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Figures of Speech and Their Application in Political Speeches

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Řečové figury a jejich použití v politických proslovech

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Rád bych poděkoval všem, kteří se podíleli na vzniku této práce. Děkuji především vedoucí mé diplomové práce PhDr. Petře Huschové, Ph.D. za cenné rady, ochotu a vstřícnost, s jakou mi poskytovala konzultace a komentář k této práci. Děkuji také PhDr. Šárce Ježkové, Ph.D., která vedla můj diplomový seminář a s prací mi taktéž pomáhala.

Annotation

This diploma paper deals with figurative language in public speeches, namely metaphors. The theoretical part defines figurative language and both historical overview and categorization of metaphors. It also sums up what role metaphors play in our lives. The focus of this part are conceptual metaphors. In the practical part, the theory is applied to recent inauguration addresses of US presidents. Metaphors are located and then their meaning, motivation and other aspect which are mentioned in the theoretical part are analyzed. Moreover, the analysis deals with the occurrence of metaphors to find out frequency and also what are the prevailing types of metaphors.

Keywords

figurative language; figures of speech; political discourse; public speeches; metaphor; conceptual metaphor; rhetoric

Abstrakt

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá řečovými figurami v mluvených projevech, konkrétně metaforami. V teoretické části práce jsou definovány řečové figury a důraz je kladen na metafory, historické interpretace tohoto pojmu a rozdělení do kategorií. V první části je také krátce zmíněno, jakou roli hrají metafory v našem životě. Největší prostor je vymezen pojmu konceptuální metafora. V praktické části je teorie aplikována na inaugurační proslovy amerických prezidentů za poslední období. Metafory jsou lokalizovány a poté je zkoumán jejich význam, motivace a další aspekty, zmíněné v teoretické části. Předmětem analýzy je také četnost metafor a určení nejčastějších druhů v korpusu.

Klíčová slova

stylistické prostředky; řečové figury; politický diskurz; politické proslovy; metafora; konceptuální metafora; rétorika

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Z á s a d y p r o v y p r a c o v á n í :

Student se ve své diplomové práci zaměří na charakteristiku řečnických figur vyskytujících se v anglických politických projevech a jejich užití v závislosti na komunikačním záměru mluvčího. Nejprve na základě studia relevantní odborné literatury z oblasti lingvistiky definuje a vymezení pojem řečnická figura a bude se zabývat přístupy zkoumání těchto jazykových prostředků z pohledu jednotlivých lingvistických disciplín. Dále bude nejčastější řečnické figury klasifikovat a charakterizovat se zaměřením na jejich formu a význam. Následně bude provedena analýza vybraných proslovů amerických prezidentů. Cílem analýzy bude zmapovat výskyt a objasnit užití popsaných jazykových prostředků s ohledem na komunikační záměr mluvčího, jejich vliv na posluchače a efektivitu s ohledem na sdělnou funkci jazyka. Dílčím cílem bude též popsat posuny v užití a významu analyzovaných řečnických figur spojené s vývojem anglického jazyka.

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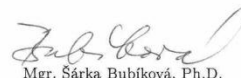
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1. Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine the structure and functions of metaphors in politics. For this purpose, latest 18 inaugural speeches of selected presidents of the United States have been selected, and they are further analyzed for various types of metaphors.

Metaphors have been subjects of research since the ancient times and the views on them have significantly changed. A historical overview of figurative language (especially metaphors) is hence dealt with. The first chapters encompass various definitions and approaches. Conceptual metaphors as presented in the book *Metaphors We Live By* by Lakoff and Johnson will play a great part, since it very much inspired the author of this paper.

For the sake of clarity, the theoretical part of this paper will be divided into sections dealing with figurative language from different approaches and historical points of view, then with metaphors in particular as well as their roles in our lives. Since the analysis is concerned with functions of metaphors, they will be also discussed along with other terminology dealing with meaning. Last but not least, it will be desirable to look at significant works of rhetoric, linguistics, and psychology, specifically the ones dealing with figurative language, metaphors, and their function in political speeches.

In the analytical part, I will examine the meaning behind selected metaphors and categorize them according to source domains or concepts they create. My idea of categorization is strongly influenced by Lakoff and Johnson's system used in the book *Metaphors We Live By*. This system will be further explained in the chapter on approaches to metaphor and in the analytical part, but for now it should be enough to say that in their book, the authors point to the fact that there are concepts through which people perceive the world around them. These concepts are metaphorical in nature. I will look for metaphors and categorize them according to these concepts. Eventually I will be able to say which of these concepts are used most frequently and also describe what motives them to create concepts. More aspects will also be subjects to a minor analysis, especially level of comprehension from the side of the hearer and possible reasons for using metaphors from the perspective of the speaker. These will be further

studied and eventually, the role of the cultural and historical context will be taken into account as well as the expected effect of metaphors and metonyms on the audience.

At this point, it is imperative to say that this thesis is interested only in written form of the English language. That does not mean that phonic and suprasegmental features do not play an important part of political speeches, on the contrary. Most of the text is spoken and of course the text of public speeches will be spoken. They are simply not the aim of this paper, as written and spoken forms are two completely different things.

2. Figures of speech

Figures of speech are very often described as words or phrases with non-literal meaning. Encyclopedia of rhetoric defines them as “the smallest structural units of rhetorical stylistics” (Sloane 2001, 324). Probably the best definition of a figure of speech for the purpose of this paper is “an intended deviation of ordinary language” (Quinn 1982, 6). The word ‘intended’ is crucial in this interpretation; when identifying a figure of speech, one must ask themselves questions like ‘Did the speaker or writer intended this?’, ‘Why is this irregularity here?’, and ‘What does the author mean by this expression?’ All these questions are natural and important when encountering a figure of speech. The danger of implementing figures of speech is therefore obvious: the recipient has to be taken into account, for it is them who will read or listen to the utterance, so it is the author’s responsibility to use figures of speech in such a way that the speaker or hearer will understand.

The term ‘deviation’ may also cause ambiguity, hence let us say that it may refer to diversions of the original norm in all the linguistic levels there are (for the list see Table 1 on page 7 of this paper). This produces a vast number of examples. At this point, as a consolation, it is important to say that the elements of figures of speech are frequently “related spatially and temporally” (Quinn 1982, 12).

The list of figures of speech is never complete, as there is not a finite number of ways of deviating a word, phrase, clause, sentence or text. Not only is a language an open system, but it also reflects our mind. For this reason, figures of speech possess all the power man can imagine. Let us name some of the functions Quinn mentions throughout his book *Figures of Speech: 60 Ways to Turn a Phrase* are: [figures of speech can] hurry us along, slow us down, give a sentence the rhythm it needs, economise (e.g. emphasise what is important or omit what is not), refer, make ourselves clearer, express emotions or convey feelings. To list all the functions is even more challenging than naming all the figures of speech. It is more important to distinguish the meaning of a specific figure of speech than to produce an exhaustive table of all of them.

2.1 Approaches to figures of speech

Figurative language has been present in all kinds of texts since the birth of literature itself – from Homeric epics and the Bible until now. This chapter deals with the most important approaches to figures of speech and their representatives.

2.2 The classical system

In the very beginnings, figures of speech were used unknowingly. According to Encyclopedia of Rhetoric, the first person to use them deliberately was the Greek Sophist Gorgias of Leontini. He was the first one to distinguish types of figures of speech, such as alliteration or asyndeton. His findings will be later known as the Gorgianic figures (Sloane 2001, 324).

With the rise of interest in rhetoric, the system of figures of speech became more complex. But its origin can be found in the basic classification of Quintilian into tropes and schemes (or figures). The distinction is mentioned in his work *Institutio oratoria*:

The name of *trope* is applied to the transference of expressions from their natural and principal signification to another, with a view to the embellishment of style or, as the majority of grammarians define it, the transference of words and phrases from the place which is strictly theirs to another to which they do not properly belong. A *figure*, on the other hand, as is clear from the name itself, is the term employed when we give our language a conformation other than the obvious and ordinary. Therefore the substitution of one word for another is placed among *tropes*, as for example in the case of *metaphor*, *metonymy*, *antonomasia*, *metalepsis*, *synecdochè*, *catachresis*, *allegory* and, as a rule, *hyperbole*, which may, of course, be concerned either with words or things ... a *figure* does not necessarily involve any alteration either of the order or the strict sense of words ... in the first and common sense of the word everything is expressed by *figures*.

(Quintilian in Sloane, 2001: 351- 355)

These passages merely differentiate between literal and non-literal meaning. Still, they mark the beginning of the study of figures of speech as such. The work of Quintilian names some of the basic figures of speech and what is even more important –

this ground will be further build upon. It enables development of more complex structures.

A French theorist Petrus Ramus attempted to create a more logical system in which he comprised all the figures of speech from a more general to a less general category, starting (obviously) with figures/schemes and tropes. Tropes are then divided into metaphors and metonyms, figures become figures of word and figures of sentence and each of them is again divided into other categories (Sloane, 2001: 324).

A very different approach has been taken by George Puttenham in his book *The Arte of English Poesie*. He differentiated figures of speech according to the effect on the hearer: the appeal on ear or conceit. (Sloane, 2001: 324-5). Puttenham calls them figures auricular and figures sensible: “I say that auricular figures be those which worke alteration in th'eare by sound, accent, time, and slipper volubilitie in vtterance, such as for that respect was called by the auncients numerositie of speach.” (Puttenham, 2005: chapter X) And also: “Of the figures which we call Sensible, because they alter and affect the minde by alteration of sence, and first in single wordes.” (Puttenham, 2005: chapter XVII). This differentiation is significant, because it bears in mind the effect on the hearer.

2.3 Modern views

The beginning of the 20th century can be characterized by the tendency to create a holistic system in which each of the rhetorical figures would have its place. The influence of semiotics (as the study of signs) and pragmatics (the study of meaning in context) is apparent; Charles W. Morris creates a concept of the tripartite semiotic concept where all the figures of speech participate and together create a ‘grammar of rhetoricity’. This so-called (semio-) syntactic model of figures consists of two dimensions: linguistic operations and linguistic levels. Their further division is illustrated in Table 1 (Sloane, 2001: 325-6):

Figures of speech. TABLE 1. *A (Semio-)Syntactic Model of Rhetorical Figures*

I. linguistic operations II. linguistic levels	rule-violating				rule-enforcing
	1. addition	2. deletion	3. substitution	4. permutation	5. equivalence
1. phonological					
2. morphological					
3. syntactic					
4. textological					
5. semantic					
6. graphemic					
7. intertextual					

Terminology was created to label each window (see Table 2)

Figures of speech. TABLE 2. *Basic Categories of a (Semio-)Syntactic Model*

I. linguistic operations II. linguistic levels	rule-violating	rule-enforcing
	metaboles	isotopes
1. phonological	metaphonemes	isophonemes
2. morphological	metamorphemes	isomorphemes
3. syntactic	metataxemes	isotaxemes
4. semantic	metasememes	isosememes
5. graphemic	metagraphemes	isographemes
6. textological	metatextemes	isotextemes
7. intertextual	meta-intertextemes	iso-intertextemes

In accordance with this table, metaphor and metonymy are represented by the subclass of metasemes, as the original semantic norm (meaning) is substituted with a new one.

It is crucial to mention that the 20th century linguists were very much influenced by a Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. He introduced the need to establish a new linguistic branch called semiology, “a science which studies the role of signs as part of social life”. (Saussure, 1986: 15) This science, according to Saussure, is a part of social psychology which means that language, among other sciences, has a close link with sociology and psychology. In his work, Saussure claims that “language has an individual aspect and a social aspect. One is not conceivable from the other.” (Saussure, 1986: 9). Expanding this theory, he distinguishes two terms, which will be later adopted, examined and subjects to debates of a large extent: langue and parole. Langue represents the work of collective intelligence, i.e. a system of a language which is constantly changing, nevertheless the change is not made by individuals or on purpose. On the other hand, parole deals with individual utterances, used by individual speakers at a specific time for a specific “action”.

3. Metaphor

3.1 The importance of metaphors in our lives

Metaphors were traditionally perceived as expressions of little significance, devices of poetical imagination rather than bearers of meaning. At schools we are taught that figurative language is good for poetry. This is very far from the truth. Especially metaphors can be seen everywhere. All the media work with metaphors.

Among others, commercials are frequently metaphorical in nature, as presented in Charles Forceville's book *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising*. Of course from the title it is obvious that the book deals mainly with visual metaphors, but this "shift from the verbal to the pictorial" is only a present trend (1998: 70). Another author, Keiko Tanaka, mentions that in advertising it is optimal when the addressee "is forced to see a resemblance between the object featured in the metaphor and the object to which the metaphorical utterance refers" (Tanaka, 1999: 87). This means that a metaphor is ideal for the purposes of commercials. It can even make the hearer see a resemblance (of the product or service) that they did not see before (ibid). Thus the advertised product or service is instantly associated with desired attributes. Another advantage for a metaphor used in advertising is that very often the addressee takes responsibility for recovering the interpretation. This way, the advertiser can "deny that he intended to communicate such assumptions" (Tanaka 1999: 93). For these reasons advertisements are full of metaphors (either pictorial or verbal), as the abovementioned authors illustrate in corpuses of their books.

We will later learn that metaphors are not only important parts of our language, but also that they are embedded in the way we think. That they represent concepts we live by.

Motto:

The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in

defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor

(Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 3)

3.2 The importance of metaphors in politics

Politics talks to people most often through media. We have discussed commercials, another example of strong usage of metaphors in the media is the newspaper. From contemporary political events, either written or spoken, one can see that even politics is full of metaphors. Metaphors are an indisputable part of our lives, the political one not being an exception to the rule. In the Czech context, one of the few authors dealing with metaphors in politics is Vladimír Chrz. His book *Metafory v politice* (Metaphors in Politics, deals with various examples from newspaper and television gathered for the purpose of further analysis. In the introduction he states:

If we look casually look at means of expression in political discussions, commentaries, addresses or news reporting we find out that [...] politics is full of metaphors and , with only minor exceptions, nobody objects to that. Metaphors are regularly used as means of political argumentation. (Chrz, 1999: 8, my translation)

Because this work deals with metaphors in politics of the USA, let us look at some specific examples. Beard in his book *The Language of Politics* claims that there are two common sources of metaphors in the American environment and these are ‘war’ and ‘sport’, namely baseball. He gives examples such as ‘a whole new ball game’, ‘a ball park figure’, ‘to play ball’, to be ‘back at first base’ and claims that in the British context they are also pervasive, but bound to another game, cricket, giving these examples: ‘to keep your eye on the ball’; ‘batting on a sticky wicket’; to be ‘stumped’ by or to ‘play a straight bat’ to a question.

The reason for these metaphors is that not only the reporters, but also regular people and politicians themselves see politics as ‘fight’ or ‘battle (Beard, 2000: 21).

Gibbs (in Beard, 2000: 22) points out that metaphors from sport and war are:

not just rhetorical devices for talking about politics, for they exemplify how people ordinarily conceive of politics . . . for instance metaphors from sports and war often delude people into believing that negotiation and compromise are forbidden by the rules.

In other words, we can say that metaphors (even though possibly delivered by the media) create the notion of politics itself. Politics is seen as a ‘battlefield’ with ‘winners’ and ‘losers’ by all the people, both politicians or ordinary citizens. The concept “argument is war” will be discussed more closely in the chapter ‘Conceptual metaphors’.

Among the works of English-speaking authors dealing with metaphors in politics, one of the most well-known would probably be George Lakoff. He even structured a whole argument shedding light on one of the greatest political battles: liberals versus conservatives. In his book *Moral politics: what conservatives know that liberals don't*, he argues that the core of this contest is metaphorical in nature and gives examples why Conservatives’ metaphors are more efficient than the ones of Liberals. It means that not only are metaphors part of politics and the language of politicians, but also that they are so powerful that by means of metaphorical expressions, a politician, or a party, can have a head start or even be more successful in addresses and debates, win the voters’ sympathy and thus the election.

3.3 Understanding metaphor

Meaning and context

To understand metaphor means first to locate it. As Searle puts it, “Where an utterance is defective if taken literally, look for an utterance meaning that differs from sentence meaning” (Searle in Ortony, 1993: 114).

If taken literally, metaphors would violate one of Grice’s conversational maxims, the maxim of Quality, which says: “Try to make your contribution one that is true,” (in Grice, 1970: 45). that is why we have to look for another meaning than the literal one.

If for example president Nixon says: “We stand on a threshold of a new era” (187), hearers are not supposed to look under his feet and look for a piece of wood. Metaphors are a violation if taken literally because they do not make sense in the context of the utterance. Therefore, a hearer or reader must search for a non-literal meaning that does make sense. According to Glucksberg, understanding non-literal meanings requires three distinct processing stages:

1. Derive the literal meaning of the utterance.
2. Assess the interpretability of that meaning in the utterance context.
3. If the literal meaning does not make sense in context, then search for a nonliteral meaning that does. (Glucksberg in Gibbs, 2008: 67-68)

According to Glucksberg, the most important factor influencing understanding metaphor is context. Gruber agrees. In his interpretation, ‘environment’ is what we understand as ‘context’ when stating: “environmental specification of lexical items [...] becomes indistinguishable from a specification of the meaning of the lexical item” (Gruber, 1976: 4). Therefore ‘environment’ or ‘context’ will be a crucial factor of interpreting the corpus. Quirk adds that the hearer can guess the meaning, but without context there are many plausible interpretations (1985: 1423)

Cruse differentiates five types of **context** out of which three are important for this paper (the other two are discourse and relation between communicants):

1. **Linguistic context** – This includes previous discourse, i.e. what has been said prior to a given utterance and a linguistic environment (i.e. the phrase or sentence in which it appears)
2. **Physical context** or ‘here and now’ (Brazil, 1995: 33) – What the participants can see or hear in the immediate situation
3. **Cognitive context** – The store of knowledge and experience (some of this is presumed to be shared by both the speaker and the hearer)

All of these create a “speech situation” (Leech, 1983: 15)

Cultural boundedness

Another difficulty, especially for a non-native reader or hearer, is that the utterances, including metaphors, are culturally-bound. That what is natural in one culture must not be understood in another one due to differences in people's experience or habits. We have already had an example in chapter 3.2; the common sport in the USA is baseball, therefore the most frequent sport metaphors would reflect this fact. That's why 'back at first base' would not work in the British environment, and on the other hand, 'batting on a sticky wicket' could be misinterpreted in the American context. But this was a rather straightforward example. Let us look at some other problems from Sweetser' book *From Etymology to Pragmatics*. These are too arguments of cognition and language interdependency.

Usually we speak of time in the future as 'ahead'. But there may be a culture that can call it 'behind'. This does not imply that this culture confuses future and past or has different experience of time. We also perceive time the same way. What is influenced by the culture is lexicalization of the thought patterns (Sweetser, 1990: 7)

Now after the example which illustrates that it is not only our language, but also our culturally-influenced cognition that operates metaphorically, we can look at a more common case. Traditionally in our culture we use the word 'white' to mean 'honest, candid'. This may for example mean that members of our culture put on (or did it in the past) white clothing to ritually indicate purity or morality and therefore this example would not be a linguistic convention. Sweetser also gives the example of 'white' and 'black' magic (1990: 8).

Kövecses gives examples of how even such elementary things as emotions can be culturally bound (2000: 169-170) and gives examples of happiness in various languages (American English, Hungarian and Chinese):

American: Happy is being off the ground

Hungarian: Happiness is being on the ground

Chinese: Happiness is flowers in the heart

Implicature and inference

These two terms are important when working with meaning in language. I will not go into much detail, but mention only what is necessary for needs of this paper. The definitions and the example with its interpretation come from *Meaning in Interaction* by Jenny Thomas (1995: 58).

IMPLICATURE – to imply is to hint, suggest or convey some meaning indirectly by means of language. It is done by the speaker.

INFERENCE – to infer is to deduce something from evidence (this evidence may be linguistic, para-linguistic or non-linguistic). An inference is produced by the hearer.

example:

Tears filled his eyes; he cried easily in these days, not having full control of himself, and Theo's fate caused him great grief. The Duchess had told him that she had been able to discover nothing, and therefore it was assumed that he had been released an entirely innocent. Maurice was convinced that nothing of the kind had happened, and assumed that the Duchess had found out that Theo was dead and had invented the agreeable solution in order not to distress him. He could not do anything about it and had accepted the statement in silence, but he fretted a great deal over Theo's death.

The Duchess implied that Theo was all right. Maurice understood what she had implied, but nevertheless inferred the opposite (that Theo was dead).

It is also important that implicatures are property of utterances, for that reason the same words can carry different implicatures at various occasions (Thomas, 1995: 80). Again, the important factors are context, cultural boundedness as well as deixis – as described by Hudson. Deictic meanings refer to (there are also other types which are not relevant for purpose of this paper) a) the speaker; b) the addressee; c) time of speaking and d) place of speaking; (Hudson, 1996: 107). In other words, as Lakoff and Johnson put it: “In addition to sentences that have no meaning without context, there are cases where a single sentence will mean different things to different people.” (2003: 12).

Entailment - a concept which has nothing to do with implication or inference; it symbolizes purely logical consequence (Yule, 1996: 33)

Example 1: The president was assassinated

entailment (B): The president is dead

Example 2: The president was not assassinated

Now it can be no longer entailed that the president is not dead, but at the same time it cannot be entailed that they are alive as they could have died some other way.

3.3 Approaches to metaphor

3.3.1 Classical view

A metaphor is originally denoted as a figure of speech or language. This definition, which goes back to Aristotle (2008: chapter 21), is traditional, but certainly not the only one. The classical tradition described metaphor in syntactic and semantic terms. Following Aristotle, who had seen a relation between metaphor and simile in his Rhetoric, Roman authors such as Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria*) and Cicero (*De oratore*) define metaphor syntactically as an elliptic form of simile. These traditional attitudes have not been subjects of questioning until the beginning of the 20th century.

3.3.2 Deviating the classical view

It was not until the twentieth century when a rhetorician I.A. Richards and a philosopher Max Black challenged Aristotle's perspective. Their interpretation of metaphor relies on a complex interaction of thoughts, rather than a process of linguistic substitutions. Thus a metaphor no more exists exclusively as a subject of the language. In this new chapter of history, metaphor is seen as part of a shared set of cultural

responses. In other words, since Richards and Black, understanding a metaphor has become a cognitive process, rather than a linguistic one.

A very important contributor to the metaphor discussion was indeed I.A. Richards. According to Cruse's *Meaning in Language*, Richards made a distinction between three aspects of metaphor – vehicle, the item(s) used metaphorically, tenor, the metaphorical meaning of the vehicle, and ground, the basis for the metaphorical extension. He gives the example of 'the foot of the mountain' "where foot is the vehicle, tenor would be something like "lower portion", and ground is the parallel between the position of the foot and the position of the lower parts of the body (in contrast with the rest of the body/mountain" (Cruse 2000, 198). The above-mentioned Black talks about primary and secondary subjects in metaphors. He suggests that "these notions are in the minds of speakers and hearers" (Cruse 2000, 200). This is a very important statement which will be developed by many.

3.3.3 Davidsonian view

Donald Davidson, in his 1979 paper, 'What metaphors mean' denied any linguistic meaning of metaphors:

"I think metaphor belongs exclusively to the domain of use. It is something brought off by the imaginative employment of words and sentences and depends entirely on the ordinary meanings of those words and hence on the ordinary meanings of the sentences they comprise."
(Davidson in Johnson, 1981: 202)

Davidson rather develops the idea that metaphors do not possess any 'special' meaning, that they have solely literal, or 'ordinary', meaning. He sums this view up when he says: "metaphors mean what the words, in their most literal interpretation, mean, and nothing more" (Davidson in Johnson, 1981: 201). Moreover, Davidson reduces metaphor to a sort of a simile: "A metaphor makes us attend to some likeness, often a novel or surprising likeness, between two or more things." (1981: 202) He also argues that there are almost no rules governing metaphors: "understanding a metaphor is much a creative endeavor as making a metaphor, and as little guided by rules" (1981: 200). Thus, in Davidson's interpretation, metaphor does not change meaning or does not provide any new. metaphorical one.

This paper was written at the age when cognitive linguistics started to bloom therefore it was instantly disproved by cognitivists such as Max Black (see chapter 3.3:2). Michiel Leezenberg for example argues that Davidson's theory does not take into account speakers' intentions because the original meaning has to "allow for metaphors to be interpreted in terms of the direct recognition of the speaker's intentions rather than on the basis of the literal meaning" (2001: 132). Leezenberg is convinced that Davidson intentionally avoids the topic of speakers' intentions when he claims: "It is probably no coincidence that he [Davidson] consistently speaks of the metaphor *itself*, rather than the *speaker* uttering a metaphor" (2001: 133).

3.3.4 Conceptual metaphors

The same principle as in Richards is found in many later works. Only the terminology does not speak about tenor and ground, but about 'source domain' and 'target domain'.

This terminology is used among others in the book *Metaphors We Live By* by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. This was a groundbreaking work in the field of metaphor studies and relatively new science of cognitive linguistics. The introduction alone may be considered a sensation. It states:

Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish ... Moreover, metaphor is typically viewed as characteristic of language alone, a matter of words rather than thought or action. For this reason, most people think they can get along perfectly well without metaphor. We have found, on the contrary, that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.

(Lakoff & Johnson, 2003: 3)

Thanks to Lakoff and Johnson and their arguments metaphors ceased to exist solely as a domain of linguistics and rhetoric. These authors are convinced that the essence of a metaphor is understanding of one idea, or concept, through a different concept when they state: "The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (2003: 5). Through these concepts people perceive and experience the world around them.

Due to the revelation that metaphors are concepts we think in and act according to, we can naturally come to the conclusion that metaphors are not only part of the language system, but are also implanted in our brain. We think and act in metaphorical concepts (2003: 6).

Since metaphors are concepts, they can be treated accordingly, e.g. differentiated and categorized. Let us have a look at some of the categories which will later be relevant for the analysis.

Lakoff and Johnson differentiate three types of metaphors:

Structural metaphor

It is a kind of metaphor where “one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another”. Levinson supports this theory, calling this process “mapping of one whole cognitive domain into another, allowing the tracing out of multiple correspondences” (2000: 159). These concepts can be illustrated by the following example:

ARGUMENT IS WAR

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument. His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*

If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*. He *shot down* all of my arguments.

(Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 4)

The authors argue that these examples do not only use war jargon for the purposes of an argument. They rather demonstrate that we perceive arguing as fighting, that it is our experience, that this concept is embedded in the way we think: “It is important to see that we don't just talk about arguments in terms of war. We can actually win or lose arguments. We see the person we are arguing with as an opponent. We attack his positions and we defend our own. We gain and lose ground. We plan and use strategies.” (2003: 4)

However, the authors add an important effect. Sometimes, the very systematicity due to which we comprehend one aspect of a concept in terms of another will necessarily hide other aspects of the concept. For example, in the midst of a heated argument, when we are intent on attacking our opponent's position and defending our own, we may lose sight of the cooperative aspects of arguing. (2003: 10)

Further, the authors point out that they are very much culture-bound: “The most fundamental values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture” (2003: 22). As an example to prove this, a hypothetical situation is created. In this situation the concept ‘argument is war’ is reformulated for a different culture where arguing is seen as dancing. In this culture the concept would be ‘argument is dance’; the participants would be seen as performers (2003: 5) and there would probably be no ‘attack’ and ‘counter-attack’, but more likely ‘move’ and ‘counter-move’. A culture like this would most likely perceive an argument as entertainment and as Lakoff & Johnson add, there would probably be no winning or losing arguments.

It has also been mentioned that metaphors are based on our experience. Moreover, this process is reciprocal; experience form new metaphors. This may become a problem as the producer and the addressee may misunderstand each other just because they have different experience. Lakoff and Johnson give the example of “nation as a family” metaphor which conservatives see as a strict father whereas progressives would imagine a nurturant parent (2003: 19).

Oriental metaphor

Oriental metaphors differ from structural ones in one respect: they do not structure one concept in terms of another, but instead organize a whole system of concepts with respect to one another. Usually they have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral. These spatial orientations reflect function of human bodies and their function in our physical environment (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 14). Lakoff and Johnson

also argue that orientational metaphors have arisen not only from physical, but also cultural experience (ibid). I will use two Lakoff and Johnson's examples to demonstrate.

a) HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN

I'm feeling *up*. That *boosted* my spirits. My spirits *rose*. You're in *high* spirits. Thinking about her always gives me a *lift*. I'm feeling *down*. I'm *depressed*. He's really *low* these days. I *fell* into a depression. My spirits *sank*.

Physical basis: Drooping posture typically goes along with sadness and depression, erect posture with a positive emotional state.

(Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 15)

b) RATIONAL IS UP; EMOTIONAL IS DOWN

The discussion *fell to the emotional* level, but I *raised* it back *up to the rational* plane. We put our *feelings* aside and had a *high-level intellectual* discussion of the matter. He couldn't *rise above* his *emotions*.

Physical and **cultural** basis: In our culture people view themselves as being in control over animals, plants, and their physical environment, and it is their unique ability to reason that places human beings above other animals and gives them this control. CONTROL IS UP thus provides a basis for MAN IS UP and therefore for RATIONAL IS UP.

(Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 17)

Ontological metaphor

This group of metaphors allows us to understand our experiences in terms of objects and substances. It provides the basis for a wide variety of metaphors by which we view events, activities, emotions and ideas as entities and substances (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 25). This is very useful and sometimes even necessary, because "Once we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them" (ibid). Lakoff and Johnson give an example with a commentary:

INFLATION IS AN ENTITY

Inflation is lowering our standard of living.

If there's much *more inflation*, we'll never survive. We need to *combat inflation*.

Inflation is hacking us into a corner.
Inflation is taking its toll at the checkout counter and the gas pump.
Buying land is the best way of *dealing with inflation*. *Inflation makes me sick.*

In these cases, viewing inflation as an entity allows us to refer to it, quantify it, identify a particular aspect of it, see it as a cause, act with respect to it, and perhaps even believe that we understand it. Ontological metaphors like this are necessary for even attempting to deal rationally with our experiences. (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 26)

Following this interpretation, Lakoff and Johnson are convinced that also **personification is an ontological metaphor** where physical object is specified as being a person. This allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities. (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 26)

Event Structure metaphor

This term was introduced in Lakoff's paper *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor* (Lakoff, 1992). This category comprises of various aspects of event structure, including notions like states, changes, processes, actions, causes, purposes, and means which are characterized via metaphor in terms of of space, motion, and force. Lakoff and his followers created a list of general mappings:

- States are locations (bounded regions in space).
- Changes are movements (into or out of bounded regions).
- Causes are forces.
- Actions are self-propelled movements.
- Purposes are destinations.
- Means are paths (to destinations).
- Difficulties are impediments to motion.
- Expected progress is a travel schedule; a schedule is a virtual traveler, who reaches pre-arranged destinations at pre-arranged times.
- External events are large, moving objects.
 - Long term, purposeful activities are journeys.

However, Lakoff is not interested in metaphors which are not conceptual, claiming examples like the *foot* of the mountain being idiosyncratic, unsystematic, and isolated because they “do not interact with other metaphors, play no particularly interesting role in our conceptual system as we do not speak of the *head*, *shoulders*, or *trunk* of a mountain” (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 55).

3.3.5 Other types of metaphor

Dead metaphors

Whereas some of the metaphors may be easy to detect, with others it may not be that simple because their metaphorical meaning has become embedded in the language. Goatly uses the term ‘inactive’ to describe metaphors which over time have become ‘lexicalised’ – defined in dictionaries with their new meaning (Goatly in Beard, 2000: 20). Beard gives the example of ‘star’ in this model sentence:

There was also a morsel of controversy when the Deputy Prime Minister was half-drowned by a water jug hurled by rising star Jake Thrower.

Technically, says Beard, it is a metaphor, but it is used so frequently to refer to famous people, that „any dictionary would now include a reference to a celebrity as one definition of the word *star*“ (Beard, 2000: 20)

Cruse calls these expressions ‘frozen metaphors’ and says that they are idiom-like expressions which may show some of the features of syntactic frozenness typical of idioms (e.g. resistance to modification, transformation), but which differ from idioms in an important aspect: the effect of synonym substitution is not a complete collapse of the non-literal reading. (Cruse, 2004: 72)

Cruse gives the example of “The ball’s in your court now”. If changed slightly to “The ball’s on your side of the net”, the effect of the metaphors remains the same and still intelligible.

In another of his books Cruse adds that even though translated literally, dead metaphors, although sounding oddly, are usually ‘interpretable’. He suggests that for some reason many of dead metaphors are quite similar (1995: 43).

Generative metaphors

Donald A. Schön speaks about generative metaphors. This is a very specific kind of metaphor which allows “carrying over of frames or perspectives from one domain of experience to another” (Schön in Ortony, 1993: 137). As an example, Schön mentions the “paintbrush-as-pump” metaphor, which was a result of art researchers. They were examining a piece of art whose author used had been using a new technique. This technique was based on using a paintbrush as a pump. Through looking at something as common as a pump from a different, new perspective, the researchers transformed their perception of pumping. Both phenomena, “pumping” and “painting” had at the beginning of the research seemed to be different things than in the end.

3.4 Function of metaphors

Traditional

In Ancient Greece, uses of metaphors have been restricted with respect to the stylistic ideals. According to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, metaphors are recommendable if they are used: (1) to create a “vivid mental picture,” (2) for the sake of brevity, (3) to avoid obscenity, (4) for the sake of magnifying, (5) minifying, or (6) embellishment (Sloane, 2001: 512).

In political speeches

He mentions that the usual function of metaphors in political discourse is persuasion. However, there are others:

- Metaphors may communicate something which is difficult to express in literal speech because literal words are lacking

- Metaphors may help in face-threatening situations in which it is more appropriate to speak about a topic in an indirect way
- Metaphors may add vividness to a speech
- Metaphors may help structuring the argument
- Metaphors may introduce new angles of sight

(Müller, 2005: 67)

4. Analysis

4.1 Introduction

The empirical part of this paper will be based on latest 18 inaugural addresses of US presidents since 1933 until now. The goal was to capture probably the best political rhetoric in the modern history of the United States.

Because this corpus is big enough, comprising of 377 examples, it had to be narrowed down. For that reason I selected the most frequent source domains along with the most frequent concept in the way that they create a list of of 193 examples, which is still a majority of the original corpus.

These chosen examples of metaphors will be analyzed, the most important criterion the motivation which allows them to be mapped onto a different domain. This should help when categorizing the examples. Great deal of emphasis will be put on interpretation. This should shed some light on what allows them to make concepts. Next criteria will be the role of context, possible function and also how comprehensible they are from the point of view of the hearer and the speaker's possible implicatures. In the first part, the examples will be divided according to semantic domains. An example of such a domain would be "bodily metaphors". These metaphors share the same source domain, which would be 'human body'. The most frequent semantic domains will be examined and sometimes sub-categories will occur, which will be treated separately. The next interest of the analysis are target domains. To map all these abovementioned attributes is the aim of the first part of this empirical part of my paper.

In the second part, whole concepts will be deduced, with examples which will serve as evidence of their existence. To cover the process of mapping form source domain to target domain will be the main goal. These concepts are part of politicians' minds, they mirror the speaker's experience and their view of the world. Of course this premise is only valid if we believe (which we will for the purposes of this paper) that it is the politicians who wrote the addresses, or at least completely agree with every word

that has been written for them. Under these circumstances conceptualizing the metaphors used by politicians may help our understanding of what politicians try to say as well as politics as such. After all the presidential speeches no doubt co-create climate in which politics is done and also their hearers', or voters', perception.

To cover the synchronic point of view, there will be a short analysis of the evolution of metaphors. The type and amount of metaphors will be the key aspects through which the whole corpus will be evaluated.

Before the analytical part I would like to mention what Zoltan Kövecses calls 'Common Source Domains' which include the metaphors human body, health and diseases, nature, animals, buildings, machines and tools, business, heat and cold, light and darkness, movement and direction (Kövecses, 2002). These metaphors are considered the most frequent. At the end of the analysis the most frequent source domains will be compared Kövecses' list, thus it will be easy to say whether the most frequent metaphors used in the presidential addresses are also dominant in all other forms of utterances.

4.2 Problems

The main problems of the practical part are that many aspects are rather subjective. Such tasks as choosing frozen or generative metaphor cannot be done in an objective manner as there is no sharp line of stating 'this is frozen' and 'this is not.

Another issue is of identifying metaphors themselves. This is a demanding task especially for a non-native speaker whose sensitivity to semantic change is decreased especially a non-native speaker. One of the way of dealing with this problem is to look the words up in an etymological dictionary. This way the problem of differentiating literal from non-literal meaning could be minimized.

Motto:

No historical shift of meaning can take place without an intervening stage of polysemy. If a word once meant A and now means B, we can be fairly certain that speakers did not just wake up and switch meanings on June 14, 1066. Rather, there was a stage when the word meant both A and B, and the earlier meaning of A eventually was lost. But if an intervening stage of polysemy was involved, then all the historical data, as evidence of past polysemy relations, is an interesting source of information about the reflection of cognitive structure in language. (Sweetser, 1990: 9)

4.3 Source domains

4.3.1 Bodily

Altogether, with the ‘nation is a body’ concept, this field comprises of 38 examples. This makes bodily metaphors the most frequent category, and the reason may be that it “is an ideal source domain, since, for us, it is clearly delineated and (we believe) we know it well” (Kövecses, 2002: 16).

4.3.1.1. Heart

Heart metaphors are the more frequent bodily metaphors out of two which are presented here; at this point, there are 11 examples. 10 more can be found in the ‘heart is a container in the next chapter.

Heart is a word used by almost every speaker in this corpus. According to some interpretations, heart is a container of emotions. It is often a subject to discussion whether they are not metonyms presenting a person or a country via personification as in ‘her heart is cold’. These examples are also present so frequently that many of them became clichés and their meaning is vague. There are expressions such as “our people have stout hearts” which were not interpreted as metaphors therefore they will not be dealt with.

Let us go chronologically from the oldest example number (37) which is no anachronism, on the contrary. The notion of something warm being kind and nice is

permanent. However, it is a question whether this is an example of metaphorical meaning, or if it is just a polysemy. Many dictionaries would confirm this theory¹. One meaning of “heart” is “centre” or “core”, as in (81), (87), (233), (308). The context is insignificant in these cases and we can consider these examples of dead metaphor².

(247) and (249) are both very good George Bush sr.’s examples of generative metaphors. In (249) the concept being “heart is memory”; it is a strong appeal to God to write a message on our hearts so that it is never forgotten and kept for future generations. We will later see that heart frequently contains experience or emotions, but very rarely *is* one. In the whole corpus there is no such example, and this makes it generative as well as in (247) where, again, there is nothing *in* the heart, but rather *on*. Again this creative approach makes us see a heart not as a container, but as an object somebody can write on. In (249), there is a notion of divergence between what is “in one’s heart”, and what is a “fact”. The speaker thus admits that what people think does not necessarily have to reflect the reality. The only problem with these generative metaphors (in contrast with the rest of the examples) is that they only make sense in the context. In (325), heart does not represent emotions or traits, but merely the will or capability of man to overcome trouble, in other words attributes which have traditionally been associated with brain, or “mind” (as in 275).

The example in (256) demonstrates how more than one figure of speech can be used at the same time:

256. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper **successes that are made not of gold and silk, but of better hearts and finer souls**; if he can do these things, then he must.

Even though ‘hearts’ and ‘souls’ metonymically stand for ‘people’, the whole sentence still does not literally make sense. Success is not literally made of people. This is an example of ontological metaphor where ‘people are substance’.

¹ for example the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary defines warm as: 1. At pleasant temperature; 2. Clothes/buildings – as in ‘warm house’ and 3. showing enthusiasm/friendly. However, if observed closely, already (2) is a metonymy.

² Both Merriam-Webster Dictionary and Cambridge Learner’s Dictionary define heart as, ‘the central or most vital part of something’

In (340), hand goes together with heart to avoid a cliché of “pulling together”

4.3.1.2 Hand

In this category there are 10 examples.

As with heart metaphors, there border between a metaphor and metonyms is sometimes fuzzy. For example in (157): “the sweat of our hands”, where ‘hands’ obviously stand for ‘people’ or ‘citizens’. It is true that this example is a metonym, but when looked at the whole phrase, slightly different image occurs. Can we literally seek greatness with sweat, even though when postmodified by ‘of our hands’? No. Thus this phrase must have a literal meaning to make sense and ipso facto is a metaphor. This example shows us that one clause can employ two (or probably even more) different figures of speech at the same time.

In these examples we can speak about ‘a hand is a container’ metaphor. Our hands can contain many entities and because we have hands of our own, no further cognitive context is necessary. Therefore the following examples are ontological metaphors (for reasons which are explained in chapter 3.3.4). In (118) it is the power. Thus, power becomes an object. In another case, (141), people have in their hands ‘new weapons’. The weapons will be discussed elsewhere, but both of these metaphors, (118) and (141), have something in common. People do not literally have new weapons in their hands. This phrase most likely stands for ‘have access to’ and it is rather frequent. Its function is for people to feel that any of them have ‘power’ or ‘weapons’ in their hands. That every citizen can act and goes with this ‘time of change’ president Johnson was speaking about. An evidence of this claim can be found in (135) where it is explicitly stated that the destiny of the nation is in citizens’, not the presidents’ hands.

A completely different case is (133). This is, unlike the other hand metaphors, a rather generative one (as explained in 3.3.4 – through this metaphor we see a ‘hand’ from a completely new perspective; a hand never before had such a power). To understand this metaphor let us consider the context now. In this very famous speech of

Kennedy's he speaks about the division of the world on 'two sides' which are 'alarmed', carry 'modern weapons', in other words about the beginning of the Cold War and the division of world into West and East. At this tense situation both of these sides are *racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war*. This 'balance' stays, in other words guarantees that world is not at 'final war' or prevents this terrible moment from happening. Here the literal meaning of hand as a body part is mapped to what the hand can do: in this case it means something that will trigger war. There are many of such actions. we already know from an earlier stage of the address that there are weapons in our hands. These weapons we have to 'master', they can 'destroy' things as well as 'shake our values' and 'uproot old ways'. So these are probably weapons of immense power. What is most likely in context with 'deadly atom' and 'final war' – that these weapons are atomic bombs. To attack, the 'hand' is needed for pushing the button which will release the arsenal of weapons of mass destruction. This metaphor thus carries an extremely important message of warning: We are one sweep of hand away from the nuclear war.

Regarding (214), (263), (266) and (367) where hand reaches, offers and is extended, the meaning is all the same. All these fall into the same concept of 'hand is help'. People 'reach a hand' when somebody falls, they 'offer a hand' to a friend in need, but an 'offered hand' can become a 'reluctant fist', which share the same image-schema with 'hand is helping' – thus 'fist is not helping'. But because people can control their hands as they will, so it is with help which can be offered today and turned down tomorrow, especially under different conditions. These conditions can be subject of negotiation as in (367). Even when taken out of context, these structural metaphors would be easy to infer.

(340) has been discussed in the section 'heart metaphors' above.

4.3.2 Nature

Metaphors of nature represent a great part of the corpus, comprising of 37 examples altogether. The reason is that nature is pervasive in our everyday lives. Even

though various cultures have different notions of nature as such, everywhere people understand what is ‘a tree’, ‘wind’ or ‘water’. Everybody has experience with these notions and when asked, people from all over the world would perceive the concept of nature as containing such images as ‘a tree’, ‘wind’ or ‘water’. Thus ‘nature metaphors’ can be considered not bound by culture or cognition. We can even speak about a universal truth. This experiential grounding gives room for many metaphors whose meaning can be easily interpreted. For this reason they are divided into distinctive subcategories which share the same source domain ‘nature’ to locate specific features.

4.3.2.1 Air and sky

The most frequent nature metaphors with 12 examples. Presidents work in their speeches with the typical, even prototypical members of the ‘natural phenomena in the sky’ field: winds, storms, clouds. First of all winds will be analyzed. In examples (24), (94), (374) and (86) the metaphors have strong negative connotation. Strong winds are not pleasant for people. In (24) the negative feature of the wind is its unpredictability. We can speak about ‘winds is an unpredictable entity’ concept. Sometimes winds can bring chance, but we cannot rely on it as it can turn into a hurricane and bring a disaster. The grounding of ‘wind is unpredictable’ is contradicted by the following examples: In (94), (248), (250), (262), (278) (250), (374) a pattern could be observed. In (94), (248), (250), (262), (278) (250), (374) winds blow when there is change or as a foreshadowing of change. The image schema ‘wind is change’ is transferred to source domain politics, economics or international relationships. In (248, 250, 262, 278) wind is a good omen. It is accompanied by beginning of new era. The word used is ‘breeze’ which has positive connotation already: breeze, especially when the atmosphere is ‘hot’, refreshes and ‘clears the air’. Also in (250) blowing (of the wind) is also positive. The ‘change’ here is not only from bad to good, but also from old to new. The wind symbolises a landmark in history – from ‘old’, ‘totalitarian’ and ‘lifeless’ era to the time when nation is ready to ‘push on’. In (374) the ‘icy currents’ do not represent water, but wind, as inferred

from the context: president Obama talks about currents and in the next clause mentions storms.

Storm metaphors are present also in (59), (86), (327), (347) and (374). They are in a way very strong winds and thus function in a similar way as winds. However, they are more complex. Before the storm comes, a hint of clouds occurs. This goes hand in hand with the whole ‘storm’ concept being mapped to the target domain ‘politics’ or ‘economics. Clouds are an analogy to the first indication of ‘storm’ to come (347). Not before the clouds a storm could come. A different concept of storm occurs in (93); here it is transferred to a source domain ‘war’. War has got some attributes of storm. It can hurt people and damage property, it symbolizes change, before the war ‘clouds are gathering’ and after the war ‘sun can be seen shining’.

(59), (93) and (117) refer to similar situations. The common ground is ‘a time of tempest’, when ‘the will of heroes has struck with the swift, sharp thrust of lightning’ and it is hoped for ‘a turbulence’ which will ‘yield to a true time of peace’. Together they all create one concept. Dwight Eisenhower speaks about Budapest. To understand this metaphor we need a broader context: It is cold war and Hungary, along with other countries is under rule of the Soviet Union. The Hungarian uprising in October 1956 was a spontaneous rebellion against the control from Moscow. The Western world saw this as a sign of hope, nevertheless the revolt was brutally suppressed by Moscow. Mister President honoured the bravery of the rebels and described their will as “swift, sharp thrust of lightning”. During this ‘time’ of tempest’ both lightning and the rebelants emerged suddenly, ‘shone’, changing the ‘climate’ for a moment and after the ‘turbulence’ everything came back to the way it had been before and hopefully, it may ‘yield to a true time of peace’. All three of these examples are a part of a concept ‘revolution is a storm’.

4.3.2.2 Plants – trees

Although the list of plant metaphors is not long in comparison with other categories (10 occurrences), this target domain ‘plants’ is unique in the way that it

encompasses many parts of trees and also all stages of development from seed to dying. This is the best example of mapping so far and the ability of generating metaphors has not been so strong in the preceding examples. The reason may be that trees are not complicated. From seeds they grow, roots and branches emerge, have leaves, fruits, lose leaves and eventually die. This whole cycle could as well be mapped to one target domain (for example humans), nevertheless in this corpus it is not so. The parts of trees and the stages of development are mapped to many target domains. Let us proceed not chronologically, but from the beginning stages of tree development.

Seeds (109), (322) – According to president Eisenhower, seeds can be found anywhere in the United States and – which is extremely important – they have the same growth. In the context of ‘spirit’ and ‘generations’ the source domain can be only ‘people’. This concept ‘tree is like a person’ concept has to be adjusted according to speaker’s needs. In the nature the seeds are spread throughout the world and only very small part of them springs and grows. When mapped to ‘people’, this concept would not seem democratic. That’s why the seeds are postmodified by ‘of the same growth’. This way, the metaphor fits the concept of the American dream whose part is also the image of ‘fairness’ and ‘equal chance’. This is an elaborate example of metaphorical structuring adding vividness to the speech.

Time of spring (235) and (257) – following (109), president Reagan provides next part of the process of the ‘people are trees’ concept. In (235) he even uses a similar context as in (109): in the environment of ‘freedom’ seeds can easily grow. Without freedom, it would not be, as the speaker adds, ‘easy’. In (257) we can see George Bush’s homage to Reagan when he exploits the same concept but from a slightly different point of view. Not only people’s body grows, but so does their character. – their ‘goodness’ and ‘courage’ From these facts we can conclude that people’s ‘growing’ is more elaborate than of trees. It is a nuance worth creating metaphors for.

Rooting (100), (322) – The next and rather delicate phase. For people, like trees, cannot be forced into new conditions after they ‘rooted’. The tree, like a person, is strong only when the conditions in which it ‘grows’ are good. These conditions, according to President Eisenhower, include especially ‘peace’ and ‘justice’. To quote,

“peace is the climate of freedom” (98) and “peace may be the only climate possible for human life itself” (99).

Having fruit (146) – As with trees, if people root and grow, they have fruit. This ‘fruit of the land’ is a reward for a ‘stranger’ for coming to ‘a place where a man could be his man’ and making ‘a covenant with this land’ (in 144). After making this covenant, all people should ‘flourish’ and ‘share in the fruits of the land’.

Uprooting (143) – In a lifecycle of both men and trees uprooting means change. The analogy is not perfect here as when a tree is uprooted, it can mean his death. On the other hand, if uprooted and put into better conditions, it can flourish even more than before. It is similar with people, or to be more specific, with their ways as in (143). The conditions around people are changing constantly, but even when their ways are ‘uprooted’, they are able to go on with their lives with ‘unchanged character’.

Sapping (349) – Sap is what gives trees their energy, liquid which provides their ‘body’ with nutrients. If this liquid were drained from the tree, in other words ‘sapped’, it would lose its energy. Analogically, this could happen to people too. Their confidence can be sapped by fear as in (349) and as a result they lose their energy. If people’s confidence is sapped it could lead to ‘decline’ of the society.

Withering of leaves (5) – In this concept, the source domain ‘tree’ is not mapped onto a target domain ‘person’, but onto ‘business’. This ‘business is a tree’ concept is pervasive even in today’s English. When talking about companies in local context, we speak about branches. When both a tree and a business is strong, its branches and thereby leaves are healthy. In the same way we speak about a ‘healthy business’. But when the tree – or a business – is dying, their branches and leaves become weak and ‘wither’. But this does not have to be a catastrophe. President Roosevelt adds in his speech: “We are stricken by no plague of locusts” (7). When trees and their leaves are withering, it can also mean that they are preparing for difficult conditions, e.g. winter. But after some time, when better conditions come, both businesses and trees start to bloom again.

Losing leaves (250) – In the previous example it was argued that withering leaves does not necessarily mean death. In the last example of (250) it does. Another difference

is the target domain which is ‘regime’. The old totalitarian regime is like a ‘lifeless tree’. But there is hope: before the tree dies, its seeds are again spread by the wind and the life cycle starts all over again: “a new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on“.

4.3.2.3 Mountains & landscape

Same as trees, this category has ten examples. Two of these metaphors confirm Lakoff and Johnson’s concept of ontological metaphor ‘high is up’. (53), (296)

GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN

Things are looking *up*. We hit *a peak* last year, but it’s been *downhill* ever since. Things are at an all-time *low*. He does high-quality work.

Physical basis for personal well-being: Happiness, health, life, and control—the things that principally characterize what is good for a person—are all up. (2003: 16)

Regarding (34), the source domain is mapped onto a target domain “life”. According to Kövecses (2002: 24) this is one of the most common source domain. He also adds that life is usually understood as a journey where “Birth is conceived of as arrival, whereas death is viewed as departure”. Following this concept, ‘finding’, as in (34), is probably meant in a literal way, but ‘valley’ could be understood as ‘purpose of one’s life’ or ‘life’s happiness’. To support this interpretation, the metaphor in (34) is preceded by “Have we reached the goal of our vision of that fourth day of March 1933?” The function of this metaphor is clearly to refer to an event in the past. This is a so-called event-structure metaphor, as described in chapter 3.3.4. To make this sentence clear we need to mention the context, specifically what happened that March in 1933. On this Saturday, President Roosevelt announced the New Deal plan to deal with economic recession (known as the Great Depression) which had hit the United States so immensely that action needed to be done. This plan was a series of economic programmes whose aim was an immediate economic relief as well as reforms in industry, agriculture, finance, waterpower, labour, and housing. vastly increasing the scope of the federal government’s activities. It was also a reaction to the ineffectiveness of the administration of President Herbert Hoover in meeting the ravages of the Great

Depression.³ In any case the mapping of this valley metaphor is based on viewing valleys as rich fertile and safe places to live in.

In (168) 'valley' is also mentioned, but in this example it is a different attribute which provides grounding for the metaphor. This attribute is the shape of the valley. It has been mentioned that valleys are usually safe. This is due to the fact that they are surrounded by mountains. When walking through a valley, it is often a long and difficult journey as it is complicated to find a different way. One has to simply follow the valley to its end. This concept is supported by (228) where the same schema is used: climbing on a top of a mounting is indeed a difficult and demanding task. However, it is not impossible and after climbing all the mountains one reaches 'the high ground'.

From the above examples we can see that place can be mapped to time. That's why they are event-structured. The 'high ground' of peace may as well be 'climax' and we can presume that once again a metaphor can serve as a tool of dispensing with clichés. The valley metaphor is also a good example of creativity; not only one concept but even one word can be mapped to several different target domains.

(62) is an example of frozen metaphor. The summit of a mountain is mapped to a summit of an event. The meaning of summit remains 'top' even after the process of mapping. Although to some people it might not appear as metaphor at all and they would consider it an example of polysemy. It is extremely difficult to say, when consulted with Online Etymology Dictionary, we learn that the original meaning is "highest part, top of a hill"⁴ which is an explanation so ambiguous that it does not help developing the argument. Nevertheless it does not change the fact that space is mapped onto time, so again it is an event-structure metaphor.

(134) is probably the best example of culture- and time- boundedness so far. That means that not only one needs some cultural knowledge, but also some notion of the historical context of the time of the utterance. Let us briefly do just that. Everyday life of the 1960s in the United States was very much influence by the Vietnam War. Most of the conflict took part in the jungle, which was for that reason perceived as a symbol of

³ New Deal. (2011). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Retrieved from <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/411331/New-Deal>

⁴ retrieved from <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=summit&searchmode=none>

horror and evil. On the other hand, beachhead presented a place of hope, it was a place where a soldier would be relatively safe and unharmed before the war as well as a sanctuary where he would await help and transport in the end of the battle. In (134) this experience is the ground for exploiting 'beachhead' as having generally positive connotation, whereas 'jungle' has negative undertones. In (134) we can see the simplistic usage; 'beachhead' is connected to 'creativity' and 'jungle' to suspicion in a rather crude way.

The last two examples, (166) and (378) both use the same term, 'horizon'. Example (166) is again, as (134), conditioned by historic context. In December 1968, only one month before president Nixon gave his address, Apollo 8 orbited around the moon and for the first time in the history man was able to see the Earth from space. (166) is one of the exceptions where the sentence could be understood both literally and metaphorically. This pun could even have been the author's intension. From the literal point of view, it is absolutely valid to say that 'throwing wide' the horizons of space, or in other words uncovering the universe, allows the astronauts to observe the Earth from a different perspective, one that had never been seen before. Metaphorically speaking, horizon (as in Czech) could be understood as general knowledge. Landscape is mapped onto human mind and the image schema is of 'broadening'. Due to the new, surprising perspective used, these are categorized as generative metaphor.

In (376), yet again, space is mapped onto time. The attribute of 'horizon' which is subject to mapping is the distance. If something is on the horizon, then it is usually far away, yet we can reach it. It may be a 'long way', but it is visible, and that gives one hope to reach the goal. As President Obama puts it, we cannot "let this journey end" (375), and we cannot falter. This way, with "eyes fixed on the horizon", we will "carry forth the great gift of freedom". This set of event-structure metaphors could be considered pathetic⁵.

⁵ For purpose of this paper, the term "pathetic" is understood as "emotionally pandering". In Lawrence D. Green "Pathos" *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*. Ed. Thomas O. Sloane. 2006 Oxford University Press.

4.3.2.4 Water

Although this category has only 5 examples, we must mention it because it fits in the semantic field ‘nature’.

Water has the advantage that it is not culturally bound. It is the same everywhere and has the same elementary function in all the cultures.

If we look at the examples, we will notice that (265) does not create any concept, stands alone in this list. Nevertheless, we can find grounding for this ‘at the water’s edge’ phrase. Because this utterance was found in the context when spoken about how at the beginning of American history the politicians were able to cooperate, the hearers can infer that ‘at the water’s edge, people simply have to start working together. When two or more people reach the water’s edge and want to go on, there is nothing or little to do, than – through cooperation – get across the water barrier.

The other 4 examples create a pattern together, similar to wind. The key attribute is again ‘unpredictability’. Thus we can speak about ‘water is an unpredictable entity’ concept. The ‘still waters of peace’ (346) can become ‘the surging wave’ of ‘tyranny’ (44), whereas tide represents ‘freedom’ and ‘prosperity’. The currents may even ‘freeze’ and thus stop the trade (4). Or they may be stopped by a ‘rock’ of democracy’ (321) which will not budge. Again, these images are so elementary that no context is necessary here to infer the meaning.

4.3.3 Building metaphors

This group of metaphors comprises of 24 examples including the ‘nation is a building’ concept. They are the fifth most frequent metaphors according to Kövecses (2002: 17)

4.3.3.1 Houses

There are 7 examples. The house metaphors are so popular because they are very easy to interpret. Everyone knows what ‘a house’ is and the notion of it is not culture-bound (at least not in the western society, the situation would be different in some African countries where they probably do not even have a word for ‘porch’ because they simply do not have them). Housing as a source domain offers a lot to a speaker. They know that

when talking about a house, hearers will immediately share a common, similar experience. Normally, housing metaphors have got strong positive undertones (Musolf in Koteyko and Ryazanova-Clarke, 2009: 120). Houses provide shelter and security, our family lives there with us, and with family we usually share the best moments of our life. Even construction in general usually carries a positive connotation. To build or construct something needs a lot of cooperation, the process involves investment of money, material and hard work which is expected to result in creating something useful – either for oneself or the community – or even into fulfilling a dream. This makes building metaphors “an effective device for emphasising the consolidation of society in pursuit of a common goal“ (ibid).

For houses or other buildings in general see the ‘nation is a building’ concept in the next section of this chapter. Here we will examine parts of houses solely.

Every house has a doorstep, or in other words, a threshold. The spatial relation of a house and a threshold provides conditions to emergence of the metaphor in (8). A different example is (187) where a different concept is applied. When standing on a threshold for the first time without having any experience of the house itself, one does not know what is in the house, how does it look like, in other words the expectations of future events are high and rather positive. This creates an image schema ‘being at the beginning of something new’. In (187), this schema is used to create an atmosphere of great and unknown things to happen. Threshold is mapped to a milestone. The function of this metaphor is to mark the milestone and announce it to the audience so that hearers are prepared to start a new period of their lives. In this context the process of ‘stepping into a house’ means ‘entering an era of peace’. Space is mapped onto time.

An American house also quite frequently has a front porch. This is probably the most culture-bound image from all of the examples in this section. Porches in the US are places dividing house and the garden, from which they are easily accessed. Because they are frequently unlocked or do not have a door, they are something like a patio, a place to sit and relax or have a drink with friends. A front porch also tells a lot about the owner of the house. In our cultural context, a front porch to a house could have a similar connection as a shop to its shopwindow. The parallel is based on the fact that people

may judge what is inside by what they see outside. At the beginning of his address, president Bush mentions the place of his delivery as ‘democracy’s front porch’ (246). It is January of 1989, year which will later become one of the most important years in the history of democracy itself, and it is extremely likely that George H.W. Bush anticipated the big events which would later happen. In his speech he goes on mentioning that the porch is “a good place to talk as neighbors and as friends”. The analogy goes like this: If democracy is a house, then Washington D.C. is its front porch. This fine metaphor ‘Washington is democracy’s front porch’ manages to establish two desired effects at once without any pathos: a) establishing a friend-like relationship with his audience as well as b) emphasizing that this is a crucial period in the history and a place of extreme importance for the whole world.

A no less important part of a house is a window. Through the window residents can observe what is going on outside, but at the same time anyone outside can see what is happening inside. In (274) this ‘seeing through’ image schema is transferred from ‘house’ to ‘soul’. If human soul is like a house, we can look into it through the window and see what it contains. In Christian context (according to the Bible), people’s souls are judged according to what they did at what is known as the last judgment. During this judging of men’s souls the God or Christ looks into the book of life which depicts all the deeds which are stored in the soul⁶ President Bush does not want to play God, he even expresses his attitude further: “In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, an easy-goingness about each other's attitudes and way of life.” This metaphor’s goal is to ensure the audience that he is a liberal and knows that that they are good people. He also does not need any proof for that. The ‘window to the soul’ metaphor has been so overused that it has become a cliché. It is a phrase which has been – among other uses – employed to promote products from books to CDs and exploited by reporters and journalists from all over the world as a means of attracting readers and creating a sensation-seeking headlines⁷

⁶

⁷ **Examples of books:** Reading Faces: Window To The Soul? (New Directions in Social Psychology) by Leslie Zebrowitz; Windows of the Soul: Experiencing God in New Ways by Ken Gire; Windows to the Soul by J. M. Barlog; Windows of the Soul: A Look at Dreams and Their Meanings by Paul Meier and Robert Wise; Windows of the Soul: My Journeys in the Muslim World by Alexandra Avakian; Windows

A very similar example is the ‘open doors’ metaphor in (311). However, through doors we can not only see what is going on inside the building, we are welcomed to enter and see for ourselves. The ‘entering freely’ image schema is especially purposeful at places where it was not possible for people to come in before. This is the example of (311). The function is to announce changes in the audience’s lives: Not everybody could get education, but from now on, all have the chance.

The context of (348) is the international recession. Barrack Obama delivers a speech in hard times when business have ‘shuttered’. This is a rather generative metaphor. The original meaning of shutter, close the windows, is mapped onto ‘business’. A new meaning emerged. Shuterring does not mean ‘closing the windows’, there would be no point for president Obama to speak about it. If a businessman said: “I have to shutter my factory”, hardly anyone would entail the utterance as “He forgot to close the windows”. It stands for ‘closing down the business’.

For a house (or any other building) to stand, pillars are necessary. In (287), the Their main function is support. The pillar in (287) corresponds with crises and the house it supports corresponds with history. While normally crises are perceived in a negative way, this metaphor reinforces an unpopular view of crises – they provide good ‘grounding’, even ‘pillars’ on which the whole ‘structure’ of history stands.

Even though houses provide good grounding for many metaphors, no concept was found.

4.3.3.2 Other structures

In contrast with building metaphors, the ones in this section mostly have negative connotations. There are 8 examples and could be divided into two subcategories.

To The Soul: Gyration of Acrobatic Exploits In the Realms of Unconventional Gymnastics! by I. Ibanga
Examples of journalistic style: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-12581446>
<http://esciencenews.com/sources/popsci/2009/04/03/knees.are.the.new.window.soul>

The first group can be referred to as ‘**obstacles**’. It includes ‘barriers’ – in (56), (203), (210) and (234), ‘roadblocks’ – in (215), and ‘walls’ in (189). Non-literal meanings of all of these examples are the same. The common ground is the image schema ‘obstruction’. Literally physically obstructing or preventing something from happening. When transferred to any target domain, the image schema of ‘obstruction’ remains. In all of the cases the obstructions can be easily divested of. There is one more thing these metaphors have in common. They all refer to the future. In (203) it does not seem that way, but when context is taken into account, it is apparent that (203) is what president Carter wanted the citizens to say about him at the end of his presidency. The tenses of these examples are quite extraordinary as politicians always promise to remove the obstacles in the future, even though at the time of their address presidents Nixon (in 1973), Reagan (1985) and Clinton (1997) were entering their second term in the office. The function of all these metaphors is then to assure the audience of doing what is good. In other words, it is a highlight of the electoral campaign which consists of promising what the candidate will do if elected.

The second group, bridges (190) and (318), has positive undertones. Bridges are contrasts to walls, they provide ‘understanding’ or ‘crossing over to a blessed land’

None of these metaphors create concepts, they are merely used as symbols and thus do not need any context.

4.3.4 Health & illnesses

It has been mentioned why bodily metaphors are frequent. Reasons for using ‘health metaphors’ may be similar: they are aspects of human bodies (Kövecses, 2002: 16). Although 17 examples have been located, it is often very difficult to analyze them in terms of the utterance meaning or finding motivation for their creation. To make this situation easier, we can distinguish three target domains:

- i. **general situation in the country / world** – (7), (114), (147), (155), (183), (198), (231), (282), (289), (304), (339)

The examples of the first category are not easy to understand because they are not specific. They refer to a situation at the present or in the past, but it is extremely difficult to entail what meaning the speaker is trying to convey. They can be considered ‘vague’ or ambiguous. At this point we will differentiate these two terms using Keenan’s test (in Sgall and Hajičová and Panevová, 1986: 104): “in case of ambiguity the speaker knows which of the meanings he or she has wanted to communicate”. Let us consider both options.

a) ambiguity - we do not have enough cognitive context – maybe the presidents are all referring to some specific act, and it is demanding to entail the meaning. This would be plausible, nevertheless it does not change the fact that the hearers must be confused.

b) vagueness – then these utterances are at the same time clichés; as defined by Cruse:

clichés are phrases stored as complete units in the brains of both speaker and hearer. They also tend to slip past without making much of an impact, their truth or falsehood not seriously examined. They function as default encodings of certain meanings
(Cruse, 2004: 74)

One way or the other, the speakers, we can still claim that the speakers probably do not want to be specific; the force of the utterance is merely to calm down or reassure the audience that the situation now is better than it was (7), (114), (147), (183), (339); warn them (33), (155), (282), (304); or praise (198), (231).

ii. **economy** – (23), (33), (79), (208)

In this case it is quite clear what the speakers are trying to say. There are economical problems which need to be solved. It is not expected from the audience that they will understand economics. Therefore a metaphor is used and no cognitive context is necessary. This ‘economy is a disease’ concept provides grounding for a wide range of metaphors. When economy mapped on disease, suddenly ‘symptoms’ can be seen (33), then they become ‘ills’ (208), it can even turn into ‘epidemics’ (23). This implies that it is also contagious. For that reason, an economy must be in good ‘health’ (79) to resist diseases.

iii. **politics** – (38), (174)

In context with ‘effective government’, (38), even politics can catch ‘cancer of injustice’ (38), or politicians’ rhetoric can suffer a ‘fever’ (174). But this is just to add vividness to a serious situation (as in Mueller, 2005: 67). No concept is built.

4.3.5 Business

This is a highly heterogeneous category with 17 examples. The source domain ‘business’ can be mapped onto:

i. **nation** (46; 112; 144; 153)

‘Nation is an enterprise’ concept; after ‘enterprise’ is mapped onto ‘nation’, the idea of making ‘a covenant’ (144) with this land’ where land is the authority which signs the contract is definitely valid. Following the same concept even whole nations, or ownership (when mapped onto a nation becomes sovereignty) can be for sale (112).

ii. **future** (336; 205)

Future seems so be so valuable that people can have a stake in it (336) and it can even be mortgaged (205).

iii. **freedom and peace** (97; 101; 102; 212; 224; 120)

In fact these metaphors are examples of euphemism⁸. The hearers can entail that the price of peace is ‘war’, but the speaker substitutes it with much pleasant phrase.

iv. other entities – in these metaphors other things become entities: honor and security (77), words (255) – although ‘conversation’ is a fair trade in which words are presumably traded for other words, nevertheless even words have

⁸ Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines euphemism as “the substitution of an agreeable or inoffensive expression for one that may offend or suggest something unpleasant”

their price; experience (54); work – present in ‘toil’ and metonymically also in ‘sweat’ as a product of hard work; morality (27). That’s why these are considered ontological metaphors.

4.4 Concepts

4.4.1 Nation is a body

Roosevelt's "nation as a body" metaphor is remarkable, even though comprising only of 7 examples. The source domain – human body – gives him a lot of space to develop. In (47) nation needs to be "fed and clothed and housed", in other words provided with land to farm crop, breed stock and gather resources. It also has to be "invigorated and rested", which may be interpreted as to have time for both work and leisure. In (48) the source domain is human mind. It must be "kept informed and alert and understands ... its neighbours". In (51) there is also "spirit", something unique and beyond grasp; it makes body and mind a human being and at a larger scale, it defines a nation. This "it" could as well stand for identity. Using such metaphors, citizens feel that all the "bodies" and "minds" are bound to care about themselves and also about each other; only when working together as organs in human body, they create a nation together.

This metaphor was later adapted by Dwight D. Eisenhower. Let us first look at (106); this is an example of many nations together (the United Nations) creating one body. In (73) the concept is exploited for a slightly different purpose; president Eisenhower placed into contrast the mind (thoughtfully calculating) and the body which does not 'think', but rather acts immediately according to automatized stimulus – reaction pattern. This pattern has got a negative connotation in this context and means 'the American nation should think and calculate the consequences of its actions in advance, rather than act hastily'.

The last two metaphors, (95) and (211), represent the last aspect of a body: it can interact with other bodies. If we think of a nation as a body or person, there is then no problem of two nations 'turn its back to the other one', 'stand together side by side' or 'turn one's backs on the other one'. In simple terms, nations – like people – have complex relationships with each other. If we accept this premise there is then no obstacle in the idea of nations, or – as in (211) where the relationship between a nation

and its government is described – even authorities nonverbally communicating or interacting in a way that people do.

4.4.2 Country/nation is a building

From all of these 9 examples a concept ‘a nation is a house’ occurs. It is – as we will see – a metaphor with a lot of potential. When a building is mapped to a nation, it immediately creates an image of all the citizens living under the same roof, sharing one space together and cohabiting in the same conditions, as in (337), where the building units are families, communities and religion. In (12) these conditions do not seem to be perfect, that’s why they need to be ‘put in order’. The mapping from ‘house’ to ‘nation’ or ‘country’ offers a lot of interpretations of what ‘put in order’ means. These may include furnishing, rebuilding, cleaning or fitting actual needs or conditions, but all of them share the same procedures: everyone living in the house must decide what’s right, agree, plan and cooperate. From the context of (12), namely the next clause “and making income balance outgo“, it is clear that ‘putting the house together’ also means managing the budget. Nation, like a household, has to be primarily financially sustainable.

In (9) and (20) the country becomes a temple. This Roosevelt’s favourite metaphor definitely has a more positive connotation than just a ‘house’ and also bestows the utterances a ceremonial sense and at the same time stays politically correct – a temple is neutral in terms of religion. On the other hand, (177) fails this criterion, and hearers who are not of Christian belief may (rightfully) entail that the President is not counting with them.

In (107) President Eisenhower explicitly says what makes him believe that at times ‘nation is a fortress’. Both are ‘long, strong and safe’, but ‘in isolation’. When negating this concept, he implies that it is no longer possible to stay in isolation. However, in the next two examples, (204) and (209), ‘bulwark’ and ‘bastion’ could be considered synonymous to ‘fortress’ in (107). Nevertheless from the context of these utterances

(‘greatest’, ‘thank you for’) we can entail that the undertones here are strongly positive. Even though fortress, bulwark and bastion are almost the same, when put into different context they convey different meaning. This is the proof of what has been mentioned earlier, that the same words can carry different implicatures at various occasions (Thomas, 1995: 80).

(126) also corresponds with this ‘nation is a building’ metaphor and even expands it. If nations are buildings, then the whole part of the world can be viewed as living under the same roof.

4.4.3 Light is good

With 32 examples this is the largest concept.

Firstly let us distinguish frozen metaphor ‘in the light’ (meaning ‘on the basis’): (68; 76; 358)

The rest of the metaphors could be divided into two groups:

- a) where ‘light’ or ‘darkness’ is explicitly mentioned – 14 examples: (2; 6; 10; 40; 50; 71; 88; 129; 139; 154; 229; 258; 259; 371)
- b) where the concept of ‘light’ or ‘darkness’ is expressed by a means; i.e. the speaker must infer the metaphorical extension – 15 examples: (35; 65; 103; 116; 138; 169; 185; 195; 196; 218; 281; 301; 310; 319; 334)

These examples allow us to reveal what are the possible basis for the metaphorical extension: they are exclusively natural phenomena, such as ‘pall’ in (35), ‘shadows’ (65; 281); parts of day – twilight (138), dawn (169; 185; 195; 301); fire – from a spark (103; 310), flame (116; 319) to fire (334) and a beacon whose meaning is also a signal fire (196; 218).

All of the examples in b) are so fundamental , that they provide one enough experiential grounding to understand the concept of ‘light’ and ‘darkness’ even when standing on their own as in a). Even though Sweetser (see chapter 3.3) argues that understanding white/black (which is a similar concept as light/dark) may be culturally bound, there is no evidence of it in this corpus. Hence all the examples of ‘light is good’ will be considered having experiential basis. And because light/darkness influences people in the most elementary way – physically, all of these examples fit into the category of ontological metaphors (“These spatial orientations arise from the fact that we have bodies of the sort we have and that they function as they do in our physical environment.“ (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003: 14). For the same reasons, no context is necessary to comprehend them.

4.4.4 Heart is a container

Apart from heart metaphors which have already been mentioned, there are 10 more examples which create a ‘heart is a container’ concept. This is almost a typical example of ontological metaphor for reasons which are explained in 3.3.4; to quickly review, ontological metaphors treat emotions and experience as substances or entities. And because heart is usually a container of just that, emotions and experience, we can consider this whole concept ‘ontological’. The ‘container metaphors’ is treated as a subcategory of ontological metaphors in Lakoff and Johnson’s *Metaphors We Live By* (2003: 29-32).

At this point it will be distinguished what a heart can contain:

- a) prospect of the future: hope (82), faith (159; 236), promises (163), dreams (163; 244d), destiny (184), commitment (194), (313)
- b) other abstract entities: courage, love (236); meaning (223)
- c) arts – literature, music, poetry (236)
- d) people – (245)

4.4.5 Progress is a journey

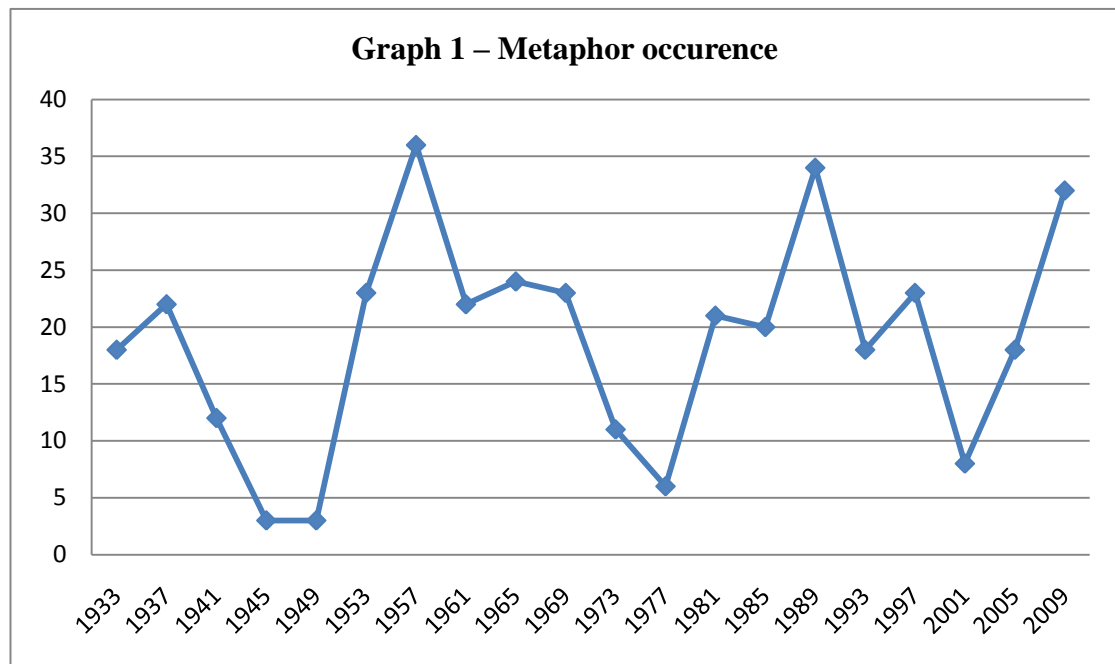
All of these 29 examples are all examples of event-structure metaphor as described by Lakoff because these are long-term activities described as journeys (1992: 14) and also “Progress made is distance traveled or distance from goal“ (1992: 15). This is a very complex concept, for more examples see Lakoff, 1992.

Let us discuss evidence of how ‘progress’ is mapped onto ‘journey’.

- a) planning – setting or choosing the right course (15; 31; 164; 298; 302)
- b) a vision of progress – unfolding the road (368)
- c) commencing the plan – setting feet on the road (29)
- d) fulfilling the plan – being on the road, keeping pace (39; 131; 135; 170; 238; 243; 323; 333; 360; 372)
- e) success – having clear course (16; 151)
- f) problems – obstacles; turning back; changing course (30; 165; 252; 232)
- g) avoiding problems – shortcuts (351)
- h) not giving up – letting the journey end (375)
- i) overcoming problems – sustaining the course; choosing the right path (252; 309; 316; 352)
- j) accomplishment – end of the road (162)

5. Data interpretation

5.1 Metaphor occurrence



In this graph we can see the number of metaphors in the addresses of presidents in individual year. The average number is 19 metaphors per address. One aspect about this table is very surprising. In four cases the number is lower than ten and in two cases it is even lower than five.

One of the numbers can be explained easily: Year 1945 was the fourth term for president and his speech was very short – comprised only of 558 words.

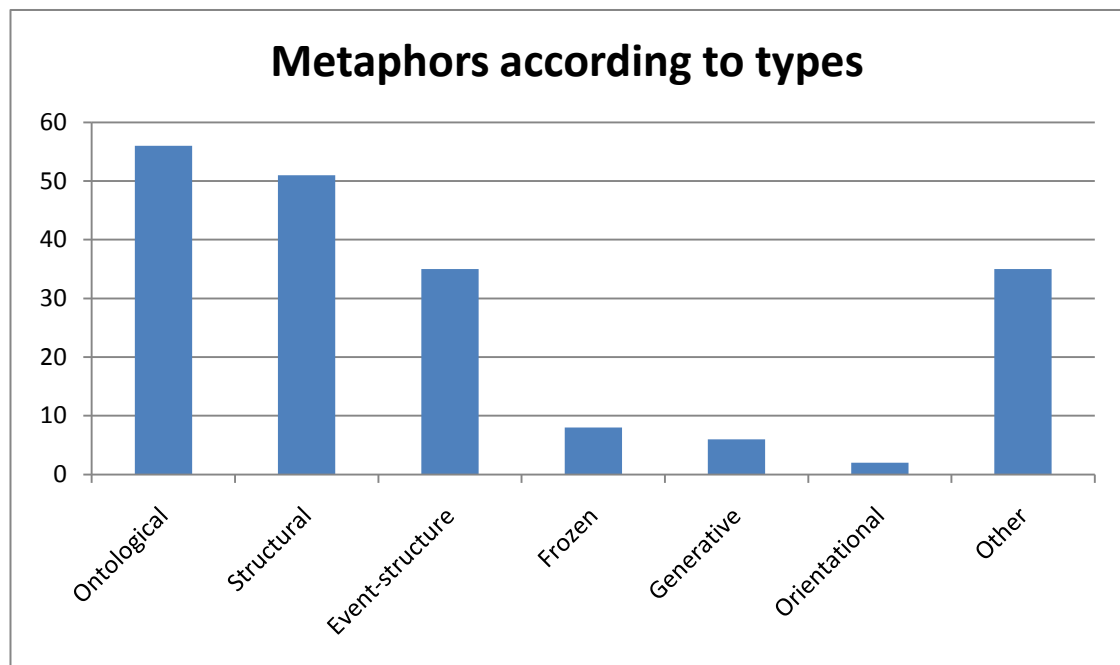
The next two speeches, 1949 with three metaphors and 1977 with 6, also have something in common. They both took place after involuntary office leave of their predecessors. My hypothesis is that for this reason, reverence, figurative language was omitted.

Another pattern is of presidents who were in office for more than one term. Usually the number of metaphors rises from first to second term (Roosevelt 1933

– 1937; Eisenhower 1953 – 1957; Clinton 1993 – 1997; Bush 2001 – 2005) or at least stays loosely at the same level (Reagan 1981 – 1985). The only exception is Nixon (1969 – 1973). Nevertheless it seems that the confidence in using metaphors rises after the first term.

The unbalanced number of metaphors can be ascribed to the phenomenon of idiosyncrasy, i.e. a distinctive language and style of each of the speakers.

5.2 Metaphors according to types



This table comprises all the examples of the corpus. The most frequent are ontological metaphors (56 occurrences; 29%). The reason for this is the fact that the largest concept ‘light is good’ consists solely of ontological metaphors.

Structural metaphors owe their second place (51 occurrences; 26%) to the fact that they are present in all the categories quite evenly.

The event-structure metaphor has so many occurrences (35; 18%) due to the fact that they are all part of the ‘progress is a journey metaphor’.

The amount of frozen metaphors is not surprising (8; 4%), but this number is subjective. Because the only prove of frozenness for a non-native speaker is finding the metaphor in dictionary, many native speakers would probably disagree. On the other hand, a majority of native speakers would probably not agree on the level of frozenness even among themselves.

Regarding generative metaphors, this is the most subjective category. Only the most explicit examples (6; 3%) have been labelled this way and therefore the number is rather low.

What may be surprising is the category with least occurrences, orientational metaphors (2; 1%). The reason for this may be that they most frequently deal with spatial orientations and are connected with human body functions. This is simply not a topic attractive or useful enough for a president to talk about at such an important event as inauguration.

Last but not least, there is a relatively high number of other metaphors (35; 18%). These metaphors which ‘stand alone’ and are not able to create concepts (at least not in the context of such discourse) play a part in the utterance, may have significant meanings, but these were already defined and for now have no other significance. However, they could be subjects to further analysis.

5.3 Other findings

Regarding Kövecses’ list, all domains of human body, health and diseases, nature, buildings, business, light and darkness, movement and direction were present in the corpus. Thus we can say that source domains in political discourse have very similar structure as in everyday discourse

Most of the metaphors are not bound by linguistic context to grasp their meaning (of course to get the utterance meaning, concept is very important); this is also an argument for conceptualization of metaphors: they are so embedded in our cognitive system that no explanation is necessary. This way can the speakers also appeal to the largest audience

Some of the metaphors are bound by cognitive context, although the percentage is relatively small. Nevertheless this may be problem of a non-native speaker.

Regarding cultural-boundedness, the speeches are (as mentioned above) addressed in such a way that they would be understood by all citizens, even the ones from a different cultural environment. That's why very few (if any) metaphors in the corpus are cultural-bound. The disputatious examples have been mentioned in the analysis.

For abovementioned reasons, there is not much space for ambiguity; the hearers are expected to infer the meaning in vast majority of the examples.

It is very difficult to generalize functions of selected examples. On that account they were mentioned in the analysis itself and did not occur in the interpretation of data.

6. Conclusion

To conclude this paper, an outline of both theoretical and practical part is necessary as well as a summary of most important findings of the data interpretation section.

The aim of this thesis was to locate and analyze examples of metaphors in the inaugural addresses of US presidents of the latest decade of American history. Because metaphors are integrated in figures of speech, an overview on history and the most relevant approaches to figurative language was necessary. The next step was to introduce metaphor, its development and significance, so that the reader has a notion of some historical overview and also why metaphors are important in our lives. Afterwards, the most important and relevant current approaches to metaphor were mentioned along with division and definition and attributes of the categories. The focus of the theoretical part is on the theory of conceptual metaphor, its subcategories and arguments for choosing this type of metaphor as a crucial means of the analysis. In the end of this part some other types of metaphors are mentioned along with other terminology necessary for the purpose of the analysis.

The practical part concentrates on locating metaphors in the corpus and analyzing the types, meaning and motivation for emergence of the examples. The examples were selected in such a way that they would cover the majority of the occurrences from the corpus. Attention was also paid to interpretation of the utterances since it serves as main evidence for existence of concepts being present in our cognitive system. This evidence is used as a proof of the theory that our view of the world is metaphorical in nature. A great deal of focus was also given to the role of context. The hearer was also taken into account when attempts to infer meaning of all the examples were made.

The results tell us that all of selected types of metaphor were used in the corpus, and the number of metaphors was satisfactory, the average amount of examples per speech being nineteen. Attempts to unveil what is behind the number of metaphors in individual addresses were made and the role of context

was evaluated as rather low and the level of comprehensibility was judged as very high. The meaning and function of the occurrences was dealt with on the basis of individual examples or, if possible, through categories or subcategories. However, no generalizations regarding function of metaphor were made since none were discovered

Regarding quantitative research, the most prevailing type of metaphor is ontological, followed by structural, and then structure metaphor. Frozen, generative and orientational metaphors did not have much space in the corpus. Their location was also done in rather subjective manner as there are no clear boundaries of what can, or what cannot, be considered a generative or frozen metaphor. On the other hand, there is still relatively high number of metaphors (18%) which do not play any role in creating concepts. Nevertheless, 82% of metaphors are labelled 'conceptual' which is a success for conceptual metaphor and cognitive linguistics as such.

7. Resumé

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá figurativním jazykem, konkrétně metaforami v politických projevech. Jako vzorek pro analytickou část byly vybrány inaugurační projevy amerických prezidentů novodobé historie Spojených států amerických, a to z toho důvodu, že představují konzistentní vzorek vybrané rétoriky současného anglického jazyka. Cílem této práce je objasnit, jaké jsou nejpoužívanější metaforická vyjádření a jejich struktura a funkce v politických vyjádřeních na nejvyšší úrovni.

V teoretické části je představena krátká historie figurativního jazyka, do něž metafora patří. Jsou zde zmíněny nejdůležitější teorie, jež připraví základ pro kapitolu, jež se zabývá fenoménem zvaným metafora. Stejně tak se zde nachází vymezení nejdůležitějších pojmů, s nimiž se bude pracovat v praktické části. Je zde řečeno, proč je vůbec důležité se metaforám věnovat a nakolik jsou součástí našeho každodenního života, zde jsou uvedeny příklady z oblasti médií a politiky. Následuje rozdělení metafor podle různých kritérií, k čemuž je využito několik různých zdrojů, čímž je možno udělat si ucelený obraz o nejmodernějších teoriích z oblasti lexikologie, sémantiky, pragmatiky a sociolingvistiky. Největší důraz je kladen na pojem „konceptuální metafora“, což je relativně novodobý fenomén. Tento pojem je dnes předmětem zkoumání mnoha vědců, to dalo vzniku nové terminologii a celé škále kategorií konceptuálních metafor. Pro lepší pochopení této problematiky jsou vždy uvedeny příklady všech druhů.

Teorie konceptuální metafory na rozdíl od většiny předešlých teorií dokazuje, že metafora není jen druh jazykového vyjádření, ale odráží též způsob lidského myšlení či uvažování založeného na zkušenostech. Na základě těchto poznatků se ukazuje, že lidský mozek pracuje s metaforickými koncepty, jež jsou tak zažité, že už ani nejsou brány jako metafora. Člověk je zvyklý chápat pojem prostřednictvím jiného pojmu, čímž vzniká metafora. Nazvěme tyto pojmy zdrojovou oblastí (source domain) a cílovou oblastí (target domain). Jelikož je náš pohled na svět tvořen souborem pojmů, je tím pádem náš náhled na dění kolem sebe částečně metaforický. Hledat důkazy této teorie je jedním z cílů analytické části této diplomové práce.

Před vlastní analýzou je ale ještě potřeba vyjmenovat některou terminologii, jež bude v praktické části používána, a taktéž úskalí, jež člověka čekají, pokud chce porozumět metaforickým vyjádřením. Mezi ty patří mimo jiné historický, kulturní a jazykový kontext (tj. slova, fráze či věty, jež metafoře předcházejí, v jejichž blízkosti se vyskytuje). Nakonec se teoretická část zabývá některými funkcemi metafor, což je jeden z aspektů, kterému je věnován prostor i v samotné analýze.

Pro analytickou část práce bylo vybráno 20 inauguračních projevů prezidentů USA od roku 1933 po současnost, v těchto volně přístupných dokumentech byly identifikovány veškeré metafory a z nich vytvořen seznam. Tento seznam byl vyrvořen tak, aby obsahoval nejčastější témata, tj. aby byly lokalizovány některé základní koncepty, prostřednictvím kterých jsou metafory formovány, a zároveň aby vybrané příklady tvořily většinu celého korpusu. Nakonec bylo vybráno 193 metafor z celkového počtu 377 příkladů, které splňují obě výše uvedená kritéria. Tento seznam byl nadále rozčleněn na výše zmíněná témata a koncepty. Jako nejčastější témata se ukázala: tělo (tělesné metafory, zejména srdce a ruce), přírodní úkazy (vzduch, pohoří, stromy a voda) a dále stavitelství a obydlí, choroby a v neposlední řadě obchod. Nejfrekventovanější koncepty jsou následující: světlo je dobro, pokrok je cesta, stát je budova, národ je tělo, srdce je nádoba.

Všechny tyto kategorie byly podrobeny analýze z hlediska významu sdělení, kontextu (ať už kulturního, situačního či historického) a – pokud možno – bylo také zkoumáno, jakou plní dané příklady funkci a zda jsou dobře srozumitelné. Nejvýznamnější částí byl proces samotného mapování (tzn. přenosu významu ze zdrojové domény metafory do cílové domény). K příkladům je uvedeno, na základě čeho je toto mapování možné a to posléze slouží jako důkaz toho, že naše mysl si automaticky vytváří metaforické koncepty, jimiž vnímá svět okolo sebe a jež jsou tak zakódovány v systému, jakým přemýšlíme tak, že o tom leckdy ani nevíme.

Shrňme si krátce výsledky této analýzy. Popisovat zde významy jednotlivých metafor bohužel z nedostatku prostoru nemůžeme, tyto byly bohužel

analyzovány jednotlivě a je nemožné je shrnout do několika řádek. Proto se raději věnujme číslům.

Nejprve uveďme, že v každém projevu se vyskytuje průměrně 19 metaforických vyjádření. Jednotlivé projevy se od sebe co do počtu metafor markantně liší, nejvyšší počet je 34 příkladů (z roku 1957), nejnižší počet je 3 příklady (rok 1945 a 49). V případě roku 1945 se dá nízký výskyt vysvětlit tím, že prezident Roosevelt, jež byl toho času v úřadě, měl svůj poslední čtvrtý projev, jež trval velmi krátce. Pro případ z roku 1949 byla vyřčena hypotéza (jež se shoduje i s rokem 1977 – třetí nejnižší výskyt), že po nedobrovolném odchodu z funkce prezidenta (smrt, abdikace) se počet výskytu metafor rapidně snižuje (snad je to jakési uctění památky). Zajímavý je též fakt, že prezidenti, jež prožili více než jednu funkci v úřadě, ve druhém funkčním období většinou zvýšili počet metafor v proslovu. V jednom případě zůstal počet zhruba stejný, jen prezident Nixon se tomuto trendu vymyká. Má hypotéza je, že prezidenti se cítí být metaforami jistější a dovolí si je napříště více použít.

Taktéž bylo zjištěno, že všechny druhy metafor zmíněné v teoretické části se ve vzorku vyskytují, jmenovitě je to nejčastěji ontologická metafora, následuje strukturální metafora a na třetím místě je metafora strukturující čas jako prostor (např. koncept ‚pokrok je cesta‘). Mezi metafory s nízkým výskytem patří takzvané ‚mrtvé metafory‘ (tzn. ty, co byly později lexikalizovány, staly se součástí běžné mluvy a jejichž významy mohou být například nalezeny ve slovníku), dále metafory generativní (které dokážou objevit nějaký nový aspekt na zdánlivě známých jevech či věcech) a metafory orientační (které mají co do činění s orientací lidského těla v prostoru). Taktéž je zde znázorněn počet metafor, jež nemohou být mezi konceptuální metafory vůbec zařazeny, nejsou totiž pravděpodobně schopny koncepty tvořit (18% s 35 výskyty). Slovo ‚pravděpodobně‘ je zde velice důležité, poněvadž možná je situace pouze taková, že tato vyjádření netvořila koncepty pouze v tomto souboru dat, což neznamená, že za použití v jiném kontextu by toho mohla být schopna.

Mezi další zjištění patří například fakt, že je velice těžké kategorizovat funkci metafor v korpusu, proto od toho bylo nakonec upuštěno. Dále také to, že

metafory jsou pravděpodobně strukturovány tak, že jim lze poměrně snadno porozumět, většinou i nezávisle na kontextu. To jednak snižuje roli kontextu pro pochopení metafor v politických projevech (což může být dáno tím, že jsou psány tak, aby byly co nejsrozumitelnější), ale i posiluje argument pro to, že metaforické koncepty se pravděpodobně tvoří už v naší mysli. Tím je snadno chápeme. Co se týče kontextu, pravděpodobně nejdůležitější je pro neznalce amerických poměrů (upustíme-li od jazykové bariéry) kontext historický. Pro pochopení některých metafor je klíčové mít jakýsi soubor znalostí a zkušeností. I přes snahu autora toho v některých případech nebylo docíleno, proto byly některé případy označeny jako nejednoznačné.

V neposlední řadě je třeba zmínit pozitivní fakt a to ten, že celkový poměr konceptuálních metafor vůči zbytku celého výběru překročil 80%. A to ještě neznamená, že zbylé příklady nejsou schopny koncepty tvořit (jak už bylo zmíněno). Toto už je opravdu důkaz toho, že konceptuální metafory převažují nad těmi, jež koncepty netvoří. Je to potvrzení teorie konceptuálních metafor a taktéž podpoření snah kognitivních lingvistů, jež se tímto fenoménem zabývají.

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9. Apendix – Data corpus

1933

1. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today.
2. **In every dark hour of our national life** a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people
3. **Values have shrunken to fantastic levels**
4. **the means of exchange are frozen in the currents of trade**
5. **the withered leaves of industrial enterprise lie on every side**
6. Only a foolish optimist can deny **the dark realities of the moment**
7. **We are stricken by no plague of locusts.** Compared with the perils which our forefathers conquered because they believed and were not afraid, we have still much to be thankful for.
8. **Plenty is at our doorstep**
9. **The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths**
10. **These dark days** will be worth all they cost us
11. there must be a strict supervision of all banking and credits and investments; there must be an end to speculation with other people's money, and there must be provision for an adequate but sound currency. **There are the lines of attack**
12. Through this program of action we address ourselves to **putting our own national house in order**
13. **the larger purposes will bind upon us all** as a sacred obligation with a unity of duty hitherto evoked only in time of armed strife.
14. I assume unhesitatingly the leadership **of this great army of our people dedicated to a disciplined attack upon our common problems**
15. But in the event that the Congress shall **fail to take one of these two courses**
16. and in the event that the national emergency is still critical, I shall not evade the **clear course of duty** that will then confront me
17. broad Executive **power to wage a war against the emergency**, great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe.
18. We face the arduous days that lie before **us in the warm courage of the national unity**

1937

19. We dedicated ourselves to the fulfillment of a vision—to speed the time
20. **We of the Republic pledged ourselves to drive from the temple of our ancient faith those who had profaned it.**
21. **services of science which are necessary to make science a useful servant instead of a ruthless master of mankind**
22. **we must find practical controls over blind economic forces and blindly selfish men**
23. We would not admit that we could not find a way to **master economic epidemics** just as, after centuries of fatalistic suffering, we had found a way to master epidemics of disease.
24. **We refused to leave the problems of our common welfare to be solved by the winds of chance and the hurricanes of disaster.**
25. **we were writing a new chapter in our book of self-government**
26. **Our pledge was not merely to do a patchwork job with secondhand materials. By using the new materials of social justice we have undertaken to erect on the old foundations a more enduring structure for the better use of future generations.**
27. **in the long run economic morality pays**
28. **We are beginning to wipe out the line that divides the practical from the ideal**
29. With this change in our moral climate and our rediscovered ability to improve our economic order, **we have set our feet upon the road of enduring progress.**
30. **Shall we pause now and turn our back upon the road that lies ahead?**
31. Timidity asks, **“How difficult is the road ahead?”**
32. Vitality has been preserved. Courage and confidence have been restored. **Mental and moral horizons have been extended.**
33. To hold to progress today, however, is more difficult. **Dulled conscience, irresponsibility, and ruthless self-interest already reappear. Such symptoms of prosperity may become portents of disaster!**
34. Let us ask again: Have we reached the goal of our vision of that fourth day of March 1933? **Have we found our happy valley?**
35. I see millions of families trying to live on incomes so meager that **the pall of family disaster hangs over them** day by day.

36. I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished. **It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope**
37. Overwhelmingly, we of the Republic are men and women of good will; **men and women who have more than warm hearts of dedication; men and women who have cool heads and willing hands of practical purpose as well.**
38. If I know aught of the will of our people, they will demand that these conditions of effective government shall be created and maintained. They will demand a **nation uncorrupted by cancers of injustice**
39. In taking again the oath of office as President of the United States, I assume the solemn obligation of **leading the American people forward along the road over which they have chosen to advance.**
40. While this duty rests upon me I shall do my utmost to speak their [American people's] purpose and to do their will, seeking Divine guidance to **help us each and every one to give light to them that sit in darkness** and to guide our feet into the way of peace.

1941

41. In Washington's day the task of the people was to create and **weld together a nation.**
42. To us there has come a time, in the midst of swift happenings, to pause for a moment and take stock—to recall **what our place in history has been**
43. There are men who believe that **democracy, as a form of Government and a frame of life,** is limited or measured by a kind of mystical and artificial fate
44. [There are men who believe that] **tyranny and slavery have become the surging wave of the future—and that freedom is an ebbing tide.**
45. Eight years ago, when **the life of this Republic seemed frozen by a fatalistic terror,** we proved that this is not true. We were in the midst of shock—but we acted. We acted quickly, boldly, decisively.
46. [Democracy] is built on the unhampered initiative of individual **men and women joined together in a common enterprise**
47. **A nation, like a person, has a body—a body that must be fed and clothed and housed, invigorated and rested,** in a manner that measures up to the objectives of our time.
48. **A nation, like a person, has a mind—a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, that understands the hopes and the needs of its neighbors**

49. [America's neighbours are] all the other **nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world.**
50. The democratic aspiration is no mere recent phase in human history. It is human history. It permeated the ancient life of early peoples. **It blazed anew in the middle ages those who came here believed they could create upon this continent a new life** — a life that should be new in freedom.
51. **It is not enough to clothe and feed the body of this Nation, and instruct and inform its mind. For there is also the spirit.**
52. The destiny of America was proclaimed in words of prophecy spoken by our first President in his first inaugural in 1789—words almost directed, it would seem, to this year of 1941: "The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government are justly considered ... deeply,... finally, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people." **If we lose that sacred fire—if we let it be smothered with doubt and fear** — then we shall reject the destiny which Washington strove so valiantly and so triumphantly to establish.

1945

53. **Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights—then all will seem to reverse itself and start downward. The great fact to remember is that the trend of civilization itself is forever upward; that a line drawn through the middle of the peaks and the valleys of the centuries always has an upward trend.**
54. And so today, in this year of war, 1945, **we have learned lessons—at a fearful cost—and we shall profit by them.**
55. We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations far away. We have learned that **we must live as men, not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger.**

1949

56. **We must carry out our plans for reducing the barriers to world trade and increasing its volume.**
57. Slowly but surely **we are weaving a world fabric of international security and growing prosperity.**
58. Our allies are **the millions who hunger and thirst after righteousness.**

1953

59. **Since this century's beginning, a time of tempest has seemed to come upon the continents of the earth.**
60. **Masses of Asia have awakened to strike off shackles of the past.**
61. **Thrones have toppled** and their vast empires have disappeared. New nations have been born.
62. We have passed through the anxieties of depression and of **war to a summit unmatched in man's history.**
63. We summon all our knowledge of the past and **we scan all signs of the future.**
64. We bring all our wit
65. and all our will to meet the question: How far have we come in **man's long pilgrimage from darkness toward light? Are we nearing the light—a day of freedom and of peace for all mankind? Or are the shadows of another night closing in upon us?**
66. Nations amass wealth. **Labor sweats to create—and turns out devices to level not only mountains but also cities.**
67. Science seems ready to confer upon us, as its **final gift, the power to erase human life** from this planet.
68. This faith defines our full view of life. It establishes, beyond debate, those gifts of the Creator that are man's inalienable rights, and that make all men equal in His sight. **In the light of this equality,** we know that the virtues most cherished by free people—love of truth, pride of work, devotion to country—all are treasures equally precious in the lives of the most humble and of the most exalted.
69. The enemies of this faith know no god but force, no devotion but its use. They tutor men in treason. **They feed upon the hunger of others.**
70. No principle or treasure that we hold, from the spiritual knowledge of our free schools and churches to **the creative magic of free labor and capital,** nothing lies safely beyond the reach of this struggle.
71. Freedom is pitted against slavery; **lightness against the dark.**
72. The faith we hold belongs not to us alone but to the free of all the world. **This common bond binds** the grower of rice in Burma and the planter of wheat in Iowa, the shepherd in southern Italy and the mountaineer in the Andes.
73. we Americans know and we observe the difference between world leadership and imperialism; between firmness and truculence; between a thoughtfully calculated goal and **spasmodic reaction to the stimulus of emergencies.**

74. we face the threat—not with dread and confusion—but with confidence and conviction. We feel this moral strength because we know that **we are not helpless prisoners of history**. We are free men.
75. **In pleading our just cause before the bar of history** and in pressing our labor for world peace, we shall be guided by certain fixed principles.
76. **In the light of this principle** [Abhorring war], we stand ready to engage with any and all others in joint effort to remove the causes of mutual fear and distrust among nations, so as to make possible drastic reduction of armaments.
77. we shall never try to placate an aggressor by the false and wicked bargain of **trading honor for security**
78. Americans, indeed all free men, remember that in the final choice **a soldier's pack is not so heavy a burden as a prisoner's chains**.
79. Recognizing **economic health** as an indispensable basis of military strength and the free world's peace, we shall strive to foster everywhere, and to practice ourselves, policies that encourage productivity and profitable trade.
80. Appreciating that economic need, military security and political wisdom combine to suggest regional groupings of free peoples, we hope, within the framework of the United Nations, **to help strengthen such special bonds the world over. The nature of these ties must vary** with the different problems of different areas.
81. whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world must first come to pass **in the heart of America**

1957

82. **hopes in our hearts fashion the deepest prayers of our whole people**
83. And so shall America—in the sight of all men of good will—prove true to the **honorable purposes that bind and rule us** as a people in all this time of trial through which we pass.
84. Our soil is fertile, our agriculture productive. **The air rings with the song of our industry—rolling mills and blast furnaces, dynamos, dams, and assembly lines—the chorus of America the bountiful.**
85. From the deserts of North Africa to the islands of the South Pacific one third of all mankind has entered upon an historic struggle for a new freedom; **freedom from grinding poverty**
86. No nation, however old or great, escapes this **tempest of change and turmoil**.
87. **In the heart of Europe**, Germany still stands tragically divided.

88. The divisive force is International Communism and the power that it controls.
The designs of that power, dark in purpose, are clear in practice.
89. It [International Communism] strives to **seal forever the fate** of those it has enslaved.
90. It [International Communism] strives to **break the ties that unite the free.**
91. **the world of International Communism has itself been shaken** by a fierce and mighty force: the readiness of men who love freedom to pledge their lives to that love.
92. **Through the night of their bondage**, the unconquerable will of heroes has struck with the swift, sharp thrust of lightning.
93. Through the night of their bondage, the unconquerable **will of heroes has struck with the swift, sharp thrust of lightning.**
94. across all the globe **there harshly blow the winds of change**
95. And, we—though fortunate be our lot—know that **we can never turn our backs to them** [the winds of change].
96. We look upon this **shaken earth**, and we declare our firm and fixed purpose—the building of a peace with justice in a world where moral law prevails.
97. The building of such a peace is a bold and solemn purpose. **To proclaim it is easy. To serve it will be hard. And to attain it, we must be aware of its full meaning—and ready to pay its full price.**
98. **peace is the climate of freedom**
99. **peace may be the only climate possible for human life itself.**
100. **this peace we seek cannot be born of fear alone: it must be rooted in the lives of nations**
101. Splendid as can be the blessings of such a **peace, high will be its cost**
102. We are called to **meet the price of this peace.**
103. For wherever in the world a people knows desperate want, there must appear at least **the spark of hope**, the hope of progress
104. For wherever in the world a people knows desperate want, there must appear at least the spark of hope, the hope of progress—or there will surely rise at last **the flames of conflict.**
105. We are accordingly pledged to honor, and to strive **to fortify, the authority of the United Nations.**
106. **in that body [of the United Nations] rests the best hope** of our age for the assertion of that law by which all nations may live in dignity.

107. The economic need of all nations—in mutual dependence—makes isolation an impossibility; not even America's prosperity could long survive if other nations did not also prosper. **No nation can longer be a fortress**, lone and strong and safe.
108. **any people, seeking such shelter [the fortress] for themselves, can now build only their own prison.**
109. We do not fear this world of change. America is no stranger to much of its spirit. Everywhere **we see the seeds of the same growth**
110. **The American experiment has, for generations, fired the passion and the courage** of millions elsewhere seeking freedom, equality, and opportunity.
111. **the American story of material progress** has helped excite the longing of all needy peoples for some satisfaction of their human wants.
112. **we no more seek to buy their sovereignty than we would sell our own. Sovereignty is never bartered among freemen.**
113. We honor the aspirations of those nations which, now captive, long for freedom. We seek neither their military alliance nor any artificial imitation of our society. And **they can know the warmth of the welcome** that awaits them when, as must be, they join again the ranks of freedom.
114. **we can help to heal this divided world.**
115. **may the weight of fear and the weight of arms be taken from the burdened shoulders of mankind.**
116. **may the light of freedom, coming to all darkened lands, flame brightly—until at last the darkness is no more.**
117. **May the turbulence of our age yield to a true time of peace**, when men and nations shall share a life that honors the dignity of each, the brotherhood of all.

1961

118. The world is very different now. For **man holds in his mortal hands the power** to abolish all forms of human poverty and all forms of human life.
119. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that tLet the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that **the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans**
120. Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that **we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.**
121. in the past, those who foolishly sought power by **riding the back of the tiger** ended up inside.

122. To those peoples in the huts and villages across the globe **struggling to break the bonds of mass misery**, we pledge our best efforts to help them help themselves
123. To our **sister republics** south of our border, we offer a special pledge
124. we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress—to assist free men and free governments in **casting off the chains of poverty**.
125. this peaceful **revolution of hope cannot become the prey of hostile powers**
126. let every other power know that **this Hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house**.
127. To that world assembly of sovereign states, the United Nations, our last best hope in an age where **the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments of peace**, we renew our pledge of support
128. we renew our pledge of support—to prevent it from becoming merely a forum for invective—to **strengthen its shield of the new and the weak**
129. Finally, to those nations who would make themselves our adversary, we offer not a pledge but a request: that both sides begin anew **the quest for peace, before the dark powers of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity** in planned or accidental self-destruction.
130. But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort
131. from our **present course**
132. both sides [great and powerful groups of nations] overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady **spread of the deadly atom**
133. **both** [great and powerful groups of nations] **racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war**
134. And if a **beachhead of cooperation may push back the jungle of suspicion**, let both sides [great and powerful groups of nations] join in creating a new endeavor
135. **In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than in mine, will rest the final success or failure** of our course.
136. In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than in mine, will rest the final success or failure **of our course**.
137. Now the **trumpet summons us** again—not as a call to bear arms, though arms we need; not as a call to battle, though embattled we are
138. **a call to bear the burden of a long twilight struggle**, year in and year out, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation"—a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself.

139. **The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world.**

1965

140. The next man to stand here will look out on a scene different from our own, because ours is a time of change—rapid and fantastic change bearing the secrets of nature, **multiplying the nations,**

141. [The next man to stand here will look out on a scene different from our own, because ours is a time of change—rapid and fantastic change bearing the secrets of nature], **placing in uncertain hands new weapons** for mastery and destruction,

142. [The next man to stand here will look out on a scene different from our own, because ours is a time of change—rapid and fantastic change bearing the secrets of nature], **shaking old values**

143. [The next man to stand here will look out on a scene different from our own, because ours is a time of change—rapid and fantastic change bearing the secrets of nature], **uprooting old ways.**

144. They came here—the exile and the stranger, brave but frightened—to find a place where a man could be his own man. **They made a covenant with this land. Conceived in justice, written in liberty, bound in union**

145. It [the covenant] **binds us still**

146. First, justice was the promise that **all who made the journey would share in the fruits of the land.**

147. **In a land of healing miracles,** neighbors must not suffer and die unattended.

148. Liberty was the second article of our covenant. It was self-government. It was our Bill of Rights. But it was more. America would be a place where each man could be proud to be himself: stretching his talents, rejoicing in his work, important in the life of his neighbors and his nation. This has become more difficult in a world where **change and growth seem to tower beyond the control** and even the judgment of men.

149. The American covenant called on us to help show the way for the liberation of man. And that is today our goal. Thus, if **as a nation there is much outside our control, as a people no stranger is outside our hope.**

150. Think of our world as it looks from the rocket that is heading toward Mars. It is like a child's globe, hanging in space, the continents stuck to its side like colored maps. **We are all fellow passengers on a dot of earth.**

151. **Our Nation's course is abundantly clear.** We aspire to nothing that belongs to others.
152. We seek no dominion over our fellow man, but **man's dominion over tyranny and misery.**
153. **Men want to be a part of a common enterprise** —a cause greater than themselves. Each of us must find a way to advance the purpose of the Nation, thus finding new purpose for ourselves.
154. We have discovered that **every child who learns, every man who finds work, every sick body that is made whole—like a candle added to an altar—brightens the hope of all the faithful.**
155. let us reject any among us who seek to **reopen old wounds** and to rekindle old hatreds. They stand in the way of a seeking nation
156. For the hour and the day and the time are here to achieve progress without strife, to achieve change without hatred—not without difference of opinion, but without the deep and abiding **divisions which scar the union** for generations.
157. But we have no promise from God that our greatness will endure. We have been allowed by Him to **seek greatness with the sweat of our hands and the strength of our spirit.**
158. I do not believe **that the Great Society is the ordered, changeless, and sterile battalion of the ants.**
159. Our enemies have always made the same mistake. In my lifetime—in depression and in war—they have awaited our defeat. Each time, **from the secret places of the American heart, came forth the faith** they could not see or that they could not even imagine. It brought us victory. And it will again.
160. For this is what **America is all about. It is the uncrossed desert and the unclimbed ridge. It is the star that is not reached and the harvest sleeping in the unplowed ground.**
161. **Is our world gone? We say "Farewell." Is a new world coming? We welcome it—and we will bend it to the hopes of man.**
162. **To these trusted public servants and to my family and those close friends of mine who have followed me down a long, winding road,** and to all the people of this Union and the world, I will repeat today what I said on that sorrowful day in November 1963
163. **you must look within your own hearts to the old promises and to the old dream**

1969

164. Each moment in history is a fleeting time, precious and unique. But some stand out **as moments of beginning, in which courses are set** that shape decades or centuries.
165. The **spiraling pace of change** allows us to contemplate, within our own lifetime, advances that once would have taken centuries.
166. **In throwing wide the horizons of space, we have discovered new horizons on earth.**
167. What kind of nation we will be, what kind of world we will live in, whether **we shape the future in the image of our hopes**, is ours to determine by our actions and our choices.
168. The greatest honor history can bestow is the title of peacemaker. This honor now beckons America—the chance to help **lead the world at last out of the valley of turmoil, and onto that high ground of peace**
169. peace that man has dreamed of since **the dawn of civilization**
170. **We have made enormous strides** in science and industry and agriculture.
171. **We see the hope of tomorrow in the youth of today**
172. When we listen to "**the better angels of our nature**," we find that they celebrate the simple things, the basic things—such as goodness, decency, love, kindness.
173. **Greatness comes in simple trappings.**
174. In these difficult years, **America has suffered from a fever of words; from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds**
175. **The American dream does not come to those who fall asleep.**
176. To match the magnitude of our tasks, we need the energies of our people—enlisted not only in grand enterprises, but more importantly in those small, splendid **efforts that make headlines** in the neighborhood newspaper instead of the national journal.
177. With these[efforts], **we can build a great cathedral of the spirit—each of us raising it one stone at a time**, as he reaches out to his neighbor, helping, caring, doing.
178. The essence of freedom is that each of us shares in the **shaping of his own destiny.**
179. As we measure what can be done, we shall promise only what we know we can produce, but as we chart our goals **we shall be lifted by our dreams.**

180. No man can be fully free while his neighbor is not. To go forward at all is to go forward together. This means black and white together, as one nation, not two. The laws have caught up with our conscience. What remains **is to give life to what is in the law**: to ensure at last that as all are born equal in dignity before God, all are born equal in dignity before man.
181. Let us take as our goal: where peace is unknown, make it welcome; **where peace is fragile**, make it strong; where peace is temporary, make it permanent.
182. I have come to know the leaders of the world, and the great forces, the hatreds, the **fears that divide the world**.
183. The peace we seek to win is not victory over any other people, but the **peace that comes "with healing in its wings"**; with compassion for those who have suffered; with understanding for those who have opposed us; with the opportunity for all the peoples of this earth to choose their own destiny.
184. In that moment of surpassing technological triumph, men turned their thoughts toward home and humanity—seeing in that far perspective that man's destiny on earth is not divisible; telling us that however far we reach into the cosmos, **our destiny lies not in the stars but on Earth itself, in our own hands, in our own hearts**.
185. **We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Let us gather the light.**
186. **Our destiny offers, not the cup of despair, but the chalice of opportunity.**

1973

187. As we meet here today, **we stand on the threshold of a new era** of peace in the world.
188. Just as **we respect the right of each nation to determine its own future, we also recognize the responsibility of each nation to secure its own future**.
189. Let us **continue to bring down the walls of hostility which have divided the world** for too long
190. [Let us] **build in their [the wall's] place bridges of understanding** – so that despite profound
191. differences between systems of government, the people of the world can be friends.
192. Let us **build a structure of peace in the world** in which the weak are as safe as the strong—in which each respects the right of the other to live by a different system—in which those who would influence others will do so by the strength of their ideas, and not by the force of their arms.

193. Just as **building a structure of peace abroad has required turning away from old policies that failed, so building a new era of progress at home requires turning away from old policies** that have failed ... Abroad and at home, the time has come to turn away from the condescending policies of paternalism—of "Washington knows best."
194. **let each of us make a solemn commitment in his own heart:** to bear his responsibility, to do his part, to live his ideals
195. together, we can see **the dawn of a new age of progress** for America, and together, as we celebrate our 200th anniversary as a nation, we can do so proud in the fulfillment of our promise to ourselves and to the world
196. Let us pledge together to make these next four years the best four years in America's history, so that on its 200th birthday America will be as young and as vital as when it began, and **as bright a beacon of hope for all the world.**
197. **Let us go forward from here** confident in hope, strong in our faith in one another, sustained by our faith in God who created us, and striving always to serve His purpose.

1977

198. FOR myself and for our Nation, I want to thank my predecessor for **all he has done to heal our land.**
199. We recall in special times when we have stood briefly, but magnificently, united. **In those times no prize was beyond our grasp.** But we cannot dwell upon remembered glory.
200. The world itself is now dominated by a new spirit. **Peoples more numerous and more politically aware are craving and now demanding their place in the sun** —not just for the benefit of their own physical condition, but for basic human rights.
201. The passion for freedom is on the rise. **Tapping this new spirit,** there can be no nobler nor more ambitious task for America to undertake on this day of a new beginning than to help shape a just and peaceful world that is truly humane.
202. And **we will move this year a step toward ultimate goal** —the elimination of all nuclear weapons from this Earth. We urge all other people to join us, for success can mean life instead of death.
203. [I join in the hope that when my time as your President has ended, people might say this about our Nation:] that we had **torn down the barriers that separated those of different race and region and religion,** and where there had been mistrust, built unity, with a respect for diversity

1981

204. we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than any other, and I thank you [President Carter] and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is **the bulwark of our Republic**.
205. For decades, we have piled deficit upon deficit, **mortgaging our future** and our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present. To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political, and economic upheavals.
206. You and I, as individuals, can, by borrowing, live beyond our means, but for only a limited period of time. Why, then, should we think that collectively, as a nation, **we are not bound by that same limitation?**
207. **We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow.**
208. **The economic prescription we suffer** have come upon us over several decades.
209. we, as Americans, have the capacity now, as we have had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and **greatest bastion of freedom**
210. economy that provides equal opportunity for all Americans, **with no barriers born of bigotry or discrimination**
211. Now, so there will be no misunderstanding, it is not my intention to do away with government. It is, rather, to make it work—work with us, not over us; **to stand by our side, not ride on our back.**
212. Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any other place on Earth. **The price for this freedom at times has been high, but we have never been unwilling to pay that price.**
213. Those who say that we are in a time when there are no heroes just don't know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, produce enough food to feed all of us and then the world beyond. **You meet heroes across a counter—and they are on both sides of that counter.** There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and faith in an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. They are individuals and families whose taxes support the Government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education.
214. We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your makeup. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen, and loving them, **reach out a hand when they fall**, heal them when they are sick, and provide opportunities to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?
215. **In the days ahead I will propose removing the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity.**

216. **Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progress may be slow—measured in inches and feet, not miles—but we will progress.**
217. **On the eve of our struggle for independence** a man who might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers, Dr. Joseph Warren, President of the Massachusetts Congress, said to his fellow Americans
218. And as we renew ourselves here in our own land, we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and **a beacon of hope** for those who do not now have freedom.
219. To those neighbors and allies who share our freedom, we will **strengthen our historic ties** and assure them of our support and firm commitment.
220. Above all, we must realize that **no arsenal, or no weapon in the arsenals of the world, is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have.** It is a weapon that we as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors.
221. At the end of this open mall are those **shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand.**
222. Off to one side, the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. **The Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence.**
223. And then beyond the Reflecting Pool the dignified columns of the Lincoln Memorial. **Whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of America** will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.
224. on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery with its row on row of simple white markers bearing crosses or Stars of David. **They add up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for our freedom**

1985

225. **This day has been made brighter with the presence here of one** who, for a time, has been absent—Senator John Stennis.
226. **We have lighted the world with our inventions**
227. We allowed taxes and inflation to rob us of our earnings and savings and **watched the great industrial machine** that had made us the most productive people on Earth slow down and the number of unemployed increase.
228. We are creating a nation once again vibrant, robust, and alive. But **there are many mountains yet to climb.** We will not rest until every American enjoys the fullness of freedom, dignity, and opportunity as our birthright. It is our birthright as citizens of this great Republic, and we'll meet this challenge.

229. [These will be years] when Americans courageously supported the struggle for liberty, self-government, and free enterprise throughout the world, **and turned the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom.**
230. Two of our Founding Fathers, a Boston lawyer named Adams and a Virginia planter named Jefferson, members of that remarkable group who met in Independence Hall and dared to think they could **start the world over again**, left us an important lesson.
231. You elected us in 1980 **to end this prescription for disaster**
232. I don't believe you reelected us in 1984 **to reverse course**
233. **At the heart of our efforts** is one idea vindicated by 25 straight months of economic growth
234. The time has come for a new American emancipation—a great national **drive to tear down economic barriers and liberate the spirit of enterprise** in the most distressed areas of our country.
235. **From new freedom will spring new opportunities for growth**, a more productive, fulfilled and united people, and a stronger America
236. an America that will lead the technological revolution, and also **open its mind and heart and soul to the treasures of literature, music, and poetry, and the values of faith, courage, and love.**
237. I will shortly submit a budget to the Congress aimed at **freezing overnment program spending for the next year.**
238. Let us resolve there will be no turning back or hesitation **on the road to an America rich in dignity** and abundant with opportunity for all our citizens.
239. **People, worldwide, hunger for the right of self-determination**, for those inalienable rights that make for human dignity and progress.
240. [Freedom] is the world's only hope, **to conquer poverty** and preserve peace.
241. **Every blow we inflict against poverty will be a blow against its dark allies of oppression and war**
242. My friends, we live in **a world that is lit by lightning.** So much is changing and will change, but so much endures, and transcends time.
243. **History is a ribbon, always unfurling; history is a journey. And as we continue our journey, we think of those who traveled before us.**
244. **Now we hear again the echoes of our past:**(a) a general falls to his knees in the hard snow of Valley Forge; a lonely President paces the darkened halls, and ponders his struggle to preserve the Union; the men of the Alamo call out encouragement to each other; a settler pushes west and sings a song, and the

song echoes out forever and fills the unknowing air. **It is the American sound(b).** It is hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent, and fair. **That's our heritage; that is our song(c).** We sing it still. For all our problems, our differences, we are together as of old, as **we raise our voices to the God who is the Author of this most tender music. And may He continue to hold us close as we fill the world with our sound—sound in unity, affection, and love—one people under God, dedicated to the dream of freedom that He has placed in the human heart, called upon now to pass that dream on to a waiting and hopeful world.(d)**

1989

245. **There is a man here who has earned a lasting place in our hearts** and in our history. President Reagan
246. We meet on **democracy's front porch**, a good place to talk as neighbors and as friends. For this is a day when our nation is made whole, when our differences, for a moment, are suspended.
247. Make us strong to do Your work, willing to heed and hear Your will, and **write on our hearts these words:** "Use power to help people." For we are given power not to advance our own purposes, nor to make a great show in the world, nor a name. There is but one just use of power, and it is to serve people. Help us to remember it, Lord. Amen.
248. We live in a peaceful, prosperous time, but we can make it better. For **a new breeze is blowing, and a world refreshed by freedom seems reborn.**
249. **for in man's heart, if not in fact, the day of the dictator is over**
250. **The totalitarian era is passing, its old ideas blown away like leaves from an ancient, lifeless tree. A new breeze is blowing, and a nation refreshed by freedom stands ready to push on.**
251. **There is new ground to be broken**, and new action to be taken.
252. There are times when the future seems thick as a fog; you sit and wait, hoping **the mists will lift and reveal the right path.**
253. But this is a time when **the future seems a door you can walk right through into a room called tomorrow. Great nations of the world are moving toward democracy through the door to freedom. Men and women of the world move toward free markets through the door to prosperity. The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought through the door to the moral and intellectual satisfactions** that only liberty allows.
254. My friends, **we are not the sum of our possessions.** They are not the measure of our lives.

255. What do we want the men and women who work with us to say when we are no longer there? That we were more driven to succeed than anyone around us? Or that we stopped to ask if a sick child had gotten better, and stayed a moment there to **trade a word of friendship?**
256. But if the man you have chosen to lead this government can help make a difference; if he can celebrate the quieter, deeper **successes that are made not of gold and silk, but of better hearts and finer souls**; if he can do these things, then he must.
257. we will do the wisest thing of all: We will turn to the only **resource we have that in times of need always grows—the goodness and the courage** of the American people.
258. I have spoken **of a thousand points of light**, of all the community organizations that are spread like stars throughout the Nation, doing good.
259. I will go to **the people and the programs that are the brighter points of light.**
260. We must bring the Federal budget into balance. And we must ensure that America stands before the world united, strong, at peace, and fiscally sound. But, of course, things may be difficult. We need compromise; we have had dissension. We need harmony; **we have had a chorus of discordant voices.**
261. The final lesson of Vietnam is that **no great nation can long afford to be sundered by a memory.**
262. **A new breeze is blowing**, and the old bipartisanship must be made new again.
263. To my friends—and yes, I do mean friends—in the loyal opposition—and yes, I mean loyal: I put out my hand. I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Speaker. I am putting out my hand to you, Mr. Majority Leader. For this is the thing: **This is the age of the offered hand.**
264. **We can't turn back clocks**, and I don't want to ... And **we don't wish to turn back time**, but when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the Executive were capable of working together to produce a budget on which this nation could live.
265. But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, **our differences ended at the water's edge** [...] but when our mothers were young, Mr. Majority Leader, the Congress and the Executive were capable of working together
266. To the world, too, we offer new engagement and a renewed vow: We will stay strong to protect the peace. **The "offered hand" is a reluctant fist**; but once made, strong, and can be used with great effect.
267. Good will begets good will. **Good faith can be a spiral that endlessly moves on.**
268. When America says

269. something, America means it, whether a treaty or an agreement or **a vow made on marble steps.**
270. on days like this, we remember that we are all part of a continuum, inescapably **connected by the ties that bind**
271. **freedom is like a beautiful kite that can go higher and higher with the breeze**
272. And to all I say: No matter what your circumstances or where you are, **you are part of this day**, you are part of the life of our great nation.
273. **A President is neither prince nor pope**
274. and **I don't seek a window on men's souls.** In fact, I yearn for a greater tolerance, an easy-goingness about each other's attitudes and way of life.
275. **For our problems are large, but our heart is larger.** Our challenges are great, but our will is greater.
276. Some see leadership as high drama, and **the sound of trumpets calling**, and sometimes it is that.
277. **I see history as a book with many pages, and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness and meaning ... a page turns, the story unfolds. And so today a chapter begins, a small and stately story of unity, diversity, and generosity—shared, and written, together**
278. **The new breeze blows**

1993

279. This ceremony is held in the depth of winter. But, **by the words we speak and the faces we show the world, we force the spring. A spring reborn in the world's oldest democracy.**
280. When our founders boldly declared America's independence to the world and our purposes to the Almighty, they knew that America, to endure, would have to change. Not change for change's sake, but change to preserve America's ideals—life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. Though **we march to the music of our time, our mission is timeless.**
281. Today, **a generation raised in the shadows of the Cold War assumes new responsibilities in a world warmed by the sunshine of freedom**
282. [The world is] threatened still by ancient hatreds and **new plagues.**
283. Communications and commerce are global; investment is mobile; technology is almost magical; and ambition for a better life is now universal. We earn our livelihood in peaceful competition with people all across the earth. **Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world**

284. We know we have to face hard truths and **take strong steps**.
285. we have drifted, and that **drifting has ... fractured our economy**
286. [we have drifted, and that **drifting has] ... shaken our confidence**
287. From our revolution, the Civil War, to the Great Depression to the civil rights movement, our people have always mustered the determination to **construct from these crises the pillars of our history**.
288. **Our democracy must be not only the envy of the world but the engine of our own renewal.**
289. **There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured by what is right with America.**
290. Powerful people maneuver for position and **worry endlessly about who is in and who**
291. **is out, who is up and who is down**
292. [Powerful people are] forgetting those **people whose toil and sweat sends us here and pays our way.**
293. Let us resolve to make our government a place for what Franklin Roosevelt called "bold, persistent experimentation," **a government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays.** Let us give this capital back to the people to whom it belongs.
294. **The brave Americans serving our nation today in the Persian Gulf, in Somalia, and wherever else they stand are testament to our resolve.**
295. The American people have summoned the change we celebrate today. You have raised your voices in an unmistakable chorus. You have cast your votes in historic numbers. And you have changed the face of Congress, the presidency and the political process itself. Yes, **you, my fellow Americans have forced the spring. Now, we must do the work the season demands.**
296. **From this joyful mountaintop of celebration, we hear a call to service in the valley. We have heard the trumpets. We have changed the guard. And now, each in our way, and with God's help, we must answer the call.**

1997

297. It is our great good fortune that time and chance have put us not only at the edge of a new century, in a new millennium, but **on the edge of a bright new prospect** in human affairs
298. **a moment** [the inauguration] **that will define our course**, and our character, for decades to come

299. The promise of America was born in the 18th century out of the bold conviction that we are all created equal. It was extended and preserved in the 19th century, when our nation spread across the continent, saved the union, and abolished the awful scourge of slavery. Then, in turmoil and triumph, that **promise exploded onto the world stage** to make this the American Century.
300. [Americans] deepened the wellspring of justice by making a revolution in civil rights for African Americans and all minorities, and **extending the circle of citizenship**, opportunity and dignity to women.
301. **At the dawn of the 21st century** a free people must now choose
302. When last we gathered, our march to this new future seemed less certain than it does today. We vowed then to **set a clear course** to renew our nation.
303. The divide of race has been America's constant curse. And each new wave of immigrants gives new targets to old prejudices. Prejudice and contempt, **cloaked in the pretense of religious or political conviction** are no different.
304. These forces [prejudice and contempt] have nearly destroyed our nation in the past. **They plague us still. They fuel the fanaticism of terror.**
305. Great rewards will come to those who can live together, learn together, work together, **forge new ties that bind together.**
306. The world is no longer divided into **two hostile camps.**
307. Instead, now **we are building bonds** with nations that once were our adversaries.
308. **This is the heart of our task.**
309. With a new vision of government, a new sense of responsibility, a new spirit of community, we will **sustain America's journey.**
310. Our schools will have the highest standards in the world, **igniting the spark of possibility** in the eyes of every girl and every boy.
311. **the doors of higher education will be open to all.** The knowledge and power of the information Age will be within reach not just of the few, but of every classroom, every library, every child
312. And in this land of new promise, we will have reformed our politics so that **the voice of the people will always speak louder than the din of narrow interests**—regaining the participation and deserving the trust of all Americans.
313. **The greatest progress we have made, and the greatest progress we have yet to make, is in the human heart.** In the end, all the world's wealth and a thousand armies are no match for the strength and decency of the human spirit.
314. The American people returned to office a President of one party and a Congress of another. Surely, they did not do this to advance the politics of petty bickering

and extreme partisanship they plainly deplore. No, they call on us instead to be **repairers of the breach**, and to move on with America's mission.

315. Fellow citizens, **we must not waste the precious gift of this time.**

316. **all of us are on that same journey of our lives, and our journey, too, will come to an end. But the journey of our America must go on.**

317. Let us shape the hope of this day into **the noblest chapter in our history**

318. **let us build our bridge. A bridge wide enough and strong enough for every American to cross over to a blessed land** of new promise

319. May those generations whose faces we cannot yet see, whose names we may never know, say of us here that we led our beloved land into a new century ... with **America's bright flame of freedom** spreading throughout all the world.

2001

320. **We have a place, all of us, in a long story** – a story we continue, but whose end we will not see. It is the story of a new world that became a friend and liberator of the old

321. **America's faith in freedom and democracy was a rock in a raging sea.**

322. Now **it** [America's faith in freedom and democracy] **is a seed upon the wind taking root in many nations.**

323. And even after nearly 225 years, **we have a long way yet to travel**

324. **America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. We are bound by ideals** that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests and teach us what it means to be citizens.

325. **If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge and character,** we will lose their gifts and undermine their idealism.

326. Much time has passed since Jefferson arrived for his inauguration. The years and changes accumulate. But the themes of this day he would know: **our nation's grand story of courage and its simple dream of dignity. We are not this story's author,** who fills time and eternity with his purpose.

327. This work continues. This story goes on. And **an angel still rides in the whirlwind and directs this storm.**

2005

328. After the **shipwreck of communism** came years of relative quiet, years of repose, years of sabbatical

329. and then [after years of relative quiet] there came a **day of fire**. We have seen our vulnerability—and we have seen its deepest source.
330. as long as whole **regions of the world simmer in resentment and tyranny** — prone to ideologies that feed hatred and excuse murder—violence will gather, and multiply in destructive power, and cross the most defended borders, and raise a mortal threat
331. From the day of our Founding, we have proclaimed that every man and woman on this earth has rights, and dignity, and matchless value, because they **bear the image of the Maker** of Heaven and earth.
332. **In the long run**, there is no justice without freedom, and there can be no human rights without human liberty.
333. The leaders of governments with long habits of control need to know: To serve your people you must learn to trust them. Start on this **journey of progress and justice**, and America will walk at your side.
334. And as hope kindles hope, millions more will find it. By our efforts, **we have lit a fire as well—a fire in the minds of men. It warms those who feel its power, it burns those who fight its progress, and one day this untamed fire of freedom will reach the darkest corners of our world.**
335. In a **world moving toward liberty**, we are determined to show the meaning and promise of liberty.
336. **To give every American a stake in the promise and future of our country**, we will bring the highest standards to our schools, and build an ownership society. We will widen the ownership of homes and businesses, retirement savings and health insurance ... By making every citizen an agent of his or her own destiny, we will give our fellow Americans greater freedom from want and fear, and make our society more prosperous and just and equal.
337. In America's ideal of freedom, the public interest depends on private character — on integrity, and tolerance toward others, and the rule of conscience in our own lives. Self-government relies, in the end, on the governing of the self. That **edifice of character is built in families, supported by communities with standards, and sustained in our national life by the truths of Sinai, the Sermon on the Mount, the words of the Koran, and the varied faiths of our people.**
338. And our country must abandon all the habits of racism, because **we cannot carry the message of freedom and the baggage of bigotry at the same time.**
339. These questions that judge us also unite us, because Americans of every party and background, Americans by choice and by birth, are bound to one another in the cause of freedom. **We have known divisions, which must be healed to move forward in great purposes—and I will strive in good faith to heal them.**

340. We felt the unity and fellowship of our nation when **freedom came under attack and our response came like a single hand over a single heart.**
341. **We go forward** with complete confidence in the eventual triumph of freedom.
342. [We go forward] Not because **history runs on the wheels of inevitability**; it is human choices that move events.
343. We have confidence because **freedom is the permanent hope of mankind, the hunger in dark places, the longing of the soul.**
344. **History has an ebb and flow of justice**
345. **history also has a visible direction, set by liberty and the Author of Liberty**

2009

346. Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. The words have been spoken during **rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace.**
347. every so often the oath is taken amidst **gathering clouds and raging storms**
348. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some, but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age. Homes have been lost; jobs shed; **businesses shuttered.**
349. These are the indicators of crisis, subject to data and statistics. Less measurable but no less profound is a **sapping of confidence** across our land—a nagging fear that America’s decline is inevitable, that the next generation must lower its sights.
350. 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.
351. we understand that greatness is never a given. It must be earned. Our **journey has never been one of shortcuts or settling for less. 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.**
352. **This is the journey** we continue today. We remain the most prosperous, powerful nation on Earth.
353. Starting today, **we must pick ourselves up, dust ourselves off**, and begin again the work of remaking America.

354. We will build
355. the roads and bridges, the electric grids and **digital lines that feed our commerce**
356. What the cynics fail to understand is that the **ground has shifted beneath them**
357. stale **political arguments that have consumed us**
358. And those of us who manage the public's dollars will be held to account—to spend wisely, reform bad habits, and do our business **in the light of day** — because only then can we restore the vital trust between a people and their government.
359. Nor is the question before us whether the **market is a force** for good or ill.
360. 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.**
361. We will begin to responsibly leave Iraq to its people, and **forge a hard-earned peace** in Afghanistan.
362. know that our **patchwork heritage** is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus—and non-believers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth
363. we have **tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation**
364. [We have] emerged from **that dark chapter** [civil war] stronger and more united
365. 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
366. 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**
367. [To those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that] **we will extend a hand if you are willing to unclench your fist.**
368. 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.
369. It is the kindness to take in a stranger **when the levees break**
370. the selflessness of workers who would rather **cut their hours** than see a friend lose their job

371. It is the kindness ..., the selflessness ... which sees us through **our darkest hours**

372. So let us mark this day with remembrance, of who we are and **how far we have traveled.**

373. in this **winter of our hardship**, let us remember these timeless words

374. With hope and virtue, let us brave once more the **icy currents, and endure what storms may come.**

375. 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;

376. with **eyes fixed on the horizon** and God's grace upon us, we carried forth

377. [we carried forth] that great **gift of freedom** and delivered it safely to future generations.