a generation, it is precisely this spirit that must inhabit us all. (20 January 2009)
LIFE and DEATH	9	Because for two hundred and thirty two years, at each moment when that promise was in jeopardy, ordinary men and women, students and soldiers, farmers and teachers, nurses and janitors, found the courage to keep it alive. (28 August 2008)
GROW and SHRINK	8	Instead, they knew that our power grows through its prudent use. (20 January 2009)
HEALTH and ILLNESS	7	Through it all, we have never relinquished our skepticism of central authority, nor have we succumbed to the fiction that all society's ills can be cured through government alone. (21 January 2013)
WEATHER and NATURAL PHENOMENA	6	The truth gets buried under an avalanche of money and advertising. (6 September 2012)
CONTAINER	6	She poured everything she had into me. (28 August 2008)
ANIMALS	6	Our campaign was not hatched in the halls of Washington [...]. (4 November 2008)
GAMES and SPORTS	5	[...] everyone plays by the same rules from Main Street to Wall Street to Washington, DC. (6 September 2012)
MISCELLANEOUS	80	If you don't have a record to run on, then you paint your opponent as someone people should run from. (28 August 2008)
Sum	883	
Total of unique references	753	

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# APPENDIX E

## Cross-referenced Personifications



# APPENDIX F

## Differences in word usage

Word	Politician	Qty.	Text
Tyranny	Bush	1	2 September 2004
	Bush	5	20 January 2005
	Obama	1	4 November 2008
	Obama	1	21 January 2013

Word	Politician	Qty.	Text
Terror	Bush	3	2 September 2004
	Bush	1	3 November 2004
	Obama	1	4 November 2008

Word	Politician	Qty.	Text
Freedom	Bush	2	13 December 2000
	Bush	5	20 January 2001
	Bush	16	2 September 2004
	Bush	3	3 November 2004
	Bush	27	20 January 2005
	Obama	2	28 August 2008
	Obama	3	20 January 2009
	Obama	3	6 September 2012
	Obama	2	6 November 2012
Obama	6	21 January 2013	

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<b>Word</b>	<b>Politician</b>	<b>Qty.</b>	<b>Text</b>
Liberty	Bush	1	20 January 2001
	Bush	11	2 September 2004
	Bush	15	20 January 2005
	Obama	2	4 November 2008
	Obama	2	20 January 2009
	Obama	1	6 November 2012
	Obama	5	21 January 2013

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