

TO SHAPE THE WORLD FOR THE BETTER:  
AN ANALYSIS OF METAPHORS IN THE  
SPEECHES OF BARACK OBAMA

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# Part I Theory and background

## Introduction

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### **Background**

Barack Obama was elected at a time of strategic, social and economic challenges. The American government was waging infamous wars in Iraq and Afghanistan that were criticized both in the U.S. and internationally. Moreover, America was facing one of the biggest economic crises in its history. The election of Barack Obama brought hope to the lives of Americans and the rest of the international society. Before the presidential elections Obama was a relatively unknown, young politician that had been introduced to the U.S. Senate in 2005. He succeeded in convincing the American citizens that he was fit to become an American president. When elected, the challenge before Obama was to restore the belief of the American citizens in their government. When it comes to internal politics it was believed that he would represent more liberal and democratic values than his conservative predecessor, viz. George W. Bush. Jr. Obama's followers and the international society believed that he would put stop to political practices that contradicted basic human rights, like Guantanamo Bay detention camp, and restore the image of the U.S. abroad. But perhaps most importantly, he was expected to be a juxtaposition of his republican predecessor, that is to advocate peace instead of conflict, tolerance instead of narrow-mindedness and liberal instead of conservative values.

The fact that a relatively unknown U.S. Senator, born in Hawaii and with roots in Kenya, has become the American president is indeed an amazing phenomenon. Not to mention the fact that Obama has become a worldwide symbol for the anticipated changes in the U.S. politics. The phenomenon of Obama is also interesting from the perspective of linguistics. Language is a powerful tool in politics, as it serves as a tool of legitimization of political leaders and helps to organize social practices. There is no doubt that a great part of Obama's success can be attributed to his inspiring speeches. A successful politician can evoke the feeling of comradeship between herself or himself and her or his followers, as well as to convince them that she or he has the necessary authority and knowledge to be a leader. All this can be done with the help of metaphors that will be the focus of this work.

## **Aims and hypotheses**

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the language of Barack Obama's speeches and draw conclusions about their persuasion. The topic of the speeches that will be analyzed is mainly terrorism and conflicts. I will identify metaphorical expressions in my corpus and see what conceptual metaphors underlie them. Then, I will analyze the metaphors and see what images they evoke and what emotions and feelings they try to evoke. Finally, I will determine what the motivation behind the use of these metaphors is and what the possible influence on cognition they can have. A hypothesis that I will seek to confirm is that metaphors in Barack Obama's speeches portray him as a charismatic and strong leader and, above all, one with moral authority. Another hypothesis is that instead of focusing on deriding the enemies of the U.S. Obama will rather focus on evoking the feelings of trust for his politics and hope for the better future.

The research questions that I will be seeking to answer throughout the thesis are:

1. What is Barack Obama's repertoire of metaphors, what are the most common source domains in his speeches?
2. What is the probable purpose behind the use of these metaphors? What images does Obama try to evoke?
3. What possible effects can Obama's speeches have on his audience. What emotions does the politician try to evoke by the particular use of conceptual metaphors?

By images that Obama tries to evoke I understand what connotations the source domains of the metaphors have and their possible cultural background. For instance, if he uses the metaphor AMERICA IS A HERO it can be claimed that he portrays his country as a strong leader with high morality and authority by referring to mythological heroes such as a legendary British leader, viz. King Arthur, or the heroes of the Ancient Greek and Roman myths.

## **Framework**

In this work I will use cognitive metaphor theory (CMT) an approach which is preoccupied with the relationship between metaphors and cognition. CMT claims that metaphors underlie our perception of the world; this has two implications for the analysis of political speeches. Firstly, CMT claims that metaphors identified in language can reveal patterns of thoughts.

This means that by studying the conceptual metaphors one can see how we perceive such abstract phenomena as politics, economy, international affairs. Secondly, and more importantly, by analyzing what metaphors a given politician uses one can see what images she or he is trying to invoke in his followers, what emotions to evoke in them and what to believe in. CMT can also give answers to why a certain politician is successful in promoting herself or himself or convincing her or his followers to accept an otherwise unpopular decision.

### **Corpus description**

My corpus includes twelve speeches of Barack Obama ranging from 2007, when he was still a United States Senator, until 2010, two year after he had been elected. The speeches are referenced by codes consisting of three pairs of numbers and letters. The first pair indicates the number of the text, the second one the number of the page the quotation is on and the final one the paragraph. For instance, if a given quotation is coded as (2 t 4 p 3 p), one can find it in the third paragraph, on the fourth page of the second text. All the speeches come from the Internet site of the press office of the White House (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office>).

I have chosen twelve texts to ensure variety, so that it would be possible to identify a general pattern to the conceptual metaphors used by Obama. That is, I wanted to be sure that if I notice that a certain group of metaphors is significantly numerous it could be treated as a general characteristic of Obama's rhetorics. At the same time I have decided to narrow the theme of the speeches to the one of war, terrorism, conflicts and threats, so that the metaphors that I identify are consistent. Different topics tend to have different metaphor repertoires, for instance, Fairy Tale of the Just War metaphors tend to appear more often in the speeches dealing with military actions than economy. I did not want to risk that I would find a huge variety of metaphors with different source domains. Instead, I chose to study the texts on war to investigate how Obama addressed one of the least popular topics among American citizens, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and other threats connected to the Middle East region. The two wars were highly unpopular among many of his followers and one of the challenges before Obama was to convince them that his politics will be vastly different from the one of his predecessor.

The choice of the time range of the texts is dictated by the fact that it was the time of Obama's greatest popularity and, one could argue, his most important speeches.

## **The structure of the thesis**

The thesis is divided into two parts: the first part will provide the theoretical background relevant for the thesis and the second includes data analysis and a concluding chapter. The organization of the thesis is as follows. Chapter 1 will provide an overview of Conceptual Metaphor Theory as well as other prominent theories and frameworks relevant to metaphor studies, like cognitive Linguistics. A brief definition of the term metaphor will be given together with the most prominent names and studies. A description of metaphorical mapping will be given together with the consequences of different processes connected to mapping. I will also describe the role of metaphor in forming beliefs and perception of the surrounding world. Chapter 2 will introduce the term of ideology and the role of metaphor in politics, as well as various studies of such use. The following chapter, viz. Chapter 3, will present ways of classifying and identifying metaphors. It will also provide methodology used in the thesis. Chapter 4 will provide examples, analysis and implications of Obama's use of heroic myth and Fairy Tale of the Just War metaphor. In the Chapter 5 one will find a discussion of the journey metaphors and Chapter 6 will deal with creation/construction and destruction metaphors. Note that examples are numbered such that for each data chapter, the first example is 1). The final chapter provides a conclusion.

# Chapter 1

## Metaphor – theoretical introduction

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Ever since the famous book of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson “Metaphors we live by” was published, metaphor has taken its rightful place in research of human language and cognition. If we define the role of the Cognitive Linguistics as discovering the way how language reflects our perception of the world, then metaphor is a perfect tool that can be used for this purpose. Nonetheless, metaphors go unnoticed for most of the language users that often claim that the language they speak is literal and outright. It comes as a surprise to most of us that metaphorical speech pervades everyday language and is inevitable when we speak about our emotions, experiences, etc. But metaphor does not belong only to the realm of language. Researchers like George Lakoff, Zoltan Kövecses, Andrew Goatly and many more have argued for the Cognitive Linguistics claim that metaphor underlies our perception of the world. We use metaphors to make sense of such abstract domains as emotions, social institutions and time. This chapter provides an introduction to Cognitive Metaphor Theory and sets it in a broader context of linguistic research as well as other domains concerned with metaphors. The first subsection (1.1) will give a short account of the term metaphor as understood in the traditional and classical framework. The next section will elaborate on a definition of metaphor, as seen by Cognitive Linguists, especially George Lakoff and his followers (1.2). The following section (1.3) will concern conceptual metaphor as well as the mechanisms behind it. Metaphorical mapping and its characteristics will be discussed in section 1.5 and a short description of image schemata and their importance for conceptual metaphors will follow in section 1.6. In section 1.7 I will discuss how conceptual metaphors underlie our perception and shape it.

### **1.1 Views on metaphor: classical versus contemporary**

The exclusion of metaphor from the everyday language is characteristic for the classical view of metaphor that has its roots in the Ancient times, notably Aristotle. Metaphor was seen as a part of “novel poetic language” (Lakoff and Johnson 1993: 202) and was claimed to play an ornamental function in speech. In the classical view metaphor can be defined as a figure of speech or trope in which a comparison is made between two unlike things that share certain characteristics. For instance, in the famous quotation from Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*

“Juliet is the sun”, Juliet is likened to the sun. The comparison is motivated by the fact that Romeo believes that she shares such characteristics with the sun as life-giving power, glory and beauty.

Aristotle believed that the ambiguity and obscurity that are inherent in metaphors hinder the understanding and, therefore, they should be banned from argumentation (Ortony 1993: 3). The cognitive value of metaphors was disregarded leaving their analysis to those interested in literature and rhetoric. The fate of metaphor was shared by other tropes, such as irony or metonymy, as they were all believed to twist the meanings of words, hence their name – in Greek *trope* means ‘turn, twist’ (Gibbs 1993: 252). Together with such figures of speech as irony, idioms and indirect speech it has been classified as figurative speech and excluded from the realm of linguistic study. It was literal speech that was believed to be “basic and suited to talking about our experience and the objective world” (Gibbs 1994: 121).

In the classical approach, metaphors are divided into ‘creative’ or ‘poetic’ metaphors, that is ones that are used in literary works and poetic language, as in sentences (1) and (2) below.

(1) “Irrigate your mind a little”

(2) “John is married to his tennis game” (Fraser 1993: 330)

Poetic metaphors are innovative linguistic expressions. They are infrequent and native speakers usually notice their metaphoricity. For such metaphors to be interpreted correctly we need to employ a certain amount of creativity. They are also hard to interpret outside of their context (Fraser 1993: 330).

An opposite phenomenon is a ‘dead’ metaphor. ‘Dead’ or ‘conventional’ metaphors because of their frequent use have entered the lexicon and ordinary speech and are no longer seen as figurative. One can find examples of dead metaphors in sentences (3) and (4) below.

(3) Don’t waste my time.

(4) He got hot under the collar.

Dead metaphors are linguistic expressions that are conventionalized in a given language, which means that native speakers are usually unaware of their metaphoricity. These expressions used to be novel, ‘live’ metaphors, but have been conventionalized and have become idioms of a given language like “to kick the bucket” (Fraser 1993: 330). However, in

many cases when the figurativeness of the expression is pointed to the native speakers they notice the mechanism that underlies it.

If the classical approach was correct that metaphor belongs to the domain of poetic language and its main role is ornamental, it would be found in the everyday language very rarely, whereas the opposite is true. Metaphor is abundant in everyday conversations when we describe our emotions, experiences and beliefs. It is also found in abundance in speeches of politicians and other public persons. We use it to make sense of the way how social institutions and movements operate. This abundance has been used as basis for the claim of Cognitive Linguists that metaphor underlies human cognitive processes.

The milestone in the research of metaphors is the volume edited by Ortony (1993) where scholars from different domains showed its importance not only in language, but also in thought. One of the first thorough accounts of metaphor and its considerable influence on human conceptualization of various phenomena is Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors we live by*. One of the biggest achievement of these scholars was proving that metaphor is not merely a figure of speech inherent to the poetic language. On the contrary, it is present in everyday language, viz. newspapers, speeches of politicians and conversations. Metaphor, the researchers claim, does not necessarily have to be an inherently linguistic phenomenon as it permeates patterns of thought. Such patterns of thought can also be expressed nonverbally such as gestures, pictures and diagrams (Grady 2007: 189). What is more, metaphor is also important cognitively, as it underlies human perception of the surrounding world. It is especially true when it comes to the dead metaphors. In fact, in their work Lakoff and Johnson analyze mainly dead metaphors, that is the most frequent and conventional ones. It follows from the fact that the more frequent the metaphorical expression is, the bigger chances it has of being a linguistic realization of an underlying pattern of thought (conceptual metaphor, discussed in section 1.3). Lakoff and Johnson noted the importance of dead metaphors, which, as their name suggests, were considered to be of little significance. The reason for the indifference to conventional metaphors was the fact that earlier metaphors were analyzed in relation to their poetic and ornamental functions in literature and the focus was rather on the unconventional, creative ones (Deignan 2005: 15). It does not come as a surprise that Lakoff does not agree with the term 'dead metaphor'. He claims that the fact that a given metaphorical expression was used so frequently that it has been conventionalized does not mean that it is unimportant for our conceptualization of the phenomenon that it describes.

Conventionalized and highly frequent metaphorical expressions are instantiations of more general, cognitive patterns of thought, i.e. conceptual metaphors that will be elaborated on in section 1.3 below.

An early account of the pervasiveness of metaphor in everyday language can be found in a work by Reddy (1979). The legacy of the linguist is “conduit metaphor” that is connected to the way we speak about language. The work was essential for the later works of Lakoff and virtually all cognitive linguists focusing on metaphor. Reddy claims that native speakers of English think about ideas in terms of objects that are put into boxes, viz. linguistic expressions, and sent to the interlocutor. Thus, many expressions concerning the act of communication come from a single source domain – that is one of the physical transference (Reddy 1979: 291) The conceptual metaphors underlying this perception of speech acts are the following:

IDEAS (MEANINGS) ARE OBJECTS

LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS

COMMUNICATION IS SENDING (Reddy 1979: 292 )

The researcher notes also that people often forget that the conduit metaphor is not objective reality and that it is difficult to speak about communication without resorting to the conduit metaphor. Hence, our ways of thinking about communication are inherently metaphorical (Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 12).

## **1.2 Defining metaphor**

In the previous section I described two opposing approaches to metaphor. The classical approach deemed metaphor to be an ornamental figure of speech characteristic to literature and rhetorics. Cognitive Linguistics and Conceptual Metaphor Theory, on the other hand, has spotted the cognitive potential of metaphor and its role in human perception. This section will provide an elaborate definition of metaphor as seen in the framework of CMT. It will also introduce the term of conceptual metaphor and provide examples of conceptual metaphors.

As was shown in the previous section, metaphor is not only a linguistic expression but also a cognitive tool that enables us to make sense of abstract phenomena. Lakoff and Johnson argue that: “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms

of another.” (Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 5). It is one of the first attempts at defining metaphor as a cognitive tool. From the words of Lakoff and Johnson it follows that metaphor belongs not only to the realm of language, but rather to the realm of cognition. Metaphorical expressions are seen by them as realization of more general metaphors that are rooted in our cognition, that is conceptual metaphors.

The term of conceptual metaphor has been introduced and extensively analyzed by Lakoff and Johnson in *Metaphors we live by* (1980). It is said to be a “pattern of conceptual association” (Grady 2007: 188) that consists of two conceptual domains, one of which is understood in terms of the another one. Conceptual domain can be described as coherent organization of experience, since people have coherently organized knowledge of various phenomena such as journeys, buildings, containers etc.

Conceptual metaphor not only enables understanding and use of different linguistic expressions but also underlies human cognition. For example, such an abstract concept as ‘love’ is often understood in terms of a conceptual metaphor LOVE IS JOURNEY, which is reflected in such metaphorical expressions as the ones in sentences (5), (6) and (7).

(5) We have parted ways with John.

(6) She is stuck in a toxic relationship.

(7) His marriage is on the rocks.

One should distinguish between a given conceptual metaphor and a metaphorical expression. Conceptual metaphor is an abstract pattern of thought and a metaphorical expression can be defined as “words or other linguistic expression that come from the language or terminology of the more concrete conceptual domain” (Kövecses 2002: 4). Metaphorical expressions are linguistic manifestations of conceptual metaphors. Throughout this thesis instances of linguistic expressions will be addressed as metaphorical expressions to be distinguished from conceptual metaphors.

### **1.3 Conceptual metaphor**

In conceptual metaphors the more abstract, cognitively unavailable target domain is explained by means of a concrete and cognitively available one, viz. source domain via the process of mapping. Source domains such as CONTAINER, BUILDING, JOURNEY are the ones from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand target domains such as MIND,

ARGUMENT or LOVE. The term ‘concrete’ means here pertaining to bodily experience. Thus, such an abstract term as ‘love’ will be considered as less concrete, since it is not an entirely bodily experience, as ‘heat’ is. Other examples of abstract cognitive domains are politics, various emotions, life and time. Such domains are less available cognitively, because we cannot experience them directly via our bodies, thus, we use more concrete domains to make sense of them. As a result of the process of mapping the target domain becomes cognitively available.

As stated above that source domains are more concrete than target domains. Indeed, metaphorical mapping is usually unidirectional, i.e. there is a tendency for the more abstract entities to be understood with the help of more concrete and physical (this is especially true for primary metaphors). Such a claim is not counterintuitive, that is if we employ a metaphor there has to be a need for explaining something cognitively unavailable. Thus, such domains as ARGUMENT or TIME need to be understood via use of a cognitive tool, while we do not usually need such tools for understanding BUILDINGS or MONEY. These phenomena are more or less physical and we can experience them via our bodies and senses. However, there are certain instances to this principle. Kövecses gives an example of two domains STORM and ANGER, where the latter one is a more abstract domain here. In the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A STORM that can be exemplified by a sentence like (8) below.

(8) “It was a stormy meeting.” (Kövecses 2003: 28)

the more abstract domain, viz. anger, is understood via a more concrete one, that is storm. However, the domain of anger can also be mapped onto the domain of storm as in (9) below.

(9) “The storm was raging for hours.” (ibid.: 28)

The researcher notices that sentence (9) involves a reversal that is accompanied by a stylistic shift, whereas there is no shift in sentence (8) above. The stylistic shift in (9) results in the metaphorical expression becoming rather formal and literary (ibid.: 28).

Conceptual metaphors can be divided into hierarchy according to their specificity. For instance, LOVE IS A JOURNEY is a special case of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. In such case it is said to inherit a more general pattern involving correspondences between source and target domain (Grady 2007: 191). An inherent characteristic of journeys

is the fact that it takes place along a given path; this characteristic of journeys is mapped onto the target domain. The resulting metaphorical expressions in the one in sentence (10).

(10) He is at a crossroads in his life.

The conceptual domain of love inherits the characteristics mapped from the source domain JOURNEY. Thus, the following metaphorical expression.

(11) Our relationship is at a crossroads.

#### **1.4 Metaphorical mapping**

As stated earlier, a metaphor requires mapping from the source domain to the target domain. The term mapping is borrowed from mathematics, it means “systematic metaphorical correspondences between closely related ideas” (Grady 2007: 190). A prototypical case of mapping can be shown using an example of the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE. By prototypical mapping I mean one that involves mapping of analogical aspect of the source domain onto the target domain. There are certain analogies between the two conceptual domains of ANGER IS FIRE – both fire and anger can occur in a low intensity for a certain period of time and their intensity can suddenly grow. Note that we can speak of an ‘outbreak of fire as well as an ‘outbreak of anger’. The angry person is compared here to the burning entity, the source of fire is mapped on the reason, why the person is angry and the intensity of fire is mapped on the intensity of anger (Kövecses 2003: 21). Kövecses also argues that the process of metaphorical mapping can be only partial, i.e. only part of the source domain can be mapped onto the target domain.

The first of the two types of mapping, where we cannot speak of a mere copying of analogical aspects of two domains is metaphorical highlighting (Kövecses 2002: 79). Its essence lies in some aspects of the target domain being brought into focus and others discarded. One example of this process is the conceptual metaphor HUMAN IS A MACHINE, where such characteristics as the complexity of human organism and the cooperation between individual elements of it are highlighted. At the same time the fact that humans have soul and emotions are being downplayed. Another example of metaphorical highlighting is a set of conceptual metaphors concerning arguments, namely: AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER, AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY, AN ARGUMENT IS WAR and AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING. The following characteristics of arguments are highlighted respectively: content

of an argument, its progress, who is in control of it and its structure and strength. Kövecses argues that by choosing to use one of the metaphors we choose to highlight a given aspect of the target domain, for instance, ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER metaphor highlights such aspects or an argument as the progress made or who is in control of it are being discarded (Kövecses 2002: 80).

Metaphorical mapping can also create analogies that the source and target domains did not share before it took place. Such a process, called metaphorical entailment, consists in the mapping of additional, rich knowledge about the source domain onto the target domain (Kövecses 2002: 79). For example, the basic information that is mapped in conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS JOURNEY is the fact that journey takes place along a given path, thus we have the following metaphorical expression:

(12) We will proceed in a step-by-step fashion. (Kövecses 2002: 80)

Kövecses refers to such basic information as constituent element, whereas the additional information, such as the fact that one can stray from the path during a journey, is addressed as nonconstituent element. Metaphorical entailment takes place when we use nonconstituent elements of the source domain to conceptualize the target domain. As we can see in this example, conceptual metaphor does not emerge on the basis of analogies between source and target domain. It emerges from reasoning that if an argument can be likened to journey and one of less central characteristic of a given journey is the fact that one can stray from the course, then it is possible to stray during an argument, which is reflected in the following metaphorical expressions (13) and (14).

(13) Your comment has thrown me off track.

(14) At the meeting a lot of ground was covered.

Furthermore, there are also a number of metaphors, in which finding analogies between target and source domains is quite challenging. In fact, there are cognitive linguists who ask, whether metaphorical usage is fundamentally a reflection of similarity between target and source domains (Grady 2007: 191). If this was a case, unidirectionality principle would not apply, since it would be possible to draw analogies from the target domain to the source domain. Reversing the process of metaphorical mapping is impossible in the case of most metaphors. One instance of conceptual metaphor in which it is hard to find analogies between target and source domain is when a person who has problems with expressing her or his

emotions is called ‘cold’. The source domain in this metaphor is the feeling of coldness and the target domain is a human characteristic. Such type of metaphor is referred to as ‘dead’, as it has been conventionalized in English, i.e. native speakers of English do not distinguish the figurative meaning of ‘cold’ in this particular example. In this metaphor there are no straightforward analogies between a physical sensation and a human trait. What is happening here, is that the conceptual domains of temperature and emotions are actually associated in human experience. One reason for that is the fact that physical proximity that is connected with emotional closeness leads to body heat being shared (Grady 2007: 192).

## **1.5 Image schemata**

In this section I will introduce the concept of image schemas that is crucial for understanding of the concept of metaphor. I will also give examples of the phenomenon and comment on them. Conceptual metaphors, as well as all figurative thought and speech are thought to be motivated by image schemas, that is “relatively abstract conceptual representations that arise directly from our everyday interaction with and observation of the world around us” (Evans, Green 2006: 176). Image schemas develop from our everyday bodily experiences such as standing up, walking etc. They are pre-conceptual, i.e. they develop in early childhood and give rise to the formation of concepts. They are not innate, but they have their roots in bodily experiences as the whole conceptual structure is said to be in Cognitive Linguistics. In fact, according to cognitive linguists such as George Lakoff bodily experiences are responsible for most of the concepts that we develop in our minds. Image schemas are not detailed. They are rather abstract and, as their name suggests, schematic. They consist of patterns that emerge from “repeated instances of embodied experience” (Evans, Green 2006: 178). The main image schemata listed by Johnson are shown below.

Spatial motion group

Containment

Path

Source-Path-Goal

Blockage

Center-Periphery

Cycle

Cyclic Climax

### Force group

- Compulsion
- Counterforce
- Diversion
- Removal of Restraint
- Enablement
- Attraction
- Link
- Scale

### Balance Group

- Axis Balance
- Point Balance
- Twin-Pan Balance
- Equilibrium (Johnson 1987: 126)

An example of image schema is UP-DOWN, which was also studied by Johnson, that is derived from our experience of standing upright, physiology of our bodies (their vertical structure) and the phenomenon of gravity that causes object to fall on the ground. Another example of an image schema has to do with the phenomenon of containment. It can also be argued that the experiences of our own bodies has led us to a development of an image schema CONTAINER. For instance, when we put an animal, such as a kitten, into a box and close the lid, it cannot leave. According to Evans and Green (2006: 156) it is caused partly by the properties of a bounded landmark, and partly because of properties of the bodies of the living beings that are incapable of passing through minute crevices.

Image schemata such as cited above can give rise to more abstract meanings such as in the case of the English preposition 'in'. We can be 'in love', 'in trouble' and we can find some information fall 'into depression'. Lakoff (1987) and Johnson (1987) claim that such expressions are examples of conceptual metaphor STATES ARE CONTAINERS. The metaphor is created by a metaphorical projection of the CONTAINER image schema onto the source domain STATE (e.g. love, trouble, mental health). Thus, the importance of the phenomenon of image schemata for conceptual metaphors. They are, as it was argued by Lakoff and Johnson (1987) a source for source domains in conceptual metaphors and provide basis for metaphorical mappings (Evans and Green 2006: 190).

## 1.6 Metaphor and perception

I will now proceed to the influence of metaphors on our perception and their enormous ability to shape our cognition. The fact that metaphors not only underlie the patterns of our thoughts but also can shape our way of perceiving a given conceptual domain was described by Andrew Goatly (2007). For example, the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY/COMODITY has contributed to the fact that this abstract, uncountable expression is now perceived as a quantitative entity. Thus, we can speak of time in terms of commodity as if we owned it or could give it away. Note the following metaphorical expressions (15), (16) and (17).

- (15) He is wasting my time.
- (16) I have spent five hours dancing.
- (17) I've saved a lot of time today.

This way of conceptualizing time is so inherent to Western culture that many consider it objective reality, while its popularity has grown during the period of industrial revolution. People working in factories were paid by the hour, instead for the work they have done. In the late Medieval Ages the Church has opposed such way of payment, as it was believed that time is a gift from God and it should not be bought. (Goatly 2007: 67). As we can see, the fact that we conceptualize time and speak of it as of commodity is not necessarily natural for human kind. There are ways of perceiving time other than by means of money. For example, Ankore, which is a tribe from Uganda, instead of saying that they 'lose time' use the expression 'make time' or 'produce time' (Goatly 2007: 68).

Another conceptual metaphor that influences our perception of the world is A HUMAN BEING IS A MACHINE, which yields such metaphorical expressions as:

- (18) She operates in fifth gear.
- (19) He turns me on.

In this conceptual metaphor the fact that the human body is a complex entity composed of many interdependent elements is highlighted. What is more, analogies between the human brain and computers are underlined, as in:

- (20) We have been programmed to obey. (Goatly 2007: 105).

What is neglected, though, is the fact that people have free will and the responsibility that it entails (Goatly 2007: 199).

Lakoff has also made a considerable contribution to our understanding of the connection between metaphor and ideology. He has shown in one of his studies that when THE SEARCH FOR ENERGY IS WAR was used in the American press coverage of the search for cheap energy resources in 70's people made inferences about existence of a foreign enemy (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 156). Another study concerning the metaphors used in the political discourse concerning the Gulf War will be described in Chapter 2.

# Chapter 2

## Metaphor and Politics

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The present chapter will give an overview of various studies of metaphors in political discourse. In the first section (2.1) I will introduce the notion of ideology and its influence on the social practices. Next, I will give a general overview of studies that focus on metaphors and politics. A discussion of Lakoff's Gulf War discourse will follow (2.2), together with Charteris-Black's discussion of the rhetoric of various politicians and their use of metaphors (2.3).

### **2.1 Ideology as seen by van Dijk**

Before I proceed to the discussion of various studies of metaphor in political discourse, a short overview of the notion of ideology will be given. Metaphor and ideology are closely connected, since the latter is often shaped with the help of the former. Just as language does not exist in a vacuum, since it is used for forming social relations, for informative purposes, for achieving one's goals, etc., metaphor does not exist for its own sake as well. This rhetorical device has been valued for its rhetorical purposes practically from the point the word rhetorics was coined by Ancient philosophers. I have shown in the previous chapters the characteristics of metaphors, i.e. the fact that they go unnoticed by most native speakers and, at the same time, are a very powerful cognitive device. Such qualities make metaphors a perfect tool for influencing and forming people's opinions and beliefs, as well as their outlook on the surrounding world.

Teun van Dijk defines ideologies as "the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members" (Van Dijk 1998: 7). An important characteristic of the ideology is the fact that it is at the same time cognitive and social (ibid.: 30). A cognitive dimension of ideologies is that they are, just like knowledge, "structures represented in the minds of members of groups" (ibid.: 30). The social dimension of ideologies refers to their capability of organizing social representations, as well forming and organizing social groups and their actions, including the production and comprehension of discourse (ibid.: 35).

Ideologies are said to develop as “mental forms of group (self-) identification” (ibid.: 37) and this identification is often made in relation to other groups. People form ideologies, because they want to differentiate the group that they belong to from other groups, as well as to identify themselves within a given group. For instance, the ideology of feminism is in opposition to the one of male chauvinism. At the same time, feminists have formed a set of beliefs and opinions, for instance, one saying that women should be granted equal pay for performing work equal to that performed by men, or that the work in the households should be divided between a woman and a man. These beliefs help people identify with feminism and to distinguish the movement from other groups.

According to van Dijk, group identity based on shared ideology consists of categories such as the following:

Membership: Who are we? Who belongs to us? Who can be admitted?

Activities: What are we doing, planning? What is expected of us?

Aims: Why are we doing this? What do we want to achieve?

Norms: What is good or bad, allowed or not in what we do?

Relations: Who are our friends or enemies? Where do we stand in society?

Resources: What do we have that others don't? What don't we have that others do have? (van Dijk 1998: 43).

The abovementioned example of the ideology of feminism shows another characteristic of ideology stressed by van Dijk, namely, that ideologies in themselves are not positive or negative, moral or immoral etc. The term has, indeed, a rather negative connotation, since it was used in relation to such movements as Nazism or Communism. We should not forget, however, that the fact that ideology may be used for evil purposes does not mean that it is an entirely negative phenomenon. It may, however, be used for wrong purposes, since it is a very powerful cognitive tool.

Ideology and discourse are inherently connected, since the former is formed and spread by the means of the latter. The way of expressing ideology in discourse is represented in van Dijk's “ideological square” cited below.

Emphasize positive things about Us.

Emphasize negative things about Them.

De-emphasize negative things about Us.

De-emphasize positive things about Them (van Dijk 1998: 44).

The principles included in the “ideological square” may be displayed in many ways in discourse. For instance, we may choose to talk briefly about the advantages of our enemies and at length of our own. It can also show in use of hyperbolas, euphemisms, talking explicitly or implicitly (van Dijk 1998: 44).

When we analyze ideologies from the point of view of society, the stress is placed on the group relations, for instance those of power and domination. Thus, ideology can be viewed as “legitimization of dominance, namely by the ruling class, or by various elite groups or organizations” (van Dijk 1998: 35). The role of discourse should be evident at this point. If power is defined as control of a group A over a group B, then one way of exercising this control is via discourse (ibid.: 36). Such control is often exercised via mass media – press, radio, television or the Internet. In fact, it is likely that the group that gains the control over the media of a given country will have a great influence on the country’s affairs. It follows from the fact that ideologies often are spread via mass media, so the person or group, who controls mass media, controls the representation of the world of the country’s citizens. It does not come as a surprise then that in countries with strong regimes and dictatorship one of the first steps of the dictator or the group in power is to abolish free speech and free spreading of information.

I am not implying here that only countries with dictators spread ideology via mass media. In fact, the role of mass-media may be even more important in democratic countries, where different groups compete against each other for power. The parties or politicians can compete for getting more broadcast time than their opponents, or for the favors of the journalists. Finally, they compete for the trust of the electorate, so that they can achieve their objectives. Since in democratic countries parties taking unpopular decisions will eventually lose their power, it is their responsibility to convince the electorate that their decisions are rightful and in their country’s best interest.

## **2.2 Lakoff’s Fairy Tale of the Just War**

An example of use of metaphors for forming ideologies and influencing the social representations is presented in Lakoff’s article “Metaphor and War”(1990). Now that I have discussed the relationship between the ideologies and social practices, the words of George

Lakoff opening his article, namely: “Metaphors can kill” (1990) should not come as a shock. What the linguist could have meant was that by the regular use of certain metaphorical patterns the politicians represent a given case that is beneficial for them. When such a representation is taken in, the politicians have the society’s consent for actions that could otherwise be seen as immoral. Lakoff discusses a set of conceptual metaphors that, in his opinion, influenced the public reception of the Gulf War: State-as-Person system, The Fairy Tale of the Just War, The Ruler-for-State Metonymy, The Expert’s Metaphor, The Causal Commerce system, Risks-as-Gambles, International Politics is Business, Clausewitz Metaphor, War as a Violent Crime, and a few more lesser conceptual metaphors. Because of the limited space in this work I will have to narrow down the discussion to the conceptual metaphor that will be relevant in the further discussion, namely The Fairy Tale of the Just War.

The Fairy Tale of the Just War is an elaborate system of metaphors involving the personification of particular countries. The system of metaphors involves a cast of characters known from fairy tales, namely, a hero, a villain and often a victim. The hero is the country that is obliged to declare a war. The villain is the state that the war is declared against. The victim is the country that the villain has wronged. Before I proceed to the particular example Lakoff used to discuss the metaphor I will quote the fairy-tale scenario that, according to Lakoff, is being followed when one uses The Fairy Tale of the Just War.

*Cast of characters: A villain, a victim, and a hero. The victim and the hero may be the same person.*

*The scenario: A crime is committed by the villain against an innocent victim (typically an assault, theft, or kidnapping). The offense occurs due to an imbalance of power and creates a moral imbalance. The hero either gathers helpers or decides to go it alone. The hero makes sacrifices; he undergoes difficulties, typically making an arduous heroic journey, sometimes across the sea to a treacherous terrain. The villain is inherently evil, perhaps even a monster, and thus reasoning with him is out of the question. The hero is left with no choice but to engage the villain in battle. The hero defeats the villain and rescues the victim. The moral balance is restored. Victory is achieved. The hero, who always acts honorably, has proved his manhood and*

*achieved glory. The sacrifice was worthwhile. The hero receives acclaim, along with the gratitude of the victim and the community.* (Lakoff 1990).

This metaphorical scenario is a mighty tool in political discourse. One of its most essential advantages is the fact that it allows for an one-sided portrayal of the conflict, as well as justifies the decision of a given government to send the troops to war. By conceptualizing the enemy state as a fairy tale character who is brutal and unscrupulous the true nature of the conflict is being concealed. Namely, the fact that while the military targets are being bombarded, there is always collateral damage, not to mention the fact that the civilians of the country that is being attacked usually suffer from the lack of essential resources, like water and food. Another important characteristics of this metaphor is the asymmetry built into it, that is the fact that the hero of a fairy tale is presented as a moral and courageous and the villain as amoral and vicious.

As shown in Lakoff's discussion of the Gulf War discourse, President George Bush Sr. used two metaphorical scenarios, namely, the Self-Defense Scenario and the Rescue Scenario. In both of them the U.S. is presented as a hero and Iraq as a villain. The victim of the first scenario is the U.S. together with other industrialized countries. Kuwait is the victim of the second scenario. Iraq is portrayed as a villain in both scenarios. In the Self-Defense Scenario the crime that the villain has committed is a death threat. By death threat Lakoff means the threat to the economic health of the U.S. and other industrialized countries. The crime that the villain is accused of in the second scenario is kidnap and rape. Bush is said to have resorted to this scenario as American citizens did not agree to accept the war waged on economic premises suggested in the first scenario he used.

The conceptualization of the country's well-being as its economic health is taken from another metaphor discussed by Lakoff in his paper – namely State-as-Person conceptual metaphor. By employing the Self-Defense Scenario and the Rescue Scenario, Bush and his administration have convinced the American press and public opinion that the war that they waged was fair. In both of the scenarios the U.S. is portrayed as a hero that is either saving herself or himself and his allies, or an innocent victim. Moreover, the country is shown to act on moral, rather than financial premises. According to Lakoff such conceptualization is deceitful, just as the portrayal of Kuwait as an innocent victim is far from truth. America is far from being a hero of the Gulf War, since it has contributed to the restoration of an absolute

monarchy in Kuwait, and it has acted mainly in his interest, since the main reason for the war was Iraq's oil resources (Lakoff 1990). Lakoff claims that depicting America as a hero and its enemies as an intrinsically bad villain is an inherent characteristic of the Gulf War discourse. It is also analogical to van Dijk's Us versus Them contrast described in section 2.1.

### **2.3 Charteris-Black**

Jonathan Charteris-Black has had a significant input to the field of corpus studies of metaphor. Before I proceed to his analysis of metaphors in political speeches, I will introduce the term of myth and pathos that are relevant in his work.

Charteris-Black notes that metaphors are often used by political leaders to create myths – narratives that “explain the unknown” (Charteris-Black 2007: 28). What makes myth such a useful tool for politicians is that it removes uncertainty and fulfils their followers' need for safety and reassurance (ibid. : 28).

Another characteristic of metaphors that Charteris-Black mentions is that they are capable of invoking emotional responses (ibid.: 43). Moreover, our values and beliefs can be influenced by the metaphors used by politicians, since they activate emotional associations, while remaining invisible, that is without the listener realizing what brought up a given emotional response (ibid.: 43). Such ability to influence emotions is referred to as pathos.

Charteris-Black's book *Politicians and Rhetorics* (2006) deals with a great number of various conceptual metaphors in the speeches of politicians such as Martin Luther King or Tony Blair. I will now describe four conceptual metaphors identified by Charteris-Black that will appear in my own analysis, namely: journey metaphors, heroic myth, construction and creation metaphors and destruction metaphors.

The LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS JOURNEY conceptual metaphor (Charteris-Black 2006: 152) involves mapping of the conceptual domain of journey onto the conceptual domain of various types of activities that have a defined purpose. Charteris-Black argues that both individual purposes, like pursuing one's career or education, and social purposes, like military missions or political reforms, can be described via this metaphor (2006:46). The optional elements of the journey schema that include journey companions, mode of journey and guides are what makes the LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS JOURNEY such a powerful and widely used metaphor. These optional elements serve as a

basis for both inferences and evaluation. There is a multitude of both positive and negative phenomena connected to journeys that can be developed in its rhetorical context. The main rhetorical purpose of LONG-TERM PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS JOURNEY is creating the sense of solidarity among the parties involved in the metaphorical journey, that is the long-term activity. Charteris-Black argues that the people to whom the metaphor is addressed are encouraged to accept short-term suffering for the sake of a greater cause.

The next conceptual metaphor discussed by Charteris-Black is BRITAIN IS A HERO and a system of metaphors and metonyms that it belongs to, namely heroic myth. Charteris-Black argues that one of the goals of the leaders is to evoke the feelings of empathy and loyalty in their followers and antipathy towards the enemy state. Such feelings can be evoked by the heroic myth. Personifications are vital for the heroic myth. They allow the association of ideologies, social groups and other entities with either heroic or villainous attributes. They can also arouse either the feeling of empathy or antipathy. Such feelings are evoked via the use of conceptual metaphors belonging to the heroic myth, that is BRITAIN IS A HERO and GERMANY IS A VILLAIN. The heroic myth enables politicians to ascribe feelings and emotions, as well as characteristics and values to abstract notions, as if they were people. There are two main characters that appear in the heroic myth. The hero can be represented either by the political leader or by the personified country, for instance Winston Churchill or England; the villain can be represented by the leader of the hostile country or the personification of the hostile country. According to Charteris-Black the portrayal of a given country as a hero allows to show it as acting on altruistic motives (Charteris-Black 2006: 34). As in Lakoff's FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR conceptual metaphor, conflicts between countries are conceptualized as warriors engaged in a combat. The evaluations that are ascribed to the countries, ideologies etc. presented as heroes or villains are usually of a polar contrast, that is they are presented either as good or evil. An important observation of Charteris-Black is the connection between the heroic myth and the journey metaphor. In many myths the hero has to prove herself or himself by going on a long journey full of hardships and threats. By using the journey metaphor together with the heroic myth the politicians can represent their policies and beliefs as the challenges that the hero has to overcome and themselves as heroes leading their nations to victory (Charteris-Black 2006: 208).

The metaphors of creation and construction describe abstract processes as if they were physical ones. They are expressed by such verbs as "to shape", "to create" or "to forge".

Charteris-Black argues that the positive evaluation that we ascribe to the creative actions is transferred to the politicians responsible for these actions as well to the actions themselves (Charteris-Black 2006: 122). Moreover, the use of creation and construction metaphors creates a sense of optimism that some abstract phenomena are capable of controlling, as in the example of the use of the verb 'to shape' to speak of the future (ibid.: 122). Charteris-Black summarizes all his observations in a conceptual metaphor GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING. The opposite of the creation and construction metaphors are the destruction metaphors. The metaphor is expressed by such verbs as 'to destroy', 'to demolish' or 'to tear apart' that "entail some degree of sudden movement or force and/or will cause material damage over time" (Charteris-Black 2006: 125). The actions and phenomena expressed by these conceptual metaphors are evaluated negatively, since they are associated with the negatively evaluated processes of damage and destruction. Charteris-Black summarizes it in BAD GOVERNING IS DESTROYING (ibid.: 125).

## **2.4 Summary**

In this chapter I have presented works that are relevant for the present thesis. First, I discussed Teun van Dijk and his treatment of the notion of ideology, as well as the relationship between ideology, language and social practice. Then there was a discussion of Lakoff's FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR conceptual metaphor and its influence on the representation of the Gulf War. Finally, I introduced four conceptual metaphors discussed by Jonathan Charteris-Black: the journey metaphors, the heroic myth, creation and construction metaphors and destruction metaphors. The next chapters will provide the data analysis of my corpus.

# Chapter 3

## Methodology

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This chapter will present the methodology used in this thesis. First, I will describe various methods of classifying metaphors according to their ‘conventionality’. Next, I will describe a method of identifying metaphors used by the Pragglejazz group. Finally, I will comment on my own methods of identification and classification of metaphors that have been developed on the basis of the methodology presented in sections 3.1 and 3.2.

### 3.1 Classifying metaphors

This section introduces methods of classifying metaphors. First, I will show how problematic such an attempt is. I will discuss George Lakoff’s and Andrew Goatly’s attempts at grouping metaphors according to their conventionality.. Finally, the classification of Alice Deignan will be introduced.

One of the biggest challenges of analysis of corpora such as speeches is setting a clear set of rules for the classification of metaphorical expressions. Cognitive linguists often have very different views, as well as list different sets of examples of metaphorical expressions. For instance, Charteris-Black in his analysis (2006) of Bill Clinton's speeches classifies *create* as in the expression *to create jobs* as a metaphorical expression belonging to “metaphors of creation”. This expression could as well be seen as literal and the fact that its meaning is different from the core meaning of the word could be seen as a result of polysemy. This shows that metaphoricity should be viewed as a gradable phenomenon. Moreover, the ways of classification of metaphors are not uniform either. I will now introduce George Lakoff’s and Andrew Goatly’s attempts at classification of metaphors that were discussed by Deignan (2005).

The type of metaphor that was studied is the so-called dead metaphor. Regardless of what the name suggests, dead metaphors seem to be the most active type in human language and cognition. What is more, not all kinds of metaphors are of interest for cognitive linguists. The one-off metaphors, whose source domains are not productive, such as “Juliet is the sun” cited and explained in section 1.3 above, are not of interest to cognitive researchers, Dead metaphors, on the other hand, yield a multitude of different metaphorical expressions, which

shows that they can be argued to underlie our way of conceptualizing the world. George Lakoff claims that the term ‘dead’ metaphor is does not convey the true nature of the phenomenon. ‘Dead’ metaphors are, in fact, very ‘alive’, since they are very active in our cognition. They underlie and structure our knowledge and beliefs, as well as help in organizing them. The same cannot be said about the one-off, novel metaphors that do not build our understanding of phenomena surrounding us. Lakoff has come up with a way of classification of dead metaphors in terms of the degree to which they are “alive”. The first type is represented by the word *pedigree*, which comes from the French expression denoting ‘crane’s foot’. The metaphor is dead both linguistically, since the literal sense of the expression is not in use, and conceptually, since it does not require mapping from the source domain to the target domain for the metaphor to be understood. The second type is exemplified by *comprehend*, which has also lost its old literal meaning, viz. ‘take hold’ and does not involve mapping from it to the present meaning. Nevertheless, Lakoff argues that the conceptual metaphor mapping the physical act of taking hold onto the act of comprehension is still in use, which can be exemplified by many metaphorical expressions. The American English expression *dunk* exemplifies the third category. The literal meaning of the word is ‘to dip’ as in ‘to dunk a biscuit in tea’. This sense of the word has been borrowed into the sport lexicon to denote an action of dipping a ball into a basketball net. Unlike the previous categories both literal and metaphorical senses are active in this case and the language users are aware of the metaphorical mapping. However, Lakoff argues that the metaphor is dead, as there is no further transfer from the source domain of food and drink to the target domain of sports. This indicates that there is no food and drink conceptual metaphor underlying our comprehension of sports. The final, fourth category of metaphors is the most active in our cognition and can be exemplified by *grasp*. Like in the previous category both literal and metaphorical senses are still present and the metaphoricity of the expression is visible to the language users. In addition, this expression is a part of a broader process of mapping of the field of physical act of taking hold onto the target domain of comprehension and understanding. Alice Deignan notes several problems about this classification. First, the criteria are hard to establish empirically and there may emerge many borderline cases where the mapping from the source onto the target domain may or may not take place. Moreover, the criteria are not detailed enough to use them in practice (Deignan 2005: 37).

Goatly's classification of metaphors includes five degrees of conventionality: Dead, Buried, Sleeping, Tired and Active (1997: 32). Dead metaphors can be exemplified by the word *germ*. The original literal meaning of this expression is 'a seed', but it has now become rare and most of language users do not associate it with the word *germ*. Another example of a dead metaphor is the word *pupil*. Its non-metaphorical sense is 'a young student' and a metaphorical one is 'circular opening in the iris' but with time the connection between the two senses has grown distant and now the words are treated as homonyms. Buried metaphors can be exemplified by *clew*, which means 'a ball of thread' and *clue*, that is 'a piece of evidence', whose senses became formally different. The metaphorical meaning of sleeping metaphors has become conventional, but their literal meaning is still in use and may, on occasions, be evoked. An example of such metaphor is *vice*, whose literal meaning is 'a gripping tool' and a metaphorical one is 'depravity'. Goatly argues that these two senses are polysemous. Most characteristics of tired metaphors are the same as in the previous category with the distinction that in case of tired metaphors the literal sense is more probable to be evoked when the metaphorical expression is being processed. Finally, in active metaphors there is no established lexical relationship between the two senses whatsoever. Moreover, the literal meaning must be evoked in order for the metaphorical expression to be understood. All innovative and poetic metaphorical expressions fall into this category. The problems with Goatly's classification noticed by Deignan are the following: Firstly, Goatly disregards etymology in the case of *vice*, as the two meanings that he enumerates are etymologically unrelated. Moreover, the researcher relies on his intuitions about how speakers would process metaphors to distinguish between their different types. Such a conclusion cannot be made without large-scale empirical tests, which may also run into numerous problems, for instance, the informants may produce different judgments of metaphoricity depending on the time of the survey (Deignan 2005: 39).

Deignan (2005) enumerates criteria that are of importance for cognitive linguists. Firstly, for each metaphor there is an original literal sense that helps to distinguish between historically metaphorical expressions and actual metaphors. Second, there exist systematic mappings between two domains that yield systematic metaphors, which are of central importance to Cognitive Metaphor Theory. The non-systematic metaphors are not of interest for cognitive linguists as they are not part of a wider mapping and do not reveal much about our language and cognition (Deignan 2005: 42).

## 3.2 Identification of metaphors

In the previous section I presented different methods of classification of metaphors proposed by three different researchers: George Lakoff, Andrew Goatly and Alice Deignan. It was my intention to show that metaphoricity is a matter of degree, rather than clear distinctions. Moreover, all three linguists use slightly different methods of distinguishing between conventional and unconventional metaphors, which leads to a conclusion that this classification is rather dependent on an individual researcher than that it exists in the objective reality. I have decided to follow the classification of Deignan, since it is based on real-life data and the criteria that she proposes are fairly clear. This chapter will introduce the method of identification on metaphors that will be employed for the purpose of analysis of speeches of the American president Barack Obama. I will use a method of metaphor identification proposed by the research group Pragglejazz – metaphor identification procedure (MIP). The section describes problems that the identification of metaphors poses on the metaphor researcher as well as advantages of MIP. Pragglejazz group has devised a method of identification of metaphors that is cited below.

1. Read the entire text-discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.

2. Determine the lexical units in the text-discourse:

3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.

(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be

- More concrete (what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste)
- Related to bodily action
- More precise (as opposed to vague)
- Historically older.

Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning

in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 3).

An obvious disadvantage of such an approach is the enormity of resources that it consumes: both time and people needed for the analysis. On the other hand, it is an exquisite attempt at giving a clear and practical tool for the analysis of metaphorical expressions, especially for people working with corpora. The previous scholars describing the phenomenon of metaphor have usually turned to introspection, when they needed examples, viz. Lakoff (1987), Kövecses (2003) or they have cited literary works of art, viz. Turner (1987). Moreover, MIP highlights the importance of context in identification of metaphors. This characteristic of their method has turned out to be very beneficial for my thesis, since Obama often uses clusters of metaphors of one kind in neighborhood of expressions, whose metaphorical meaning can be identified only if one minds their context. Summing up, Pragglejaz Group provides a clear method of identification of metaphors that can be used for newspaper articles, speeches of politicians, blogs, literary works and many more.

### 3.3 Methodology

The classification of metaphorical expressions in this work will be conducted according to Deignan’s categorisation that is based on the two classifications described before, but adapted to the needs of linguists working with corpora. The advantages of this classification is the fact that it is one that is based on empirical data drawn from various corpora and that the principles underlying the categorization are fairly clear. The table below enumerates the types of metaphors together with their examples from my corpus.

Table 1 A categorization of metaphorically-motivated expressions

Types of metaphorically-motivated linguistic expressions	Example
<i>Living metaphors</i>  1. Innovative metaphors	... the <i>lollipop</i> trees (Cameron 2003)  He held five <i>icicles</i> in each hand. (Larkin , cited in Goatly 1997: 34) ( <i>icicles</i> = fingers)

2. Conventional metaphors	<p>The wind was <i>whispering</i> through the trees. (Allbritton 1995: 35)</p> <p><i>grasp</i> (Lakoff 1987b)</p> <p>(spending) <i>cut</i> (Goatly 1997)</p> <p>There is no <i>barrier</i> to our understanding. (Halliday 1994)</p>
3. Dead metaphors	<p><i>deep</i> (of color)</p> <p><i>crane</i> (machine for moving heavy objects) (Goatly 1997)</p>
4. Historical metaphors	<p><i>comprehend, pedigree</i> (Lakoff 1987b)</p> <p><i>ardent</i></p>

(Deignan 2005: 39, Table 2.2)

Innovative and historical metaphors will not be dealt with in this work, since they do not reveal much about the way humans perceive the world. According to Deignan they are easy to detect, as they “lie outside the conventional language” (Deignan 2005: 40). First, innovative metaphors are infrequent. Making sure that a metaphorical expression is innovative involves checking their corpus frequencies, so if a metaphorical expression appears in a given text or a set of texts only one-two times and there is no systematical mapping from its source domain onto target domain, as in the ‘dunk’ example described before, then it can be regarded as innovative. Historical metaphors, on the other hand, can be identified if their original literal meanings cannot be found in the corpus, which is equivalent to the fact that the word has undergone a semantic shift.

Another distinction can be made between conventional and dead metaphors. Deignan argues that the main distinction here is between the degree of the dependency of a given metaphorical sense of an expression and its literal meaning. In case of conventional metaphors, claims the linguist, the metaphorical meaning is dependent on the literal one, which is seen as the core meaning, i.e. the more prototypical one. The metaphorical sense of dead metaphors, on the other hand, is not dependent on the literal one to such an extent (Deignan 2005: 44-46). As the focus of this work is not on classification of metaphors I will not elaborate of this matter. The analysis on Barack Obama’s speeches will include both

conventional and dead metaphors, since they both are argued to underlie our beliefs and way of perceiving the world.

My own method of identification and classification of metaphors is as follows. First, I read a given speech to identify its topic and main arguments. Then, I make a decision if it fits the general topic of the speeches that I have decided to analyze, viz. terrorism, war, nuclear weapons and other threats to American security. The next step is to read the articles again and identify possible metaphors and analyze them with respect to their conventionality. Expressions, whose metaphorical meanings have become the prototypical ones and whose old, literal meanings have become forgotten are not identified as metaphors. Such expressions do not involve metaphorical mapping between a concrete and an abstract conceptual domains, since their concrete meanings are not available for our cognition. Expressions, whose metaphorical use has become its prototypical sense, but the old sense has been retained and they still involve metaphorical mapping are identified as metaphors. I also pay attention to the expression's context, which may trigger otherwise dormant associations and lead to the process of metaphorical mapping. Next, I identify all source domains in the metaphorical expressions in my context. The metaphors are put into groups according to their source domains and assigned to different conceptual metaphors that have been discussed in the CMT literature. Any potential problems with my method of identification and classification of metaphors will be discussed in the individual chapters involving data analysis, viz. chapter 4, 5 and 6.

## Part II Data analysis

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Part II is organized as follows. Chapter 4 includes an analysis of the heroic myth and Fairy Tale of the Just War metaphors. Chapter 5 will provide an analysis of journey metaphors and Chapter 6 will focus on creation, construction and destruction metaphors. Finally, Chapter 7, contains concluding remarks.

The organization of the individual data analysis chapters, that is chapters 4-6, is as follows. First, I will shortly describe the conceptual metaphor that is the topic of a given section. Since most of them have already been described in Chapter 3, I will keep the discussion to a minimum here. I will focus on the possible problems with identification of metaphorical expressions, as well as on the motivation for the choice of the particular conceptual metaphor.

Each of the three sections are divided into smaller section, devoted to the specific, lower hierarchy metaphors or to metaphorical uses of words that result from individual mappings of the conceptual metaphors. For instance, metaphorical uses of the word step are a special case of the PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS JOURNEY, thus, it will be presented in a separate subsection. Each of these small sections will contain several examples of the metaphorical expressions together with their analysis.

I have identified as many as fourteen different groups of conceptual metaphors, including the miscellaneous group. Table 1 below shows all fourteen groups, as well as examples of metaphorical expressions and their number. Note that the difference in size between the three groups I have chosen for my analysis and the remaining groups is quite considerable.

Table 1: Metaphors grouped by their source domains

Source domains	Number	Example
1. Heroic myth and Fairy Tale of the Just War	186	4 t 3 p 3 p: Indeed, it suggests the opposite: We must <b>face</b> these tensions squarely.
2. Journey	152	4 t 5 p 1 p: The obligations -- the obligations that the parties have agreed to under the <b>road map</b> are clear.
3. Process of creation and construction; process of destruction	125	4 t 5 p 3 p: This construction violates previous agreements and <b>undermines</b> efforts to achieve peace.
4. Finances and economy	38	8 t 3 p 5 p: These are challenging times. Resources are stretched. But the American people must understand that this is a <b>down payment on our own future</b> -- because the security of America and Pakistan is shared.
5. Darkness and Light	25	5 t 3 p 5 p: The United States is still working through some of our own <b>darker</b> periods.
6. Friendship	22	9 t 4 p 2 p: These facts compel us to act along with our <b>friends</b> and allies.
7. Book	11	11 t 10 p 2 p: We just have to act like it again to <b>write that next chapter</b> in the American <b>story</b> .
8. Body	11	7 t 3 p 8 p: Every American depends – directly or indirectly – on our system of information networks. They are increasingly the <b>backbone</b> of our economy and our infrastructure; our national security and our personal well-being.
9. Speaking and voice	10	11 t 7 p 2 p: They say we are at war with Islam. That is the <b>whispered</b> line of the extremist who has nothing to offer in this battle of ideas but blame -- blame America, blame progress, blame Jews. (whisper as plotting)
10. Illness	9	9 t 5 p 4 p: We are in Afghanistan to prevent a <b>cancer</b> from once again spreading through that country.
11. Seeing and vision	8	7 t 2 p 4 p: It's time to update our national security strategy to stay one step ahead of the terrorists – to <b>see clearly</b> the emerging threats of our young century, and

		to take action to make the American people more safe and secure.
12. Water	7	11 t 1 p 9 p: An attack on Pearl Harbor led to a <b>wave</b> of freedom rolling across the Atlantic and Pacific.
13. Landscape	6	4 t 7 p 3 p: And if we are being honest, <b>fault lines</b> must be closed among Muslims, as well, as the divisions between Sunni and Shia have led to tragic violence, particularly in Iraq.
14. Miscellaneous	80	11 t 9 p 4 p: Information sharing with state and local governments must be a two-way street, because we never know where the two <b>pieces of the puzzle are that might fit together</b> -- the tip from Afghanistan, and the cop who sees something suspicious on Michigan Avenue.

# Chapter 4

## Heroic myth and Fairy Tale of the Just War

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### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the metaphors from the heroic myth and Fairy Tale of the Just War group. It will also attempt to show their relevance and possible influence on cognition. One will find a broader discussion on the two conceptual metaphors in sections 2.2 and 2.3. As mentioned, the Fairy Tale of the Just War and heroic myth use personifications to assign certain values and characteristics to various groups or states. They may be used to conceal the true face of conflicts, as was done by George Bush Sr. in the case of the gulf War. It can be argued that the same strategy was used by George W. Bush Jr. in the discourse after the 9/11 attacks (Lakoff 2003). Bush Jr. continually depicted America as a victim of terrorism, and derided and dehumanized the terrorists by using metaphors that depicted terrorists as animals or viruses (Steuter and Wills 2002: 153). The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan cost Bush Jr. the trust of his followers. That is why identifying metaphors in the corpus of speeches of Barack Obama was an interesting task with an even more interesting outcome. Obama is assumed to be very different politically from Bush Jr., so it could have been hypothesized that he would have used a different set of conceptual metaphors. That is, it could be hypothesized that he would not use the Fairy Tale of the Just War metaphor that was so common in Bush's speeches. Instead, the Fairy Tale of the Just War is the most common metaphor group in the corpus. However, as will be shown, the motivation behind the use of FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR in Obama's speeches is slightly different than the one in Bush Junior's speeches and the Gulf War discourse.

As shown above, the metaphors belonging to the heroic myth and fairy tale group, with as many as 186 metaphorical expressions, are the largest group in my corpus. In fact, one could argue that this group is even more numerous. As shown by Charteris-Black, journeys are an important element of the myth created by politicians, as it is during journeys many mythological characters prove themselves to be heroes (see section 2.3 for further discussion). Thus, the heroic myth and journeys are inextricably intertwined. Indeed, studying the different sub-groups of the journey metaphors one may note that a lot of them can, in fact,

be classified as hero metaphors (see sentences (4), (34), (36), (40) in Chapter 5). For instance, the image of a hero leading her or his companions toward their destination from sentence (36) is a very common motif in Greek myths. One could quote Jason leading the Argonauts in the quest for the Golden Fleece. However, I have chosen to distinguish between these two metaphors. Firstly, many of the journey metaphors do not refer to heroic journeys, but rather an experience of journey in general (e.g. metaphorical uses of the word 'step' in sentences (5), (6) and (7)). Secondly, the motivations behind the use of heroic myth and journey metaphors are quite different. The former, via the use of personifications, allows us to assign values and characteristics to social groups and countries and to evaluate them. It also helps in legitimization of policies and evoking the feelings of antipathy towards a given ideology, group, etc. Journey metaphors, on the other hand, are used to evoke the feeling of comradeship and to convince people that it is worth to endure suffering for the sake of greater good.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. Section 4.2 will include remarks about certain problems one may encounter while identifying heroic myth and fairy tale metaphors in a given corpus. Then, I will present my motivation behind choosing both Charteris-Black's heroic myth and Lakoff's Fairy Tale of the Just war as metaphors underlying the metaphorical expressions in my corpus. Section 4.3 will provide data analysis of the heroic myth and fairy tale metaphors that have been divided into five groups, namely: 1 – Characters, 2 – Special qualities of heroes 3 – Challenges and tasks 4 – Battles and conflicts 5 – Threats and dangers. The final section of the chapter, that is 4.4 includes a short summary of my findings and conclusions.

## **4.2 Identification of metaphors**

I have decided to combine Lakoff's Fairy Tale of the Just War with Charteris-Black's heroic myth for the purpose of identification of metaphorical expressions in this chapter. The reason behind this decision is that the two metaphorical systems complete each other. One may find it hard to identify the metaphorical expressions when basing on Lakoff's Fairy Tale of the Just War alone. The reasons are that, firstly, Lakoff does not refer to or quote the texts that he has analyzed. He does not give a sufficient number of examples of metaphorical expressions derived from Fairy Tale of the Just War, he also does not discuss in detail how the metaphor is exemplified in the texts. Thus, trying to identify linguistic evidences for Fairy Tale of the

Just War is fairly problematic. What is useful, is the fairy tale scenario that Lakoff provides. It gives hints of what the researcher regards as a fairy tale and what intrinsic characteristics a given fairy tale involves. However, when one tries to identify the elements of the fairy tale in one's own corpus a question may arise if the linguistic expressions being analyzed, viz. are "hero", "enemy", "danger" or are they not metaphors, and if they would be perceived as metaphors by the native speakers of English.

A conceptual metaphor that bears resemblance to FAIRY TALE OF THE JUST WAR is Charteris-Black's BRITAIN IS A HERO, which, in our case, can be altered to AMERICA IS A HERO. The metaphor belongs to a system of metaphors and metonyms that make up the heroic myth (see section 2.3). I have decided to include it into my analysis, because it complements the Fairy Tale of the Just War. Moreover, Charteris-Black's approach is oriented at corpus analysis.

### **4.3 Data analysis**

In this section I will enumerate groups of linguistic expressions that are manifestations of heroic myth and the Fairy Tale of the Just War conceptual metaphor. As noted, the group includes 186 items, including twenty three belonging to the group of miscellaneous expressions. The metaphors have been divided into six groups. The miscellaneous expressions, which form the sixth sub-group, will not be discussed. Because of their scarce numbers in the corpus they cannot be argued to show a general characteristic of Obama's speeches.

#### **4.3.1 Characters**

##### **Hero**

A hero is one of the central characters of heroic myth and the Fairy Tale of the Just War metaphor. The word 'hero' itself appears in the corpus only three times. One of the instances referring to the heroes of the American Civil War buried on the Arlington National Cemetery is probably the most prototypical use of the word 'hero'. A hero in its most prototypical sense is a mythical figure, which is why it may seem more natural to refer to a fictitious character or to a individual from the history of a given nation as a hero. It is true especially when the historical period that the individual belongs to has been made into a myth, as is arguably the case of the US Civil War. In the remaining instances of 'hero,' the metaphoricity is much

higher. Obama uses the word ‘hero’ to refer to people that have helped the victims of the terrorist attacks, as in sentence (1) below.

(1) Even before the dust settled, **heroes** had emerged. First responders, medical professionals, clergy, relief organizations, local leaders, and everyday citizens stepped forward to help victims and their families. (1 t 1 p 2 p)

The metaphor in (1) above involves a mapping of a conceptual domain of a hero onto the conceptual domain of a person helping the people that have suffered in a terrorist attack. The reason why Obama uses the word ‘hero’ is to elevate the status of normal people that by coincidence had to deal with the aftermath of a terrorist attack. By depicting them as heroes Obama likens them to warriors from fairy tales that faced an intrinsically evil villain. Such characteristics as courage and sense of duty are highlighted, while the fact that some of the people that he mentions could have treated what they did as their job is subdued.

The next linguistic expression connected with the Fairy Tale of the Just War metaphor is ‘heroic’. It appears in the corpus twice (once as an adverb – heroically). It is used to speak of people that had taken actions against terrorists in the 9/11 attack, namely, the passengers of the flight 93. The plane was overtaken by terrorists and was supposed to hit the United States Capitol. The passengers managed to overcome the terrorists and the plane crashed into a field. One instance of the use of the expression ‘heroic’ can be found in sentence (2) below.

(2) Were it not for the **heroic actions** of the passengers on board one of those flights, they could have also struck at one of the great symbols of our democracy in Washington, and killed many more. (9 t 1 p 3 p)

The reason for the Obama using the word ‘heroic’ is again to highlight the courage of the American citizens and, also, to discard any interpretation that would not claim that the actions of the passengers of the flight 93 were heroic. By using the word ‘heroic’ Obama depicts them as heroes that have prevented the plane from crashing into the United States Capitol.

### **Enemy**

The next group of expressions that manifest heroic myth and the Fairy Tale of the Just War metaphor is ‘enemy’ and its synonym, viz. ‘adversary’. ‘Enemy’ represents the idea of villain from the fairy tale scenario given by Lakoff (cf. section 2.2 above), as well as the villain

metaphor from the heroic myth (cf. section 2.3. above). The word ‘enemy’ appears ten times in the corpus, and the word ‘adversary’ five times. I will argue that enemy is a metaphor when it is used in singular to refer to groups and states. In such cases we deal with the STATE IS A PERSON conceptual metaphor discussed both by Lakoff and Charteris-Black (see section 2.2 and 2.3 for discussion). This conceptual metaphor enables leaders to speak of states and various social groups as if they were one person. It also allows to assign certain emotions to these states and groups, as well as evaluations and characteristics. One could argue for existence of a conceptual metaphor summarizing these characteristics, that is HOSTILE STATES AND GROUPS ARE ENEMIES. An example of a metaphorical expression representing this metaphor is the sentence (3) below.

(3) And there is no doubt that the United States and Pakistan share a common **enemy**. (9 t 5 p 4 p)

In the case of ‘adversary’, both the Oxford Dictionary and Merriam-Webster dictionary define it as a single person in a position of antagonism or acting in a hostile manner. Thus, it can be argued that in one of the examples, where the word is used in singular to represent a group of people, namely terrorists, the word is used metaphorically. An example of such use in (4) below.

(4) Of course, we all know that we're facing a determined **adversary**. (2 t 2 p 3 p)

#### **4.3.2 Characteristics of a hero**

Heroes in fairy tales are often depicted as men of an utmost morals and grit. They are required to carry out a special mission or face a challenge. It is this requirement that can be referred to as a calling, a heritage or a burden. A common characteristic of these three terms is that they all depict the hero as someone special, upon whom some kind of responsibility is bestowed. The responsibility is usually for the safety of the weak and innocent, or for the moral balance of the world.

#### **Calling and call**

The word ‘calling’ in the prototypical sense means the physical act of assuming somebody or a cry for help. It came to mean “requirement of duty; occasion, right” (<http://dictionary.oed.com>). The context that Obama uses the word in brings to mind another

meaning of the word that has to do with “the inward feeling or conviction of a divine call” (<http://dictionary.oed.com>). I have decided to include ‘calling’ into the heroic myth and the Fairy Tale of the Just War metaphor group, as it comes to denote a calling to do heroic things. Using a word with such a strong religious connotation would be in line with Obama trying to set himself in the tradition of black American preachers; this will be addressed in greater detail in the description of the sentence (31) in Chapter 5 below. In both of the instances when the politician uses the word ‘calling’ the tone of the sentences is elevated, and the ‘calling’ is always to do something heroic, as in sentence (5) below.

(5) Because when we do make that change, we'll do more than win a war -- we'll live up to that **calling** to make America, and the world, safer, freer, and more hopeful than we found it. (11 t 10 p 3 p)

The calling in sentence (5) above, as well as in the following examples (6) and (7), is always addressed at the American nation.

(6) What could have been a **call** to a generation has become an excuse for unchecked presidential power. (11 t 2 p 7 p)

In the corpus one can also find an example of the personification accompanying the metaphor ‘to call’, namely:

(7) That is who we, are and that is what **history calls on us to do once more**. (8 t 6 p 4 p)

The physical act of calling is mapped here on the requirement of political and military action for the sake of the peace. The history is portrayed as a human being calling American people to perform their duty.

### **Burden**

The next metaphorical expression in this sub-group is ‘burden’. It refers to a certain kind of responsibility that is bestowed upon the hero. The Oxford English Dictionary lists the meaning above as figurative, while the literal sense involves something that one has to carry. The expression appears as many as six times in the corpus; in five of them it means a responsibility considering military and in one it is connected to global affairs. The heroes that are supposed to bear the burden may be American troops, as in sentence (8) below.

(8) And all Americans are awed by the service of our own men and women in uniform, who've borne a **burden** as great as any other generation's. (8 t 6 p 2 p)

The American army's responsibility to fight in their country's service is explained via the concept of burden. In the two remaining examples the hero that has to carry the burden is the personified United States.

(9) Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, and the service and sacrifice of our grandparents, our country has **borne a special burden** in global affairs. (9 t 8 p 2 p)

In sentence (9) we deal with a blend of two metaphors, that is THE NATION IS A PERSON and the burden metaphor, which can be expressed as RESPONSIBILITY IS BURDEN.

### **Strength**

The final word that I am going to address in this section is 'strength', which appears in the corpus nine times. I have included it into the heroic myth and the Fairy Tale of the Just War group, since strength is one of prototypical characteristics of mythical heroes. The prototypical meaning of 'strength' refers to physical strength, that is the ability to carry heavy items, defeat the enemies in fights etc. In the metaphorical sense the word comes to mean the ability of the country to act, its military capabilities and the state of its economy. Such metaphorical use of the word 'strength' can be seen in the example (9) below.

(10) So as a result, America will have to show our **strength** in the way that we end wars and prevent conflict. (9 t 7 p 5 p)

In sentence (10) above the conceptual domain of physical strength is mapped onto the abstract concept of America's military power and ability to act on the international scene.

### **4.3.3 Various challenges and tasks**

This section introduces another element of a fairy tale, that is challenges and trials that the hero has to face; it includes five nouns: 'challenge', 'test', 'trial', 'task', and 'mission'. It can be argued that in their prototypical meaning they refer to the tests, trials, etc. which certain individuals that have to undergo. The fact that in Obama's speeches they are used to refer either to states or to social groups comes from the fact that they are manifestations of the underlying heroic myth and the Fairy Tale of the Just War metaphor. Various countries and

groups are presented as heroes that are undergoing a mythical trials to prove themselves. The motivation for this section comes from Jonathan Charteris-Black and his study of the heroic myth (section 2.3). He includes expressions such as ‘challenge’ and ‘mission’ into his discussion of the myth created by Winston Churchill in his speeches from the period of the World War Two. Another motivation comes from the fact that in many cultures challenges, missions and search for some magical item are a part of a fairy tale and heroic myths. One could name for instance Greek mythology (Heracles and his Twelve Labors), Finnish *Kalevala* and Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*).

### **Challenges and tasks**

The first of the expressions in this sub-group is the noun ‘challenge’ that appears in the corpus as many as thirty five times. The word denotes a task, especially one that is demanding or difficult. Obama seems to favor to use the word ‘challenge’ over the word ‘problem’, which appears in the corpus 18 times. This may support the claim that he is evoking the heroic myth, since he prefers the word that is connected to the domain of mythological heroes to its synonym that does not have such connotations.

An example of metaphorical use of the word ‘challenge is (12) below.

- (11) Now, our two democracies are confronted by an unprecedented set of **challenges**. (5 t 2 p 2 p)

The conceptual domain of a challenge is mapped onto the conceptual domain of problems that the American government and military have to deal with.

An example of an expression with even greater degree of metaphoricity is (13) below.

- (12) And if the Afghan government falls to the Taliban -- or allows al Qaeda to go **unchallenged** -- that country will again be a base for terrorists who want to kill as many of our people as they possibly can. (8 t 1 p 6 p)

This sentence involves a personification of al Qaeda, which is presented as a villainous warrior. It can be represented by a conceptual metaphor ORGANIZATIONS ARE PEOPLE. America is not mentioned here, but one can deduct from the word ‘unchallenged’, that it is

presented as a warrior that is supposed to challenge the villain to a battle, since he can cause harm to others.

The word 'task' appears in the corpus three times. An example of its metaphorical use in sentence (13) below:

- (13) I stand here today humbled by the **task** before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. (12 t 1 p 1 p)

The sentence (13) above involves a personification of the American nation that is presented as a mythological hero that is about to face a task that will prove her or his qualities. The conceptual domain of a task is mapped onto the conceptual domain of the political actions of the American president that await him during his office.

### **Test and trial**

The next two expressions to be analyzed in this section are 'test' and 'trial'. 'Test' appears in the corpus six times and 'trial' two times. They are also manifestations of the heroic myth, as a hero may be required to undergo a test or a trial that will prove his qualities like strength, bravery or fairness. As in the example of 'challenge' above, the metaphoricity of the expressions comes from the fact that in their prototypical senses they refer to individuals. In my corpus, however, they are used to refer to mentions, groups and countries, as in sentences (15) and (16) below.

- (14) Together, we *withstood the great* **test** of the Cold War. (5 t 1 p 8 p)  
(15) America – we are passing through *a time of great* **trial**. (9 t 8 p 9 p)

In both sentences we deal with personifications of the American nation that is presented as a mythological hero that is about to undergo a test or a trial to prove its heroic qualities.

### **4.3.4 Battles and conflicts**

In the previous section I have discussed different tasks a hero may be required to perform. This section will discuss yet another element of a fairy tale that is a heroic battle and expressions connected with it. The motivation behind including expressions denoting different kinds of conflict and opposition into my analysis is the fact that they are often a central element of myths and fairy tales. Among them one could cite the *Iliad* whose topic is the epic

battle between Greeks and Trojans. A conceptual metaphor that summarizes all the metaphorical expressions in this sub-group is PHYSICAL CONFLICT IS ABSTRACT CONFLICT. They all involve a metaphorical mapping of a conceptual domain of a physical conflict onto a conceptual domain of an abstract conflict. The conflict depicted in these sentences usually involves an abstract enemy. Thus, the expressions in this sub-group appear in neighborhood of nouns denoting negative emotions and feelings, diseases, organizations etc.

### **Defeat**

The word 'to defeat' is the most frequent of the expressions in this sub-group. The literal sense of 'to defeat' is to gain victory over an enemy in a physical battle. There are two different metaphorical senses of the word in the corpus. The first one involves defeating an enemy, usually some group of people, organization etc., but not in a physical battle, but rather through some action that does not even necessarily have to involve violence. In this meaning the word appears in the corpus as many as fourteen times; one of the instances can be found in this sense in sentence (16) below.

- (16) It's why I've set a clear and achievable mission-to disrupt, dismantle and **defeat** al Qaeda and its extremist allies and prevent their return to either country. (10 t 1 p 8 p)

Another metaphorical use of the word 'defeat' refers to a defeat of an abstract entity. The word with such meaning appears four times. The abstract entity that is being defeated can be represented by abstract notions with negative connotations, for instance a threat in sentence (17).

- (17) We know that this threat will be with us for a long time, and that we must use all elements of our power to **defeat** it. (3 t 1 p 4 p)

It can also be an ideology that is considered to be a hostile and radical, as in (18).

- (18) It's the country that put a man on the moon; that **defeated** fascism and helped rebuild Europe. (11 p 10 p 1 p)

In both (17) and (18) the mapping is between a conceptual domain of a defeat in a physical battle onto the domain of an abstract entity, that is a threat and an ideology.

### **Fight and combat**

The next metaphorical expression connected with opposition and conflict is the verb ‘to fight’ which appears in the corpus eight times, and a noun ‘fight’ which appears once. As in the example of ‘defeat’ above ‘to fight’ and ‘fight’ in metaphorical sense denote a non-physical confrontation with an abstract enemy. The two expressions above often appear in the neighborhood of the words ‘terrorism’ and ‘extremism’, as in sentences (19) and (20) below.

(19) No one knows better than you how important this work is, because you've always been on the front lines in **fighting** extremism. (2 t 1 p 5 p)

(20) For reasons that I will explain, the decisions that were made over the last eight years established an ad hoc legal approach for **fighting** terrorism that was neither effective nor sustainable - a framework that failed to rely on our legal traditions and time-tested institutions; that failed to use our values as a compass. (3 t 3 p 2 p)

Only one of the examples of the uses of ‘to fight’ do not denote a conflict, but rather a struggle for something:

(21) What we have fought for – and what we continue to **fight** for – is a better future for our children and grandchildren, and we believe that their lives will be better if other peoples’ children and grandchildren can live in freedom and access opportunity. (9 t 8 p 4 p)

Yet another word connected with conflict is ‘to combat’, which appears in the corpus six times. As in the examples above in its prototypical meaning it involves a physical conflict. In the metaphorical sense ‘to combat’ comes to mean a non-physical opposition and trials to overcome an abstract enemy. As in the example of ‘to fight’ above the enemy can be expressed by an abstract noun like ‘terrorism’ or ‘extremism’. Another abstract phenomenon that can be fought is ‘malaria’, as in the (22) below.

(22) Around the world, we can turn dialogue into interfaith service, so bridges between peoples lead to action -- whether it is **combating** malaria in Africa, or providing relief after a natural disaster. (4 t 7p 5 p)

It can also be a negative environmental phenomenon, as in (23).

- (23) To develop new sources of energy and **combat** climate change, we should build on our Clean Technology Fund to leverage efficiency and renewable energy investments in Turkey. (5 t 2 p 6 p)

### **Face**

‘Face’ is yet another verb from the group. It appears eight times in the active voice and twice in the passive. Its meaning is a little dissimilar from the words quoted above in this section, since it does not necessarily involve a physical battle, but rather confronting and dealing with a physical enemy or meeting her or him face to face. In its prototypical meaning it involves a single enemy. In its metaphorical use the expression denotes a confrontation with an abstract enemy. The word appears in neighborhood of nouns such as ‘tragedy’, ‘threat’, ‘crisis’ etc. An instance of the metaphorical use of the verb ‘face’ is the sentence (24) below, in which it appears in the neighborhood of ‘threat’.

- (24) In a few moments, we’ll open this up to a discussion, but first I’ll make a few comments about some of the emerging threats that we **face** in the 21st century, and offer some ideas about how we can face those threats. (7 t 1 p 1 p)

Obama uses ‘to face’ also in passive voice, as in sentence (25) below.

- (25) Our founding fathers **faced with** perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations. (12 t 4 p 2 p)

### **Struggle**

‘To struggle’ appears in the corpus four times. It refers either to an non-physical battle with an abstract enemy or a long and demanding process to achieve something, as in sentence (26) below.

- (26) We were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal, and we have shed blood and **struggled for centuries** to give meaning to those words - within our borders, and around the world.

(26) also involves a personification of the American nation which is portrayed as a warrior involved in a struggle.

## War

Another metaphor in Obama's speeches is the noun 'war' that appears in the corpus fourteen times. 'War' in the literal sense means a conflict in which military forces of two or more countries take part. The figurative meaning of the word is "any kind of active hostility or contention between living beings, or of conflict between opposing forces or principles" (<http://dictionary.oed.com>). 'War' in its literal meaning is probably the least concrete and physical of all the words in the group. The words discussed earlier involved physical conflicts happening at a definite time and involving actions of animate agents, prototypically humans. The term 'war' includes employment of armed forces against an enemy, but is also often connected to politics, economy etc., so it is a much more complex concept. It may include actions that do not imply violence, for instance, imposing embargos. Deciding if a given instance of the use of 'war' is metaphorical is a harder task than in the case of the expressions above. They were identified as metaphors on the basis of their prototypical meaning involving a physical battle and the non-metaphorical one the non-physical one. War, as stated above, does not involve physical actions solely. Moreover, many native speakers of English would probably not see 'war' in such expressions as 'war on terrorism' or 'war on drugs' as a metaphorical expression.

A characteristic common to all the expressions that I have identified as a metaphorical use of 'war' is that all the conflicts that they describe do not imply a clash of armed forces.

(27) America is at **war** with terrorists who killed on our soil. (11 t 7 p 3 p)

In the example (27) above the word 'war' is not used in literal sense, as terrorists are not really armed forces. According to the definition in the Oxford Dictionary war involves "nations, states, or rulers, or between parties in the same nation or state". Since terrorists are not a state with armed forces it is not a war in its prototypical sense. Thus, we deal here with a mapping of the conceptual domain of war onto the conceptual domain of a set of hostile activities against a certain group of people.

Perhaps even more metaphorical are metaphorical expression ‘war with Islam’, as the one in sentence (28) below.

- (28) Let me say this as clearly as I can: the United States is not at **war** with Islam.  
(5 t 5 p 4 p)

In the example (27) above the war was less metaphorical, since it was against a group of people, it was against a more or less physical enemy. In the example (28) above the war being waged is against a religion, that is against an abstract entity that cannot take part in a physical battle.

### **Battle**

The word ‘battle’ appears in the corpus three times in a literal sense and twice in a figurative sense. The prototypical meaning of ‘battle’ includes two people or groups of people, usually armies that are engaged in a physical fight. In the figurative sense the word ‘battle’ comes to mean any conflict or struggle, in which the goal of the parties involved is victory.

- (29) Bin Ladin and his allies know they cannot defeat us on the field of battle or in a **genuine battle of ideas**. (11 t 3 p 3 p)

Sentence (29) above is an example of a metaphorical use of the word ‘battle’. It contains also an antithesis involving a juxtaposition of a physical battle, that is the one taking place on a battlefield, with an abstract one involving ideas.

### **Other words referring to conflicts**

In addition to metaphorical expressions involving physical conflict, such as ‘battle’, ‘war’ or ‘defeat’, the corpus also includes others that appear in smaller numbers; these will not be discussed further, but included words such as ‘head-on’ and ‘front lines’ (one instance each).

Summing up, I would like to cite the words of the Financial Times columnist, viz. Martin Wolf. The journalist ridiculed the metaphorical use of the words connected with conflicts like ‘war’ or ‘to fight’, especially in the context of the noun ‘terrorism’. He stated that “a war against terror is absurd. One cannot fight abstract nouns. To declare war against any or all terrorists is lunacy” (September 22<sup>nd</sup> 2004). The journalist thus revealed the absurd of the use of nouns and verbs denoting physical confrontations with abstract verbs. The fact that a

person, who is not a linguist is capable of noticing this phenomenon suggests that the metaphoricity of such expressions does not go unnoticed for at least some of the English native speakers. It has to be added that Obama is not the first politician to be using abstract nouns together with various concrete expressions. Such a linguistic strategy has been used a great deal in political language, and in recent years it has generated such expressions as: ‘war on drugs’, ‘war on want’, ‘war on science’, etc.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

In this section I have discussed Charteris-Black’s heroic myth and Lakoff’s Fairy Tale of the Just War conceptual metaphor. Both portray war as a clash of the forces of good and evil. One of the reasons why the metaphor is capable of influencing one’s cognition is that it is deeply rooted in various cultures, including notably the western one. People seem to be inclined to believe that the phenomena surrounding them are either bad or good. Thus, it is easier for them to believe that if a group of people representing a given ideology has done harm to them, it follows that the group is inherently bad and should be dealt with ruthlessly. For the same reason, people like to believe that the group that they are part of is inherently good (see Van Dijk section 2.1). Moreover, the Fairy Tale of the Just War and heroic myth evoke pathos and raises emotions, for instance, by representing the country’s soldiers or public services as heroic. The metaphor conceals the nuances of war and its complexity, such as civilians of the country that one wages the war on. As was mentioned in the introductory section, for some it may come as a surprise that a conceptual metaphor that conceals the complexity of the two sides of a given conflict will be represented by so many expressions in the Obama corpus. One of the most cherished characteristics of Obama, especially pertaining to his speeches, is the fact that he did not downgrade or dehumanize anybody. The rest of the world and probably much of America grew tired of Bush’s hateful discourse. One should note that Obama does not use heroic myth and Fairy Tale of the Just War to deride and dehumanize the enemy, or at least not to a great extent. That is, he does not deride and depersonify terrorists to the extent that his predecessor did. He uses only one metaphor that represents a hostile group as a physical enemy (see sentences (3) and (4) and he never addresses it to whole nations or groups of people following a given ideology. Moreover, he specifically mentions that the United States is “not at war with Islam”. The most numerous group of expressions in this chapter are these connected to action, that is ‘challenge’ and the sub-group of metaphorical expressions involving a mapping of a physical conflict onto an abstract one. One could argue

that by using these metaphors Obama portrays the American nation as strong and energetic. He can also be argued to evoke the feeling of pride in his followers, by speaking of American civilians, as well as American soldiers as if they were heroes. The Iraqi and Afghan wars have caused the American government to lose their followers' trust, because they were seen as fairly immoral and unnecessary. Obama tries to shift this image by using the heroic myth, as it involves a strong and moral hero that always fights for altruistic reasons.

# Chapter 5

## Journey metaphors

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### 5.1 Journey metaphors

Journey metaphors with 152 items is the second most numerous group in my corpus. Charteris-Black argues (page?) that journey metaphors are one of the most common group appearing in political speeches because they provide a clear schema including both required and optional elements (for a fuller discussion see section 2.3). Moreover, the source domain of journeys is one familiar to all the people.

LIFE IS A JOURNEY has been cited in virtually every linguistic work dealing with conceptual metaphors, for instance: Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), Kövecses (2003), Evans and Green (2006) etc. This conceptual metaphor involves a series of mappings from the domain of a journey onto the domain of life. For instance, journey's departure comes to mean being born, its end – death, various obstacles one can encounter during the journey are dangers and problems in life and our life objectives are presented as destinations.

A conceptual metaphor connected to LIFE IS A JOURNEY is PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS A JOURNEY. By 'purposeful activity' one should understand any activity that is claimed to have a give aim or purpose. Thus, singing or watching a movie are not prototypical target domains of the metaphor, since they usually do not have a specific aim. Carrying out a political mission or waging a war, on the other hand, can be said to have particular goals, thus, these will be more prototypical target domains.

### 5.2 Data analysis

The PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS A JOURNEY group has been divided into fourteen sub-groups. For each of the sub-groups at least one metaphorical expression will be analyzed. The fourteenth group of the metaphors consists of miscellaneous conceptual metaphors, that due to their scarce number will not be included in the analysis.

### **Journey and road in general**

The first sub-group of the journey metaphors involves metaphorical expressions that deal with journeys in general. There are nine examples of such a metaphorical use of journey metaphors in my corpus. As was mentioned in section 2.3 and 5.1 above, a given person's life can be described by means of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. This conceptual metaphor can be exemplified by the sentence (1).

- (1) My own American **journey** was paved by generations of citizens who gave meaning to those simple words - "to form a more perfect union." (3 t 2 p 2 p)

The conceptual domain of a journey is mapped onto the conceptual domain of life, and specifically the period of life that Obama has spent in the United States of America. It is the single example in the corpus when the politician uses LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor to refer to his own experiences.

A more frequent example of the JOURNEY metaphors in Obama's speeches is A COUNTRY'S HISTORY IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff 1987), where the conceptual domain of a journey is mapped onto a conceptual metaphor of history of a given country, in this case is the United States of America. The metaphor can be exemplified by the example (2) below.

- (2) Our **journey** has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. (12 t 2 p 4 p)

Another instance of journey metaphors is WAR IS A JOURNEY that is also a sub-part of PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS JOURNEY conceptual metaphor. It can be exemplified by the sentence (3) below.

- (3) Unlike the Civil War or World War II, we cannot count on a surrender ceremony to bring this **journey** to an end. (3 t 10 p 4 p)

A conceptual metaphor in which the cognitive domain of journey is mapped onto war effort is popular in the speeches of Winston Churchill referring to British military actions in the World War Two (Charteris-Black 2006: 49). The reason for using the journey metaphors to speak of war effort may be that, as stated in section 3.3 above, journey metaphors encourage people to accept the short-time suffering for the common purpose.

Apart from the mapping of the conceptual domain of journey onto domains that relate to such phenomena as life, history and war, we can also find a conceptual metaphor based on a different type of metaphorical mapping. Its target domain can be described as a process of

achieving something or a road to achieving something thus, it falls into the more general group of A PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphors that all the previous metaphors also belong to. The motivation for speaking of “a road to achieving something” is the numerous analogies between the two domains. The process of achieving something, as well as journeys, have their beginnings and goals, their hardships and obstacles etc. An example of a metaphorical expression that depicts a process of achieving something as a journey is (4) below.

(4) We know that the **road ahead** will be difficult. (...) The United States and Turkey can help the Palestinians and Israelis make this **journey**. (5 t 4 p 4 p)

By using the word ‘journey’ instead of the words ‘process to achieve peace’ Obama evokes a pathos that is much more likely to affect the listener’s feelings than if he used literal language (see section 2.3 above for the explanation of pathos). The expression may also evoke the feeling of nostalgia due to the characteristics of journeys that are mapped onto the conceptual domain of process of achieving something, that is the fact that a journey often has a fixed direction, it can include certain hardships and obstacles that the traveler has to overcome etc. Journey metaphors may also evoke positive emotions of Obama’s followers because of their relation to the myth of journey in American culture that can be exemplified by John Kerouac’s “The Road”.

### **Steps**

As shown in section 1.4, when a metaphorical mapping takes place various characteristics of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain. An example of this in the case of journey metaphors is the word ‘step’. There are as many as eighteen metaphorical uses of the word ‘step’ in my corpus. Steps are concrete and distinct parts of the process of walking. The fact that we are capable of dividing the concrete processes into stages is vital in conceptualization of more abstract processes. In fact, the word ‘step’ is so vital in the conceptualization of abstract processes (mental, historical etc.) that its metaphoricality is almost unnoticeable for the native speakers of English. It is conventionalized in the English language. The expression’s perceived metaphoricity is very low, however, it can be highlighted in the proximity of other metaphorical expressions from the domain of journey metaphors. One can find an example of such phenomenon in sentence (5) below.

- (5) Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be a critical part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete **steps** to enable such progress. (4 t 5 p 3 p)

The metaphoricity of ‘step’ can also be highlighted in proximity of other expressions, figurative and literal, that are connected to journeys or walking as in sentence (6) below.

- (6) The first **step** must be getting off the wrong battlefield in Iraq, and taking the fight to the terrorists in Afghanistan and Pakistan. (11 t 3 p 6 p)

However, in most cases the expression would probably be interpreted as literal by the native speakers of English, as the sentence (7) below.

- (7) Just this week, we have taken **steps** to protect American consumers and homeowners, and to reform our system of government contracting so that we better protect our people while spending our money more wisely. (3 t 1 p 2 p)

The motivation behind the metaphorical use of ‘steps’ is, as mentioned above, may be to give an impression of the measurability of an abstract entity. Moreover, one could argue that by referring ‘steps’ to such abstract phenomena as ‘progress’ or different kinds of political processes one could create an illusion that such phenomena are more concrete, and this they can be influenced by humans.

### **Movement forward and backwards**

Movement forward is another central characteristic of the conceptual domain of journeys. I have identified twenty four instances of the movement forward metaphors and five instances of the movement backwards metaphors. Movement describes the change of position of entities, also the ones that do not take steps, like cars or fish, which makes it an even more general. As shown in sections 2.3 and 5.1 above it is a very valid and productive source domain, since it is associated with action. Movement forward is perceived in a positive way, because it is linked to the progress of a journey. If a journey is seen as a movement from point A to point B, then any movement towards B, a forward movement, will be perceived as something positive, since it diminishes the distance between us and our destination. Any movement towards the point A, a backward movement, will be perceived negatively, since it will delay our arrival at point B, or even prevent it. Thus, movement backwards will have rather negative associations. One could argue for the existence of a conceptual metaphor **MOVEMENT FORWARD IS ACTION TOWARDS ACCOMPLISHING A GOAL** which

would be a sub-part of a PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY metaphor. I will refer to MOVEMENT FORWARD IS ACTION TOWARDS ACCOMPLISHING A GOAL as MOVEMENT FORWARD metaphor from now on. As stated above, in journey metaphors the destination of the journey is mapped onto the objectives of a given action or process. In this case movement forward is mapped onto actions that lead to the accomplishing of our objectives, just as movement backwards is mapped onto any actions that prevent or delay the achieving of this goal. Thus, we can anticipate that most of the figurative uses of movement forward will be judged as positive and of movement backwards as negative.

Indeed, my analysis of the corpus shows that the overwhelming majority of MOVEMENT FORWARD metaphors can be assessed as having positive meaning. Out of twenty three MOVEMENT FORWARD metaphors only one can be perceived as neutral, that is neither positive or negative, and there are no examples with MOVEMENT FORWARD being used to describe an action that could be regarded as negative (for instance, planning of terrorist attacks).

Firstly, MOVEMENT FORWARD metaphors are used in my corpus to speak of actions that have some precise goals, as in (8) below. where a verb that describes physical movement is used to describe an abstract noun, viz. efforts.

(8) As our efforts to close Guantanamo **move forward**, I know that the politics in Congress will be difficult. (3 t 7 p 2 p)

Another group of MOVEMENT FORWARD metaphors describes actions in general, not necessarily having a set objective. Such metaphors are usually found in positive contexts.

(9) To the Muslim world, we seek a new **way forward**, based on mutual interest and mutual respect. (12 t 5 p 1 p)

It should be also noted that in many cases MOVEMENT FORWARD metaphors are often (five out of twenty four uses of the metaphor) used by Obama to refer to the act of forgiving or achieving peace, as in sentence (10) below.

(10) Rather than remain trapped in the past, I've made it clear to Iran's leaders and people that my country is prepared to **move forward**. (4 t 6 p 2 p)

Movement FORWARD metaphors are also often accompanied by either a metaphorical or literal expression having denoting the state of being trapped or bound, that is being incapable of movement. We can see it in the example (10) from this section as well as in the example (11) below.

(11) But if we choose to be bound by the past, we will never **move forward**. (4 t 9 p 2 p)

Remembering painful events from the past that lead to conflict with another country that is responsible for the harm is shown as lack of movement, and forgetting about the harm as moving forward. The potentially powerful effect of this metaphor is caused by the use of contrastive pair of words, that is antithesis. Words describing lack of motion (valued as negative) being put together with positive words describing motion results on a contrast which has a potential of raising the listener's emotions (Charteris-Black 2006: 197). Another example of use of contrastive pairs is the example (12) below, where the negatively evaluated lack of motion is compared to presence of motion that is seen as positive. Thus, motion is associated with democracy.

(12) For democracies cannot be static – they must **move forward**. (5 t 3 p 3 p)

As mentioned above only one example of use of MOVEMENT FORWARD metaphors from the corpus is not evaluated positively. In sentence (13) below the movement forward does not represent a positively evaluated action, rather a neutral one. The domain of forward motion is mapped onto the domain of military actions. 'Going forward' means simply carrying on doing something.

(13) Second, there are those who acknowledge that we cannot leave Afghanistan in its current state, but suggest that we **go forward** with the troops that we have. (9 t 6 p 3 p)

As we have seen above, in the speeches of Barack Obama MOVEMENT FORWARD is a very salient and productive metaphor. The phenomenon of movement is a very basic one for human beings, and can be found among spatial motion group of image schemata that were discussed in section 1.5 of this work. Because of their basic status for the human conceptual system, MOVEMENT FORWARD metaphors have a big potential to affect our cognition. The motivation behind the use of MOVEMENT FORWARD metaphors can be argued to be

the fact that they are so basic for our conceptual system, and also the almost uniform evaluation of the metaphors as positive. Progress is associated with energy and action and it can be argued that this is a picture of politics of Obama that he wants to present to his listeners.

The opposite of forward movement is movement backwards. Movement backwards is evaluated negatively, since it is mapped onto a delay or cessation of the action that would lead to accomplishing our objectives. The metaphor that one could argue for in this case is **MOVING BACKWARDS IS COUNTERACTING** that will be further referred to as **MOVING BACKWARDS** metaphor. I have identified five uses of this metaphor in my corpus. All the examples of this conceptual metaphor have negative connotations, which supports the hypothesis that was presented above that movement backwards is generally perceived as negative phenomena.

Two of the **MOVING BACKWARDS** metaphors concern turning back from a given path, as in (14) below.

- (14) (...); let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not **turn back** nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations. (12 t 6 p 10 p)

The action of turning back here represents cessation of political action, which aim was to retaining freedom. The reason why turning back is shown as such unfavorable action is because it can be associated with cowardice. Since journeys are likely to involve obstacles and dangers, a person that is not motivated or brave enough can decide to turn back. Obama scolds such a behavior and likens the United States of America to a heroic person that would not turn back. By saying so he promises to be consistent in his policies that aim to bring peace to the future generations.

Another group of **MOVEMENT BACKWARDS** metaphors includes the metaphors, in which the conceptual domain of the backward movement is mapped onto deterioration of the situation of a given country, as in (15) below.

- (15) Afghanistan is not lost, but for several years it has **moved backwards**. (9 t 2 p 7 p)

In the example above, as well as in two remaining examples from the corpus, one of the Islamic states that America runs a war campaign in said to have deteriorated, that is moved backwards.

Motivation for the use of BACKWARD MOVEMENT metaphors is analogous to the one of use of MOVEMENT FORWARD metaphors; movement is a basic notion and one that is fairly straightforward to evaluate. In case of MOVEMENT BACKWARDS the evaluation assigned to the expressions would be negative. By using the MOVEMENT BACKWARDS Obama shows all actions that he does not approve of as actions which delay the achievement of the common American goals. He also shows himself and American nation as active parties determined to achieve a goal defined as common good. He achieves it by contrasting himself and the American nation with parties that go back on their journeys. Because turning back is evaluated very negatively in many myths and fairytales that underlie the Western culture, one could argue that such expressions would provoke a very strong, negative emotional response.

#### **Being one step ahead of the enemy**

The next metaphorical expression that appears in the speeches of Barack Obama is ‘stay ahead of an enemy’. Such expressions appear in my corpus six times. The idea behind the metaphor is that a person undertaking a journey may have enemies, who want to reach the same destination. In such a situation it would be advantageous for the person to arrive at the destination before her or his enemies, which can be addressed as ‘staying one step ahead’. Since the idea of being first is also vital for such events as races or various sports events the expressions that I have decided to include into journey metaphors could be as well included into the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RACE or POLITICS IS SPORTS (Kövecses 2002: 226).

The most prototypical metaphorical expressions of the ‘staying one step ahead of an enemy’ group include metaphors with enemies that are human beings. In my corpus such enemies are represented by terrorists, extremists or simply by the word ‘enemy’ itself. The examples of such metaphors can be found in sentences (16) and (17) below.

- (16) We are investing in the 21st century military and intelligence capabilities that will allow us to **stay one step ahead** of a nimble enemy. (3 t 1 p 5 p)

- (17) It's time to update our national security strategy to **stay one step ahead** of the terrorists – to see clearly the emerging threats of our young century, and to take action to make the American people more safe and secure. (7 t 2 p 4 p)

The source domain of the metaphorical expressions above is the journey, and more precisely a sub-part of the system of concepts related to journeys, that is walking. The source domain of the metaphor in (16), in turn, is two people trying to outrun each other. This process is mapped respectively on the two different actions that the two runners are performing. The first person, that is a personified America, is developing intelligence capabilities and the other one, that is a personified “terrorist state”, is plotting against America and planning terrorist attacks etc. In the example (17) the target domain is updating national security strategy that has to ‘outrun’ the plotting of terrorists. Even though the conceptual domain of journey, and specifically, of being in front of the enemy, is mapped onto the conceptual domain of various political actions not all the characteristics of ‘being in front of an enemy’ are mapped onto the target domain in this case, because the two ‘travelers’ are performing different actions.

Second of all, when Obama speaks of ‘staying one step ahead of an enemy’ he refers also to personified abstract organizations, phenomena, emotions, feelings etc. Staying ahead may also concern a personified threat or obstacle as in the examples (18), (19) and (20).

- (18) We have to improve and better coordinate our intelligence, so that we **stay one step ahead** of shadowy networks. (9 t 7 p 6 p)
- (19) As President, I will launch an effort across our government to **stay ahead** of this threat.(7 t 3 p 5 p)
- (20) The danger, though, is that we are constantly fighting the last war – responding to the threats that have come to fruition, instead of **staying one step ahead of the** threats of the 21st century. (7 t 2 p 3 p)

In sentence (18) the conceptual domain of an enemy trying to outrun the personified U.S. is mapped onto the domain of political actions aimed at outrun terrorist networks, in (19) onto the conceptual domain of eliminating a threat. In (20) the target domain is eliminating or preventing situations threatening the American society.

The final sub-group of the ‘staying one step ahead of an enemy’ metaphor concerns metaphorical expressions, whose source domain is not letting the enemy to overrun us. An example of such metaphorical expression can be found in sentence (21) below.

(21) It's time to break out of Washington's conventional thinking that has failed to **keep pace** with unconventional threats. (7 t 2 p 5 p)

The target domain of the metaphor in (21) is the prevention and elimination of various threats connected to the twenty first century.

The motivation behind the use of this metaphor may be the emotions that it arouses. It creates a very vivid image of two parties trying to outrun each other. Since one of the parties is the personified United States or the American nation, the listeners of the speech will naturally want it to win. Thus, the other party is seen as a threat. Because of the concept of competition intertwined with this metaphor one could also classify it as a sports metaphor.

### **Course**

Every journey has its course, which is an established direction, which the travelers is supposed to follow in order to reach her or his destination. We have seen in the previous sections of this chapter that when the conceptual domain of journey is mapped onto the conceptual domain of purposeful activity a lot of characteristics of journeys are mapped via the process of metaphorical entailment. Thus, we can speak of a course of actions. The word 'course' and its synonyms appear in my corpus in metaphorical sense fifteen times. The actions that we deal with in the speeches of Barack Obama are usually either political or military. Such actions usually have a specific objective that the government or army is striving to accomplish. It is this goal that is spoken of in terms of 'course'. Therefore, I am arguing for existence of a conceptual metaphor **POLITICAL/MILITARY OBJECTIVES ARE THE COURSE OF A JOURNEY**. Three metaphorical expressions that are based on this conceptual metaphor can be found in the corpus, they can be exemplified by the following example (22).

(22) In all of the areas that I have discussed today, the policies that I have proposed represent a new **direction** from the last eight years. (3 t 9 p 2 p)

The choice of political objectives is presented in sentence (22) as a direction that Obama is choosing. The source domain is the course of a given journey and the target domain is a set of political objectives.

'Course' may also mean a political conduct that is moral and in accordance with democratic principles. The conceptual domain of the journey's course is mapped onto the conceptual

domain of moral conduct, which results in a conceptual metaphor MORAL CONDUCT IS FOLLOWING THE COURSE. In fact, Obama has a tendency to use this kind of expressions, which may be motivated by his attempt to refer to the tradition of Black American Preachers that I will present in greater detail in the analysis of the sentence (31) from this chapter. Since we are dealing here with morals this sub-group of metaphorical expressions will involve personifications of America and other states as well as various social groups. Obama uses here the basic underlying knowledge that going off the course and straying off the path is a negative phenomenon, since it delays or prevents us from reaching our destination. The use of such metaphor can be argued to evoke strong negative emotions towards the party that is said to be 'straying off the course'. At the same time most of Obama's listeners will probably not be able to identify the reason for their arousal.

An example of a metaphorical use of the word 'course' is (23) below.

- (23) Instead of strategically applying our power and our principles, we too often set those principles aside as luxuries that we could no longer afford. And in this season of fear, too many of us - Democrats and Republicans; politicians, journalists and citizens - fell silent. In other words, we went off **course**. (3 t 3 p 1 p)

The country or its government is shown in (23) as an entity that went off course. The source domain of 'going off the course' expresses immoral behavior that denies the ideals of democracy, while it can be assumed that 'going according the course' would mean moral and democratic conduct.

Individuals often use tools not to stray off the course of a journey. One such tool is a compass. This tool in Obama's speeches signifies a set of values that, if followed, guarantee the American nation that their actions are moral. In the two examples of the metaphorical use of a word 'compass' it denotes the American constitution or democratic values. An example of the metaphorical use of 'compass' can be found in the example (24) below.

- (24) For reasons that I will explain, the decisions that were made over the last eight years established an ad hoc legal approach for fighting terrorism that was neither effective nor sustainable - a framework that failed to rely on our legal traditions and time-tested institutions; that failed to use our values as a **compass**. (3 t 3 p 2 p)

Another way of staying the course is following the leader of the guide. Obama has several examples of metaphorical use of the verb ‘to guide’ used to refer to morals and moral behavior, as in example (25) below.

(25) We are the keepers of this legacy, **guided** by these principles once more, we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations. (12 t 4 p 7 p)

Here, not only mapping of the domain of course onto the domain of moral conduct takes place. This metaphorical expression involves also a mapping of a conceptual domain of a person guiding onto the domain of principles. By “a person guiding” I mean a leader, a person, who has authority. This metaphor is most probably a reference to the Bible, in which, as in the speeches of Obama, the action of guiding is paralleled with showing what is right and wrong. One could consider a fragment of one of Psalms that I quote below.

“he refreshes my soul.  
He guides me along the right paths  
for his name’s sake.” (Psalm 23:3)

Thus, the metaphorical use of ‘to guide’ involves a great emotional load which is caused by the references to the Bible that is one of the most important texts defining the Western culture.

A final metaphorical expression connected to ‘course’ that is used by Obama is ‘the course of history’. It is a very conventionalized expression, it has also entered the English word stock, an example of its use is (26) below.

(26) I was deeply impressed by this beautiful memorial to a man who did so much to shape the **course** of history. (5 t 1 p 2 p)

The conceptual domain of journey is here mapped onto the domain of history, resulting in the conceptual metaphor HISTORY IS A JOURNEY. History is shown here as a vehicle or a person that is following a given direction, which can be changed by certain historical events or individuals.

Summing up, ‘course’ is, most of all, a metaphor that has potential of raising very strong emotions. One of the reasons is that it is rooted in the Bible, which is one of the defining texts

of the Western world. Secondly, it is based on a very basic image of a traveler, whose aim is arriving at a defined destination, thus cannot afford to stray off the course.

### **Impediments to journey**

One of the central characteristics mapped in the conceptual metaphor PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS JOURNEY is obstacles that the traveler faces during the journey. They can be defined as any entities or states that impede the journey, such as traps, objects standing in the way of the traveler or the state of being bound. One could argue for existence of a sub-part of JOURNEY metaphors concerning obstacles, that is IMPEDIMENT TO PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS OBSTACLE IN JOURNEY. There are seven examples of metaphorical expressions in the corpus that can be considered realizations of this conceptual metaphors, for instance the sentence (27) below.

- (27) I know there are many -- Muslim and non-Muslim -- who question whether we can forge this new beginning. Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to **stand in the way of progress**. Some suggest that it isn't worth the effort -- that we are fated to disagree, and civilizations are doomed to clash. (4 t 9 p 2 p)

The target domain of the metaphorical expression in (27) is the action of dwelling on past that prevents the application of policies that aim at improve the situation in the Middle East. The source domain of the expression is an obstacle that stands in the way of the metaphorical traveler. Another example from this group is (28) below.

- (28) We also have **to get past** a top-down approach. Folks across America are the ones on the front lines. (11 t 9 p 3 p)

In sentence (28) a condescending approach of the American government towards its people is presented as an obstacle. The conceptual domain of an obstacle is mapped onto the target domain of a top-down approach of the American government, whereas getting past an obstacle is mapped onto rejecting a given type of an approach.

Just as in sentences (24) and (25) that have shown straying off the course as a negative phenomenon, the sentences (27) and (28) from this section have the potential of evoking strong emotions. It is a basic knowledge for humans that journeys have their destinations and all entities and phenomena that prevent the travelers from reaching the destinations are automatically judged negatively.

### Different types of roads and paths

The analysis of the speeches of Barack Obama provides references to different types of roads and paths. With respect to journeys we can speak of easy and hard paths, dangerous paths, long roads, shortcuts etc. that all lead to our destination. In my corpus one can find nine metaphorical expressions dealing with different types of metaphorical roads and paths. One of the different types of paths is presented in (29) below.

- (29) It has not been the **path** for the faint-hearted, for those who prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things -- some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor -- who have carried us up **the long, rugged path** towards prosperity and freedom. (12 t 2 p 5,6 p)

In the metaphor in sentence (29) there is a mapping between the conceptual domain of path and a domain of actions, whose purpose is to maintain a strong and prosperous country. The fact that Obama describes the path as long and rugged signifies the fact that in the history of the U.S. there have been difficult moments such as wars and poverty. The adjective ‘rugged’ meaning rough and uneven comes to mean different threats to the prosperity and safety of America. Another metaphorical mapping in (29) is between the characteristics of a given road, i.e. the fact that it can be long and rugged, and the conceptual domain of purposeful activity, which in (29) is striving to maintain one’s country prosperous and strong. We are dealing here with an example of metaphorical entailment, since the knowledge of paths that are rugged is not central in the conceptual domain of journeys.

An interesting property of metaphorical uses of roads and paths in Obama’s speeches is the fact that it is the longer and harder path that is presented as something positive as in the example (30) below.

- (30) But we should choose the **right path, not just the easy path**. It's easier to start wars than to end them. It's easier to blame others than to look inward. It's easier to see what is different about someone than to find the things we share. (4 t 9 p 4 p)

Normally, we would expect that a shorter and easier way or path is something more positive, since it will take us to our destination quicker. However, here the metaphorical expression “the right path” comes to mean the right conduct, since the conceptual domain of path (a sub-

part of journey) is mapped onto moral conduct, and therefore a harder path is evaluated positively. Obama claims that the right conduct is not necessarily the easy one and, thus, shows his political predecessors and opponents as people settling for less. Moreover, one could perceive this fragment as a reference to Bible, namely:

"Enter by the narrow gate. For the gate is wide and the way is easy that leads to destruction, and those who enter by it are many. For the gate is narrow and the way is hard that leads to life, and those who find it are few." (Matthew 7:13)

Many politicians, including American ones, have referred to the Bible or even quoted it in their speeches. A most outstanding and obvious example from the history of the U.S. would be Martin Luther King. It is possible that the speeches of Obama derive from the tradition of American African preachers, of which Luther King is probably the most notable example. Speeches, or rather sermons in this tradition had numerous references to Bible, as well as literary figures intended to arouse emotions, such as rhetorical questions and antithesis (Charteris-Black 2006: 63). Obama was even compared to Martin Luther King during the first months of his presidency, for instance, by journalists or people expressing their opinions about him via the Internet.

Negative evaluation holds not only for 'easy way', but also for short-cuts, as in the example (31) below.

(31) This Administration acts like violating civil liberties is the way to enhance our security. It is not. There are **no short-cuts** to protecting America, and that is why the fifth part of my strategy is doing the hard and patient work to secure a more resilient homeland. (11 t 8 p 8 p)

Here Obama accuses his opponents and predecessors of using short-cuts that in this context mean violating civil liberties. The conceptual domain of short-cuts is mapped onto the domain of political actions and campaigns that bring fast results, but are either immoral or will eventually have negative outcome.

Another example of a negatively evaluated type of path is presented in sentence (32) below.

(32) But because the Administration decided to take the **low road**, our troops have more enemies. (11 t 8 p 4 p)

The low road is actually an idiomatic expression in English that can be defined as “behavior or practice that is deceitful or immoral” (TheFreeDictionary.com). The idiomatic expression is based upon a metaphor, which involves mapping between the conceptual domain of roads onto the conceptual domain of behavior.

The final use of the word ‘path’ in metaphorical sense is “dangerous path”, as in sentence (33) below.

(33) It's about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world **down** a hugely **dangerous path**. (4 t 6 p 2 p)

The conceptual domain of path is mapped onto the conceptual domain of political actions as in the examples above. “Dangerous path” comes to mean a policy that is hazardous and may result in lack of stability of the Middle East region.

This metaphor involves a great emotional load, because of its references to the Bible. It is also connected to knowledge of different roads and paths that all humans share.

### **Journey companions**

A traveler may have people accompanying her or him in the journey. It is not a central characteristic of journeys but it comes to serve an important role in the speeches of Barack Obama. The metaphorical use of ‘journey companions’ is a sub-part of journey metaphors. It involves a mapping of conceptual domain of journey companions onto conceptual metaphor of an ally, resulting in a conceptual metaphor ALLIES ARE JOURNEY COMPANIONS. The corpus contains three examples of this conceptual metaphor. They can be exemplified by the sentence (34) below.

(34) I just want to let you know that we appreciate it, we acknowledge it, we thank you for it, and I am going to continue to be **standing behind you each and every step of the way**. (2 t 2 p 6 p)

Supporting a given country or group of people, in this case the Joint Terrorism Task Force, is shown in (34) as accompanying them in a journey. As mentioned, journeys may turn out to be dangerous and full of obstacles, thus a fellow traveler may be helpful.

By use of metaphor instead of a literal expression such as ally Obama raises pathos and refers to Western mythology and culture. A myth of a fellow traveler may be exemplified by such literary works as the Greek and Roman myths, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the *Bible* and more

modern works like the *Lord of the Rings*. Such use of journey metaphors is clearly aimed at creating the feeling of comradeship that has been described in section 2.3 above.

### **America as a leader in a journey**

Another characteristic of a journey is that it can be led by a certain person. A leader in its most basic meaning is a person who stays in the front of others, because she or he knows the way. The metaphor that appears in my corpus is a result of metaphorical mapping of a conceptual domain of a journey's leader onto a conceptual domain of a political leader, which results in a conceptual metaphor JOURNEY'S LEADER IS A POLITICAL LEADER. A 'leader' in a metaphorical sense comes to mean a respected and knowledgeable person, who has the moral authority to tell what is wrong and what is right. Such an image would be very favorable both for the U.S. government and for Obama himself, and it can be observed in several political speeches that this is an image that they want the world to have of them. I have identified two groups of the JOURNEY'S LEADER IS A POLITICAL LEADER metaphors that differ in whom the leader is. In the former group Obama himself is presented as a leader.

(35) And that is why, as President, I will **lead** a global effort to secure all nuclear weapons and material at vulnerable sites within four years. (11 t 6 p 4 p)

Because in (35) the domain of a journey's leader is mapped onto the one of a political leader, viz. Barack Obama, all the characteristics of a prototypical leader are mapped onto Obama. That is, he is portrayed as a moral person with authority.

In the second group of metaphors the personified United States of America is presented as a leader, as in sentences (36) and (37) below.

(36) And so, to all other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born: know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and we are ready to **lead** once more. (12 t 4 p 4 p)

(37) And we have renewed American diplomacy so that we once again have the strength and standing to truly **lead** the world. (3 t 1 p 5 p)

Both (36) and (37) involve a personification of the United States of America that is presented as a country leading other personified countries.

By using the leader metaphor, Obama presents the U.S. and himself as moral authorities that have the right to lead and make decisions for other countries.

### **Looking towards the journey's destination**

The next conceptual metaphor is based on a much more complex image than the previous ones, namely, a traveler looking ahead towards the destination of her or his journey either to ensure that she or he is moving in the right direction or to contemplate the journey before her or him. As many as eight instances of the use of such an image were noted. All the examples include the American nation or the personified United States of the America portrayed as a traveler looking into the direction of the journey's destination. The metaphors can be divided into two groups. In the first one the traveler is simply looking "ahead" and ponders the future. The action of looking ahead towards the destination of the journey is mapped onto the conceptual domain of contemplating the future, which results in a conceptual metaphor CONTEMPLATING THE FUTURE IS LOOKING TOWARDS THE DIRECTION OF THE JOURNEY which will be addressed from now on as CONTEMPLATING THE FUTURE metaphor. An instance of such a metaphor is (38) below.

- (38) It's time to update our national security strategy to stay one step ahead of the terrorists – to see clearly the emerging threats of our young century, and to take action to make the American people more safe and secure. It's time to **look ahead** — at the dangers of today and tomorrow rather than those of yesterday. (7 t 2 p 4 p)

The image of a traveler looking ahead into the direction of the journey's destination is mapped onto the conceptual domain of contemplating the future, in this example a future that may involve certain dangers.

In the second group of metaphors the American nation or the personified America is looking ahead and pondering the outcome of its political campaigns. Again, this metaphor is a sub-part of PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS A JOURNEY metaphor. The mapping of the conceptual domain of 'looking ahead' onto contemplating the outcome of our actions results in conceptual metaphors CONTEMPLATING THE RESULTS OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS IS LOOKING TOWARDS THE DIRECTION OF THE JOURNEY, which will be referred to as CONTEMPLATING RESULTS metaphors. Because CONTEMPLATING THE RESULTS metaphor is a sub-part of the conceptual metaphor PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS A

JOURNEY all the characteristics, including DESTINATIONS ARE GOALS, of the latter are inherited by the metaphor. The result of such a process is that the metaphor that is lower in the hierarchy inherits patterns involving correspondences between the conceptual domains (it has been described in greater detail in Chapter 1, section 1.3, which deals with the hierarchy of conceptual metaphors). In our case the conceptual domain of the journey's destination is mapped onto the goals a given political campaign. A linguistic realization of such a conceptual metaphor is (39) below.

(39) America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words; with hope and virtue, let us once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come; let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; **and with eyes fixed on the horizon** and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations. (12 t 6 p 10 p)

In (39) the result of a political campaign that the American nation ponders is presented as looking at the horizon. America is portrayed as a ship and its citizens as crew of the ship that is looking toward the horizon – future. The ship metaphor will be described in detail in the following section.

### **Ships**

One of the most graphic use of metaphors is AMERICA'S HISTORY IS A SHIP'S VOYAGE, referred to henceforth as VOYAGE metaphors, which are exemplified by nine metaphorical expressions in my corpus. The conceptual metaphor has come into existence by mapping of the conceptual domain of a ship's voyage onto the conceptual domain of American history. Important mappings resulting from it are SHIP'S CREW IS THE AMERICAN NATION, SHIP'S MOVEMENT IS SEQUENCE OF TIME and SEVERE WEATHER CONDITIONS ARE DANGERS AND OBSTACLES. Metaphorical expressions that exemplify AMERICA'S HISTORY IS A SHIP'S VOYAGE can be divided into two groups: the first one has to do with the movement of the ship and the second one with conditions in which the ship is travelling.

Let us begin with the first group that can be exemplified by the sentence (40) below. Together with sentence (41) it belongs to a larger passage in which Obama refers to a ship's voyage.

(40) For our values are not simply words written into parchment – they are a creed that calls us together, and that has **carried us through** the darkest of storms as one nation, one people. (9 t 8 p 9 p)

The American Constitution is presented here as a ship carrying its crew through storms. As already mentioned above, a ship's crew is mapped onto American citizens and storms onto obstacles and dangers, and thus the sentence above comes to mean that the Constitution has helped the American citizens in the times of danger and obstacles. The conceptual domain of a ship has been mapped onto the conceptual domain of American constitution. Since the ship is something essential in a cruise the American constitution comes to mean something indispensable and basic in the country's history.

The second group of VOYAGE metaphors has to do with weather conditions during the travel as in (41) below.

(41) But I also know that we, as a country, cannot sustain our leadership nor **navigate** the momentous challenges of our time if we allow ourselves to be split asunder by the same rancor and cynicism and partisanship that has in recent times poisoned our national discourse. (9 t 8 p 7 p)

The actions of American citizens are expressed through a verb that is characteristic of ships, viz. 'to navigate'.

The reason for using the VOYAGE metaphors in political speeches may have to do with positive connotations ships have for Americans. The reason for that lies in American history. The country's founders arrived on the American shores on ships. Moreover, one of the most important documents in the history of the U.S., that is the Mayflower Compact, was signed on a board of a ship. The name of the document comes from the name of the ship on which one of the first groups of colonists, the "pilgrims", arrived in 1620. The Mayflower Compact was the first governing document of Plymouth Colony set by these colonists.. The settlers agreed to lead a modest and religious life, share everything and reject the notion of property. These historical events have a very considerable importance for Americans, who cherish them during various festivals and cultural events, and of course children are aware of these facts from American history. Thus, it can be assumed that references to ship's cruise voyage in political speeches will have a powerful ideological influence on the listeners of Obama. This may be true especially in the light of Obama presenting himself as a successor of great

Democrats such as Kennedy or Roosevelt, and therefore as a person who cherish democratic values, and who will bring back to force human rights. For instance, he invokes the name of Roosevelt in the following passage from my corpus “Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, and the service and sacrifice of our grandparents, our country has borne a special burden in global affairs.“

### **Carrying items during a journey**

The final group of JOURNEY metaphors that I am going to address is based on an image of a traveler carrying some item of great value and importance. There are six examples of this metaphor in my corpus. The metaphorical traveler can be both a person, a nation or a personified religion. In the case of the examples from the corpus the items are carried either by Obama himself, the American nation, or a personified Islam religion. All these examples reveal an underlying conceptual metaphorical mapping that compares the target domains of people, nations or religions with the conceptual domain of the traveler. Another mapping is the one of the conceptual domain of an item carried during a journey onto an abstract notion like a message or freedom. The treatment of abstract notions like messages like physical ones is a distinctive feature of Conduit Metaphor described in section 1.1 above. Since the range of both the travelers (Obama, America, Islam), as well as items (a message, freedom, goodwill etc.) is very wide, I will not argue for the existence of a single conceptual metaphor that would underlie all the five examples of metaphorical expressions. Instead, I will present a general pattern that underlies all the examples, which can be put as follows: A PERSON/NATION/RELIGIOUS GROUP CARRYING AN ABSTRACT OBJECT IS A TRAVELLER CARRYING AN ITEM DURING A JOURNEY and ABSTRACT OBJECTS LIKE FREEDOM, EDUCATION, MESSAGES ARE CONCRETE OBJECTS.

An example of this sub-group of the JOURNEY metaphors is (42) below.

(42) (...); let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we **carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.** (2 t 6 p 10 p)

In (42) freedom is depicted as an item that is carried by a traveler. The reason for the journey is delivering freedom to the future generations. There are as many as three examples of metaphorical mappings resulting in conceptual metaphors and metaphorical expressions in

sentence above. First, the conceptual domain of a group of travelers is mapped onto the American nation. Secondly, a domain of gifts is mapped onto freedom and the domain of space is mapped onto the domain of time.

The item carried might be a message, as in (45).

- (43) That is the message that I have **carried** with me throughout this trip to Europe.  
(5 t 2 p 4 p)

The scenario of a traveler carrying an item that is of great importance is grounded in the Western culture. The items could be either magical, giving certain powers to their users, they could also be national symbols or they can be essential for the journey to succeed. It has given rise to many myths and literary works dealing with. It can be exemplified by the myths of Ancient Greece and Rome, *the Bible* (e.g. Moses carrying ten commandments) or by *The Lord of the Rings* by J.R.R Tolkien.

### 5.3 Conclusion

It has been suggested that LIFE IS A JOURNEY and PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY are among the most salient metaphors not only in political speeches, but in most of human discourse and conceptualizations. We refer to lives in terms of journeys and important life decisions are seen as “the choice of path”. Moreover, we speak of different enterprises as if they were journeys, from business enterprises to military missions. This may be a part of the reason why the JOURNEY metaphors are so numerous in my corpus. Firstly, they are a prototypical way of conceptualizing various human enterprises, so they manifest themselves in virtually every type of discourse, including the speeches of Barack Obama. Moreover, as the JOURNEY metaphors are so basic for human understanding, a witty speechwriter may use them to speak of complex political phenomena in a way that would make them accessible for an average American citizen. But there is more to JOURNEY metaphors than being basic. They also build a feeling of bond between the two or more parties taking part in the enterprise. For instance, in sentence (42), where Obama says that he and other American citizens have “carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations” he evokes a sense of companionship between all the American citizens. He refers to them as to journey companions that have a very important task to fulfill. JOURNEY metaphors encourage to accept the short term suffering for a greater cause (see

section 2.3). Thus, they are indispensable in discourse dealing with war. Examples of the use of JOURNEY metaphors to justify the suffering that the American nation is going through as a necessity for the achievement of a greater good can be found in the sentences (32), (41) and (42) above.

# Chapter 6

## Creation and construction metaphors; destruction metaphors

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### 6.1 Introduction

The current chapter deals with creation/construction metaphors, as well as their opposites, viz. destruction metaphors exemplified by expressions ‘to create’, ‘to forge’, ‘to destroy’, etc. I will begin by a short discussion of several question that may arise while analyzing the creation and construction metaphors and destruction metaphors. The analysis of the metaphorical expressions belonging to these two groups, as well as examples from my corpus will follow. The chapter includes the discussion about the metaphoricity of the expressions in the creation, construction and destruction group (6.2) and data analysis (6.3). The data analysis chapter is divided into two sub-sections involving metaphors of creation and construction (section 6.3.1) and metaphors of destruction (section 6.3.2) Section 6.4 contains final remarks.

### 6.2 Metaphoricity of the expressions

The conceptual metaphors that are the topic of this section were identified and discussed by Jonathan Charteris-Black (2006). He distinguishes creation and construction metaphors that are exemplified by expressions like ‘to build’ or ‘to create’, as well as destruction metaphors, exemplified by ‘to destroy’ or ‘to undermine’. A broader discussion of these metaphors is found in section 2.3 above. Both the creation/construction, as well as destruction metaphors involve descriptions of mental processes as if they were material ones. The expressions involved in such descriptions come from building and manufacture terminology. As will be shown in the following analysis they usually have positive connotations (Charteris-Black 2006: 124). The destruction metaphors, on the other hand, can be expected to appear in negative contexts (ibid.: 125).

In the analysis of the creation/destruction conceptual metaphors proposed by Charteris-Black’s (2006), the metaphorical status of many of the expressions can be disputable. Firstly, most expressions classified as metaphors by Charteris-Black are not classified as figurative in some dictionaries, like Merriam-Webster or Oxford Dictionary; however this should not be

taken as a prerequisite for an expression to be classified as metaphorical, since these dictionaries do not consider the phenomenon of conceptual metaphors. One could also argue that such verbs like 'to create' or 'to build' have been appearing with abstract subjects for so long that the use has become conventional. It can be assumed that 'to create workplaces' would not necessarily be perceived as a metaphor by English native speakers. Moreover, it could be argued that the fact that this meaning has emerged on basis of metaphorical mapping does not play any role anymore, since native speakers see both of the meanings as prototypical and conventional. I will, however, argue for the opposite. As is stated by Pragglejazz group (2007) "the fact that a word's meaning is highly conventional does not necessarily make its meaning dead" (Pragglejazz 2007: 30). The Pragglejazz group quotes the example of the verb 'to grasp'. The word has come to mean 'to understand', but its non-metaphorical sense, which is 'to take hold of with one's hand' is still in use. Thus, as argued by Pragglejazz, even though the metaphorical use of 'to grasp' is conventional, it is not a dead metaphor. Any word that "has an active metaphorical basis, in the sense of there being a widespread, knowable, comparison, and contrast between that word's contextual and basic meanings" is argued to be metaphorical. Therefore, even though such expressions as 'to create a job' or 'to build a lasting peace' would probably not be considered figurative by the native speakers of English, they can still be classified as metaphorical. In the following section I will provide an analysis and discussion of the creation and destruction metaphors.

## **6.3 Data analysis**

### **6.3.1 Creation and construction metaphors**

The group of metaphors of creation and construction includes ninety seven metaphorical expressions, which makes it more numerous than the group of metaphors of destruction with only twenty eight expressions. The main metaphors of creation and construction are 'to build', 'to rebuild', 'to create', 'to forge', 'foundation', 'to shape', 'to construct'. In addition there are a few other miscellaneous verbs and nouns that, due to their scarce number, I have decided not to include in the discussion. 'To build', as well as the three following expressions with similar meaning: 'to create', 'to forge' and 'to make' can be argued to represent a conceptual metaphor GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING (Charteris-Black 2006: 124). Charteris-Black suggested in his analysis of Bill Clinton's speeches that such expressions make positive evaluations of actions they describe. They usually contain first-person subjects and present the person performing a creative action as a creative force (Charteris-Black 2006:

124). Most of the expressions from my corpus discussed in this section are indeed evaluated as positive, because of their connection with creating something new.

### **To build**

The first expression from the group is ‘to build’. I will also discuss an expression connected to it – ‘to rebuild’. ‘To build’ appears in the corpus twenty nine times and ‘to rebuild’ – six times. These metaphorical expressions involve the process of mapping between the conceptual domain of building a physical entity, for example a house, onto the conceptual domain of creating, building something abstract, like an army, consensus or future. The subjects that accompany ‘to build’ can be of different levels of abstractness, from building a country to building freedom.

One of the most concrete nouns that appear next to the verb ‘to build’ is ‘army’, as in (1) below.

- (1) We will accelerate our efforts to **build** an Afghan army of 134,000 and a police force of 82,000 so that we can meet these goals by 2011 -- and increases in Afghan forces may very well be needed as our plans to turn over security responsibility to the Afghans go forward. (6 t 4 p 5 p)

The process of building a concrete entity is mapped onto the process of raising an army. Other more concrete uses of ‘to build’ are man-made intellectual constructs, such as programs, systems and frameworks, as in sentence (2).

- (2) I will focus our support on helping nations **build** independent judicial systems, honest police forces, and financial systems that are transparent and accountable. (11 t 7 p 6 p)

‘To build’ appears also with ‘capacity’ – “The power, ability, or faculty for anything in particular” (www.dictionary.oed.com) as many as five times. The process of developing this characteristic either in relation to the U.S. or Afghanistan is explained via the process of building a concrete object, as in (3) below.

- (3) These are the resources that we need to seize the initiative, while **building** the Afghan capacity that can allow for a responsible transition of our forces out of Afghanistan. (9 t 3 p 2 p)

The next group of nouns appearing in the context of ‘to build’ consists of abstract nouns that involve cooperation and close relationships. The nouns are the following: ‘consensus’, ‘partnership’, ‘alliance’ and ‘ties (of cooperation)’. An example of such a metaphorical expression can be found in sentence (4) below.

(4) Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and **build** international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible. (4 t 4 p 2 p)

Obama uses ‘to build’ also with reference to other abstract concepts for instance with nouns such as ‘world’, ‘future’ and ‘the world we seek to build’ etc. In Obama's speeches these abstract concept come to mean the idealized state of affairs that can be argued to be characterized by safety, prosperity, justice and equality. When he speaks about what he wants to achieve, he often mentions an idealized future, involving changes for better, as in sentence (5).

(5) We're going to have to keep our eye fixed on the world we seek to **build**-- one that not just -- not only defeats our adversaries, but that also promotes dignity and opportunity and justice for all who stand with us. (2 t 2 p 2 p)

Again, the process of building something concrete has been mapped onto a more abstract activity. The activity can be described as a set of political actions like passing laws, military missions etc. that could lead to the achievement of the idealized state of affairs described above. The use of ‘to build’ with the noun ‘future’ can be exemplified by the metaphorical expression in sentence (6) below.

(6) Now, Iran’s leaders must choose whether they will try to build a weapon or **build** a better future for their people. (5 t 4 p 7 p)

The mapping is as in the example above between building and an abstract activity aimed at accomplishing an idealized state of affairs. Here Obama uses a rhetorical device known as comparison. He contrasts two instances of build: one with a negative connotation, which is ‘to build a weapon’ with one evaluated positively, namely ‘to build a better future’. Contrast, or antithesis was argued by Charteris-Black to make the words of a politician “memorable and

witty” (Charteris-Black 2006: 37). Another reason for using antithesis is creating an evaluative framework (ibid.: 71).

Obama uses ‘to build’ also without a specified object, in a more general sense, when he speaks of the process of building in general, as in (7).

(7) To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can **build**, not what you destroy. (12 t 5 p 2 p)

The process of building is mapped onto the actions judged as positive. In the sentence above these actions can be: developing a political system that would profit the poor, promoting education, work aimed at achieving equality for different races and sexes etc.

There is only one instance in the corpus, where the metaphorically used ‘to build’ is in the context of a negatively judged activity, as in (8) below.

(8) We haven't talked to Iran, and they continue to **build** their nuclear program. (11 t 6 p 3 p)

In the example (8), the conceptual domain of building is mapped onto the conceptual domain of developing a nuclear program.

There are six examples of ‘to rebuild’ in the corpus. The verb appears in the neighborhood of nouns such as ‘economy’, ‘societies’, ‘Europe’ and ‘strength’. It is also used in the phrase ‘rebuild from rubble’. All the uses of ‘to rebuild’ in my corpus have a positive context. Rebuilding may involve the restoration one of American assets to the previous form, as in the sentence (9).

(9) But as we end the war in Iraq and transition to Afghan responsibility, we must **rebuild** our strength here at home. (9 t 7 p 3 p)

The metaphorical expression in (9) involves mapping between the process of rebuilding and developing strength of a country that had been previously reduced. ‘To rebuild’ can also refer to the American nation helping others restore the previous state of affairs after a conflict, whether the World War Two, or a more recent one portrayed in the sentence (10) below.

- (10) And as we lead we will ask for more from our friends in Europe and Asia as well -- more support for our diplomacy, more support for multilateral peacekeeping, and more support to **rebuild** societies ravaged by conflict. (11 t 7 p 7 p)

The process of rebuilding is mapped onto the activities aimed at the development of infrastructure, economy, government, etc.

### **To create**

‘To create’ appears in the corpus nineteen times. As in the case of ‘to build’ and ‘to rebuild’ it involves mapping of a conceptual domain of a physical action – creating – onto the domain of an abstract action. The various kinds of actions and processes from the target domain can differ, as in the example of ‘to build’, as to the degree of their concreteness. ‘To create’ may be used with such nouns as ‘corps’.

- (11) On economic development, we will **create** a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries. (4 t 8 p 5 p)

‘To create’ is also used with more abstract nouns, denoting, for instance, patterns of thoughts and concepts coined by men, such ‘system’, ‘law’, ‘network’ and ‘condition’.

Special attention should be given to the use of ‘to create’ with the noun ‘job’. In section 5.3.1 above, as well as in section 2.3, in which I have discussed Charteris-Black analysis of creation and construction conceptual metaphors. The metaphors were identified, among others, in the speeches of a Democrat, viz. Bill Clinton. What is an interesting similarity between Clinton’s and Obama’s use of ‘to create’ is its high frequency in collocation with ‘jobs’. For the discussion of the collocation in Clinton’s speeches see Charteris-Black (2006: 123). In my corpus ‘create jobs’ appears five times. An example of this metaphorical expression is (12) below.

- (12) On science and technology, we will launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries, and to help transfer ideas to the marketplace so they can **create** more jobs. (4 t 8 p 5 p)

There is a mapping between the process of creating a physical entity and providing work places for people.

To create' can also be used without an object and to denote a creative action in general, as in sentence (13) below. As in the example of sentence (7) which contains the verb 'to build', such action is evaluated positively.

- (13) The future must belong to those who **create**, not those who destroy. (5 t 6 p 1 p)

So far 'to build' and 'to create' have been alike in their use and meaning. However, what distinguishes the use of 'to create' in my corpus is that it often appears in religious contexts. The verb is used to refer to the passage from the Bible speaking of the God making the first human being from clay. It is common to address God in the Christian tradition as 'creator'. Such connotations are important for my argument that the metaphors of creation and construction are evaluated positively. It holds true especially in the light that Obama is an American politician, and religion and God in the U.S. play a very important role. For instance, the phrase "in God we trust" appears on every American banknote and coin. Moreover, in many political campaigns the faith of the candidates is an important topic. The phrase "God bless America" has been used by Obama and previous American presidents to finish their speeches. Thus, the word 'to create' may be a very effective tool in convincing American to Obama's point of view. The religious undertones of 'to create' are enforced even more by Obama using the verb to refer to the abovementioned act of God's act of creating human beings.

- (14) We were founded upon the ideal that all are **created** equal, and we have shed blood and struggled for centuries to give meaning to those words -- within our borders, and around the world. (4 t 2 p 4 p)

(Cf. the discussion in chapter 5 regarding sentence (32) above where Obama's relationship with the tradition of American African preachers in America; is dealt with.)

Another difference between the use of 'to build' and 'to create' is that the former expression is used with a word with a negative connotation only once, whereas the latter is used four times. An example of such use of create is (15) below.

- (15) Indeed, the existence of Guantanamo likely **created** more terrorists around the world than it ever detained. (3 t 4 p 2 p)

The final difference is the fact that ‘to create’ is not used with nouns denoting relationships, unions, etc.

### **To forge**

‘To forge’ appears in the corpus thirteen times. It collocates with both more concrete nouns as ‘contact group’, and more abstract ones as ‘infrastructure’, ‘approach’ or ‘peace’. The metaphorical mapping process is analogous to these described above in that the conceptual domain of the creative action forging is mapped onto a given abstract action.

‘To forge’ is used with words indicating union and friendship, as in (16).

- (16) And it's why we've **forged** new partnerships, as in Yemen, and put unrelenting pressure on these extremists wherever they plot and train-from East Africa to Southeast Asia, from Europe to the Persian Gulf. (10 t 2 p 1 p)

An interesting use of the expression with the word ‘America’ is illustrated in sentence (17).

- (17) We will go forward with the confidence that right makes might, and with the commitment to **forge** an America that is safer, a world that is more secure, and a future that represents not the deepest of fears but the highest of hopes. (9 t 9 p 1 p)

Finally, ‘to forge’ is used with words such as ‘peace’, ‘beginning’ or ‘future’, just as it was in the case of ‘to build’.

### **To make**

There are two instances of ‘to make’ in my corpus, as well as two of ‘to remake’. Both expressions appear only in positive context. Moreover, both involve the process of mapping a physical creative process onto a non-physical one, as in the expressions above. ‘To make’ is used with abstract expressions ‘the world we seek’ and ‘a new beginning’ that have been discussed in section dedicated to the verb ‘to build’.

- (18) We have the power to **make** the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to **make** a new beginning, keeping in mind what has been written. (4 t 9 p 5 p)

‘To remake was used with the nouns ‘world’ and ‘America’.

### **To shape**

So far, I have discussed conceptual metaphors whose source domain was represented by verbs denoting the processes of creating a concrete entity. ‘To shape’ is connected to the domain of building and construction, but does not involve the creation of an entity, but rather the entity taking a new form. ‘To shape’ was used by Obama seven times and ‘to reshape’ once.

The most concrete use of ‘to shape’ is together with the noun ‘standard’, as in (19) below.

- (19) That is why my Administration has begun to **reshape** these standards to ensure they are in line with the rule of law. (3 t 6 p 6 p)

The process of adjusting standards (here Obama speaks of standards of dealing with terrorists) is likened to a process of changing shape of a physical entity.

Moreover, Obama uses the process of shaping to refer to the development of the American nation, as in (20).

- (20) We are **shaped** by every culture, drawn from every end of the Earth, and dedicated to a simple concept: E pluribus unum -- "Out of many, one." (4 t 2 p 4 p)

This topic has always been important to Obama, as he is from a family with a very diverse cultural and ethnic background. He has been referring to his mixed ethnic background and likened it to America’s cultural and ethnical diversity ever since his speech at Democratic Convention in 2004, where he uttered the famous words:

“Well, I say to them tonight, there is not a liberal America and a conservative America -- there is the United States of America. There is not a Black America and a White America and Latino America and Asian America -- there’s the United States of America. “ (<http://www.americanrhetoric.com>)

Obama uses ‘to shape’ to refer to such phenomena as ‘course of history’, ‘future’, ‘destiny’ and ‘world’. An example of such use of ‘shape’ can be found in (21) below.

- (21) And we will convey our deep appreciation for the Islamic faith, which has done so much over so many centuries to **shape** the world for the better – including my own country. (5 t 5 p 5 p)

In the metaphorical expression above, as well as in other cases of the use of metaphorical ‘to shape’ with ‘history’, ‘destiny’ etc. the conceptual domain of shaping physical objects is mapped onto set of political and military actions and private initiative that are aimed at improving the state of the world affairs. One could argue for the existence of a conceptual metaphor INFLUENCING WORLD AFFAIRS IS SHAPING AN OBJECT. This metaphor presents a set of complex and long term actions, the outcome of which cannot really be predicted in all certainty as a concrete process of limited time and an outcome that can be predicted. For instance, when we shape a loaf of bread or a sand castle we usually know what shape we want to achieve. Such actions are also not very demanding and the desired outcome is usually achieved. “Shaping the world’ or ‘shaping the destiny’, on the other hand, is not such a process. By likening the abstract and highly complex actions to familiar and relatively easy actions Obama makes his listeners believe that such goals can be accomplished.

### **Foundation**

‘Foundation’ is used in my corpus seven times. It was included in the group of creation and construction metaphors because its prototypical meaning - “the solid ground or base (natural or built up) on which an edifice or other structure is erected” (<http://dictionary.oed.com>) - is connected to the domain of building and construction. ‘Foundation’ can be interpreted in Obama’s speeches as a prerequisite for some positive phenomenon to exist, as in:

(22) Our prosperity provides a **foundation** for our power. (9 t 7 p 3 p)

The conceptual domain of a building’s foundation is mapped onto the conceptual domain of basis or prerequisite for power.

### **6.3.2 Metaphors of destruction**

The group of metaphors of destruction consists of twenty eight expressions. They have been divided into five sub-groups: metaphorical uses of ‘to destroy’, ‘destruction’, ‘undermine’, ‘dismantle’ and miscellaneous expressions that will not be discussed. Charteris-Black (2006) argues for the existence of a conceptual metaphor BAD GOVERNING IS DESTROYING. Metaphorical expressions, which are manifestations of this conceptual metaphor involve verbs denoting some kind of sudden movement and/or force that has the potential to cause damage. Moreover, Charteris-Black notices that such metaphorical expressions invariably have negative connotations, as they denote such harmful social practices or phenomena as “crime, conflict, or an unnamed source of aggression” (Charteris-Black 2006: 125). Whereas

Charteris-Black's analysis of the metaphors of destruction is useful for my analysis, it does not cover all the metaphorical uses of verbs connected to destruction from my corpus. I have identified several uses of such verbs, where the destructive phenomena and actions were evaluated positively, and not negatively.

### **To destroy**

'To destroy' is the most numerous metaphorical expression in the destruction metaphors group and it appears ten times in my corpus. The verb was used to speak of actions and processes aimed at destruction of a more or less abstract entity. Firstly, 'to destroy' was used with nouns 'lives' and 'country'. In the case of 'lives' it can be treated as a synonym of 'to kill'. In the case of 'country', however, the target domain of the metaphor is more complex – it may involve killing the inhabitants of the country, bombarding and burning its buildings, as well as damaging its infrastructure, economy, etc. An example of the use of 'to destroy' in such a context is given below.

(23) That includes the al Qaeda terrorists who have sought to drive Iraqis apart and to **destroy** their country. (5 t 5 p 1 p)

The next use of 'to destroy' is more general, the verb is used here without an object, as in (24).

(24) We must work for a world where every child, everywhere, is taught to build and not to **destroy**. (11 t 7 p 7 p)

The target domain of the metaphor in (24) is a general act of destroying of some more or less abstract entity, rather than any specific destructive action.

Three of four sentences containing 'to destroy' used in a general sense involve antithesis. Both sentence (24) above and (25) below involve antithesis. The rhetorical device has been already discussed in regards to the metaphorical uses of 'to build'. In my corpus 'to build' and 'to destroy' were often used to create a contrast between creative and destructive forces. By comparing the two, an evaluative framework was created, assigning positive evaluation to creating and negative to destruction. 'To destroy' has also been compared with 'to create' or 'to forge', as in sentence (25) below.

(25) And we will seek a partnership with Afghanistan grounded in mutual respect – to isolate those who **destroy**; to strengthen those who **build**; to hasten the day when our troops will leave; and to **forge** a lasting friendship in which America is your partner, and never your patron. (9 t 5 p 2 p)

It has been shown above that destruction metaphors generally appear in negative context. Nevertheless, in the case of ‘to destroy’ three out of ten uses had positive connotations. In general, the act of destroying is evaluated positively in those cases where some negatively evaluated entity is being destroyed. One could argue for the existence of a conceptual metaphor **DISRUPTING HOSTILE GROUPS OR ORGANIZATIONS IS DESTROYING**. These negatively evaluated groups or organizations are represented in my corpus by ‘safe havens for terrorists’ and ‘al Qaeda’s terrorist network’, as in (26).

(26) America, our allies and the world were acting as one to **destroy** al Qaeda’s terrorist network, and to protect our common security. (9 t 1 p 6 p)

The process of destruction of a concrete object is mapped onto the process of destruction of an abstract notion – a terrorist network.

### **Destruction**

The verb ‘to destroy’ discussed above had both negative and positive connotations. The noun ‘destruction’, which is the topic of this section, has only negative connotations. It appears in my corpus seven times. Obama uses the noun in two senses. Firstly, he speaks of destruction of a given country that can be exemplified by sentence (27) below.

(27) Israel is besieged by emboldened enemies, talking openly of its **destruction**. (11 t 2 p 6 p).

As in the example (24) above the physical destruction is mapped onto a set of actions that could lead to a country being destroyed as wiping out its inhabitants, razing its buildings to the ground, damaging its economy etc.

The second sense of ‘destruction’ that can be found in my corpus is more general. Obama uses this noun to speak of various destructive processes. In four out of five sentences in which the noun is used in this sense it appears together either with ‘terrorists’ or ‘al Qaeda’. An

example of a metaphorical use of ‘destruction’, where the word comes to mean a destructive process or power in general is:

- (28) Terrorists prey on the innocent and vulnerable, and have nothing to offer except hatred and **destruction**. (1 t 1 p 3 p)

By using ‘al Qaeda’ and ‘terrorists’ together with ‘destruction’ Obama draws an analogy between these phenomena. It may result in speakers assigning negative connotation to ‘al Qaeda’ and ‘terrorists’. The more frequently such a collocation appears, the stronger it becomes. It can lead, for instance, to people associating al Qaeda with destruction. Since destruction has negative connotations, people would then start to assign such a negative evaluation to al Qaeda automatically, without previous thought as to where the association came from. The role of repetition in forming associations between certain concepts was described, among others, by El Refaie (2005).

### **To undermine**

‘To undermine’ appears in the corpus five times. The verb’s literal meaning is “to dig or excavate beneath, to make a passage or mine under (a wall, etc.)” (<http://dictionary.oed.com>). In metaphorical sense ‘to undermine’ comes to mean to weaken or destroy something, usually in a deceitful and treacherous way. Two out of five examples of ‘to undermine’ in my corpus appeared together with the noun ‘law’, as in (29) below.

- (29) Instead of building a durable framework for the struggle against al Qaeda that drew upon our deeply held values and traditions, our government was defending positions that **undermined** the rule of law. (3 t 3 p 4 p).

The conceptual domain of the physical act of undermining is mapped onto the conceptual domain of preventing the rule of law from functioning. What is more, Obama uses here antithesis that was already discussed in sections dedicated to verbs ‘to build’ and ‘to destroy’.

### **To dismantle**

‘To dismantle’ appears in my corpus five times. Each of these times it is used in a phrase ‘to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda’. One of the examples of the use of such phrase is (30) below.

- (30) So I want the American people to understand that we have a clear and focused goal: to disrupt, **dismantle** and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future. (8 t 2 p 5 p)

The verb's literal meaning is "To render (fortifications, or the like) useless for their purpose; to pull down, take to pieces, destroy, raze." (<http://dictionary.oed.com>). In the metaphorical uses of 'to dismantle' in my corpus the conceptual domain of dismantling is mapped onto the act of preventing al Qaeda from functioning.

## 6.4 Conclusion

In the sections above I have discussed two groups of conceptual metaphors, namely, metaphors of construction and creation and metaphors of destruction. Apart from metaphorical expressions connected to these topics, my corpus includes also an expanded and complex allegory in which the implementation of democracy in the U.S. is likened to the process of building the Washington Monument. Since allegories are not to be discussed in this work, I have decided not to include the analysis of the passage. It is important, however, to mention this allegory, since it supports the hypothesis that I argue for, namely that the expressions denoting an act of creation have usually positive connotations. In the passage Obama mentions that both the process of building the Washington Monument and the implementation of democracy in the U.S. involved a collective effort of many people from different social and ethnic background. The metaphorical expressions representing the GOOD GOVERNING IS CREATING conceptual metaphor that can be found in the corpus are also examples of such creative processes. For instance, (4), (7) and (21) speak about political actions aimed at creating better conditions for a global society in general. It can be also providing conditions favorable for creating new workplaces as in (12) etc. By likening the implementation of democracy to the process of building Obama strengthens the positive evaluation of the process of building, since democracy is a very positively evaluated phenomenon.

In this chapter I have analyzed two groups of metaphors related to each other, namely, creation and construction metaphors and destruction metaphors. The groups were based on Charteris-Black's analysis (2006) of a similar set of metaphors. The metaphors involved mapping of a concrete creative or destructive process onto more abstract processes. The

observation made by Charteris-Black that the metaphors of creation have predominantly positive connotations have been confirmed by my analysis. Moreover, I have noted the religious undertones of the verb 'to create' and their possible influence of the expression's ideological force. I have also noted that by using verbs denoting relatively simple, physical actions of creation to speak of abstract processes, whose outcome is hard to predict might have resulted in Obama convincing his listeners that these processes, like 'building a better world' or 'forging America that is safer' are pretty easy. With respect to destruction metaphors I have shown that they appear in both negative (as suggested by Charteris-Black) and positive contexts.

# Concluding remarks

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Barack Obama is a true phenomenon in American and international politics. First of all, he is the first non-Caucasian male to be elected as the President of the United States. Moreover, he can be argued to have restored the good image of the American government at home and abroad. Obama was also awarded with a Nobel Prize for his attempts of strengthening international cooperation. For many he used to be and still is a symbol of hope for quick withdrawal of American army from Iraq and Afghanistan and improvement of American economy. Of course Obama has his opponents, most of whom belong to or follow the Republican Party. He was accused of being a socialist, a communist and even a Nazi. Although his popularity has recently decreased, he is still much more trusted than President Bush Jr. Obama's popularity is relatively high, especially when one considers the promises that he has not kept like closing the Guantanamo Bay detention camp, health care reform and improving the situation of the American workers and unions.

One could argue that Obama's inspiring speeches were partly responsible for his success. He is indeed a crafty orator. He has been praised for his choice of words, rich vocabulary and the fact that he does not debase and ridicule the enemies of the U.S. as his predecessor, viz. George W. Bush, did. One of the characteristics that may cause Obama's speeches to be perceived as eloquent is his use of graphic and detailed descriptions, as in the fragment speaking about 9/11 attacks below.

“Back at my office, I watched the images from New York: a plane vanishing into glass and steel; men and women clinging to windowsills, then letting go; tall towers crumbling to dust. It seemed all of the misery and all of the evil in the world were in that rolling black cloud, blocking out the September sun.”

At the same time Obama refers in his speeches to very general and basic human values, such as truth, freedom, good and evil. It is true that his predecessor, that is George W. Bush also referred to such values. The point is, however, that Obama may be the first Democrat to make them one of the central elements in his speeches. One possible reason for this may be the influence of Lakoff's *Framing the Issues* workshops and his book *Don't Think of an elephant!* (2004) that was basically a guide to writing and giving speeches that would guarantee the Democratic Party victory. Lakoff noticed that the Republicans' advantage over the Democrats

was their use of basic human values in their discourse. One of the Obama's successes was to set the Democratic Party in the broader context of human values. He reminded Americans that the United States of the America was established on the basis of democratic values of equality, fairness and freedom. Moreover, Obama accused the Republicans of violating these values by, for instance, setting up Guantanamo Bay detention camp. To argue for ideas and values he used an array of rhetorical figures, such as antithesis, allegory or metonymy. Metaphors, which are the topic of this thesis, play a central role in Obama's speeches. As I argued throughout this thesis, they are not only rhetorical figures, but also a powerful cognitive tool.

My thesis have explored the topic of metaphors in Obama's speeches and their possible ideological repercussions. I have analyzed the speeches from the period of Obama's presidential campaign and the early period of his presidency. The topics of the speeches chosen for the analysis range from terrorism to nuclear power and other threats to the security of the U.S. I have identified conceptual metaphors on the basis of the metaphorical expressions present in the speeches. The three most numerous groups that appeared in my corpus were metaphors belonging to Jonathan Charteris-Black's heroic myth and Lakoff's Fairy Tale of the Just War metaphorical system together with journey metaphors and construction/creation and destruction metaphors.

I now turn to hypotheses and research questions presented in the Introduction. The first hypothesis that I have proposed to argue for was that metaphors are partly responsible for Obama's image as an active and strong leader with moral authority. In fact all three most numerous metaphors that I have identified in my corpus can be argued to serve this role. Heroic myth/ fairy tale metaphor have shown America, the American nation and Obama as heroic warriors fighting a depraved enemy, that is personified al Qaida, terrorism, extremism, etc. Thus, the characteristics of a hero are assigned to Obama, that is he is being portrayed as moral, brave and strong leader. The journey metaphors, especially AMERICA IS A LEADER IN A JOURNEY, show Obama as a moral authority, since he is the leader of the U.S. MOVEMENT FORWARD presents the actions of the government as proceeding in a journey associates Obama's leadership with activity and action. Finally, creation/construction metaphors which show abstract actions and processes concerning abstract entities as concrete ones also contribute to Obama's positive image. These metaphors portray abstract phenomena as physical ones, so when Obama says that he is going to "shape the future" he not only

portrays himself as an active leader, but also indicates that abstract phenomena like ‘the future’ are controllable.

Another hypothesis that I have suggested is that instead of focusing on deriding the enemies of the U.S. Obama will rather focus on evoking the feelings of trust for his politics and hope for the better future. Again, one could argue that my findings support this hypothesis. Firstly, Obama’s does not use conceptual metaphors that dehumanize America’s enemies, i.e. those depicting terrorists or other hostile groups as insects, animals, diseases, etc. His use of heroic myth/fairy tale metaphors is rather directed at showing America as strong and honorable. They also evoke trust for the government and Barack Obama. Heroic myth/ fairy tale metaphors present Obama and American government as following the same set of rules as medieval warriors would, i.e. the Knight’s Code of Chivalry that dictates that one should fight for the welfare of all people, keep faith, be truthful and brave. Journey metaphors evoke the faith in the better future, since they show that political campaigns are like journeys in the sense that often it takes a long time to reach the destination and they also require dedication. Creation/construction metaphors, in turn, evoke hope in the government’s (and Obama’s) ability to perform actions that would benefit the U.S. and its citizens.

This thesis has attempted to show the importance of metaphors in politics. As mentioned in Chapter 1, people tend to deem metaphors merely as rhetorical figures, not present in everyday language, whereas they can be argued to be powerful ideological and cognitive devices. Paradoxically, the less oblivious we are to metaphors the more powerful they may turn out to be. This characteristic of metaphors is especially important in politics, where a lot depends on whether a given politician can evoke feelings of comradeship and trust in people. It is because metaphors can evoke emotions and even build up our understanding of a given phenomenon while being invisible to us, i.e. we may feel that words of a given politicians seem convincing without actually knowing why. Another aspect of metaphors that makes them useful for politicians is the fact that the process of metaphorical mapping may create similarities between source and target domains or highlight a given aspect of the phenomenon, while concealing other aspects. For example, if we speak of war in terms of fairy tales, i.e. a battle between a hero and a villain, we hide such aspects of war as the fact that no matter how rightful we feel it is to wage it there is also going to be collateral damage and a lot of innocent people will suffer as a result of it. Crafty politicians use these characteristics of metaphors, even if they do it intuitively, without actual knowledge of the

CMT or other frameworks. Obama, for instance, used them to evoke hope for a better future for the U.S. by presenting abstract political processes as concrete and controllable or to evoke comradeship between himself and his fellow citizens by portraying them as fellow travelers.

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**Internet resources:**

[www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)

[www.free-dictionary.com](http://www.free-dictionary.com)

## **Appendix 1**

### List of speeches

Text 1: Presidential Proclamation – National Day of Service and Remembrance for Victims and Survivors of Terrorism, April 16, 2010.

Text 2: Remarks by the President – Remarks to Joint Terrorism Task Force Staff Members, October 20, 2009.

Text 3: Remarks by the President – Protecting Our Security and Our Values, May 21, 2009.

Text 4: Remarks by the president – On a new beginning, June 4, 2009.

Text 5: Remarks by the President – Remarks to the Turkish parliament, April 6, 2009.

Text 6: Remarks by the President – Remarks to the Business Council, May 04, 2010.

Text 7: Remarks of Senator Barack Obama – Summit on Confronting New Threats, July 16, 2008.

Text 8: Remarks by the President – On a new strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan March 27, 2009.

Text 9: Remarks by the President – Address to the Nation on the Way Forward in Afghanistan and Pakistan, December 01, 2009.

Text 10: Remarks of the President – Weekly Address, January 2, 2010.

Text 11: Remarks of Senator Obama – The War We Need to Win, August 01, 2007.

Text 12: Inaugural Address, January 20, 2009.

## **Appendix 2**

### List of metaphors

## I Hero (186)

### 1. Characters

#### Hero (4)

1 t 1 p 1 p: On this National Day of Service and Remembrance for Victims and Survivors of Terrorism, we pause to remember victims of terrorism at home and abroad, we honor the **heroes** who have supported them, and we redouble our efforts to build the kind of world that is worthy of their legacy.

1 t 1 p 2 p: Even before the dust settled, **heroes** had emerged.

9 t 1 p 3 p: Were it not for the **heroic actions** of the passengers on board one of those flights, they could have also struck at one of the great symbols of our democracy in Washington, and killed many more. HYPERBOLE, METAPHOR?

11 t 9 p 3 p: On 9/11, it was citizens -- empowered by their knowledge of the World Trade Center attacks -- who protected our government by **heroically** taking action on Flight 93 to keep it from reaching our nation's capital. HYPERBOLE, METAPHOR?

#### Enemy (12)

2 t 2 p 3 p: Of course, we all know that we're facing a determined **adversary**.

3 t 1 p 5 p: We are investing in the 21st century military and intelligence capabilities that will allow us to stay one step ahead of a nimble **enemy**.

3 t 4 p 2 p: It sets back the willingness of our allies to work with us in fighting an **enemy** that operates in scores of countries.

8 t 2 p p: We are in Afghanistan to confront a common **enemy** that threatens the United States, our friends and our allies, and the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan who have suffered the most at the hands of violent extremists.

8 t 2 p 6 p: And to defeat an **enemy** that heeds no borders or laws of war, we must recognize the fundamental connection between the future of Afghanistan and Pakistan -- which is why I've appointed Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, who is here, to serve as Special Representative for both countries, and to work closely with General Petraeus to integrate our civilian and military efforts.

8 t 4 p 2 p: Our troops have fought bravely against a ruthless **enemy**.

8 t 5 p 5 p: As their ranks dwindle, an **enemy** that has nothing to offer the Afghan people but terror and repression must be further isolated.

9 t 5 p 4 p: And there is no doubt that the United States and Pakistan share a common **enemy**.

11 t 2 p 1 p: We did not develop new capabilities to defeat a new **enemy**, or launch a comprehensive strategy to dry up the terrorists' base of support.

11 t 3 p 1 p: To defeat this **enemy**, we must understand who we are fighting against, and what we are fighting for.

11 t 6 p 5 p: Only by knowing your **adversary** can you defeat them or drive wedges between them.

12 t 6 p 7 p: The capital was abandoned. The **enemy** was advancing. The snow was stained with blood.

## 2. Special qualities of heroes

### Calling (4)

8 t 6 p 4 p: that is who we, are and that is what **history calls on us to do once more**.

11 t 1 p 10 p: After 9/11, our **calling** was to write a new chapter in the American story.

11 t 10 p 3 p: Because when we do make that change, we'll do more than win a war -- we'll live up to that **calling** to make America, and the world, safer, freer, and more hopeful than we found it.

11 t 2 p 7 p: What could have been a **call** to a generation has become an excuse for unchecked presidential power.

### Burden (6)

8 t 4 p 2 p: our allies have **borne a heavy burden**

8 t 5 p 1 p: relieve the **burden** on our troops.

8 t 6 p 2 p: men and women in uniform, who've **borne a burden** as great as any other generation's.

9 t 3 p 5 p: Most of all, I know that this decision asks even more of you – a military that, along with your families, has already borne the heaviest of all **burdens**.

9 t 3 p 9 p: Of course, this **burden** is not ours alone to bear. This is not just America's war.

9 t 8 p 2 p: Since the days of Franklin Roosevelt, and the service and sacrifice of our grandparents, our country has **borne a special burden** in global affairs.

### Strength (3)

6 t 1 p 3 p: The national security of the United States was buttressed by our economic **strength**, and a powerful military that answered every call.

9 t 7 p 5 p: So as a result, America will have to show our **strength** in the way that we end wars and prevent conflict.

11 t 7 p 8 p: We will open "America Houses" in cities across the Islamic world, with Internet, libraries, English lessons, stories of America's Muslims and the **strength** they add to our country, and vocational programs.

## 3. Challenges and tasks (39)

### **Challenges (36).**

2 t 1 p 2 p: As I've said before, these are incredibly **challenging times** for the FBI.

3 t 4 p 4 p: We are cleaning up something that is - quite simply - a mess; a misguided experiment that has left in its wake a flood of legal **challenges** that my Administration is forced to deal with on a constant basis, and that consumes the time of government officials whose time should be spent on better protecting our country.

3 t 4 p 5 p: Indeed, the legal **challenges** that have sparked so much debate in recent weeks in Washington would be taking place whether or not I decided to close Guantanamo.

3 t 1 p 1 p: We face a range of **challenges** that will define the way that Americans will live in the 21st century.

3 t 2 p 9 p: After 9/11, we knew that we had entered a new era - that enemies who did not abide by any law of war would present new **challenges** to our application of the law; that our government would need new tools to protect the American people, and that these tools would have to allow us to prevent attacks instead of simply prosecuting those who try to carry them out.

3 t 7 p 1 p: I know that creating such a system poses unique **challenges**.

3 t 8 p 5 p: Along those same lines, my Administration is also confronting **challenges** to what is known as the "State Secrets" privilege. This is a doctrine that allows the government to **challenge** legal cases involving secret programs.

3 t 9 p 6 p: Already, we have seen how that kind of effort only leads those in Washington to different sides laying blame, and can distract us from focusing our time, our effort, and our politics on the **challenges** of the future.

3 t 9 p 7 p: On one side of the spectrum, there are those who make little allowance for the unique **challenges** posed by terrorism, and who would almost never put national security over transparency.

3 t 10 p 1 p: That is the **challenge** laid down by our Constitution.

3 t 10 p 3 p: The Framers who drafted the Constitution could not have foreseen the **challenges** that have unfolded over the last two hundred and twenty two years.

3 t 10 p 5 p: I ran for President because I believe that we cannot solve the **challenges** of our time unless we solve them together.

4 t 3 p 1 p: These needs will be met only if we act boldly in the years ahead; and if we understand that the **challenges we face** are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us all.

5 t 1 p 1 p: Turkey and United States must stand together – and work together – to **overcome the challenges** of our time.

5 t 2 p 1 p: But we have stood together through many **challenges** over the last sixty years.

5 t 2 p 2 p: Now, our two democracies are confronted by an unprecedented set of **challenges**.

5 t 2 p 4 p: This much is certain: no one nation can confront these **challenges** alone, and all nations have a stake in overcoming them.

5 t 2 p 7 p: So in meeting the **challenges** of the 21st century, we must seek the strength of a Europe that is truly united, peaceful and free.

5 t 3 p 4 p: Every **challenge that we face** is more easily met if we tend to our own democratic foundation.

5 t 4 p 2 p: And when we consider the **challenges** before us, on issue after issue, we share common goals.

5 t 5 p 3 p: Together, we can rise to **meet this challenge** like we have so many before.

7 t 2 p 5 p: In doing so, we'll better ensure the safety of the American people, while building our capacity to deal with other **challenges** – from public health to privacy.

8 t 1 p 6 p: And if the Afghan government falls to the Taliban -- or allows al Qaeda to go **unchallenged** -- that country will again be a base for terrorists who want to kill as many of our people as they possibly can.

8 t 2 p 2 p: But this is not simply an American problem -- far from it. It is, instead, an international security **challenge** of the highest order.

9 t 2 p 7 p: Yet huge **challenges** remain

9 t 6 p 6 p: As President, I refuse to set goals that go beyond our responsibility, our means, our or interests. And I must weigh all of the **challenges** that our nation faces.

9 t 7 p 8 p: We will have to use diplomacy, because no one nation can meet the **challenges** of an interconnected world acting alone.

9 t 7 p 9 p: Finally, we must draw on the strength of our values – for the **challenges** that we face may have changed, but the things that we believe in must not.

9 t 8 p 5 p: Yet we are still heirs to a noble struggle for freedom. Now we must summon all of our might and moral suasion to meet the **challenges** of a new age.

9 t 8 p 7 p: But I also know that we, as a country, cannot sustain our leadership nor navigate the momentous **challenges** of our time if we allow ourselves to be split asunder by the same rancor and cynicism and partisanship that has in recent times poisoned our national discourse.

11 t 1 p 8 p: And what we saw that morning was a **challenge** to a new generation.

11 t 2 p 6 p: Iran is now presenting the broadest strategic **challenge** to the United States in the Middle East in a generation.

11 t 5 p 3p: The finest military in the world is adapting to the **challenges** of the 21st century.

12 t 1 p 7 p: Today I say to you that the **challenges we face** are real, they are serious and they are many.

12 t 5 p 12 p: Our **challenges** may be new, the instruments with which we meet them may be new, but those values upon which our success depends, honesty and hard work, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism -- these things are old.

### **Tasks (3)**

4 t 3 p 1 p: Of course, recognizing our common humanity is only the **beginning of our task**.

12 t 1 p 1 p: I stand here today humbled by **the task before us**, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. (also road metaphor – before us)

12 t 6 p 1 p: What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility -- a recognition, on the part of every American, that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world, duties that we do not grudgingly accept but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character than giving our all to a **difficult task**.

### **Test (6)**

3 t 10 p 4 p: Now, this generation faces a great **test** in the specter of terrorism.

5 t 1 p 8 p: together, we **withstood the great test** of the Cold War.

5 t 2 p 3 p: these are the **great tests** of our young century (terrorism, crisis)

9 t pp: For what's at stake is not simply a **test** of NATO's credibility – what's at stake is the security of our Allies, and the common security of the world.

9 t 7 p 4 p: It will be an enduring **test** of our free society, and our leadership in the world.

12 t 6 p 10 p: (...); let it be said by our children's children that when we were **tested** we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; (...)

### **Trial (2)**

9 t 8 p 9 p: America – we are passing through a **time of great trial**.

10 t 2 p 3 p: But as we go forward, let us remember this-our adversaries are those who would attack our country, not our fellow Americans, not each other. Let's never forget what has always carried us through **times of trial**, including those attacks eight Septembers ago.

## **4. Battles and conflicts**

### **Defeat (26)**

2 t 2 p 1 p: This level of cooperation and integration is going to be critical in **defeating** the type of determined and resourceful -- and oftentimes in the shadows -- opponents that you're up against every day.

2 t 2 p 4 p: We're going to have to keep our eye fixed on the world we seek to build -- one that not just -- not only **defeats** our adversaries, but that also promotes dignity and opportunity and justice for all who stand with us.

8 t 2 p 5 p: And to the terrorists who oppose us, my message is the same: We will **defeat** you.

8 t 2 p 6 p: And to **defeat** an enemy that heeds no borders or laws of war, we must recognize the fundamental connection between the future of Afghanistan and Pakistan -- which is why I've appointed Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, who is here, to serve as Special Representative for both countries, and to work closely with General Petraeus to integrate our civilian and military efforts.

11 t 2 p 1 p: We did not develop new capabilities to **defeat** a new enemy, or launch a comprehensive strategy to dry up the terrorists' base of support. We did not reaffirm our basic values, or secure our homeland.

11 t 3 p 1 p: To **defeat** this enemy, we must understand who we are fighting against, and what we are fighting for.

11 t 3 p 3 p: Bin Ladin and his allies know they cannot **defeat** us on the field of battle or in a genuine battle of ideas.

2 t 1 p 6 p: And because of the effort and the sacrifices that you're making on a daily basis, we are making real progress on our core missions: disrupting and dismantling and ultimately **defeating** al Qaeda and its extremist allies.

3 t 1 p 4 p: We know that this threat will be with us for a long time, and that we must use all elements of our power to **defeat** it.

3 t 1 p 5 p: We are building new partnerships around the world to disrupt, dismantle, and **defeat** al Qaeda and its affiliates.

3 t 10 p 4 p: And I do know with certainty that we can **defeat** al Qaeda.

5 t 5 p 2 p: That is why we are committed to a more focused effort to disrupt, dismantle, and **defeat** al Qaeda.

7 t 4 p 4 p: . In the Cold War, we didn't **defeat** the Soviets just because of the strength of our arms -- we also did it because at the dawn of the atomic age and the onset of the space race, the smartest scientists and most innovative workforce was here in America.

8 t 2 p 5 p: So I want the American people to understand that we have a clear and focused goal: to disrupt, dismantle and **defeat** al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future.

8 t 5 p 5 p: There is an uncompromising core of the Taliban. They must be met with force, and they must be **defeated**.

9 t 2 p 5 p: I set a goal that was narrowly defined as disrupting, dismantling, and **defeating** al Qaeda and its extremist allies, and pledged to better coordinate our military and civilian effort.

9 t 4 p 2 p: Our overarching goal remains the same: to disrupt, dismantle, and **defeat** al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and to prevent its capacity to threaten America and our allies in the future.

10 t 1 p 7 p: On that day I also made it very clear-our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred, and that we will do whatever it takes to **defeat** them and defend our country, even as we uphold the values that have always distinguished America among nations.

10 t 1 p 8 p: It's why I've set a clear and achievable mission-to disrupt, dismantle and **defeat** al Qaeda and its extremist allies and prevent their return to either country.

11 t 6 p 5 p: Only by knowing your adversary can you **defeat** them or drive wedges between them.

11 t 8 p 7 p: And it is not what is necessary to **defeat** the terrorists. The FISA court works.

11 t 7 p 9 p: I will make clear that we are not at war with Islam, that we will stand with those who are willing to stand up for their future, and that we need their effort to **defeat** the prophets of hate and violence.

11 t 2 p 2 p: . A rigid 20th century ideology that insisted that the 21st century's stateless terrorism could be **defeated** through the invasion and occupation of a state.

11 t 5 p 7 p: And this effort will focus on helping our partners succeed without repressive tactics, because brutality breeds terror, it does not **defeat** it.

11 p 10 p 1 p: . It's the country that put a man on the moon; that **defeated** fascism and helped rebuild Europe.

12 t 4 p 10 p: And for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that, "Our spirit is stronger and cannot be broken. You cannot outlast us, and we will **defeat** you."

### **Fight and combat (15)**

2 t 1 p 5 p: No one knows better than you how important this work is, because you've always been on the front lines in **fighting** extremism.

3 t 3 p 2 p: For reasons that I will explain, the decisions that were made over the last eight years established an ad hoc legal approach for **fighting** terrorism that was neither effective nor sustainable - a framework that failed to rely on our legal traditions and time-tested institutions; that failed to use our values as a compass.

3 t 9 p 7 p: Their arguments suggest that the ends of **fighting** terrorism can be used to justify any means, and that the President should have blanket authority to do whatever he wants - provided that it is a President with whom they agree.

3 t 10 p 2 p: I can stand here today, as President of the United States, and say without exception or equivocation that we do not torture, and that we will vigorously protect our

people while forging a strong and durable framework that allows us to **fight** terrorism while abiding by the rule of law.

3 t 10 p 4 p: And I do know with certainty that we can defeat al Qaeda. Because the terrorists can only succeed if they swell their ranks and alienate America from our allies, and they will never be able to do that if we stay true to who we are; if we forge tough and durable approaches to **fighting** terrorism that are anchored in our timeless ideals

4 t 2 p 3 p: And I consider it part of my responsibility as President of the United States to **fight** against negative stereotypes of Islam wherever they appear

9 t 5 p 5 p: In the past, there have been those in Pakistan who have argued that the struggle against extremism is not their **fight**, and that Pakistan is better off doing little or seeking accommodation with those who use violence.

9 p 8 p 4 p: What we have fought for – and what we continue to fight for – is a better future for our children and grandchildren, and we believe that their lives will be better if other peoples’ children and grandchildren can live in freedom and access opportunity.

3 t 9 p 4 p: When it comes to the actions of the last eight years, some Americans are angry; others want to re-**fight** debates that have been settled, most clearly at the ballot box in November.

3 t 7 p 2 p: And if we refuse to deal with these issues today, then I guarantee you that they will be an albatross around our efforts to **combat** terrorism in the future.

4 t 3 p 5 p: Islam is not part of the problem in **combating** violent extremism -- it is an important part of promoting peace.

4 t 7 p 5 p: Around the world, we can turn dialogue into interfaith service, so bridges between peoples lead to action -- whether it is **combating** malaria in Africa, or providing relief after a natural disaster.

5 t 2 p 6 p: To develop new sources of energy and **combat** climate change, we should build on our Clean Technology Fund to leverage efficiency and renewable energy investments in Turkey.

9 t 4 p 10 p: We will support Afghan Ministries, Governors, and local leaders that **combat** corruption and deliver for the people.

11 t 4 p 9 p: And Pakistan needs more than F-16s to **combat** extremism.

### **Face (11)**

3 t 2 p 10 p: Unfortunately, **faced** with an uncertain threat, our government made a series of hasty decisions.

3 t 6 p p: I want to be honest: this is the toughest issue we will **face**.

4 t 3 p 3 p: Indeed, it suggests the opposite: We must **face** these tensions squarely.

5 t 2 p 5 p: This past week, we came together to ensure that the world's largest economies take strong and coordinated action to stimulate growth and restore the flow of credit; to reject the pressure of protectionism, and to extend a hand to developing countries and the people hit hardest by this downturn; and to dramatically reform our regulatory system so that the world never **faces** a crisis like this again.

5 t 5 p 1 p: Make no mistake, though: Iraq, Turkey, and the United States **face** a common threat from terrorism.

7 t 1 p 1 p: In a few moments, we'll open this up to a discussion, but first I'll make a few comments about some of the emerging threats that we **face** in the 21st century, and offer some ideas about how we can face those threats.

7 t 2 p 6 p: It starts with the gravest danger we **face** – nuclear terrorism.

11 t 9 p 1 p: I will establish a Quadrennial Review at the Department of Homeland Security -- just like at the Pentagon -- to undertake a top to bottom review of the threats we **face** and our ability to confront them.

11 t 10 p 3 p: It's going to take **facing** tragedy head-on and turning it into the next generation's triumph.

12 t 4 p 2 p: Our founding fathers **faced with** perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the blood of generations.

12 t 4 p 5 p: Recall that earlier generations **faced down** fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions.

#### **Struggle (4)**

4 t 2 p 4 p: We were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal, and we have shed blood and **struggled for centuries** to give meaning to those words - within our borders, and around the world.

5 t 3 p 5 p: And our country still **struggles** with the legacy of our past treatment of Native Americans.

9 t 8 p 5 p: Yet we are still heirs **to a noble struggle** for freedom. Now we must summon all of our might and moral suasion to meet the challenges of a new age. + being special

11 t 9 p 8 p: We are in the early stages of **a long struggle**.

#### **War (15)**

11 t 7 p 3 p: America is at **war** with terrorists who killed on our soil.

3 t 3 p 2 p: Now let me be clear: we are indeed at **war** with al Qaeda and its affiliates.

3 t 6 p 5 p: These are people who, in effect, remain at **war** with the United States.

3 t 6 p 6 p: Al Qaeda terrorists and their affiliates are at **war** with the United States, and those that we capture - like other prisoners of war - must be prevented from attacking us again. However, we must recognize that these detention policies cannot be unbounded.

4 t 3 p 5 p: In Ankara, I made clear that America is not -- and never will be -- at **war** with Islam.

5 t 5 p 4 p: Let me say this as clearly as I can: the United States is not at **war** with Islam.

10 t 1 p 7 p: On that day I also made it very clear-our nation is at **war** against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred, and that we will do whatever it takes to defeat them and defend our country, even as we uphold the values that have always distinguished America among nations.

11 t 1 p 9 p: And so a **war** over secession became an opportunity to set the captives free.

11 t 3 p 1 p: The terrorists are at **war** with us.

11 t 3 p 2 p: The President would have us believe that every bomb in Baghdad is part of al Qaeda's **war** against us, not an Iraqi civil war.

11 t 7 p 2 p: They say we are at **war** with Islam.

11 t 7 p 3 p: America is at **war** with terrorists who killed on our soil.

11 t 7 p 9 p: We are not at **war** with Islam

11 t 8 p 1 p: I will make clear that we are not at **war** with Islam, that we will stand with those who are willing to stand up for their future, and that we need their effort to defeat the prophets of hate and violence.

12 t 1 p 7 p: Our nation is at **war** against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred.

### **Battle (2)**

11 t 3 p 3 p: Bin Ladin and his allies know they cannot defeat us on the field of battle or in a **genuine battle of ideas**.

11 t 7 p 2 p: They say we are at war with Islam. That is the whispered line of the extremist who has nothing to offer in this **battle of ideas** but blame -- blame America, blame progress, blame Jews.

### **Other words denoting conflict (7)**

#### **Prevail (1)**

2 t 2 p 5 p: That's how we're going to **prevail in this fight**.

#### **Confront (1)**

7 t 1 p 2 p: America has **confronted constantly evolving danger**.

#### **Battlefield (2)**

11 t 3 p 5 p: When I am President, we will wage the war that has to be won, with a comprehensive strategy with five elements: getting out of Iraq and on to the right **battlefield**

in Afghanistan and Pakistan; developing the capabilities and partnerships we need to take out the terrorists and the world's most deadly weapons; engaging the world to dry up support for terror and extremism; restoring our values; and securing a more resilient homeland.

11 t 3 p 6 p: The first step must be getting off the wrong **battlefield** in Iraq, and taking the fight to the terrorists in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

#### **Stand for (1)**

11 t 7 p 5 p: We do need to **stand for democracy**.

#### **Head-on (1)**

11 t 10 p 3 p: It's going to take **facing** tragedy **head-on** and turning it into the next generation's triumph.

#### **Front lines (1)**

2 t 1 p 5 p: No one knows better than you how important this work is, because you've always been on the **front lines** in fighting extremism.

#### **5. Miscellaneous (23)**

1 t 1 p 4 p: They have **risen against** terrorism in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, the September 11 attacks, and other incidents of violence around the world.

2 t 1 p 6 p: Obviously you're not doing it for the **glamour or the glory** or the pay. (about FBI)

4 t 1 p 2 p: We meet at a time of great tension between the United States and Muslims around the world -- tension rooted in **historical forces** that go beyond any current policy debate

4 t 3 p 1 p: These needs will be met only if we act **boldly** in the years ahead; and if we understand that the challenges we face are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us all.

4 t 5 p 1 p: And America will not **turn our backs** on the legitimate Palestinian aspiration for dignity

6 t 1 p 5 p: We will not **cower** in fear.

7 t 2 p 7 p: Now, we worry – most of all – about a **rogue state** or nuclear scientist transferring the world's deadliest weapons to the world's most dangerous people: terrorists who won't think twice about killing themselves and hundreds of thousands in Tel Aviv or Moscow, in London or New York.

8 t 6 p 3 p: Most of the **blood on their hands** is the blood of Muslims, who al Qaeda has killed and maimed in far greater number than any other people.

9 t 7 p 8 p: I have spent this year renewing our alliances and forging new partnerships. And we have forged a new beginning between America and the Muslim World – one that recognizes our mutual interest in breaking a cycle of conflict, and that promises a future in which those who kill innocents are isolated by those who **stand up for peace** and prosperity and human dignity.

9 t 7 p 9 p: And we must make it clear to every man, woman and child around the world who lives under the dark cloud of tyranny that **America will speak out on behalf of their human** rights, and tend to the light of freedom, and justice, and opportunity, and respect for the dignity of all peoples.

9 t 8 p 5 p: Yet we are still **heirs** to a noble struggle for freedom. Now we must summon all of our might and moral suasion to meet the challenges of a new age.

11 t 1 p 10 p: To devise new strategies and build new alliances, to secure our homeland and safeguard our values, and to **serve a just cause abroad**.

11 t 4 p 3 p: Above all, I will send a clear message: we will not repeat the mistake of the past, when we **turned our back on** Afghanistan following Soviet withdrawal.

11 t 4 p 5 p: This is the **wild frontier** of our globalized world.

11 t 7 p 6 p: I will never **shrug my shoulders** and say -- as Secretary Rumsfeld did -- "Freedom is untidy."

12 t 4 p 10 p: for those who seek to advance their aims by inducing terror and slaughtering innocents, we say to you now that, "Our **spirit is stronger and cannot be broken**. You cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you."

12 t 5 p 3 p: To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history, but that we will extend a hand if you are willing to **unclench your fist**.

12 t 5 p 7 p: We honor them not only because they **are guardians of our liberty**, but because they embody the **spirit** of service: a willingness to find meaning in something greater than themselves.

12 t 6 p 9 p: "Let it be told to the future world that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, **came forth** to meet it."

12 t 2 p 2 p: On this day, we come to proclaim an end to the petty grievances and false promises, the recriminations and worn-out dogmas that for far too long have **strangled our politics**.

12 t 4 p 13 p: (...); that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that **America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace**.

12 t 6 p 10 p: America, in the **face** of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words; with hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come; let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

12 t 4 p 2 p: Our founding fathers faced with perils that we can scarcely imagine, drafted a charter to assure the rule of law and the rights of man, a charter expanded by the **blood** of generations.

## II JOURNEY (152)

### Journey/ road in general (9)

3 t 2 p 2 p: My own American **journey** was paved by generations of citizens who gave meaning to those simple words - "to form a more perfect union."

3 t 10 p 4 p: Unlike the Civil War or World War II, we cannot count on a surrender ceremony to bring this **journey** to an end.

4 t 5 p 3 p: Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be a critical part of a **road to peace**, and Israel must take concrete steps to enable such progress.

5 t 3 p 3 p: An enduring commitment to the rule of law is the only **way** to achieve the security that comes from justice for all people.

5 t 4 p 5 p: The United States and Turkey can help the Palestinians and Israelis make this **journey**.

12 t 2 p 4 p: Our **journey** has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less.

12 t 2 p 10 p: This is the **journey** we continue today.

12 t 3 p 13 p: The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity; on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest **route** to our common good.

12 t 6 p 10 p: America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words; with hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come; let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we **refused to let this journey end**, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

### Steps (17)

3 t 1 p 2 p: Just this week, we have taken **steps** to protect American consumers and homeowners, and to reform our system of government contracting so that we better protect our people while spending our money more wisely.

3 t 1 p 5 p: Already, we have taken several **steps** to achieve that goal. For the first time since 2002, we are providing the necessary resources and strategic direction to take the fight to the extremists who attacked us on 9/11 in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

3 t 1 p 6 p: We are building new partnerships around the world to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda and its affiliates. And we have renewed American diplomacy so that we once again have the strength and standing to truly lead the world. These **steps** are all critical to keeping America secure.

3 t 3 p 2 p: And that is why I took several **steps** upon taking office to better protect the American people.

4 t 5 p 3 p: Progress in the daily lives of the Palestinian people must be a critical part of a road to peace, and Israel must take concrete **steps** to enable such progress.

5 t 3 p 3 p: Freedom of religion and expression lead to a strong and vibrant civil society that only strengthens the state, which is why **steps** like reopening the Halki Seminary will send such an important signal inside Turkey and beyond.

5 t 3 p 7 p: And the best way forward for the Turkish and Armenian people is a process that works through the past in a way that is honest, open and constructive. We have already seen historic and courageous **steps** taken by Turkish and Armenian leaders.

5 t 4 p 4 p: We know that the road ahead will be difficult. Both Israelis and Palestinians must take the **steps** that are necessary to build confidence.

7 t 2 p 2 p: Since then, we have taken many **steps** to strengthen our defense. Some of the most visible address the attacks – or failed attacks – that have already taken place. So after 9/11, airline security tightened and plastic knives replaced metal ones..

7 t 2 p 3 p: Instead of taking aggressive **steps** to secure the world's most dangerous technology, we have spent almost a trillion dollars to occupy a country in the heart of the Middle East that no longer had any weapons of mass destruction.

8 t 3 p 5 p: Pakistan's government must be a stronger partner in destroying these safe havens, and we must isolate al Qaeda from the Pakistani people. And these **steps** in Pakistan are also indispensable to our efforts in Afghanistan, which will see no end to violence if insurgents move freely back and forth across the border.

8 t 5 p 8 p: None of the **steps** that I've outlined will be easy; none should be taken by America alone.

9 t 1 p 7 p: And the United Nations Security Council endorsed the use of all necessary **steps** to respond to the 9/11 attacks.

11 t 3 p 6 p: The **first step** must be getting off the wrong battlefield in Iraq, and taking the fight to the terrorists in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

11 t 5 p 1 p: So the second **step** in my strategy will be to build our capacity and our partnerships to track down, capture or kill terrorists around the world, and to deny them the world's most dangerous weapons.

11 t 6 p 6 p: That is why the third **step** in my strategy will be drying up the rising well of support for extremism.

11 t 8 p 2 p: This brings me to the fourth **step** in my strategy:

### **Movement forward (24)**

4 t 6 p 2 p: There will be many issues to discuss between our two countries, and we are willing to **move forward** without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect.

4 t 6 p 2 p: Rather than remain trapped in the past, I've made it clear to Iran's leaders and people that my country is prepared to **move forward**.

4 t 9 p 2 p: But if we choose to be bound by the past, we will never **move forward**.

5 t 3 p 6 p: And the best **way forward** for the Turkish and Armenian people is a process that works through the past in a way that is honest, open and constructive.

5 t 4 p 4 p: Both must overcome longstanding passions and the politics of the moment to make **progress toward** a secure and lasting peace.

3 t 7 p 2 p: As our efforts to close Guantanamo **move forward**, I know that the politics in Congress will be difficult.

4 t 1 p 6 p: But I am convinced that in order to **move forward**, we must say openly to each other the things we hold in our hearts and that too often are said only behind closed doors.

4 t 6 p 2 p: There will be many issues to discuss between our two countries, and we are willing to **move forward** without preconditions on the basis of mutual respect. But it is clear to all concerned that when it comes to nuclear weapons, we have reached a decisive point.

5 t 2 p 4 p: That will be the approach of the United States of America **going forward**.

5 t 2 p 6 p: **As we go forward**, the United States and Turkey can pursue many opportunities to serve prosperity for our people, particularly when it comes to energy.

5 t 3 p 1 p: Turkey has its own responsibilities. You have made important **progress toward** membership.

5 t 3 p 3 p: For democracies cannot be **static** – they must **move forward**.

5 t 3 p 5 p: Another issue that confronts all democracies as they **move** to the future is how we deal with the past.

8 t 2 p 7 p: Let me start by addressing the **way forward** in Pakistan.

8 t 4 p 5 p: We will accelerate our efforts to build an Afghan army of 134,000 and a police force of 82,000 so that we can meet these goals by 2011 -- and increases in Afghan forces may very well be needed as our plans to turn over security responsibility to the Afghans **go forward**.

8 t 5 p 6 p: We will measure the growth of Afghanistan's economy, and its illicit narcotics production. And we will review whether we are using the right tools and tactics to **make progress towards** accomplishing our goals.

9 t 2 p 2 p: But while we have achieved hard-earned **milestones** in Iraq, the situation in Afghanistan has deteriorated.

9 t 6 p 3 p: Second, there are those who acknowledge that we cannot leave Afghanistan in its current state, but suggest that we **go forward** with the troops that we have.

9 t 8 p 9 p: We will **go forward** with the confidence that right makes might, and with the commitment to forge an America that is safer, a world that is more secure, and a future that represents not the deepest of fears but the highest of hopes.

10 t 1 p 1 p: I've directed my counterterrorism and homeland security advisor at the White House, John Brennan, to lead these reviews **going forward** and to present the final results and recommendations to me in the days to come.

10 t 2 p 3 p: But **as we go forward**, let us remember this—our adversaries are those who would attack our country, not our fellow Americans, not each other. Let's never forget what has always carried us through times of trial, including those attacks eight Septembers ago.

12 t 1 p 3 p: At these moments, America has **carried on** not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because We the People have remained faithful to the ideals of our forbearers, and true to our founding documents.

12 t 3 p 9 p: Where the answer is yes, we intend to **move forward**.

12 t 5 p 1 p: To the Muslim world, we seek **a new way forward**, based on mutual interest and mutual respect.

### **Moving backwards (5)**

5 t 5 p 2 p: The world has come too far to let this region **backslide**;

9 t 2 p 7 p: Afghanistan is not lost, but for several years it has **moved backwards**.

9 t 3 p 8 p: This danger will only grow if the region **slides backwards**, and al Qaeda can operate with impunity.

12 t 6 p 10 p: (...); let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not **turn back** nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

12 t 6 p 10 p: America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words; with hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come; let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not **turn back** nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

### **Being one step ahead of the enemy (6)**

3 t 1 p 5 p: We are investing in the 21st century military and intelligence capabilities that will allow us to **stay one step ahead** of a nimble enemy.

7 t 2 p 3 p: The danger, though, is that we are constantly fighting the last war – responding to the threats that have come to fruition, instead of staying one **step ahead of** the threats of the 21st century.

7 t 2 p 4 p: It's time to update our national security strategy to **stay one step ahead** of the terrorists – to see clearly the emerging threats of our young century, and to take action to make the American people more safe and secure. It's time to look ahead — at the dangers of today and tomorrow rather than those of yesterday.

7 t 2 p 5 p: It's time to break out of Washington's conventional thinking that has failed to keep **pace** with unconventional threats.

7 t 3 p 5 p: As President, I will launch an effort across our government to **stay ahead of this threat**.

9 t 7 p 6 p: We have to improve and better coordinate our intelligence, so that we **stay one step ahead** of shadowy networks.

## Course (15)

3 t 3 p 1 p: In other words, we **went off course**.

3 t 3 p 2 p: For reasons that I will explain, the decisions that were made over the last eight years established an ad hoc legal approach for fighting terrorism that was neither effective nor sustainable - a framework that failed to rely on our legal traditions and time-tested institutions; that failed to use our values as a **compass**.

3 t 9 p 2 p: In all of the areas that I have discussed today, the policies that I have proposed represent a new **direction** from the last eight years.

3 t 10 p 3 p: But our Constitution has endured through secession and civil rights - through World War and Cold War - because it provides a foundation of principles that can be applied pragmatically; it provides a **compass** that can help us find our way.

3 t 10 p 3 p: And though we have made our share of mistakes and **course corrections**, we have held fast to the principles that have been the source of our strength, and a beacon to the world.

4 t 4 p 3 p: We are taking concrete actions to change **course**.

5 t 1 p 2 p: I was deeply impressed by this beautiful memorial to a man who did so much to shape the **course** of history.

5 t 6 p 2 p: And they wonder whether you will be **pulled in one direction or another**.

8 t 5 p 5 p: Afghans must have the option to **choose a different course**.

8 t 5 p 6 p: we will not blindly **stay the course**.

9 t 4 p 10 p: President Karzai's inauguration speech sent the right message about moving in a new **direction**.

9 t 6 p 5 p: I reject this **course** because it sets goals that are beyond what we can achieve at a reasonable cost, and what we need to achieve to secure our interests.

11 t 10 p 3 p: To make this story reality, it's going to take Americans coming together and changing the fundamental **direction** of this country.

12 t 4 p 7 p: We are the keepers of this legacy, **guided** by these principles once more, we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations.

10 t 2 p 5 p: As we begin this New Year, I cannot imagine a more fitting resolution to **guide** us-as a people and as a nation.

## Impediments to journey (7)

4 t 6 p 2 p: Rather than remain **trapped** in the past, I've made it clear to Iran's leaders and people that my country is prepared to move forward.

4 t 9 p 2 p: Some are eager to stoke the flames of division, and to **stand in the way of progress**.

4 t 9 p 2 p: But if we choose to be **bound** by the past, we will never move forward.

11 t 2 p 4 p: The political winds were blowing in a different direction. The President was determined to go to war. There was just one **obstacle**: the U.S. Congress. Nine days after I spoke, that **obstacle** was removed

11 t 9 p 3 p: We also have **to get past** a top-down approach.

11 t 9 p 8 p: We can't **get past** the America of Red and Blue, the politics of who's up and who's down.

### **Different types of roads and paths (9)**

4 t 6 p 2 p: It's about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could lead this region and the world down a hugely **dangerous path**.

4 t 6 p 3 p: Now, there is no **straight line** to realize this promise.

4 t 9 p 4 p: But we should choose the **right path**, not **just the easy path**.

11 t 8 p 4 p: But because the Administration decided to take the **low road**, our troops have more enemies. (Behavior or practice that is deceitful or immoral: took the low road to victory on election night.)

11 t 8 p 8 p: There are **no short-cuts** to protecting America, and that is why the fifth part of my strategy is doing the hard and patient work to secure a more resilient homeland.

12 t 2 p 6 p: Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things -- some celebrated, but more often men and women obscure in their labor -- who have **carried us up the long, rugged path** towards prosperity and freedom.

12 t 2 p 4 p: Our journey has never been one of **shortcuts** or settling for less.

12 t 2 p 5 p: It has not been the **path** for the faint-hearted, for those who prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame.

### **Journey companions (3)**

2 t 2 p 4 p: We're going to have to **keep our eye fixed on the world we seek to build** -- one that not just -- not only defeats our adversaries, but that also promotes dignity and opportunity and justice for all who **stand with us**.

2 t 2 p 6 p: I just want to let you know that we appreciate it, we acknowledge it, we thank you for it, and I am going to continue to be **standing behind you each and every step of the way**.

5 t 6 p 4 p: I am honored to **stand here with you** -- to **look forward** to the future that we must reach for together -- and to reaffirm America's commitment to our strong and enduring friendship.

### **America as a leader in a journey (6)**

3 t 1 p 5 p: And we have renewed American diplomacy so that we once again have the strength and standing to truly **lead** the world.

7 t 3 p 1 p: And I'll **lead** a global effort to secure all loose nuclear materials around the world during my first term as President.

11 t 6 p 4 p: And that is why, as President, I will **lead** a global effort to secure all nuclear weapons and material at vulnerable sites within four years.

11 t 7 p 7 p: And as we **lead** we will ask for more from our friends in Europe and Asia as well -- more support for our diplomacy, more support for multilateral peacekeeping, and more support to rebuild societies ravaged by conflict.

11 t 7 p 9 p: As President, I will **lead** this effort.

12 t 4 p 4 p: And so, to all other peoples and governments who are watching today, from the grandest capitals to the small village where my father was born: know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman and child who seeks a future of peace and dignity, and we are ready to **lead** once more.

### **Looking towards the journey's destination (11)**

2 t 2 p 4 p: We're going to have to keep our eye fixed on the world we seek to build -- one that not just -- not only defeats our adversaries, but that also promotes dignity and opportunity and justice for all who **stand with us**.

5 t 4 p 2 p: And when we consider the challenges **before** us, on issue after issue, we share common goals.

5 t 4 p 4 p: We know that the **road ahead** will be difficult.

5 t 6 p 4 p: I am honored to **stand here with you** – to **look forward** to the future that we must reach for together – and to reaffirm America's commitment to our strong and enduring friendship.

7 t 2 p 4 p: It's time to update our national security strategy to **stay one step ahead** of the terrorists – to see clearly the emerging threats of our young century, and to take action to make the American people more safe and secure. It's time to **look ahead** — at the dangers of today and tomorrow rather than those of yesterday.

8 t 6 p 4 p: So understand, the **road ahead** will be long and there will be difficult days **ahead**.

12 t 5 p 6 p: As we consider the **road that unfolds** before us, we remember with humble gratitude those brave Americans who, at this very hour, patrol far-off deserts and distant mountains.

12 t 6 p 10 p: America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words; with hope and virtue, let us brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come; let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; **and with eyes fixed on the horizon** and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

### **Ship (9)**

9 t 8 p 7 p: But I also know that we, as a country, cannot sustain our leadership nor **navigate** the momentous challenges of our time if we allow ourselves to be split asunder by the same rancor and cynicism and partisanship that has in recent times poisoned our national discourse.

9 t 8 p 9 p: For our values are not simply words written into parchment – they are a creed that calls us together, and that has **carried us through the darkest of storms** as one nation, one people.

9 t 8 p 9 p: America – we are **passing through** a time of great trial. And the message that we send in the midst of these **storms** must be clear: that our cause is just, our resolve unwavering.

11 t 2 p 4 p: The political **winds were blowing** in a different direction. The President was determined to go to war. There was just one obstacle: the U.S. Congress. Nine days after I spoke, that obstacle was removed

12 t 1 p 3 p: The words have been spoken during **rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace.**

12 t 6 p 10 p: America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words; with hope and virtue, let us **brave once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come**; let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.

### **Carrying items during a journey (6)**

4 t 1 p 1 p: And I'm also proud to **carry** with me the goodwill of the American people, and a greeting of peace from Muslim communities in my country: Assalaamu alaykum. (Applause.)

4 t 2 p 1 p: It was Islam -- at places like Al-Azhar -- that **carried the light** of learning through so many centuries, paving the way for Europe's Renaissance and Enlightenment.

5 t 2 p 4 p: That is the message that I have **carried** with me throughout this trip to Europe.

12 t 2 p 3 p: The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to **carry forward that precious gift**, that noble idea, passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.

12 t 6 p 10 p: (...); let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we **carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.**

12 t 6 p 10 p: America, in the face of our common dangers, in this winter of our hardship, let us remember these timeless words; with hope and virtue, let us once more the icy currents, and endure what storms may come; let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this journey end, that we did not turn back nor did we falter; and with eyes fixed on the horizon and God's grace upon us, we **carried forth that great gift of freedom and delivered it safely to future generations.**

### **Miscellaneous (25)**

3 t 2 p 9 p: After 9/11, we knew that we had **entered** a new era - that enemies who did not abide by any law of war would present new challenges to our application of the law; that our government would need new tools to protect the American people, and that these tools would have to allow us to prevent attacks instead of simply prosecuting those who try to carry them out.

4 t 1 p 6 p: I know there's been a lot of publicity about this speech, but no single speech can eradicate years of mistrust, nor can I answer in the time that I have this afternoon all the complex questions that brought us to this **point**.

4 t 2 p 1 p: It was Islam -- at places like Al-Azhar -- that carried the light of learning through so many centuries, **paving the way** for Europe's Renaissance and Enlightenment.

4 t 2 p 3 p: That experience **guides** my conviction that partnership between America and Islam must be based on what Islam is, not what it isn't.

4 t 3 p 1 p: These needs will be met only if we act boldly in the years **ahead**; and if we understand that the challenges we face are shared, and our failure to meet them will hurt us all.

4 t 5 p 1 p: The obligations -- the obligations that the parties have agreed to under the **road map** are clear.

4 t 6 p 2 p: It's about preventing a nuclear arms race in the Middle East that could **lead** this region and the world down a hugely dangerous path.

4 t 6 p 3 p: Suppressing ideas never succeeds in making them **go away**.

5 t 2 p 6 p: As we go forward, the United States and Turkey can **pursue** many opportunities to serve prosperity for our people, particularly when it comes to energy.

5 t 5 p 6 p: In the months **ahead**, I will present specific programs to advance these goals.

7 t 2 p 4 p: It's time to look **ahead** — at the dangers of today and tomorrow rather than those of yesterday.

7 t 4 p 1 p: And yet while countries like China have been quick to recognize this change, for the last eight years we have been **dragging our feet**.

8 t 1 p 6 p: And if the Afghan government falls to the Taliban -- or allows al Qaeda to **go unchallenged** -- that country will again be a base for terrorists who want to kill as many of our people as they possibly can.

8 t 3 p 1 p: They've blown up buildings, **derailed** foreign investment, and threatened the stability of the state.

9 t 4 p 5 p: The 30,000 additional troops that I am announcing tonight will deploy in the first part of 2010 – the fastest **pace** possible – so that they can target the insurgency and secure key population centers.

9 t 4 p 6 p: Some have already provided additional troops, and we are confident that there will be further contributions in the days and weeks **ahead**.

9 t 4 p 8 p: We will continue to advise and assist Afghanistan's Security Forces to ensure that they can succeed over the long **haul**.

9 t 7 p 5 p: Where al Qaeda and its allies attempt to establish a **foothold** – whether in Somalia or Yemen or elsewhere – they must be confronted by growing pressure and strong partnerships.

10 t 2 p 3 p: Let's never forget what has always **carried us through** times of trial, including those attacks eight Septembers ago.

11 t 3 p 6 p: The first step must be **getting off** the wrong battlefield in Iraq, and taking the fight to the terrorists in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

11 t 8 p 8 p: This Administration acts like violating civil liberties is the **way** to enhance our security. It is not.

11 t 9 p 1 p: My Administration will take an approach to homeland security **guided** by risk.

12 t 2 p 3 p: The time has come to reaffirm our enduring spirit; to choose our better history; to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea, passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to **pursue** their full measure of happiness.

12 t 3 p 4 p: We will **harness** the sun and the winds and the soil to fuel our cars and run our factories.

12 t 4 p 13 p: And because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation and **emerged** from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace.

### **Conversation markers (7)**

3 t 5 p 3 p: **Going forward**, these cases will fall into five distinct categories.

3 t 7 p 1 p: And so **going forward**, my Administration will work with Congress to develop an appropriate legal regime so that our efforts are consistent with our values and our Constitution.

8 t 5 p 6 p: **Going forward**, we will not blindly stay the course.

9 t 4 p 10 p: And **going forward**, we will be clear about what we expect from those who receive our assistance.

9 t 5 p 6 p: **Moving forward**, we are committed to a partnership with Pakistan that is built on a foundation of mutual interests, mutual respect, and mutual trust.

9 t 5 p 7 p: And **going forward**, the Pakistani people must know: America will remain a strong supporter of Pakistan's security and prosperity long after the guns have fallen silent, so that the great potential of its people can be unleashed.

9 t 7 p 2 p: **Going forward**, I am committed to addressing these costs openly and honestly.

## **III Construction and creation; destruction metaphors (125)**

### **(1) Construction metaphors (92)**

#### **Build: (36)**

1 t 1 p 1 p: On this National Day of Service and Remembrance for Victims and Survivors of Terrorism, we pause to remember victims of terrorism at home and abroad, we honor the heroes who have supported them, and we redouble our efforts to **build** the kind of world that is worthy of their legacy.

2 t 2 p 2 p: We're going to have to keep our eye fixed on the **world we seek to build**-- one that not just -- not only defeats our adversaries, but that also promotes dignity and opportunity and justice for all who stand with us.

3 t 1 p 5 p: We are **building** new partnerships around the world to disrupt, dismantle, and Defeat al Qaeda and its affiliates.

3 t 3 p 8 p: Instead of **building** a durable framework for the struggle against al Qaeda that drew upon our deeply held values and traditions, our government was defending positions that undermined the rule of law.

3 t 4 p 8 p: I will explain how each action that we are taking will help **build** a framework that protects both the American people and the values that we hold dear.

4 t 4 p 1 p: That's why we plan to invest \$1.5 billion each year over the next five years to partner with Pakistanis to **build** schools and hospitals, roads and *businesses*, and hundreds of millions to help those who've been displaced.

4 t 4 p 2 p: Although I believe that the Iraqi people are ultimately better off without the tyranny of Saddam Hussein, I also believe that events in Iraq have reminded America of the need to use diplomacy and **build** international consensus to resolve our problems whenever possible.

4 t 5 p 2 p: Now is the time for Palestinians to focus on what they can **build**. The Palestinian Authority must develop its capacity to govern, with institutions that serve the needs of its people.

4 t 6 p 2 p: The question now is not what Iran is against, but rather what future it wants to **build**.

5 t 2 p 4 p: That is why we must **build** on our mutual interests, and rise above our differences.

5 t 2 p 6 p: To expand markets and create jobs, we can increase trade and investment between our countries. To develop new sources of energy and combat climate change, we should **build** on our Clean Technology Fund to leverage efficiency and renewable energy investments in Turkey.

5 t 4 p 4 p: Both Israelis and Palestinians must take the steps that are necessary to **build** confidence.

5 t 4 p 7 p: Now, Iran's leaders must choose whether they will try to build a weapon or **build** a better future for their people.

5 t 5 p 1 p: These efforts will be strengthened by the continued work to **build** ties of cooperation between Turkey, the Iraqi government, and Iraq's Kurdish leaders, and by your continued efforts to promote education and opportunity for Turkey's Kurds.

6 t 2 p 5 p: In doing so, we'll better ensure the safety of the American people, while building our capacity to deal with other challenges – from public health to privacy.

6 t 4 p 5 p: We will accelerate our efforts to **build** an Afghan army of 134,000 and a police force of 82,000 so that we can meet these goals by 2011 -- and increases in Afghan forces may very well be needed as our plans to turn over security responsibility to the Afghans go forward.

7 t 4 p 3 p: We need to **build** the capacity to identify, isolate, and respond to any cyber-attack.

9 t 3 p 2 p: These are the resources that we need to seize the initiative, while **building** the Afghan capacity that can allow for a responsible transition of our forces out of Afghanistan.

9 t 5 p 2 p: And we will seek a partnership with Afghanistan grounded in mutual respect – to isolate those who destroy; to strengthen those who **build**; to hasten the day when our troops will leave; and to forge a lasting friendship in which America is your partner, and never your patron.

9 t 5 p 6 p: Moving forward, we are committed to a partnership with Pakistan that is **built** on a foundation of mutual interests, mutual respect, and mutual trust.

9 t 6 p 4 p: Indeed, some call for a more dramatic and open-ended escalation of our war effort – one that would commit us to a nation **building** project of up to a decade.

9 t 7 p 3 p: That is why our troop commitment in Afghanistan cannot be open-ended – because the nation that I am most interested in **building** is our own.

9 t 7 p 3 p: That is why our troop commitment in Afghanistan cannot be open-ended – because the nation that I am most interested in **building** is our own.

11 t 1 p 10 p: To devise new strategies and **build** new alliances, to secure our homeland and safeguard our values, and to serve a just cause abroad.

11 t 5 p 1 p: So the second step in my strategy will be to **build** our capacity and our partnerships to track down, capture or kill terrorists around the world, and to deny them the world's most dangerous weapons.

11 t 5 p 5 p: But we must also **build** our capacity to better collect and analyze information, and to carry out operations to disrupt terrorist plots and break up terrorist networks.

11 t 6 p 3 p: We haven't talked to Iran, and they continue to **build** their nuclear program.(negative use).

11 t 7 p 6 p: I will focus our support on helping nations **build** independent judicial systems, honest police forces, and financial systems that are transparent and accountable.

11 t 7 p 7 p: We must work for a world where every child, everywhere, is taught to **build** and not to destroy.

12 t 5 p 2 p: To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can **build**, not what you destroy.

9 t 3 p 4 p: And having just experienced the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression, the American people are understandably focused on **rebuilding** our economy and putting people to work here at home.

9 t 7 p 3 p: But as we end the war in Iraq and transition to Afghan responsibility, we must **rebuild** our strength here at home.

9 t 8 p 2 p: We have spent our revenue to help others **rebuild** from rubble and develop their own economies.

9 t 8 p 6 p: It derives from our people – from the workers and businesses who will **rebuild** our economy; from the entrepreneurs and researchers who will pioneer new industries; from the teachers that will educate our children, and the service of those who work in our communities at home; from the diplomats and Peace Corps volunteers who spread hope abroad; and from the men and women in uniform who are part of an unbroken line of sacrifice that has made government of the people, by the people, and for the people a reality on this Earth.

11 t 7 p 7 p: And as we lead we will ask for more from our friends in Europe and Asia as well -- more support for our diplomacy, more support for multilateral peacekeeping, and more support to **rebuild** societies ravaged by conflict.

11 t 9 p 8 p: It's the country that put a man on the moon; that defeated fascism and helped **rebuild** Europe.

### **Create (19)**

3 t 4 p 3 p: Indeed, the existence of Guantanamo likely **created** more terrorists around the world than it ever detained.

4 t 2 p 4 p: We were founded upon the ideal that all are created equal, and we have shed blood and struggled for centuries to give meaning to those words -- within our borders, and around the world.

4 t 8 p 4 p: And we will match promising Muslim students with internships in America; invest in online learning for teachers and children around the world; and **create** a new online network, so a young person in Kansas can communicate instantly with a young person in Cairo.

4 t 8 p 5 p: On economic development, we will create a new corps of business volunteers to partner with counterparts in Muslim-majority countries.

4 t 8 p 5 p: On science and technology, we will launch a new fund to support technological development in Muslim-majority countries, and to help transfer ideas to the marketplace so they can create more jobs.

4 t 8 p 5 p: We'll open centers of scientific excellence in Africa, the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and appoint new science envoys to collaborate on programs that develop new sources of energy, create green jobs, digitize records, clean water, grow new crops.

4 t 9 p 5 p: The Holy Koran tells us: "O mankind! We have created you male and a female; and we have made you into nations and tribes so that you may know one another."

5 t 2 p 6 p: To expand markets and **create** jobs, we can increase trade and investment between our countries.

5 t 3 p 3 p: These achievements have **created** new laws that must be implemented, and a momentum that should be sustained.

5 t 6 p 1 p: The future must belong to those who **create**, not those who destroy.

7 t 3 p 7 p: Making these changes will do more than help us tackle bioterror – it will **create** new jobs, support a healthier population, and improve America’s capability to respond to any major disaster.

8 t 3 p 4 p: I’m also calling on Congress to pass a bipartisan bill co-sponsored by Maria Cantwell, Chris Van Hollen and Peter Hoekstra that creates opportunity zones in the border regions to develop the economy and bring hope to places plagued with violence.

9 t 3 p 4 p: Years of debate over Iraq and terrorism have left our unity on national security issues in tatters, and created a highly polarized and partisan backdrop for this effort.

9 t 4 p 5 p: And they will help create the conditions for the United States to transfer responsibility to the Afghans.

9 t 5 p 8 p: These are the three core elements of our strategy: a military effort to **create** the conditions for a transition; a civilian surge that reinforces positive action; and an effective partnership with Pakistan.

11 t 2 p 4 p: And we went off to fight on the wrong battlefield, with no appreciation of how many enemies we would create, and no plan for how to get out.

11 t 3 p 1 p: They seek to **create** a repressive caliphate.

11 t 5 p 7 p: As President, I will **create** a Shared Security Partnership Program to forge an international intelligence and law enforcement infrastructure to take down terrorist networks from the remote islands of Indonesia, to the sprawling cities of Africa.

12 t 3 p 1 p: The state of our economy calls for action: bold and swift. And we will act not only to create new jobs but to lay a new foundation for growth.

### **Forge (14)**

3 t 10 p 4 p: Because the terrorists can only succeed if they swell their ranks and alienate America from our allies, and they will never be able to do that if we stay true to who we are; if we forge tough and durable approaches to fighting terrorism that are anchored in our timeless ideals.

4 t 4 p 3 p: Today, America has a dual responsibility: to help Iraq **forge** a better future

4 t 4 p 3 p: And finally, just as America can never tolerate violence by extremists, we must never alter or forget our principles.

4 t 5 p 1 p: And we will work with Iraq, Turkey, and all of Iraq’s neighbors, to forge a new dialogue that reconciles differences and advances our common security.

4 t 9 p 2 p: I know there are many -- Muslim and non-Muslim -- who question whether we can **forge** this new beginning.

7 t 3 p 5 p: To strengthen our efforts with friends and partners, I’ve proposed a Shared Security Partnership that invests \$5 billion over 3 years to **forge** an international intelligence and law enforcement infrastructure to take down terrorist networks.

8 t 6 p 1 p: And finally, together with the United Nations, we will **forge** a new Contact Group for Afghanistan and Pakistan that brings together all who should have a stake in the security of the region.

9 t 5 p 2 p: And we will seek a partnership with Afghanistan grounded in mutual respect – to isolate those who destroy; to strengthen those who build; to hasten the day when our troops will leave; and to **forge** a lasting friendship in which America is your partner, and never your patron.

9 t 7 p 8 p: And we have **forged** a new beginning between America and the Muslim World – one that recognizes our mutual interest in breaking a cycle of conflict, and that promises a future in which those who kill innocents are isolated by those who stand up for peace and prosperity and human dignity.

9 t 9 p 1 p: We will go forward with the confidence that right makes might, and with the commitment to **forge** an America that is safer, a world that is more secure, and a future that represents not the deepest of fears but the highest of hopes.

10 t 2 p 1 p: And it's why we've **forged** new partnerships, as in Yemen, and put unrelenting pressure on these extremists wherever they plot and train—from East Africa to Southeast Asia, from Europe to the Persian Gulf.

11 t 5 p 7 p: As President, I will create a Shared Security Partnership Program to **forge** an international intelligence and law enforcement infrastructure to take down terrorist networks from the remote islands of Indonesia, to the sprawling cities of Africa.

11 t 10 p 1 p: It's a country whose strength abroad is measured not just by armies, but rather by the power of our ideals, and by our purpose to **forge** an ever more perfect union at home.

12 t 4 p 7 p: We'll begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people and **forge** a hard-earned peace in Afghanistan.

### **Make (3)**

4 t 9 p 2 p: And I want to particularly say this to young people of every faith, in every country -- you, more than anyone, have the ability to reimagine the world, to **remake** this world.

4 t 9 p 5 p: We have the power to **make** the world we seek, but only if we have the courage to **make** a new beginning, keeping in mind what has been written.

12 t 2 p 11 p: Starting today, we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off, and begin again the work of **remaking** America.

### **Shape (8)**

3 t 6 p 6 p: That is why my Administration has begun to reshape these standards to ensure they are in line with the rule of law.

4 t 2 p 4 p: We are shaped by every culture, drawn from every end of the Earth, and dedicated to a simple concept: E pluribus unum -- "Out of many, one."

5 t 1 p 2 p: I was deeply impressed by this beautiful memorial to a man who did so much to **shape** the course of history.

5 t 2 p 3 p: And the choices that we make in the coming years will determine whether the future will be shaped by fear or by freedom; by poverty or by prosperity; by strife or by a just, secure and lasting peace.

5 t 5 p 5 p: And we will convey our deep appreciation for the Islamic faith, which has done so much over so many centuries to **shape** the world for the better – including my own country.

9 t 2 p 1 p: Thanks to their courage, grit and perseverance , we have given Iraqis a chance to **shape** their future, and we are successfully leaving Iraq to its people.

12 t 6 p 3 p: This is the source of our confidence: the knowledge that God calls on us to **shape** an uncertain destiny.

12 t 4 p 12 p: We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus, and nonbelievers. We are **shaped** by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth.

### **Foundation (9)**

3 t 1 p 6 p: The documents that we hold in this very hall - the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights -are not simply words written into aging parchment. They are the foundation of liberty and justice in this country, and a light that shines for all who seek freedom, fairness, equality and dignity in the world.

3 t 10 p 3 p: But our Constitution has endured through secession and civil rights - through World War and Cold War - because it provides a foundation of principles that can be applied pragmatically; it provides a compass that can help us find our way.

5 t 2 p 8 p: And Turkish membership would broaden and strengthen Europe's foundation once more.

5 t 3 p 4 p: And Turkish membership would broaden and strengthen Europe's foundation once more.

9 t 5 p 6 p: Moving forward, we are committed to a partnership with Pakistan that is built on a foundation of mutual interests, mutual respect, and mutual trust.

9 t 7 p 3 p: Our prosperity provides a foundation for our power.

9 t 7 p 3 p: prosperity provides a **foundation** for our power.

12 t 3 p1 p: The state of our economy calls for action: bold and swift. And we will act not only to create new jobs but to lay a new foundation for growth.

12 t 3 p 1 p: And we will act not only to create new jobs but to **lay a new foundation** (building foundation) for growth.

### **Miscellaneous (3)**

3 t 2 p 2 p: I took an oath to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution as Commander-in-Chief, and as a citizen, I know that we must never - ever - turn our back on its enduring principles for expedience sake.

3 t 7 p 1 p: But I want to be very clear that our goal is to construct a legitimate legal framework for Guantanamo detainees - not to avoid one.

9 t 7 p 7 p: That is why I have made it a central **pillar** of my foreign policy to secure loose nuclear materials from terrorists; to stop the spread of nuclear weapons; and to pursue the goal of a world without them.

9 t 8 p 2 p: We have joined with others to develop an **architecture** of institutions – from the United Nations to NATO to the World Bank – that provide for the common security and prosperity of human beings.

11 t 5 p 3 p: But it cannot counter insurgent and terrorist threats without civilian counterparts who can carry out economic and political **reconstruction** missions -- sometimes in dangerous places.

### **Obelisk (allegory)**

5 t 1 p 2 p: Greatest monument to Ataturk's life is not something that we can be cast in stone and marble. (democracy as monument, one of few examples where creation metaphor is a noun)

5 t 1 p 5,6 p: My country's democracy has its own story. The general who led America in revolution and governed as our first President was George Washington. Like you, we built a grand monument to honor our founding father – a towering obelisk that stands in the heart of the capital city that bears Washington's name.

It took decades to build. There were frequent delays. Over time, more and more people contributed to help make this monument the inspiring structure that still stands tall today. Among those who came to our aid were friends from all across the world, who offered their own tributes to Washington and the country he helped to found.

9 t 1 p 3 p: Were it not for the heroic actions of the passengers on board one of those flights, they could have also struck at one of the great symbols of our democracy in Washington, and killed many more.(Pentagon-building=democracy).

## **(2) Destruction metaphor (33)**

### **Destroy (10)**

1 t 1 p 3 p: Wherever they kidnap or kill, they reveal only their own bankrupt vision, and disrupt or **destroy** lives.

5 t 5 p 1 p: That includes the al Qaeda terrorists who have sought to drive Iraqis apart and to destroy their country.

5 t 6 p 1 p: The future must belong to those who create, not those who destroy.

7 t 2 p 1 p: . In a globalized world, the power to destroy can lie with individuals – not just states. The terrorists use a world of globalization to travel freely, to transfer money, to use telecommunications to carry out their plots.

8 t 3 p 3 p: The government's ability to destroy these safe havens is tied to its own strength and security.

8 t 3 p 6 p: Pakistan's government must be a stronger partner in destroying these safe havens, and we must isolate al Qaeda from the Pakistani people.

9 t 1 p 6 p: America, our allies and the world were acting as one to destroy al Qaeda's terrorist network, and to protect our common security.

9 t 5 p 2 p: And we will seek a partnership with Afghanistan grounded in mutual respect – to isolate those who **destroy**; to strengthen those who build; to hasten the day when our troops will leave; and to forge a lasting friendship in which America is your partner, and never your patron.

11 t 7 p 7 p: We must work for a world where every child, everywhere, is taught to build and not to **destroy**.

12 t 5 p 2 p: To those leaders around the globe who seek to sow conflict or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you **destroy**.

#### **Destruction (7)**

1 t 1 p 3 p: Terrorists prey on the innocent and vulnerable, and have nothing to offer except hatred and destruction.

2 t 1 p 5 p: And on that terrible day, when terrorists brought so much **death and destruction** on our shores and so many lives were lost, many of you were the first on the scenes -- saving lives, working tirelessly to bring those responsible to justice, and guarding against future attacks in subsequent weeks and months and years.

3 t 2 p 8 p: That is who we are. And where terrorists offer only the injustice of disorder and destruction, America must demonstrate that our values and institutions are more resilient than a hateful ideology.

4 t 4 p 7 p: Denying that fact is baseless, it is ignorant, and it is hateful. Threatening Israel with destruction -- or repeating vile stereotypes about Jews -- is deeply wrong, and only serves to evoke in the minds of Israelis this most painful of memories while preventing the peace that the people of this region deserve.

5 t 4 p 6 p: It has known enough hatred. It does not need a race for ever-more powerful tools of destruction.

8 t 3 p 4 p: Al Qaeda's offers the people of Pakistan nothing but destruction.

11 t 2 p 6 p: Al Qaeda has a sanctuary in Pakistan. Israel is besieged by emboldened enemies, talking openly of its destruction.

#### **Undermine (5)**

3 t 3 p 4 p: What's more, they **undermine** the rule of law.

3 t 3 p 4 p: In short, they did not advance our war and counter-terrorism efforts - they **undermined** them, and that is why I ended them once and for all.

3 t 3 p 4 p: Instead of building a durable framework for the struggle against al Qaeda that drew upon our deeply held values and traditions, our government was defending positions that **undermined** the rule of law.

4 t 5 p 3 p: This construction violates previous agreements and **undermines** efforts to achieve peace.

8 t 4 p 6 p: Afghanistan has an elected government, but it is **undermined** by corruption and has difficulty delivering basic services to its people.

### **Dismantle (5)**

3 t 1 p 5 p: We are building new partnerships around the world to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda and its affiliates.

5 t 5 p 2 p: That is why we are committed to a more focused effort to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda.

8 t 2 p 5 p: So I want the American people to understand that we have a clear and focused goal: to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future.

9 t 4 p 2 p: Our overarching goal remains the same: to disrupt, dismantle, and defeat al Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and to prevent its capacity to threaten America and our allies in the future.

10 t 1 p 8 p: It's why I've set a clear and achievable mission-to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda and its extremist allies and prevent their return to either country.

### **Miscellaneous (6)**

9 t 1 p 7 p: And an International Security Assistance Force was established to help bring a lasting peace to a war-**torn** country.

9 t 3 p 4 p: Years of debate over Iraq and terrorism have left our unity on national security issues in **tatters**, and created a highly polarized and partisan backdrop for this effort.

9 t 8 p 3 p: But more than any other nation, the United States of America has underwritten global security for over six decades – a time that, for all its problems, has seen **walls come down**, markets open, billions lifted from poverty, unparalleled scientific progress, and advancing frontiers of human liberty.

11 t 2 p 6 p: Iraq is a training ground for terror, **torn** apart by civil war.

11 t 5 p 5 p: But we must also build our capacity to better collect and analyze information, and to carry out operations to disrupt terrorist plots and **break up** terrorist networks.

12 t 1 p 5 p: Homes have been lost, jobs shed, businesses **shuttered**.

