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“Framing terrorism through conceptual metaphors:  
analysing the conceptualisation of terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup>  
century by Republicans and Democrats in the US  
Congress“

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# Table of contents

List of abbreviations .....	i
List of corpora abbreviations .....	ii
List of tables.....	vii
List of figures .....	vii
<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. Conceptual metaphor theory .....</b>	<b>3</b>
2.1 Constituent mappings .....	6
2.2 Metaphor classifications .....	7
2.3 Metaphor and metonymy .....	11
2.3.1 Contrasting functions of metaphor and metonymy.....	12
2.4 Critical considerations .....	14
2.5 Fauconnier and Turner: Network model.....	16
<b>3. Relevance for political discourse .....</b>	<b>18</b>
3.1 Metaphor and persuasion.....	20
3.2 Metaphors and morality .....	22
3.2.1 Conservatives.....	26
3.2.2 Liberals.....	28
3.3 Link between metaphors, morality and terrorism .....	31
<b>4. Methodology .....</b>	<b>32</b>
4.1 Corpora and their contextualisation.....	33
4.2 Terrorism and ISIS .....	34
4.3 Preliminary methodological considerations.....	35
4.4 Metaphorical pattern analysis.....	36
4.5 Methodological shortcomings .....	40
<b>5. Analysis A: conceptualisation of TERRORISM.....</b>	<b>41</b>
5.1 Results and findings .....	41
5.1.1 Target domain: TERRORISM .....	43
5.1.2 Target domains: ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS.....	45
5.1.3 Target domains: TERRORIST GROUPS and TERRORISTS.....	46
5.1.4 Target domains: ISLAM and MUSLIM .....	47
5.1.5 Target domain: SYRIA .....	49

5.2 Discussion of findings.....	49
5.2.1 Terrorism is evil.....	50
5.2.2 Terrorism and Syria are containers .....	52
5.2.3 Radical Islam is part of Islam.....	53
5.2.4 Facilitating terrorism is growing a plant .....	54
5.2.5 Personification of the Islamic State.....	56
5.3 Answering research question 1 .....	59
<b>6. Analysis B: target domain MORALITY/ NATION.....</b>	<b>60</b>
6.1 Results and findings .....	61
6.1.1 Target domain: CITIZENS .....	63
6.1.2 Target domains: PRESIDENT, OBAMA ADMINISTRATION, GOVERNMENT.....	64
6.1.3 Target domains: COMMUNITY, NATION, COUNTRY, STATE, SOCIETY.....	66
6.2 Discussion of findings.....	68
6.2.1 Obama as demon.....	71
6.2.2 Conceptualisation of governing authority .....	73
6.2.3 Community, nation, country and state are containers .....	75
6.2.4 Personification .....	77
6.2.5 Political improvement is a forward motion .....	81
6.2.6 Good, evil, morality.....	83
6.3 Answering research question 2 .....	84
<b>7. Conclusion.....</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>8. Bibliography.....</b>	<b>88</b>
8.1 Data for analysis .....	92
8.1.1 Corpus A: Republicans .....	92
8.1.2 Corpus B: Democrats .....	96
<b>9. Index .....</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>10. Appendix.....</b>	<b>102</b>
A. English abstract .....	102
B. German abstract .....	103
C. Curriculum vitae .....	104

## **List of abbreviations**

CMT	Conceptual metaphor theory
ICM	Idealized cognitive model
IS	Islamic State
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISIS	State of Iraq 'al-Sham
LL	Log-likelihood
LM	landmark
MPA	Metaphorical pattern analysis
SD	Source domain
TD	Target domain
TR	Trajector

## List of corpora abbreviations

For reference, all sets of data used for the analysis are given abbreviations, which are indicated below. The *R* stands for *republican speaker* whereas *D* indicates that the speech was given by a *democratic speaker*. The numbers following the letters each refer to an individual speaker. In case a speaker has given two speeches that are used in the corpus, both speeches are labelled separately. All speeches are taken from the congressional record and a detailed source information is provided in the bibliography.

### Corpus A: Republicans

Abbreviation	Name of speaker/ Date of speech	Name of given speech
<b>R1</b>	McConnell, Mitch 11.2.2016	War on terror.
<b>R2</b>	Palazzo, Steven 9.12.2015	Terrorism and ISIS strategy.
<b>R3</b>	Gohmert, Louie 8.12.2015	Terrorism and our right to bear arms.
<b>R4</b>	Poe, Ted 26.2.2016	The President's missing plan.
<b>R5</b>	LaMalfa, Doug 16.11.2015	We stand with France.
<b>R6</b>	Poe, Ted 22.3.2016	Terrorist attack in Brussels.
<b>R7</b>	Yoder, Kevin 22.3.2016	Condemning the terrorist attacks in Brussels, Belgium.
<b>R8</b>	McConnell, Mitch 4.4.2016	Terrorist threats.
<b>R9</b>	McConnell, Mitch 7.4.2016	Remembering Stephanie and Justin Shults.
<b>R10</b>	Ghomert, Louie 21.4.2016	The week in review.
<b>R11</b>	Lankford, James 19.4.2016	Oklahoma city bombing anniversary and filling the supreme court vacancy.
<b>R12</b>	Cornyn, John 19.4.2016	Justice against sponsors of terrorism act.
<b>R13</b>	Wilson, Joe 19.4.2016	Only congress can write laws.
<b>R14</b>	Collins, Susan 18.4.2016	Calling for renewed attention to Boko Haram.
<b>R15</b>	DeSantis, Ron 14.4.2016	Holding the IRS accountable.
<b>R16</b>	Wilson, Joe	A seven-page plan will not work.



	14.4.2016	
<b>R17</b>	Murphy, Tim 12.4.2016	A tale of two cities.
<b>R18</b>	Roe, David 12.4.2016	Honoring Justin and Stephanie Shults.
<b>R19</b>	McConnell, Mitch 5.4.2016	War on terror.
<b>R20</b>	LaMalfa, Doug 23.3.2016	Keep the United States of America a safe place.
<b>R21</b>	Chabot, Steve 23.3.2016	America grieves with the Belgian people.
<b>R22</b>	Poe, Ted 23.3.2016	Condemning the terrorist attacks in Brussels (House 1569-1570).
<b>R23</b>	Poe, Ted 23.3.2016	Condemning the terrorist attacks in Brussels (House 1557-1560).
<b>R24</b>	Gohmert, Louie 22.3.2016	Issue of the day.
<b>R25</b>	Wilson, Joe 22.3.2016	President's bizarre trip to Cuba.
<b>R26</b>	Issa, Darrell 21.3.2016	Americans being unjustly held in Iran.
<b>R27</b>	Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana 17.3.2016	Hezbollah terror designations.
<b>R28</b>	Wilson, Joe 16.3.2016	ISIL-Daesh chemical attacks.
<b>R29</b>	Cornyn, John 15.3.2016	Justice against sponsors of terrorism act
<b>R30</b>	Grassley, Chuck 14.3.2016	Immigration enforcement.
<b>R31</b>	Gohmert, Louie 14.3.2016	Declaration of genocide committed by ISIS.
<b>R32</b>	Kinzinger, Adam 12.1.2016	Crisis in Madaya, Syria.
<b>R33</b>	Poe, Ted 24.6.2015	ISIS promotes slavery.
<b>R34</b>	Royce, Edward R. 17.6.2015	Removal of United States armed forces from Iraq and Syria.
<b>R35</b>	Gohmert, Louie 19.11.2015	Syrian refugees.
<b>R36</b>	Costello, Ryan 16.11.2015	Fighting terrorism around the world.
<b>R37</b>	Hardy, Crescent 16.11.2015	Fighting terrorism around the world.
<b>R38</b>	Young, David 16.11.2015	Fighting terrorism around the world.
<b>R39</b>	Zeldin, Lee M. 16.11.2015	Fighting terrorism around the world.

## Corpus B: Democrats

Abbreviation	Name of speaker/ Date of speech	Name of given speech
<b>D1</b>	Payne, Donald M., Jr. 19.11.2015	Terrorism is plaguing us all over the world.
<b>D2</b>	Casey, Robert 19.11.2015	ISIS.
<b>D3</b>	Jackson Lee, Sheila 10.12.2015	Expressing support for President's plan to defeat ISIS.
<b>D4</b>	Reid, Harry 16.11.2015	Terrorist attacks against France.
<b>D5</b>	Sherman, Brad 23.3.2016	Reevaluating our anti ISIS policy.
<b>D6</b>	Meeks, Gregory 23.3.2016	Brussels attacks.
<b>D7</b>	Jackson Lee, Sheila 23.3.2016	Brussels attacks.
<b>D8</b>	Reid, Harry 19.4.2016	Boko Haram.
<b>D9</b>	Quigley, Mike 19.4.2016	Homeland security.
<b>D10</b>	Casey, Robert 14.4.2016	ISIS.
<b>D11</b>	Cooper, Jim 12.4.2016	Paying tribute to three young people who lost their lives to terrorism.
<b>D12</b>	Reid, Harry 7.4.2016	Protecting America's public lands.
<b>D13</b>	Sherman, Brad 23.3.2016	Reevaluating our anti-ISIS policy.
<b>D14</b>	Takano, Mark 23.3.2016	Reject discrimination and uphold our values.
<b>D15</b>	Ashford, Brad 22.3.2016	Tri-faith initiative
<b>D16</b>	Coons, Christopher 17.3.2016	Iran.
<b>D17</b>	Aguilar, Pete 16.12.2015	Moment of silence in recognition of the lives lost in the San Bernardino terrorist attack.
<b>D18</b>	Adams, Alma 1.12.2015	Boko Haram.
<b>D19</b>	Beatty, Joyce 10.12.2015	No guns for suspected terrorists.
<b>D20</b>	Kelly, Robin 2.3.2015	Bridging the divide: observations on race and justice in America.
<b>D21</b>	Capps, Lois 8.12.2015	Supporting the denying firearms and explosives to dangerous terrorists act.

<b>D22</b>	Adams, Alma 8.12.2015	Terrorist gun loophole.
<b>D23</b>	Lee, Barbara 7.1.2015	United States-Cuban relation.
<b>D24</b>	Chu, Judy 12.2.2015	Department of homeland security shutdown threat.
<b>D25</b>	Jeffries, Hakeem S. 12.2.2015	The reckless and irresponsible legislative joyride.
<b>D26</b>	Baldwin, Tammy 29.9.2015	Nuclear agreement with Iran.
<b>D27</b>	Jackson Lee, Sheila 15.4.2015	Bring back our girls.
<b>D28</b>	Clarke, Yvette 15.4.2015	Boko Haram.
<b>D29</b>	Cohen, Steve 6.1.2016	Political theater.
<b>D30</b>	Cohen, Steve 28.1.2015	National institutes of health funding.
<b>D31</b>	Jackson Lee, Sheila 14.3.2016	Developing a strategy to obtain observer status for Taiwan in the international criminal police organization.
<b>D32</b>	Sherman, Brad 14.3.2016	Defining certain atrocities as war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide.
<b>D33</b>	Sherman, Brad 14.3.2016	Condemning violations of international law by the government of Syria.
<b>D34</b>	Sherman, Brad 12.1.2016	ISIS and the extremist Shiite Cabal.
<b>D35</b>	Costa, Jim 19.11.2015	Terrorist attacks and Syrian refugees.
<b>D36</b>	Costa, Jim 12.2.2015	Funding the department of homeland security.
<b>D37</b>	Keating, William 29.2.2016	Amplifying local efforts to root out terror act of 2016.
<b>D38</b>	Deutch, Theodore E. 2.12.2015	Protect American families.
<b>D39</b>	Engel, Eliot 2.11.2015	Expressing concern over anti-Israel and anti-Semitic incitement within the Palestinian authority.
<b>D40</b>	Deutch, Theodore E. 2.11.2015	Expressing concern over anti-Israel and anti-Semitic incitement within the Palestinian authority.
<b>D41</b>	Gabbart, Tulsi 16.3.2016	Genocide of religious minorities.
<b>D42</b>	Edwards, Donna F. 16.3.2016	Honoring the life of officer Jacai Colson.

<b>D43</b>	Engel, Eliot 17.11.2015	Condemning terrorist attacks in Paris, France, on November 13, 2015.
<b>D44</b>	Jackson Lee, Sheila 17.11.2015	Condemning terrorist attacks in Paris, France, on November 13, 2015.
<b>D45</b>	Hoyer, Steny H. 17.11.2015	Condemning terrorist attacks in Paris, France, on November 13, 2015.
<b>D46</b>	Eshoo, Anna G. 14.3.2016	Genocide in the Middle East.
<b>D47</b>	Esty, Elizabteth H. 2.12.2015	Gun violence.
<b>D48</b>	Walters, Maxine 4.11.2015	Announcement by the acting chair.
<b>D49</b>	Garamendi, John 8.12.2015	Our first opportunity to move to protect Americans.
<b>D50</b>	Garamendi, John 8.9.2015	Iran nuclear deal.
<b>D51</b>	Davis, Susan A. 8.12.2015	Terrorist watch list and gun purchases.
<b>D52</b>	Moulton, Seth 25.2.2015	The future forum.

## **List of tables**

Table 1	Source and target domain mapping WAR IS A COMPETITION
Table 2	Source and target domain mapping A NATION OR SOCIETY IS A FAMILY
Table 3	Source and target domain mapping THE COMMUNITY IS A FAMILY
Table 4	Selected items for analysis A – TERRORISM
Table 5	Selected items for analysis B – MORALITY/ NATION
Table 6	Searched target domains, hits and metaphorical instances – terrorism
Table 7	Conceptualisation of TERRORISM
Table 8	Conceptualisation of ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS
Table 9	Conceptualisation of TERRORIST GROUPS/ ORGANIZATIONS/ NETWORKS
Table 10	Conceptualisation of ISLAM
Table 11	Conceptualisation of MUSLIM
Table 12	Conceptualisation of SYRIA
Table 13	Searched target domains, hits and metaphorical instances – family
Table 14	Conceptualisation of CITIZENS
Table 15	Overview of selected domains belonging to the domain of governing authority
Table 16	Overview COMMUNITY, NATION, COUNTRY, SOCIETY, STATE
Table 17	Conservative moral category demons

## **List of figures**

Figure 1	Analysis A - Total hits, hits and metaphorical expressions per corpus
Figure 2	Analysis B - Total hits, hits and metaphorical expressions per corpus

- Figure 3      A TR inside a LM
- Figure 4      A TR moved or moving into a LM
- Figure 5      Blending of THE GOVERNMENT IS A KIDNAPPER

# 1. Introduction

“Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish – a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 3). Thus, it is not surprising that examples of famous metaphors are often found in classic literature. For instance, Shakespeare (2006 [1623]: act 2, scene 7) conceptualises in his play *As you like it* the world as a stage and the people living in it as players:

All the world's a stage,  
And all the men and women merely players:  
They have their exits and their entrances;

Here, Shakespeare skilfully applies both metaphorical expressions as a rhetorical device in order to construct a monologue with rich language that invites the audience of the play to establish a connection between themselves as people living in the world and the actors on stage. However, Lakoff and Johnson (2003) dedicate their acclaimed book *Metaphors we live by* to showing that metaphors are not merely a figure of speech or a rhetorical device but instead are part of our daily verbal interaction; going even further, Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 3) argue that “[o]ur ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature”. This radically new perspective on metaphor and its expansion to the level of cognition and action resulted in a boom in metaphor research and in the broadening of possible fields of application. Since the original publication in 1980, a huge number of scholars worldwide have published research in the tradition of Lakoff and Johnson’s (2003) conceptual metaphor theory (cf. Gibbs 2006; Ibanez and Hernández 2011; Kövecses 1998; Semino 2008; Stefanowitsch 2006).

One of those new areas of research that lends itself to the study of conceptual metaphor theory is politics, which offers a variety of possibilities in which metaphor is linguistically manifested: for instance, political speeches, campaigns and debates. Researches who adopt Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) approach to metaphor and apply it to the political discourse (cf. Charteris-Black 2009; Chilton 2004; Graham, Haidt and Nosek 2012; Lakoff 2002, 2008; McAdams, Albaugh, Farber *et al.* 2008;

Matositz, Olufowote 2016; Musolff 2004) are mainly interested in identifying conceptual structures that govern political thought. One dramatic event that further triggered an interest in metaphor research was the bombing of the twin towers in New York City on September 11, 2001.

After 9/11, the threat of terrorism became a global issue and Europe has faced a series of attacks in the past few years for which the extremist terrorist organisation *Islamic State* has claimed responsibility. At this point the question arises how recent terrorist attacks, such as the Paris attacks (BBC News 2015) and the Brussel bombings (BBC News 2016a), are framed through conceptual metaphors. In order to answer this research question, a corpus-based study was conducted, which investigated eighty-eight transcribed speeches given in the US Congress between the 28<sup>th</sup> of January 2015 and the 21<sup>st</sup> of April 2016 by republican and democratic speakers. This corpus analysis, based on Stefanowitsch's (2006) *metaphorical pattern analysis*, seeks to provide insight into which conceptual metaphors govern spoken utterances in both political parties then speakers are confronted with terrorism.

Closely connected with the framing of terrorism are the worldviews that republican and democratic speakers convey through the underlying conceptual metaphors. In his book *Moral politics* Lakoff (2002) demonstrates that both parties utilise metaphors that are motivated through two different versions of the family: republicans argue based on a strict father morality, whereas democrats apply a nurturing parent model; hence, two different models of morality emerge that govern political thought and action. However, Lakoff (2002) did not investigate the usage of family metaphors within a specific political context. Thus, a second metaphorical pattern analysis of the same corpus mentioned above is carried out with the aim to find out if the two versions of the family metaphor change when politicians in the US Congress are faced with a discussion of issues related to the threat of terrorism. This second analysis is meant to provide insight into how the topic of terrorism influences the usage of the family metaphor and seeks to answer the question of whether the context of terrorism motivates an alteration of conceptual metaphors and subsequently influence the moral conduct.



Concerning the structure of the thesis, this introduction is followed by the second major chapter, which outlines the conceptual metaphor theory in the tradition of Lakoff and Johnson (2003); however, the concept of metonymy and other complimentary approaches to metaphor, such as Fauconnier and Turner's (2008b) network model are also presented. In order to display a holistic picture of the conceptual metaphor theory, criticism that has been voiced towards the theoretical concept is also presented. While the first half of the third chapter situates metaphor in the political discourse through the discussion of various implications the usage of metaphor has for the political realm, the second half summarises Lakoff's (2002) findings concerning the two constructions of the family metaphor and the resulting moral conduct of both the republican and the democratic worldviews. Those two theoretical chapters will provide the reader with insight into the conceptual metaphor theory and the usage of metaphor in the political discourse, which places the focus on American politics.

Moving on to the analytical part of the thesis, the fourth chapter details methodological considerations and the applied method, which is Stefanowitsch's (2006) metaphorical pattern analysis. The methodology section is followed by a presentation of results and a detailed discussion of interesting findings yielded by analysis A, which is the metaphorical conceptualisation of TERRORISM. The subsequent analysis B is concerned with results and findings that investigate the usage of Lakoff's (2002) two versions of the family metaphor in the political discourse when discussing terrorism. Finally, limitations of the outlined investigation are discussed as well as implications for further research are suggested, which is followed by concluding remarks.

## **2. Conceptual metaphor theory**

The following chapter will present an outline of conceptual metaphor theory as it is introduced in Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) book *Metaphors we live by*. As Kövecses (2002: vii) points out, "[f]or most of us, metaphor is a figure of speech in which one thing is compared to another by saying that one is the other". Labelling metaphor as a rhetorical device implies that metaphors are manifested through linguistic expressions operating on the surface level of language. Kövecses (2002: vii) further

identifies that in this sense, “metaphor is a property of words [... and further] a conscious and deliberate use of words”. In contrast, Lakoff (2008: 82) challenges this traditional view of metaphor and proposes that “[m]etaphors are mental structures that are independent of language but that can be expressed through language”. Thus, metaphor is ascribed a cognitive aspect, which is the basis of Lakoff and Johnson’s (2003) *conceptual metaphor theory*.

Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 4) argue “[p]rimarily on the basis of linguistic evidence, [...] that most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature”, advocating an alternative approach within metaphor research carrying the assumption that metaphors are an embodied cognitive process in the human brain. The cognitive view of metaphor is, for instance, also supported by Ibanez and Hernández (2011: 161) who emphasise that metaphor is applied to understand one topic in terms of another. Similarly, Chilton (2004: 51) adopts the cognitive approach when arguing that “[t]he standard cognitive account stresses that metaphor is part of human conceptualisation and not simply a linguistic expression that occurs especially frequently in oratory and literature”, which confirms Lakoff and Johnson’s (2003) conceptual metaphor theory.

The cognitive approach to metaphor is exemplified through the following example: when a father talks lovingly to his baby daughter and declares the utterance given in example (1) below, the father implies that his baby girl and the sunshine have something in common, which allows a comparison between the two entities even though they do not share any obvious characteristic.

(1) You are my sunshine.

Thus, the metaphorical expression is used to illustrate that the sun and the baby have some qualities in common. Presumably, both *baby* and *sunshine* might have a positive connotation related to the abstract concepts of happiness and joyfulness, which creates the possibility for the father to understand the baby in terms of the sunshine through the usage of a metaphor. The abstract feeling of happiness is “based on general ideas and not on any particular real person, thing or situation” (Hornby, Wehmeier 2005: 6). Thus, the need for a linguistic device to grasp those abstract entities that lack a direct and clear physical representation such as life, love or death becomes evident.

Metaphorical expressions, which are defined “as the linguistic realization or manifestations of underlying conceptual metaphors” (Kövecses 2002: 29), are often applied subconsciously to enable a basic comprehension of abstract concepts through relating two conceptual domains with each other, whereby a source domain is used to conceptualise a target domain. Ibanez and Hernández (2011: 171) further argue that “the structure and logic of the source is used to reason about the target whenever a correspondence is plausible”. For example, the domain ARGUMENT is often expressed through words or phrases that are related to the domain of WAR, meaning that a conceptual domain A (ARGUMENT) is made comprehensible through a conceptual domain B (WAR). Thus, domain B (WAR) functions as *source domain* and provides the linguistic means to conceptualise domain A (ARGUMENT), which consequently is labelled as *target domain*. Kövecses (2002: 4) points out that “[t]he target domain is the domain that we try to understand through the use of the source domain”. Both domains compose the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. Linguistic realisations of this conceptual metaphor are illustrated below through examples taken from Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 4, numbers added, original emphases).

#### ARGUMENT IS WAR

- (2) Your claims are *indefensible*.
- (3) He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.
- (4) His criticisms were *right on target*.
- (5) I *demolished* his argument.
- (6) I’ve never *won* an argument with him.
- (7) You disagree? Okay, *shoot*!
- (8) If you use that *strategy*, he’ll *wipe you out*.
- (9) He *shot down* all of my arguments.

Those “linguistic expressions (i.e., ways of talking) make explicit, or are manifestations of, the conceptual metaphors (i.e., ways of thinking)” (Kövecses 2002: 6). Further, Kövecses (2002: 6) states that the target domain is often more abstract than the source domain, which arises from the fact that metaphors are generally used to express an abstract concept (the target domain) in comprehensible terms (source domain). Considering for instance *Remarks by the*

*President* (2015) in which Obama addresses the Congress to persuade them to take actions against the terrorist group ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant), one possible usage of metaphorical expressions is the conceptualisation of FIGHTING TERRORISM in terms of a WAR between two groups, which is indicated in the following examples from Obama's (2015) remarks:

- (10) But our coalition is on the *offensive*, ISIL is on the *defensive*, and ISIL is *going to lose* (Obama 2015, my emphasis).
- (11) revolting attempt to *strike* fear in the hearts of people it can never possibly *win over* by its ideas or its ideology (Obama 2015, my emphasis).

The examples above belong to the possible conceptual metaphor FIGHTING TERRORISM IS WAR and illustrate that the target domain FIGHTING TERRORISM is linguistically manifested through expressions belonging to the source domain of WAR, such as *offensive* and *defensive*. Indeed, the notion of fighting a war is connotated as an urgent and highly serious matter. Thus, one main underlying reason why Obama (2015) could have chosen to apply this metaphor is the effect it creates: especially with review to recent terrorist attacks in, for instance, Paris (BBC News 2015) or Philadelphia (Hurdle, Pérez-Peña 2016), persuading the audience, which is in Obama's (2015) case the US Congress, to agree on fighting a war against terrorism is legitimised through the urgency to act in a war scenario.

## 2.1 Constituent mappings

In order to illustrate how elements of the source domain are mapped with elements of the target domain, a mapping, as indicated in table 1 below, is used to identify the correspondence between the source and target domain. Re-evaluating the concept of constituent mappings, Ibanez and Hernández (2011: 165) elaborate on the hypothesis resulting from a neural theory of metaphor that "conceptual mappings across domains correspond to neural connections in the brain [...] rest[ing] on the observation that many languages make use of the same conceptual metaphors".

**Table 1 Source and target domain mapping WAR IS A COMPETITION**

<i>source domain: WAR</i>	<i>target domain: FIGHTING TERRORISM</i>
offensive, defensive	belligerents
opposing group	(military) targets
challenge	conflict

winning, losing

surviving, dying or victory,  
defeat/surrender

To illustrate the domain mapping, Obama's (2015) example (10) is analysed: when making his remarks to the Congress, Obama (2015) conceptualises the belligerents as an *offensive* and a *defensive*, which conveys the reference to a war scenario in which *offensive* and *defensive* are terms applied to refer to the two opposing groups in a war.

Further analysis suggests the classification of conceptual metaphors "according to the conventionality, function, nature and level of generality" (Kövecses 2002: 29). For instance, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR is, according to Kövecses (2002: 30) a commonly used conceptual structure. Thus, conceptual metaphors and metaphorical expressions have various degrees of conventionality, leading Kövecses (2002: 31) to propose a *scale of conventionality* on which ARGUMENT IS WAR would be classified as conventional. In addition to the level of conventionality, a level of generality can be identified. For instance, the constituent GAME is on its "level of generality" (Kövecses 2002: 38) more generic than FIGHTING TERRORISM because without any specific context, a game might in its basic meaning be characterised as having the properties of two opposing entities or groups contesting each other, which is rather unspecific and leaves room for interpretation; in contrast, FIGHTING TERRORISM is much more specific.

## 2.2 Metaphor classifications

The classification of conceptual metaphors as outlined below is based on Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) original approach and extended by concepts that complement their findings; alternative suggestions for classification by various scholars are mentioned in the analysis whenever relevant.

Lakoff and Johnson (2003) introduce two basic metaphor classifications: structural and non-structural metaphors. As Ibanez and Hernández (2011: 169) further explain, structural metaphors are characterised through a higher degree of complexity than non-structural metaphors. Non-structural metaphors apply source domains that focus "on one attribute of a physical entity or on a non-complex topological abstraction, such as spatial orientation" (Ibanez and Hernández 2011: 169). Concerning the further specification of non-structural metaphors,

orientational, ontological and imagistic metaphors are subcategorised by various scholars (Kövecses 2002: 33-36, Ibanez and Hernández 2011: 164, Lakoff and Johnson 2003). According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 14), “[o]rientational metaphors give a concept a spatial orientation; for example, HAPPY IS UP” and its polar opposition SAD IS DOWN. Consequently, metaphorical expressions as stated in examples (12) and (13) are possible and relate to the concept of orientational metaphors.

(12) I am feeling *over* the top.

(13) I am feeling *down*.

Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 14) add that orientational metaphors are grounded in our experience with culture and physicality.

Another basis for conceptual metaphors is rooted in ontological concepts: “[u]nderstanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances allows us to pick out parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 25). One of the most cited ontological metaphors in the western culture is THE MIND IS A MACHINE metaphor, which is according to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 25) based on the ontological metaphor THE MIND IS AN ENTITY; examples from the Master Metaphor List (Lakoff, Espenson and Schwartz 1991: 138, my emphasis) include

(14) He *has a screw loose*.

(15) He *slipped a cog*.

(16) I could see *the wheels turning*.

(17) He  *churns out ideas*.

Through conceptualising the mind as a machine, a correspondence between the abstract target domain MIND and the much more concrete source domain MACHINE is established. Other ontological metaphors include, for instance, personification, in which an ENTITY is categorised as a PERSON. Ibanez and Hernández (2011: 170-171) further add to non-structural metaphors the concept of imagistic metaphors, which is exemplified below:

(18) a raven-haired woman (Ibanez and Hernández (2011: 171)

The metaphorical expression in example (18) is based on a resemblance between the looks of a raven's feathering and the person's hair colour relating one quintessential characteristic in source and target domain.

In contrast, structural metaphors are much more complex because they enable the usage of "one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another" (Lakoff and Jonson 2003: 61) through creating a relationship between source and target domain. Consequently, metaphorical constituents are not based on spatial orientation or ontological considerations; instead, they are based on "entities plus their attributes and their interrelations or of topological abstractions over a set of attributes of an entity or a number of interacting entities" (Ibanez and Hernández 2011: 169). Further, Ibanez and Hernández (2011: 172) propose that structural metaphors be initially classified as situational or non-situational: situational metaphors are dynamic and bound to a place and time. Metaphors abstracted from the situational context, such as the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, are considered as non-situational metaphors.

Situational metaphors are further subdivided in scenic and non-scenic metaphors (Ibanez and Hernández 2011: 170). depending on the grade of observability of the situation. For instance, the metaphorical expression given in example (19) is not externally observable but instead only the person feeling jealous experiences the subjective situation; thus, the metaphorical expression can be described as non-scenic.

(19) He wrestled with his feelings of jealousy (Lakoff, Espenson and Schwartz 1991: 82).

In contrast, a scenic metaphor "depicts a part of a situation that can be observed from the outside" (Ibanez and Hernández 2011: 172), as it is the case in example 20 below:

(20) During the police investigation no stone was left unturned

The metaphorical expression above is a scenic structural metaphor and directly observable due to the fact that the source *turning of the stone* would be observable through investigators working really hard to expedite the investigation.

Concerning non-situational metaphors, Ibanez and Hernández (2011: 170) further subcategorise them into topological and non-topological metaphors, with topological metaphors being further subdivided into image-schematic and image-based metaphors. An example of an image-schematic metaphor would be

(21) She is in deep trouble (Ibanez and Hernández 2011: 171),

based on the conceptual metaphors STATE IS A CONTAINER and THE DEPTH OF THE CONTAINER IS THE GRADE OF THE PROBLEMATIC SITUATION. Thus, the metaphor is similar to ontological or orientational metaphors but more complex allowing an extension of metaphors, as the three examples from Ibanez and Hernández (2011: 171) illustrate:

(22) She is trapped by the situation.

(23) It will be hard for her to get out.

(24) But she could be deeper inside.

Ibanez and Hernández (2011: 171) further explain that this logical extension

is not the case with orientational metaphors, such as “*MORE IS UP/ LESS IS DOWN*”, as in “*Gas prices are too high*,” which singly maps height onto quantity. For these mappings to be part of a richer logic system they need to interact with other metaphors, such as those based on the notion of moving along a (vertical) path. This interaction facilitates reasoning: ‘*Gas prices have been going up too fast; we hope they will come to a halt as soon as the market stabilizes; then they will gradually slope down until they reach a plateau*’.

In addition, topological metaphors can also be subclassified as image-based metaphors, which are similar to non-structural imagistic metaphors; however, Ibanez and Hernández (2011: 171) point out that image-based metaphors are characterised through the mapping of a visual feature from the source onto the target. As stated above, the metaphorical expression *the raven-haired woman* establishes a correspondence between source and target domain based on outer appearance, classifying it as a non-structural imagistic metaphor. However, image-based metaphors, in contrast to imagistic metaphors, inherit a “more conceptual nature” (Ibanez and Hernández 2011: 171) and map more than one corresponding quintessential feature.



### 2.3 Metaphor and metonymy

As the Pragglejaz Group (2007: 31) mentions, “[m]etaphor and metonymy are often confused, even in scholarly discussions of figurative language”; consequently, the concept of metonymy is outlined below and compared to metaphor. Kövecses (2002: 145) identifies metonymy as “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or idealized cognitive model (ICM)”. Further, Warren (2003: 114) stresses the different notion of mappings as main distinction between metaphor and metonymy when outlining that metaphor is based on mappings between different domains, whereas metonymy establishes a mapping within a single ICM. As Croft (2003: 177) specifies, the ICM “possesses a unity that is created by experience”. For instance, Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 38) outline the general metonymic concept “THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION”, which is illustrated in the three examples below.

- (25) In Washington, the *White House* said the coup attempt appeared to have ended in failure.
- (26) The *White House* admitted it had known of the plot for days [...].
- (27) The *White House* denounced the charge as 'completely scurrilous and irresponsible [...].

All three examples above (number 25 to 27) are taken from the BNC (2007, original emphasis) and illustrate the point that the *White House* as location is applied by speakers to refer to the whole institution, including the President of the United States and other governing branches. This metonymy is grounded in the physical experience of entering buildings and other physical locations or places such as stores or offices when visiting an institution.

However, Croft (2003: 178) adds that “it is possible for metonymy, as well as for other lexical ambiguities, to occur across domains within a domain matrix.” For instance, the metonymic expression (28) below is situated within the domain matrix of [KANT], which includes the concept of [KANT] referring to Immanuel Kant as a person and his works. This metonymic understanding of the utterance is motivated by the fact that Kant was a philosophical writer, which locates the domain of

philosophical writing and his works within the domain matrix of [KANT]. Thus, a “shift of domains within the domain matrix” (Croft 2003: 179) is involved.

(28) Kant is not an easy read.

This possibility for metonymy to operate within a domain matrix is labelled conceptual highlighting (Cruse 1986: 53) and as Croft (2003: 179) explains, “metonymy makes primary a domain that is secondary in the literal meaning”. Thus, metonymy foregrounds a domain within the same domain matrix whereas metaphor enables mapping source and target domain from different matrices.

Further, Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 36) label the following case of *synecdoche* as a metonymic concept: THE PART FOR THE WHOLE. For instance, when scientists utter the example given in (29) below, they utilise the body as a physical entity to refer to the whole person, evoking the concept of BODY FOR WHOLE PERSON.

(29) We need *healthy bodies* for our experimental study.

In addition, through clarifying that people should have a healthy body scientists pick a part from the whole that is important for their special purposes, creating the effect that the healthy bodily condition of participants is required and not, for instance, a certain height or sex. Thus, “[w]hich part we pick out determines which aspect of the whole we are focusing on” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 36), which implies that metonymy could also be utilised to establish a referential perspective between parts considered as especially important, which could suit a particular purpose or communicative function.

### 2.3.1 Contrasting functions of metaphor and metonymy

As Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 36, original emphasis) observe,

[m]etaphor is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding. Metonymy, on the other hand, has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to *stand for* another.

However, just like metaphors, metonymies can also be systematically grouped. For instance, Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 39, original emphasis, *Thailand* emphasis

added, numbers added) provide the following metonymic linguistic examples, all of which are part of the metonymic concept THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT:

(30) Let's not let *Thailand* become another *Vietnam*.

(31) *Pearl Harbor* still has an effect on our foreign policy.

(32) It's been *Grand Central Station* here all day.

All three cases illustrate the metonymic concept of a place being used to refer to an event; thus, "we have two elements that are closely related to each other in conceptual space" (Kövecses 2002: 147). Similar to metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 39) further posit that metonymies are based on experience. For instance, referring to a place when meaning the event, as illustrated above, is rooted in the physical experience that events take place in locations. Thus, experiences within the same ICM can be based on the concept of contiguity within the ICM, whereas metaphor relies on similarity (Kövecses 2002: 146). Thus, the contiguity between vehicle and target within the same ICM is characteristic for metonymic expressions.

However, metonymy can also motivate conceptual metaphors, as illustrated by Kövecses (2002: 157), who observes that "some metaphorical relationships can be said to be motivated by a CAUSE AND EFFECT type of metonymy, while some others by a WHOLE AND PART type of metonymy". CAUSE AND EFFECT belong to the realm of the CAUSATION ICM whereas WHOLE AND PART are relatable to the single domain THING ICM (Kövecses 2002: 157). In the following, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR originally described in Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 4) is used to exemplify the described relationship between metonymy and metaphor. On the basis of the development of human speech Kövecses (2002: 158) re-interprets this conceptual metaphor as follows: "verbal arguments can be seen to derive from physical fighting or war in the sense that humans developed the verbal activity of argument to avoid physical conflicts". As history progressed, humans started conceptualising an ARGUMENT as WAR, which is with regard of the previously mentioned historical development motivated by the "metonymic process, in which the source (WAR) PRODUCES the target (ARGUMENT), which then 'stands for' the source. This is a form of the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE" (Kövecses 2002: 158, original emphasis), which is based on the idea that the WAR domain initiated the development of argumentation, which then functions as target domain. Thus, WAR

resulted in ARGUMENT, meaning that the source WAR is the cause for the target domain ARGUMENT. Moving on to the metonymic relationship of WHOLE AND PART, Kövecses (2002: 159) mentions as metaphorical examples that are motivated by the WHOLE AND PART metonymy the following conceptual metaphors: EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, CHANGE IS MOTION, CAUSATION IS TRANSFER, CAUSES ARE FORCE and ACTION IS MOTION. Kövecses (2002: 158) points out that all of those have in common that the target domain is superordinate to the source domain, which results, for instance, in the observations that motion is a part of action or actions are subordinate to events. Consequently, those metaphors relate through subcategorization to the metonymic WHOLE AND PART structure.

In addition to the metonymies CAUSE AND EFFECT and WHOLE AND PART described by Kövecses (2002: 157), Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 40) propose that metonymy is also frequently found in symbolism in culture and religion. Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 40) further maintain that “[t]he conceptual systems of cultures and religions are metaphorical in nature. Symbolic metonymies are critical links between everyday experience and the coherent metaphorical systems that characterise religions and cultures”. This observation indicates the possibility that metonymy related to religious symbolism could also motivate conceptual metaphors; however, this speculation would need further research.

#### 2.4 Critical considerations

Although numerous scholars acknowledge the value of Lakoff and Johnson’s (2003) work and the implications of conceptual metaphor theory for the field of linguistics, other authors address certain unresolved questions concerning the cognitive linguistic approach focusing on conceptual metaphor or express criticism of Lakoff and Johnson’s (2003: 3) claim “that metaphor is pervasive [...] in thought and action”. Some of these concerns are outlined below in order to illustrate limitations of the conceptual metaphor theory and highlight a few issues that still need to be resolved.

As Steen *et al.* (2010b: 766) point out, a problem concerning the postulated correspondence between psychological processes and metaphorical realisations

is that what is analysed in cognitive linguistics as metaphorical in the linguistic and conceptual structures of discourse does not have to be a one-

on-one reflection of the psychological processes of human verbal and cognitive behaviour in discourse.

Hence, the proposed relationship between metaphor and thought is criticised and clarification is needed concerning the correspondence of metaphorical expressions manifested as linguistic forms and metaphorical thought processes. Further, Steen *et al.* (2010b: 766) address the issue that the relevance of conceptual metaphor for “long-term psycholinguistic processes such as language acquisition, maintenance and attrition” does not seem to be sufficiently explained; however, current research aims to identify the implications a cognitive approach to metaphor yields for language learning and second language acquisition (cf., Ryshina-Pankova 2010b; Nayak and Mukerjee 2012).

Another area lending itself to further investigation is the usage of metaphors in different cultures and languages, as discussed by Kövecses (2004) and Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2013), indicating a certain amount of variation in metaphor usage. In addition, Steen *et al.* (2010b: 766-767) point out that “[w]hat is metaphorical to some language users does not have to be metaphorical to other language users”; consequently, variation concerning metaphorical usage could occur from individual to individual but also within speech communities and whole languages conceptualising the same metaphors differently. It is argued that the nature of metaphorical mappings is grounded in human experience, which implies that all humans have roughly the same experience; however, it seems to be unlikely that an indigenous Amazonian tribe shares every structure of experience with, for instance, Europeans. In order to illustrate this point, Gates’ (2001) mapping between a car and a human life is considered, in which she maps a car’s engine to the human body. Due to the fact that the car is a well-established item in the Western culture, Europeans are likely to apply the proposed metaphorical construct that identifies CAR as the source domain and LIFE as abstract target domain. However, it is highly probable that an indigenous Amazonian tribe will apply other source domains that are closer to their experience when they conceptualise the source domain LIFE.

Steen *et al.* (2010b: 767) identify another issue concerning the correlation between conceptual metaphors and linguistic realisations noting that “[t]he problem here is the adequate and accurate identification and demarcation of conceptual metaphors

[...] in relation to the concrete linguistic expressions in situated events or documents". Thus, the lack of a generally acknowledged methodological approach for metaphor identification has been criticised as well as the relevance of conceptual metaphors for concrete language usage in discourse. However, various authors (cf., Pragglejaz Group 2007, Steen *et al.* 2010; Steen *et al.* 2010b, Stefanowitsch 2006) propose improved metaphor identification procedures that are claimed to be acknowledged as reliable, valid, objective and systematic tools.

### 2.5 Fauconnier and Turner: Network model

Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) assumption that metaphors shape and structure the way humans understand the world has been extended in Fauconnier and Turner's (2008b) network model, which tries to identify the on-line processes of understanding. As Kövecses (2002: 227) explains, Fauconnier and Turner adopt a broader perspective by asking the question "of how the conceptual system operates with domains in general: how it projects elements from one to another, how it fuses two domains into one, how it builds up new domains from existing ones, etc". This research interest addresses the above-mentioned criticism by Steen *et al.* (2010b: 766), who question the reflection of metaphorical thought within cognitive processes. Even though Fauconnier's (1994) work is considerably older than Steen's *et al.* (2010), it suggests the concept of *mental spaces* as an underlying cognitive structure, which is not discussed in Steen *et al.* (2010). Fauconnier (1994: 1,16) introduced the notion of *mental* or *conceptual spaces*, which are defined in work by Fauconnier and Turner (2008b: 102) as "small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding or action", and hypothesise that those mental spaces are reflected in neuronal structures through various binding processes (2008b: 102). Consequently, conceptual spaces could operate as a network on a cognitive level aiding the process of understanding the world, which is a notion closely linked to the conceptual metaphor theory.

As Fauconnier and Turner (2008b: 102, original emphasis) observe the interaction between spaces, they note that "[s]paces have elements and, often, relations between them. When these elements and relations are organized as a package that we already know about, we say that the mental space is *framed*". Further, Kövecses (2002: 227) mentions that "[m]ental spaces are often structures by more than one conceptual domain", resulting in the consequence that the network is not composed

of two-domain mappings with a source and a target domain, as in Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) approach. Instead, the network is composed of an input spaces, a blended space and a generic space (Kövecses 2002: 237), in which input spaces can yield the domain of a blended space. However, the input space has the possibility of "involv[ing] a source-target relationship between two input spaces (i.e., they can be seen as constituting a case of conceptual metaphor)" (Kövecses 2002: 229). The example given below should illustrate the connection between input spaces, blended spaces and the generic mental space.

To illustrate this proposed relationship to conceptual metaphor, Fauconnier and Turner (2008b: 291) provide the figure of the Grim Reaper, who is a common depiction of death dressed in a cowl and holding a scythe, as example. Kövecses (2002: 229) notes that "[t]his personification of death assumes two conceptual metaphors: PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and EVENTS ARE ACTIONS". The former conceptual metaphor conceptualises people as being pruned by the reaper whereas in the second metaphor, death is identified as an event corresponding to the domain of ACTION because death denotes the movement from being alive to being dead. It is this moment of transmission in which The Grim Reaper usually appears carrying people over to the world of the dead. Kövecses (2002: 229) further explains that the Grim Reaper is situated in a blended space between the input domain of harvesting plants and the domain of death, which is represented through the scythe.

Another concept discussed by Fauconnier and Turner (2008b: 41) is the generic mental space that provides no cross-domain mappings as applied in conceptual metaphor but instead "maps onto each of the inputs and contains what the inputs have in common". Kövecses (2002: 230-231) further explains that the generic mental space has two implications for conceptual metaphor:

Either generic spaces can make metaphoric mappings between source and target domains possible or two inputs will share abstract structure because a conventional metaphor has established that abstract structure. For example, the reaper in the source domain of plants has death as a counterpart in the target domain of people dying. The shared generic structure has been established by the metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS [...]. People dying and plants dying are both cases where things cease to live. This enables us to see counterparts, or correspondences, between the two domains: between people and plants and between death as cause and reaper.

Thus, the abstract structure as generic space creates the possibility for mapping the two input spaces. Hence, the network model deviates from Lakoff and Johnson's (2003) conceptual metaphor theory by being based not on the mapping of target and source domain but on the relationship between input and generic spaces as well as blends.

### 3. Relevance for political discourse

As Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 159) explain, metaphors shape our understanding of the world and additionally influence the political and social discourse. The present chapter outlines the usage of metaphor in the *political reality* (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 159) and highlights the connection between metaphorical expressions and persuasion as well as moral convictions. Charteris-Black (2009: 108) explains the connection by stating that

[m]etaphors are very effective in the communication of policy because they provide cognitively accessible ways of communicating political policy. They provide proofs of warrants that support arguments and have particular entailments. Metaphors may be exploited or manipulated or even reversed in order to communicate a particular political argument.

Focusing on the American political discourse, Kövecses (2002: 62) identifies the following metaphors as main underlying conceptual structures: "POLITICS IS WAR; POLITICS IS BUSINESS; SOCIETY IS A FAMILY; SOCIETY IS A PERSON; and THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A RACE". The last is, for instance, utilised in *Donald Trump's presidential announcement speech* (Time Magazine 2015, my emphasis) in which Trump states that the following:

(33) So ladies and gentlemen... I am officially *running*... for president of the United States, and we are going to make our country great again.

The metaphorical expression *running* presents the election process as a race between different participants, which is conventionalised in everyday language allowing his listeners to understand his utterances.

Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 139) describe such metaphors as "conventional metaphors, that is, metaphors that structure the ordinary conceptual system of our culture, which is reflected in our everyday language". That the conceptual metaphor THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A RACE is in the Western culture a



conventionalised metaphor can be supported through three examples taken from the BNC (2007, original emphasis) that all contain the metaphorical expression *running for president* and occur in different contexts (fictional prose, film review, magazine entry):

(34) Terrified that the publicity could ruin his father, who was a senator *running for president* [...].

(35) Give him five years and he'll be *running for President*.

(36) Was this man *running for president* of the top body in world motor sport?

Based on conventional metaphors, Kövecses (2002: 31) acknowledges that politicians, as well as other speakers, such as journalists, ministers, musicians and speakers of slang varieties derivate novel metaphors. Further, Charteris-Black (2009: 109) adds that

[n]ew metaphors can lead us to fresh perspectives on political issues because they explain political policy and communicate political arguments, but they also contain a hidden bias because they make certain assumptions that are not clearly formulated at the time when the metaphor is first used. Metaphors [...] provide a cognitive filter that colours the covert political intentions of the politicians; metaphors therefore only reflect 'right' thinking from the perspective of the particular social group who benefits from their arguments.

An example is provided in Trump's speech (Time Magazine 2015), in which Trump utters the following statement:

(37) Islamic terrorism is eating up large portions of the Middle East.

Trump's (Time Magazine 2015) utterance alludes to a personal bodily experience every living being has – the feeling of hunger. Therefore, *conquering major parts of a country* is conceptualised as *eating up large portions* alluding to the concept of similarity based on the bodily experience of eating. The main similarity between *conquering* and *eating* could be the basic function that something external is made internal. In terms of eating, food is internalised through chewing and then swallowing; similarly, troops invade a country and internalise it, i.e. conquer it, through successfully fighting local forces. Thus, a mapping is established between the two domains, which “are shaped and constrained by our bodily experiences in the world, experiences in which the two conceptual domains are correlated and consequently establish mappings from one domain to another” (Lakoff and Johnson

2003: 246-247). The correlations between the source domain of *eating* and the target domain of *conquering* suggest that Trump's metaphorical expression could be based on the structural metaphor CONQUERING MAJOR PARTS OF A COUNTRY IS EATING UP LARGE PORTIONS OF FOOD. However, more evidence would be needed to justify the existence of this specific novel metaphor in our conceptual system.

Nevertheless, Trump creates a visual image in the mind, which is based on the bodily experience of eating and extended to the context of terrorism. Further, Semino (2008: 86) elaborates on effects of metaphor usage and mentions that "by metaphorically talking about something in terms of something else, speakers/writers foreground some aspects of the phenomenon in question and downplay others, and therefore potentially affect receivers' views". Consequently, the reality presented here by Trump is only the representation of a partial reality on the one hand highlighting his own convictions and beliefs but on the other hand excluding other views, which can be linked with Chilton's' (2004) strategic functions of representation and misrepresentation that are illustrated below.

### 3.1 Metaphor and persuasion

Kövecses (2002: 9) argues that the use of conceptual metaphors is usually unconscious. This statement seems reasonable considering that in everyday language usage, participants in a conversation have hardly any time to plan their utterances ahead. In contrast, the political discourse commonly utilises the medium of the speech to address certain issues, which implies that experts trained to write such speeches prepare the words of the politicians, allowing them to carefully construct messages they want to get across in order to fulfil a particular purpose. As Semino (2008: 8) points out,

the skill of [...] public speakers lies precisely in their ability to exploit conventional conceptual metaphors for their own rhetorical purposes, by creatively stretching and adapting them to convey particular points.

Thus, constructed language makes consciously use of linguistic expressions and as Lakoff (2008: 129) explains, "[p]art of the power of political language is that the ideas expressed are processed reflexively". Consequently, audiences probably do not have enough time to reflect on ideas presented in a speech but instead process them reflexively. This supports the assumption that ideas are easier acceptable

when no time for reflection is given through the medium of speech, which could be seen as planned spoken language.

As Chilton (2004: 45-47) illustrates, there are several strategies that are interconnected in the political context in which linguistic expressions can be coded: coercion, legitimisation and delegitimation, and representation and misrepresentation. Linguistic expressions falling under the category of coercion focus on “speech acts backed by sanctions (legal and physical), such as commands, laws, edicts, etc.” (Chilton 2004: 45), which is further connected with political power due to the assumption that those in power have the means to decide what is allowed and where personal decision-making ends. Further, this power should be legitimised or in contrast delegitimised when the current holders of power are criticised by opponents in order to undermine their credibility. Consequently, the political party in power is likely to legitimise their actions and convictions through speech acts whereas other parties might attack those views resulting in a struggle for political power, which is especially present in election processes.

Concerning representation and misrepresentation, Chilton (2004: 47) explains that “[p]olitical control involves the control of information”; consequently, information for others could be limited, censored or constructed evoking a distorted interpretation of reality, which is again linked with the legitimisation of those in power because they can present their ‘reality’ as favourable. For instance, Obama’s “request to [c]ongress for [a]uthorization of [f]orce [a]gainst ISIL” (Obama 2015) carries the ulterior motive of persuading his audience to consent to attack the Islamic extremist group ISIL; in other words, this is an example of the persuasive effect of metaphors. Political language is conscious and planned, giving the stage to purposely constructed metaphorical expressions allowing politicians to present problematic topics, such as the refugee crises, war or health care, in a different light, suiting a specific political agenda. Thus, the usage of metaphorical expression can be linked to Chilton’s (2004) strategic functions for linguistic expressions due to the fact that the topics stated above are withdrawn from reality and consciously reinterpreted to persuade the audience. As Chilton (2004: 52) explains, the usage of metaphors can be linked with the strategic function of representation due to the nature of metaphors: the source domain needs to be interpreted to reveal the target domain.

### 3.2 Metaphors and morality

In US political discourse, the usage of metaphors to modify utterances according to the speaker's needs and underlying purposes is closely linked with metaphors that are applied to convey moral convictions. As Kövecses (2002: 62) mentions, "[d]iscourse about morality often involves two foundational conceptual metaphors: (1) MORALITY IS STRENGTH and (2) MORALITY IS NURTURANCE". Both metaphors are grounded in Lakoff's (2002: 153) structural conceptual metaphor "The Nation As Family", which establishes a link between metaphor, morality, politics and party affiliations as outlined below. It is noteworthy that within the analysis, the conservative worldview is seen as being adopted by republicans and the liberal worldview by democrats. The assumption that conservatism and republicanism overlap and that the liberal ideology corresponds with democratic beliefs is reflected in Levendusky's (2009: 1) observation that "[p]arty and ideology today are much more tightly aligned than they were a generation ago, with liberals and conservatives better sorted into the Democratic and Republican parties". Thus, party affiliation and the underlying ideology are treated as being correlative.

The MORALITY IS STRENGTH (Lakoff 2002: 71) metaphor underlies a conservative mind set and foregrounds the actions of an individual within the family and acknowledges the two extremes of good and evil, indicating a possible decision between those polarities, which suggests that a "moral person would apply a counterforce in an effort to overcome the force of evil" (Kövecses 2002: 63); thus, morality can be metaphorically understood in terms of physical strength applied to fight evil. In contrast, the MORALITY IS NURTURANCE (Lakoff 2002: 116) metaphor is associated with liberalism and stresses the aspect of nurture, which is maintainer between at least two people. Thus, the focus is not placed on the individual but on moral convictions of a varying number of participants standing in close relation to each other within a family discourse.

Those two conceptualisations of NATION AS A FAMILY (Lakoff 2002: 153) result in "two models of the [stereotypical and idealised] family, which are culturally elaborated variants of traditional male and female models. These are rooted in long cultural experience" (Lakoff 2002: 155). As McAdams *et al.* (2008: 984) observe, "[m]en tend to use strict-father themes to a greater extent than did women, showing higher theme scores on rules- reinforcement and self-discipline". For instance, the

male aspect is exemplified below (examples 38 to 40) through the metaphorical expression *founding fathers* taken from the BNC (2007, original emphasis), which seems to be largely applied to refer to the United State's historical colonies, to founders of companies, institutions or a school of thought. Further, *founding fathers* is applied in various contexts, such as political publications, newspapers or prose occurring with a frequency index of 79 in the BNC (2007).

(38) This election concept was introduced because the *founding fathers* felt the public was not in a position to make up its own mind.

(39) Yet why is that so? Because the *founding fathers* chose so.

(40) The sociology of religion was a subject of primary concern for the' *founding fathers*' of sociology.

In contrast, the female counterpart, the *founding mother* occurs exclusively in one instance in the BNC online corpus (2007) in the context of scientific progress as illustrated below:

(41) We might argue, as does Professor Marie Jahoda -- a *founding mother* of social research on the experience of unemployment -- that the social contacts [...].

Thus, the metaphorical expression relating to the father seems to be dominant, which supports Lakoff's (2002) claim for different perspectives of family relationships. In addition, a cultural aspect is added, proposing a link with the traditional and stereotypical assumption that men are stronger and more authoritative than women; women, in contrast, are more nurturing than men. This is also reflected in the 2012 US elections in which more women voted for Obama's democratic party and the majority of men voted for the opposing republican candidate Mitt Romney (New York Times 2012).

On the basis of those outlined conceptual metaphors addressing moral conviction, Lakoff (2002) demonstrates that the two metaphors ascribe a different degree of importance to the relationship between the individual and other agents, such as partners, family or friends, which is also culturally dependent. MORALITY IS STRENGTH stresses the importance of the individual and its independence, whereas MORALITY IS NURTURANCE is based on the value of various agents and their relationships to each other. Consequently, both conceptions of morality appeal to

different mind sets and moral convictions leading Kövecses (2002: 63) to underline that “the different priorities given to the two metaphors may account for two conceptions of politics – conservatism and liberalism”, claiming that the former ascribes to the MORALITY IS STRENGTH metaphor whereas the latter identifies with the conceptualisation of morality as nurture.

McAdams *et al.* (2008: 979) argue based on Lakoff’s (2002) findings that “[f]or many voters, political leaders represent parents, and their politics are akin to how parents raise their children. Political orientations, then, reflect what a person believes a good parent should be”, which implies the conceptual metaphor “A NATION OR SOCIETY IS A FAMILY” (Kövecses 2002: 63). Lakoff (2002: 154) further points out that it is the previously mentioned conceptual metaphor that connects democratic and republican mind-sets to different interpretations of the family morality. As table 2 below illustrates, NATION OR SOCIETY is mapped with FAMILY as a structural metaphor.

**Table 2 source and target domain mapping A NATION OR SOCIETY IS A FAMILY**

<i>source domain: FAMILY</i>	<i>target domain: NATION OR SOCIETY</i>
parents	state/ government
children	citizens
head of the family (father)	head of state (president)
educational style	political orientation

The mapping entails, for instance, that the conceptualisation of a parent who protects the child is used to frame the state or government that is responsible for protecting the citizens. This mapping allows politicians to utilise the source domain FAMILY to talk about NATION OR SOCIETY.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that those “mappings between A and B are, and can be, only partial” (Kövecses 2002: 79), implying that they highlight or stress certain aspects but hide others. The consequences resulting of this are mirrored in the political discourse and in the manifestation of different worldviews to which Lakoff (2002: 160) adds that “people do not necessarily have a single, coherent worldview based on a single model”. For instance, a person with a liberal mind set might principally agree with the nurturing metaphor but not necessarily with all mapped aspects allowing a certain degree of variation. Thus, speakers can adopt which parts

of the source domain are prioritised in mapping it with the target domain, which is a process called “partial metaphorical utilization” (Kövecses 2002: 82, *cursive omitted*). The partial notion of mappings could also be explained through “[t]he neural mapping [that] occurs between the Family frame and the Governing Institution frame” (Lakoff 2008: 88). Cognitive models of family imply a child who requires a parent in order to survive, whereas members within institutions do not require parental supervision because they are usually conceptualised as independent adults. Consequently, both conceptions of morality ascribe opposing importance to the source domain FAMILY, creating different perspectives of the family concept, which is a notion inherent in both discussed metaphors.

Due to the fact that the metaphor THE NATION IS A FAMILY does not explicitly define the concepts of NATION and FAMILY, room for interpretation is provided, which results in different (political) perspectives. As Kövecses (2002: 63) further clarifies,

[i]n the ‘moral strength’ metaphor, the family consists of independent and self-reliant individuals and morality is taught and learned primarily through discipline (to resist evil). In the ‘nurturance’ metaphor, the family consists of people who have a moral obligation to help each other to begin with. In this family, morality is taught and learned less through discipline than through nurturance.

Consequently, different views and assumptions about the family and the role its agents play is reflected in the moral belief system of individuals as a descriptive model, which further influences the acknowledgement of a political view over the other. As Lakoff (2002: 159) points out, “[b]oth conservative and liberal models then organize and prioritize common conceptual metaphors for morality so as to fit the family model”. Thus, moral and political convictions are closely linked and structured through the conventional conceptual metaphor A NATION OR SOCIETY IS A FAMILY. The following two sections are based on Lakoff’s (2002) findings and intend to illustrate in more detail the moral mind set of liberals and conservatives emerging from the basis of the abovementioned family metaphor. This will prove to be relevant for the analysis of current political speeches presented in chapter 5 and 6, providing a basis for comparison between metaphors outlined in Lakoff’s (2002) original findings and metaphors identified when politicians speak about the domain of TERRORISM.

### 3.2.1 Conservatives

In general, the adoption of the metaphors MORALITY IS STRENGTH or MORALITY IS NURTURANCE result in two different worldviews: the former metaphor is more likely accepted by conservatives, whereas the latter suits a more liberal mind set. Thus, the “two different models of ideal family life can motivate corresponding sets of metaphorical priorities, each of which constitutes a distinct moral system” (Lakoff 2002: 65).

As Lakoff (2002: 33) points out, the conceptual metaphor associated with the republican party supports the concept of morality as strength to repel evil, correlating with a worldview based on a Strict Father model, which consequently maps the state with strict authorial parents. Lakoff (2002: 33) further outlines that

[t]his model posits a traditional nuclear family, with the father having primary responsibility for supporting and protecting the family as well as the authority to set overall policy [...]. The mother has the day-to-day responsibility for the care of the house, raising the children, and upholding the father’s authority. Children must respect and obey their parents [...]. Love and nurturance are, of course, a vital part of family life but can never outweigh parental authority, which is itself an expression of love and nurturance-tough love.

Thus, the model suggests that strict authority of the father should be obeyed by children in order to succeed in life. Lakoff (2008: 78) further explains that the strict father model is based on the concept of patriarchy, which centres around male power. However, considering the scenario that children often grow up in families without a father, the questions arise whether children are still able to develop the complex strict father model or whether a strict mother morality is also possible. Especially the notion of primary metaphors evolving into complex metaphors, such as MORALITY IS STRENGTH, could provide a starting point to answer both questions. Basing himself on the cognitive aspect of metaphor, Lakoff (2008: 83, 84) explains that children acquire primary metaphors through experiences that result in cortical co-activation, which results in neural mapping between simple and complex metaphors. Hence, the possibility of a formation of a strict father model becomes questionable when a father is not present due to the lack of co-activation between *father* and *strength*, which implies that the possible role of a strict mother requires further investigation.



In order to outline the composition of the MORALITY IS STRENGTH metaphor in more detail, several moves are observable leading to the conceptual metaphor, which are all taken from Lakoff (2002: 72):

- Being Good Is Being Upright.
- Being Bad is Being Low.
- Doing Evil Is Falling.
- Doing Evil is a Force (either internal or external).
- Morality Is Strength.

Concerning the first metaphor, the BNC (2007, original emphasis) provides various examples supporting the conceptualisation of GOOD as UPRIGHT:

(42) So Gilly was an elder of the church, an *upstanding* member of the community.

(43) These *upstanding* citizens are the Beatles of the balance-sheet.

(44) A fine *upstanding* man.

In all three cases, the metaphorical expression *upstanding* is applied to refer to the target domain GOOD creating a correspondence between two conceptual domains, which adds the opposed assumption that BAD is LOW as illustrated in the following example taken from the BNC (2007, original emphasis):

(45) Relations between them have hit an all-time *low* and things look set to worsen.

Further, Lakoff (2002: 71) explains that transitioning from those two opposing conceptualisations to the third metaphor indicates that “[d]oing evil is therefore moving from a position of morality (uprightness) to a position of immorality (being low)”, enabling the conceptualisation of DOING EVIL as a process of decline from up to low as FALLING.

Doing Evil is then made more concrete through viewing the action of doing evil as a force sparking immorality that can either be evoked on an internal or external level, for instance through persuading a person to act immorally. Therefore, Lakoff (2002: 71, original emphasis) explains that in order act as an upright person, humans have to show the ability to assert oneself against evil, which results in the conceptualisation that evil is repelled through moral strength. Due to its complex

nature, the MORALITY IS STRENGTH metaphor leads to a number of entailments, which are outlined below and all taken from Lakoff (2002: 73:

- The world is divided into good and evil.
- To remain good in the face of evil (to 'stand up' to evil), one must be morally strong.
- One becomes morally strong through self-discipline and self-denial.
- Someone who is morally weak cannot stand up to evil and so will eventually commit evil.
- Therefore, moral weakness is a form of immorality.
- Self-indulgence (the refusal to engage in self-denial) and lack of self-control (the lack of self-discipline) are therefore forms of immorality.

Based on interviews focusing on participants' life narratives, McAdams *et al.* (2008: 980) support Lakoff's (2002) claim by stating that conservatives advocate a compliance with all legislation and regulations and take full responsibility for one's actions. Hence, Mc Adams *et al.* (2008) provide additional evidence that the conservative mind set seems to be cognitively grounded as a psychological disposition emphasising strictness and self-discipline. When connecting those ideas to a domain mapping in which the state is the father and the citizens are the children, the metaphor proposes the analogy that the state has authority over its citizens, who should obey the governmental rules and adhere to self-discipline when striving for a fulfilled life.

### 3.2.2 Liberals

Voters who have internalised a more liberal mind set are likely to live by the MORALITY IS NURTURANCE metaphor, basing their conception of morality on the idea that parents, and thus the state, should ideally be nurturing parents. Lakoff (2002: 33-34) makes clear that this concept of morality comprises that

[l]ove, empathy, and nurturance are primary, and children become responsible, self-disciplined and self-reliant through being cared for, respected, and caring for others both in their family and in their community. [...] Good communication is crucial. If their [parents'] authority is to be legitimate, parents must explain why their decisions serve the cause of protection and nurturance. [...] What children need to learn most is empathy for others, the capacity for nurturance, and the maintenance of social ties,

which cannot be done without the strength, respect, self-discipline, and self-reliance than comes through being cared for.

Instead of suggesting an authoritative approach to parenting and thus governing, the social aspect of a parent – child relationship is stressed in the liberal model. Further, Lakoff (2008: 81) explains that within the mapping of family and nation, a policy becomes evident that focuses on social matters. Drawing on this assumption, McAdams *et al.* (2008: 980) analyse that “two key psychological themes associated with political liberalism [...] are (a) nurturing and caring for those in need and (b) the cultivation of empathy [...] and openness with respect to self and others”, standing in clear contrast with the conservative approach.

Furthermore, the MORALITY IS NURTURANCE metaphor is conceptualised as a conceptual metaphor as identified by Lakoff (2002: 117):

- The Community Is a Family.
- Moral Agents Are Nurturing Parents.
- People Needing Help Are Children Needing Nurturance.
- Moral Action Is Nurturance.

As indicated above, the nurturance-based metaphor implies that the whole community is part of morality; thus, a direct interaction between multiple moral agents is required. In contrast, the MORALITY IS STRENGTH conceptual metaphor seems to stress moral responsibilities more on the level of the individual. Focusing on the first conceptualisation of a community as a family, the connection possibly results out of numerous suggested similarities between both domains, as illustrated in table 3 below.

**Table 3 source and target domain mapping THE COMMUNITY IS A FAMILY**

<i>source domain: FAMILY</i>	<i>target domain: COMMUNITY</i>
parents	community leader(s)
children	community members
home	community centre

The moral agents providing guidance within the community are the parents taking care of their children and children are those that need to be nurtured because their survival would not be able without parents; hence, children could be linked with community members that need guidance. However, one possible difference

between a real family and the metaphor that conceptualises COMMUNITY as a FAMILY is the fact that within a family, children can usually not decide to which family they want to belong. Either they are born into the family or when adopted, the adoptive parents choose the child, implying that a child, especially a minor, seems not to have a major influence in deciding to which family he or she belongs. In contrast, prospective members of a community possibly can decide if they want to belong to a certain community or not. For instance, members of a religious community can resign from their communal affiliation but children cannot simply resign from their family. Thus, the community domain seems to require a certain amount of freedom to choose, which is probably not given in the family domain; however, those are just speculations and possible consequences on the metaphor conceptualisation would require more investigation.

Nevertheless, in both scenarios, moral action can be conceptualised as nurturance, which, according to Lakoff (2002: 117), needs to be provided by parents or another legal guardian; thus, parents who ignore their responsibility of nurturing the child act immoral. Further, Lakoff (2002: 117-118) explains that the MORALITY IS NURTURANCE metaphor inherits several entailments that are exactly as follows:

- To nurture children, one must have absolute and regular empathy with them.
- To act morally toward people needing help to survive, one must have absolute and regular empathy with them.
- Nurturance may require making sacrifices to care for children.
- Moral action may require making sacrifices to help truly needy people
- Family members have a responsibility to see that children in their family are nurtured.
- Community members have a responsibility to see that people needing help in their community are helped.

Especially the concept of empathy is stressed, which predicts in a continuum “the form of empathy people have and the issue of who counts as a community member” (Lakoff 2002: 118). Thus, the degree of empathy could, for instance, play a crucial role in the current European refugee crisis and influence decisions taken concerning the management of refugee streams and the treatment of people who apply for political asylum. A high degree of empathy probably evokes the application of the

MORALITY IS NURTURANCE metaphor because people could feel obliged to provide help for those in need; thus, they pursue their moral instincts through providing nurturance for refugees and are much more likely to apply a nurturance based metaphor.

### 3.3 Link between metaphors, morality and terrorism

Both republicans and democrats draw on their moral convictions, which are based on different sets of priorities within the A NATION OR SOCIETY IS A FAMILY metaphor when interpreting the world; thus, democrats tend to utilise morality-based metaphors that depict the nation or state as nurturing family whereas republicans apply a strict-father metaphor. As McAdams *et al.* (2008) re-evaluate the usage of metaphor in analysed life-narrative interviews showing that results are in line with Lakoff's (2002) findings. Mc Adams *et al.* (2008: 987) illustrate that, when questioned about their morality, people adherent to a conservative mind-set emphasise the importance of authoritarian guidance and loyalty to one self and the group; in contrast, liberals are more concerned with social issues, such as equality of all humans. Consequently, personal beliefs support the insights concerning the variation in metaphor usage between the two political parties. Similarly, Lakoff's findings are complemented by Haidt and Joseph's (2004: 64) moral foundations theory in which they state that "morality is innate (as a small set of modules) and socially constructed (as sets of interlocking virtues). It is cognitive (intuitions are pattern-recognition systems) and it is emotional (intuitions often launch moral emotions)". Further, Graham, Nosek and Haidt (2012) support Lakoff's findings because the following analogy can be drawn: Lakoff outlines that conservatives stress authority through arguing their moral assumptions based on the MORALITY IS STRENGTH metaphor, which concurs with Graham, Nosek and Haidt's (2012: 2) proposal that people with a conservative conviction stress the importance of binding relations, which are "Ingroup/ loyalty [...] Authority/ respect [...] and Purity/ sanctity". Concerning liberals, the preference of the two individualising foundations "Harm/ care [...] and Fairness/ reciprocity" (Graham, Nosek and Haidt's 2012: 2) synthesise with Lakoff's MORALITY IS NURTURANCE metaphor, because both inherit similar morality traits.

Adding the tremendous implications for morality in the political context, as outlined above, the question arises whether the applied metaphors MORALITY IS STRENGTH

and MORALITY IS NURTURANCE remain stable or whether republican or democratic speakers alter the usage of metaphorical expressions when faced with extreme situations of violence and fear. As Charteris-Black (2009: 104) explains,

emotions of fear are aroused in times of invasion by the threat of an unknown Other, because this is how humans respond when protecting their group from danger. Fear of the unknown Other is often communicated by metaphors.

For instance, due to the terrorist attacks in Europe and America associated with the Islamic extremist group ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant), political speakers from both political parties might subconsciously change their conceptualisation of morality when feeling such an immense threat posed against the West and the American nation in particular. As Scheffer (2006: 16) explains, “[t]errorism is morally distinctive insofar as it seeks to exploit the nexus of violence and fear in such a way as to degrade or destabilize an existing social order”. Thus, the conceptualisation of terrorism on a metaphorical level is presumably different in contrast to metaphors used in daily political proceedings.

If we assume that metaphorical expressions shed light on conceptual metaphors indicating a speaker’s moral beliefs, the usage of metaphors could also indicate a change in moral convictions when faced with an extreme situation such as the threat of terrorism. As Lakoff (2002: 159) explains, “[w]hen we instantaneously understand a political speech, we are filling in what is not explicitly said in the speech through the use of these cognitive models”. Thus, cognitive linguistics stresses the importance of metaphors for the political discourse and its application in speeches because they could function as indicator for the politician’s worldviews and consequently moral convictions. Consequently, an analysis of conservative and liberal speakers addressing in their speeches a topic closely related with terrorism should yield information about the stability of those metaphors in critical situations. Consequently, the covert moral content of speeches should be made overt through the analysis of conceptual metaphors focusing on the context of terrorism.

## **4. Methodology**

With the aim in mind to extract conceptual metaphors in discourse based on a reliable method that is able to compensate for the issue that only an individual rater

decides about the metaphoricity of a given utterance, an objective corpus-based approach to metaphor analysis has been chosen. As Semino (2008: 191) states, “[c]orpus-based metaphor study is a relatively new area, but some significant results have already been achieved”. A frequently cited and thus well-established corpus-based approach for the identification of conceptual metaphors is Stefanowitsch’s (2006) *metaphorical pattern analysis*, which functions as basis for the analysis. The applied methodology as well as other relevant methodological considerations are all outlined in the following subsections.

#### 4.1 Corpora and their contextualisation

All texts used for analysis are transcripts of speeches held in the Congress of the United States by either republican (corpus A) or democratic speakers (corpus B). Republicans are associated with pursuing a conservative worldview whereas democrats act within a more liberal mind set. Further, excerpts from both House and Senate are taken into consideration because as the *Constitution of the United States* (Brady 2007: 1) declares, “[a]ll legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives”; hence, both sides should be given a voice in the analysis. In addition, speeches from Congress are chosen because according to section 8, clauses 11 and 12 of the Constitution (Brady 2007: 5), the Congress has the power “[t]o declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;” and “[t]o raise and support Armies”. Thus, the Congress has the legislative power and means to fight *a war against terrorism*, which justifies why texts from the Congress are utilised for analysing conceptual metaphors related with terrorism. Further, taking into account both parties is essential for identifying if the conceptualisation of MORALITY IS STRENGTH or MORALITY IS NURTURANCE changes when terrorism is addressed in the medium of a political speech.

All texts selected for analysis are excerpts from the *Congressional Record*, which “is the most widely recognized published account of the debates, proceedings, and activities of the United States Congress” (The Library of Congress). In order to ensure actuality and relation to relatively current events that shape political actions, all texts are records of the 114<sup>th</sup> congress, which is the most recent congress covering proceedings between 2015 and 2016. More specifically, the proceedings

analysed range from the 28<sup>th</sup> of January 2015 until the 21<sup>st</sup> of April 2016. Thus, all speeches are delivered preceding and following the Paris terror attacks on the 13<sup>th</sup> of November 2015 and also include speeches thematising the recent attacks in Brussels on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of March 2016. Both these “attacks have been claimed by so-called Islamic State (IS)” (BBC News 2016b). In total, 36 speeches by 24 different republican speakers and 52 speeches given by 35 democratic speakers from the House of Representatives or the Senate were selected that contain any form of information relatable with terrorist activities. The republican corpus is composed of 53940 single words whereas the democratic text selection comprises 53352 words, which indicates that both parties are represented through an almost identical overall text length.

#### 4.2 Terrorism and ISIS

In order to identify instances in which politicians speak about terrorism in connection with the recent threat of the ISIS extremist group, both terms are defined in detail in this subsection. As far as terrorism is concerned, several authors provide various definitions often focusing on a specific aspect. As we have seen before, one aspect is the intended use of violence to threaten a state’s social order (Scheffler 2006: 16). The aspect of violence is also echoed in the definition provided in *The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (Mayor 2010: 1821, emphasis left out) in which *terrorism* is described as “the use of violence such as bombing, shooting, or kidnapping to obtain political demands such as making a government do something”.

Further, the United States Code (113B, § 2331) establishes *international terrorism* as a special form of *terrorism*, which is due to global developments concerning acts of terrorism also of relevance for the analysis. *International terrorism* (United States Code 113B, § 2331) is characterised through actions that

- (A) involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws [...];
- (B) appear to be intended-
  - (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population;
  - (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion;or
  - (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and



(C) occur primarily outside the territorial jurisdiction of the United States, or transcend national boundaries in terms of the means by which they are accomplished, the persons they appear intended to intimidate or coerce, or the locale in which their perpetrators operate or seek asylum;

A recent case of *international terrorism* when contextualised from the viewpoint of US politicians is, for instance, the tragic events in Brussels (BBC News 2016a, 2016b) for which ISIS claimed responsibility.

As Lock (2014) outlines, the Islamic extremist group responsible for the Paris and Brussel attacks operates under the names ISIL, ISIS or IS and depending on which acronym is chosen in political discourse, a different “political resonance” is established. ISIS is the “original name for the group in Arabic [...]”. The first three words translate to the Islamic State of Iraq while ‘al-Sham’ refers to Syria or an undefined region around Syria” (Lock 2014). Further, Lock (2014) states that “[t]he undefined region around Syria is historically referred to as the Levant”, which is represented through the *L* in ISIL. This allowed US politicians to avoid “talking about ‘attacking Syria’ [...] after Mr Obama refused to send troops into the country to intervene in the civil war against President Bashar al-Assad” (Lock 2014). Consequently, the intended usage of ISIL instead of ISIS allows covering up a political-based decision, which could evoke controversy or undermine the President’s credibility. Finally, IS stands for Islamic State referring to “[t]he group’s stated goal [which] is to restore an Islamic state, or caliphate” (Lock 2014). Focusing on the analysis, even though “[t]he group itself declared in June [2014] that it wants to be known as the ‘Islamic State’” (Lock 2014), the acronym ISIS is applied when discussing the analysis’ results, since ISIS is the most frequent term utilised within both corpora.

#### 4.3 Preliminary methodological considerations

Due to the fact that there is no generally acknowledged approach for analysing conceptual metaphors, various methodological problems could arise, especially when metaphors are analysed in context and within a particular discourse. As Gibbs (2010) evaluates, “[w]ith a few exceptions (e.g., Cameron 2003; Praggeljaz Group 2007), metaphor scholars have not provided criteria or guidelines by which they conduct their individual analyses of metaphor in language and thought”. Further,

the Pragglejaz Group (2007: 2) underlines the need for a clearly structured methodology when stating that

the lack of agreed criteria for metaphor identification complicates any evaluation of theoretical claims about the frequency of metaphor, its organization in discourse, and possible relations between metaphoric language and metaphoric thought.

Consequently, the Pragglejaz Group (2007) have developed a qualitative approach for metaphor identification called *MIP: metaphor identification procedure* that focuses exclusively on linguistic metaphors ignoring the cognitive perspective. Thus, this step-by-step procedure is suitable for scholars interested purely in metaphorical expression on the linguistic level, but is not appropriate for identifying conceptual metaphors, which is the aim of this thesis. As Stefanowitsch (2006: 64) points out, “it is difficult to establish a firm empirical basis for studying conceptual metaphor from a linguistic perspective”. Consequently, Stefanowitsch (2006) provides an alternative guideline for metaphor analysis working “on the basis of [...] quantitative data” (Stefanowitsch 2006: 63). The corpus-based approach, which is introduced by Stefanowitsch (2006: 66, original emphasis) as “*metaphorical pattern analysis* (MPA)” enables the extraction of conceptual metaphors in discourse, making it a suitable procedure for identifying metaphors in political speeches. The following section will outline Stefanowitsch’s (2006) approach; this section will be followed by a section pointing out some methodological shortcomings.

#### 4.4 Metaphorical pattern analysis

Stefanowitsch’s (2006: 66) *metaphorical pattern analysis*, in the following referred to as MPA, identifies conceptual metaphors through working with “metaphorical expressions [that] contain source and target domain lexemes”. Considering, for instance, Lakoff and Johnson’s (2003: 4) famous example “ARGUMENT IS WAR” in which ARGUMENT functions as target domain and WAR as source domain, Stefanowitsch (2006: 65, original emphasis) provides the following three examples:

- (46) Your *claims* are indefensible.
- (47) His *criticisms* were right on target.
- (48) He shot down all of my *arguments*.

All three examples belong to the conceptual metaphor “ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 4) and, as Stefanowitsch (2006: 65, original emphasis) points

out, “all contain lexical items from both the source domain (*indefensible, target, shoot down*) and the target domain (*claim, criticism, argument*)”. Those cases of metaphorical expressions showing linguistic evidence of both domains constitute, according to Stefanowitsch (2006: 66), a subclass which he termed *metaphorical pattern*. Stefanowitsch (2006: 66) defines a *metaphorical pattern* as “a multi-word expression from a given source domain (SD) into which one or more specific lexical items from a given target domain (TD) have been inserted”. Thus, “metaphorical patterns provide a basis for target-domain oriented studies on the basis of corpus data” (Stefanowitsch 2006: 66); consequently, the MPA suits the purpose of identifying metaphorical expressions related with the target domain of terrorism from speeches presented in the US Congress from either republican or democratic speakers and will aid the process of extracting underlying conceptual metaphors.

As illustrated in the following paragraph, the MPA can be divided into four concrete subsequent steps allowing the analyst to move from a lexical item in discourse to metaphorical mappings. As Stefanowitsch (2006: 64) summarises,

[t]he basic idea behind this method is fairly straight-forward: we choose a lexical item referring to the target domain under investigation and extract (a sample of) its occurrences in the corpus. In this sample, we then identify all metaphorical expressions that the search word is part of and group them into coherent groups representing general mappings.

Concerning the first step and with the main aim in mind to study metaphors related to the field of terrorism, a range of target domains and matching lexical items within this discourse were selected for analysis. As Stefanowitsch (2006: 71) mentions, “[s]ince metaphorical pattern analysis is by definition lexeme-specific, a representative lexical item had to be chosen”. However, Stefanowitsch (2006) does not clearly state the parameters on which he chose the lexical items for his analysis. Thus, the presented study used the tool *wordcounter* (Friedman) to extract the 200 most frequent words from the analysed speeches. From those words, all lexemes that are related to the discourse of terrorism were extracted and narrowed down to the following lexemes and their derivatives: ISLAM, ISLAMIC STATE, MUSLIM, SYRIA, TERRORISM, TERRORISTS, TERRORIST GROUP/ ORGANISATION/ NETWORK,

In total, seven key words within the field of terrorism and the context of the Paris (BBC News 2015) and Brussel attacks (BBC 2016a) were chosen and searched for,

which are indicated in table 4 below. In addition, all derivatives were searched and grouped under the main lexical item, which are also outlined in table 4. Concerning compound words such as *counter-/ anti-terrorism* or *international terrorism* (Thackrah 2005: 44, 284), Stefanowitsch (2006) does not elaborate on whether they should be treated as separate lexemes or as a single lexical unit. Even though the Pragglejaz Group (2007: 4) provide a different methodology for metaphor analysis, they state with regard to compounds that “the meaning of a whole expression cannot be arrived at via the composition of the meaning of the parts”, which implies that compounds should be seen as a single lexical unit. Further, the *Dictionary of Terrorism* (Thackrah 2005) provides separate entries for all searched compounds, which suggests treating them in the analysis as a single lexical unit due to their headword status.

**Table 4: Selected items for analysis A - TERRORISM**

<b>Target domain</b>	<b>Lexical items searched for</b>
ISLAM	Islam, Islamic, Islamists
ISLAMIC STATE	Islamic State, ISIL, ISIS
MUSLIM	Muslim, Muslims
SYRIA	Syria, Syrian, Syrians
TERRORISM	terrorism, terroristic, terrorisation/terrorization, terrorise/terrorize, terror
TERRORISTS	terrorist, terrorists
TERRORIST GROUP, TERRORIST ORGANIZATION, TERRORIST NETWORK	terrorist group, terrorist organization, terrorist network

Searching for those items stated above should yield information about the conceptualisation of lexical items associated with the discourse of TERRORISM in the US Congress. However, the additional question arises how stable the MORALITY IS STRENGTH and MORALITY IS NURTURANCE conceptual metaphors are in the US Congress when faced with the threat of terrorism and if SOCIETY/ NATION are still conceptualised as a FAMILY. Thus, an additional MPA was carried out. This second analysis is concerned with 12 target domains and associated lexemes within the concepts of MORALITY and SOCIETY/ NATION, which are illustrated below in table 5.

**Table 5: Selected items for analysis B – MORALITY/ NATION**

Target domain	Lexical items searched for
CITIZENS	citizen, citizens, citizenship
COMMUNITY	community, communities
COUNTRY	country, countries
EVIL	Evil
GOOD	Good
GOVERNMENT	Government
MORALITY	morality, moral, morals, morally, moralise/ moralize, moralist, moralistic
NATION	nation, nations, national, nationally
OBAMA ADMINISTRATION	Obama administration
PRESIDENT	president, President Barack Obama, presidency, presidential
SOCIETY	society, societies, societal
STATE	state, states

After determining the lexemes for analysis, the second step in Stefanowitsch's (2006: 64) *metaphorical pattern analysis* requires the analyst to search the two corpora introduced in section 4.1, for instances in which the chosen lexical items appear. The extracted sample is then scanned for metaphorical expressions. The final step asks to cluster the identified metaphorical patterns into general mappings; consequently, a move from specific lexical items to conceptual metaphors is enabled because "the two conceptual domains are correlated and consequently establish mappings from one domain to another" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 246-247). Stefanowitsch (2006: 68, original emphasis) further elaborates on the importance of frequency when deducting a conceptual metaphor:

The relative frequency of source and target domain items in a given metaphorical pattern may be used to determine the degree to which the pattern in question is transparently motivated by a metaphorical mapping, and the relative frequency of source and target domain items in a coherent *set* of metaphorical patterns may be used to assess the degree to which the metaphorical mapping underlying them can be regarded as productive, i.e. as a candidate for a truly *conceptual* metaphor.

Consequently, the importance of relative frequency suggests that a single metaphorical pattern does not seem to provide enough information to deduce a conceptual metaphor, which implies that multiple metaphorical patterns belonging to the same mapping are necessary in order to justify the possible existence of a conceptual metaphor.

#### 4.5 Methodological shortcomings

Semino (2008: 199-200) points out that the corpus-based approach is concerned with empirical criterions when stating that

[t]he adoption of a corpus methodology has the potential to put metaphor theory on a sounder empirical footing, especially with respect to the extrapolation of hypotheses about conceptual metaphors from linguistic evidence.

Nevertheless, three possible methodological shortcomings are discussed in the following section: rater-reliability, consequences of selecting target domains and the generality of established conceptual metaphors. Focusing on the first issue, Gibbs (2010: 7) points out that, “[a]n increasing concern with the variability of analysts’ intuitions in making judgments about linguistic matters has been a major worry for metaphor researchers”, resulting in a rather subjective analysis in contrast to desired objectivity. Further, Musolff (2004: 8) mentions that this “problem – what to count as metaphor – is connected to the cognitive distinction between ‘underlying’ metaphorical concepts (domain mappings) and linguistic ‘surface’ text features”. Consequently, the rater has to decide which linguistic expressions should be counted as metaphorical and which as non-metaphorical instance, which is especially difficult for individual raters working alone. In order to counteract possible rater subjectivity, the extracted expressions containing target domains are read and classified as metaphorical or non-metaphorical three times within a ten-day radius. The repeated revision of the target- domain occurrences allows to objectify decisions about the classification of target-domain instances.

Another methodological shortcoming could arise through predefining the target domains and related lexical items, as a result of which, the scope of investigation is narrowed. Consequently, metaphorical expressions could be overlooked because of this selective process. However, Stefanowitsch (2006: 65) points out that MPA “can be used to identify mappings that are significantly associated with particular target words/ concepts”, which relates to the main aim of this thesis, namely to reveal mappings related with **TERRORISM** and **MORALITY**.

Finally, Stefanowitsch (2006: 72) elaborates on the issue that “it is often unclear how a particular example should be analysed, i.e. at what level of generality a conceptual metaphor should be posited”. In order to illustrate this point,

Stefanowitsch (2006:72) discusses the following example provided in Kövecses (1998: 128), who conceptualises ANGER as PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE:

(49) He's a pain in the neck.

Stefanowitsch (2006: 72,73) questions why the given example “is categorized as an example for ANGER IS A PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE rather than simply ANGER IS PAIN”. The conceptual metaphor ANGER IS PAIN would probably allow to subsume a greater number of metaphorical expressions under it because it does not limit the source domain to the specific case of PHYSICAL ANNOYANCE but refers to PAIN on a more general level. Within this thesis, Stefanowitsch's (2006: 73) approach is adopted through being “stricter in judging which examples should be grouped together”, which implies that general mappings are preferred.

## **5. Analysis A: conceptualisation of TERRORISM**

The aim of the present chapter is to analyse the usage of conceptual metaphors in republican and democratic speeches addressing topics related to the field of terrorism given in the US Congress. Such a MPA should provide insight into the underlying conceptual metaphors that govern the understanding of TERRORISM. Thus, the following target domains and their derivatives were investigated: ISLAM, ISLAMIC STATE, MUSLIM, SYRIA, TERRORISM, TERRORISTS, TERRORIST GROUP/ ORGANISATION/ NETWORK,

### **5.1 Results and findings**

As indicated in table 6 below, a total of 1039 instances of the searched target domains were identified in the two corpora. Out of those 1039 target-domain hits, ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS constitute the largest group within all identified instances. Furthermore, 59.19% of the total number of hits were found in the republican corpus and 40.81% in the democratic corpus. Thus, the distribution suggests that republican speakers used the target domains 18.38% more than democratic speakers.

Restricting the search to metaphorical instances, we find that the MPA yielded 217 instances of conceptual metaphor in the republican and 168 in the democratic corpus. When we compare the relative frequency of metaphorical instances in the

republican corpus (35.28%) and democratic corpus (39.62%), relative frequency suggests that democrats applied 4.34% more instances of conceptual metaphor than democratic speakers, which indicates that conceptual structures are slightly more productive within the republican corpus. However, this minor difference in frequency within both corpora concerning conceptual-metaphor usage is according to a log-likelihood (LL) test ( $p < 0.05$ ; critical value = 3.84), which was calculated with Rayson's log-likelihood calculator, not statistically significant (LL = 1.27).

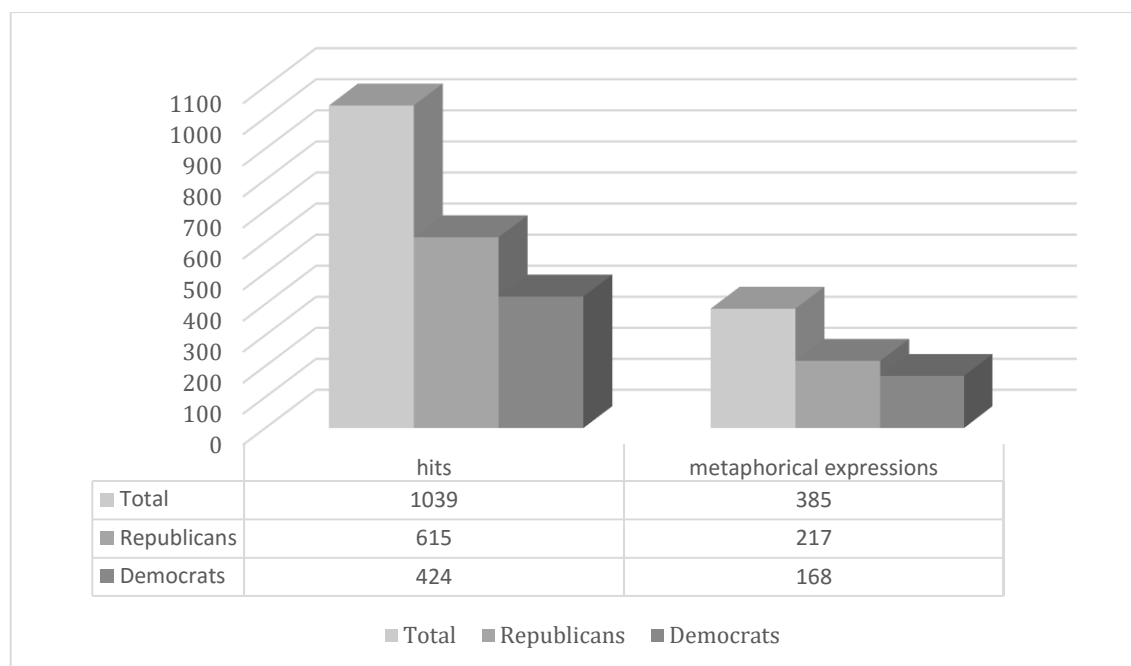
**Table 6: Searched target domains, hits and metaphorical instances - terrorism**

Lexemes	total	Corpus A: Republicans			Corpus B: Democrats		
		hits	metaphorical		hits	metaphorical	
Islam	<b>80</b>	70	23	32.86%	10	2	20%
Islamic State/ ISIL/ ISIS	<b>344</b>	191	86	45.03%	153	64	41.83%
Muslim	<b>87</b>	72	4	5.56%	15	6	40%
Syria	<b>130</b>	61	25	40.98%	69	40	57.97%
Terrorism	<b>175</b>	91	65	71.23%	84	52	61.90%
terrorist groups/ organizations/ networks	<b>34</b>	21	8	38.10%	13	2	15.38%
Terrorists	<b>189</b>	109	6	5.50%	80	2	2.50%
Total	<b>1039</b>	615	217	35.28%	424	168	39.62%

Table 6 further shows that in terms of a raw frequency count the target domains ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS yielded the highest number of metaphorical instances. Considering the overall productivity in both corpora, the target domain TERRORISM yielded the highest results. Of all occurrences of TERRORISM in the republican corpus, 71.23% were identified as metaphorical and 61.90% were classified as metaphorical in the democratic corpus; hence, the data suggests that TERRORISM is in both corpora the target domain most often used as a conceptual metaphor. Relative frequency further indicates that TERRORISTS is the least productive domain for metaphoricity. The low productivity is probably the result of the high concreteness of the domain: a TERRORIST can clearly be labelled as a person and is not an abstract concept, which could be the reason why a conceptualisation in terms of a concrete domain is not required. Figure 1 below illustrates that the republican corpus contained 191 more occurrences of the searched target domains than the



democratic corpus. Further, out of those 1039 total hits, 385 instances or 37.05% constitute a conceptual metaphor and are thus labelled as metaphorical.



**Figure 1: Analysis A - Total hits, hits and metaphorical expressions per corpus**

#### 5.1.1 Target domain: TERRORISM

Table 7 below depicts the conceptualisation of the searched target domain TERRORISM and identified source domains. Overall, the MPA yielded 20 conceptual metaphors, which are all composed of the target domain TERRORISM and various source domains. 30 instances of the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS A PERSON were identified, followed by 14 hits that apply the source domain of an INVESTMENT, which are the two most frequent conceptualisations of TERRORISM. Thus, findings show that the personification is in the two corpora the most frequent metaphorical concept to frame terrorism. The MPA also yielded two subcategories of personification: TERRORISM is in 12 instances specified as a perpetrator and in 12 occurrences labelled as an enemy. The target domain INVESTMENT is more productively applied by republican speakers. In contrast, data suggests that democrats prefer a framing of TERRORISM as a THREAT, a FORCE, or as a CONTAINER. It is also noteworthy that the source domains QUESTION, CRISIS, PROBLEM, PLAGUE and PLANT each occur in only a single instance in the democratic corpus, which implies that those are merely hints at possible conceptual

metaphors; however, more evidence would be needed to confirm that those metaphorical expressions are motivated by an underlying conceptual structure.

**Table 7: Conceptualisation of TERRORISM**

<b>TERRORISM IS</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN CORPUS</b>	<b>DEMOCRATIC CORPUS</b>	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURANCES</b>
<b>A QUESTION</b> <i>terrorism will never go unanswered (D43)</i>	-	1 (1.92%)	1
<b>A CRISIS</b> <i>the crisis is ISIS and terrorism (D2)</i>	-	1 (1.92%)	1
<b>A PROBLEM</b> <i>the solutions to terror (D6)</i>	-	1 (1.92%)	1
<b>A PLAGUE</b> <i>Terrorism is plaguing us, not only in Europe (D1)</i>	-	1 (1.92%)	1
<b>A PLANT</b> <i>domestic terrorism has roots in Nevada (D12)</i>	-	1 (1.92%)	1
<b>A FLUID</b> <i>it is terrorism, and it flows from incitement at the highest levels of the Palestinian government (D40)</i>	1 (1.54%)	3 (5.77%)	4
<b>BACTERIA</b> <i>Syria and Iraq has served as an incubator for terrorism (D2)</i>	-	2 (3.85%)	2
<b>AN INDUSTRY</b> <i>the arrogance, barbarity, and brutality of this terrorist enterprise has no limits (R33)</i>	2 (3.08%)	-	2
<b>A VEHICLE</b> <i>religious terror that drove them from Syria (R35)</i>	1 (1.54%)	2 (3.85%)	3
<b>A THREAT</b> <i>protect our nation from terrorism and other threats (D24)</i>	-	7 (13.46%)	7
<b>A FORCE</b> <i>terrorist attacks that ripped through Brussels (R23)</i>	2 (3.08%)	4 (7.69%)	6
<b>AN INVESTMENT</b> <i>prevent the funding of terrorism (R12)</i>	11 (16.92%)	3 (5.77%)	14
<b>AN EVENT</b> <i>I rise today to condemn the terrorist attacks in Brussels,</i>	9 (13.85%)	3 (5.77%)	12

<i>Belgium, that took place early this morning (R7)</i>			
<b>A COMMODITY</b> <i>the terror that boko haram brings (D16)</i>	2 (3.08%)	1 (1.92%)	3
<b>A PERSON</b> <i>terror does not respect borders or nationalities (R37)</i>	12 (18.46%)	18 (34.62%)	30
<b>A DISEASE</b> <i>protects us from disease, disease that threatens every American and every American's loved one (D30)</i>	-	2 (3.85%)	2
<b>A NETWORK</b> <i>having terrorist ties (D51)</i>	1 (1.54%)	2 (3.85%)	3
<b>A BODY</b> <i>We must be as resolved as ever to fight terrorism wherever it rears its ugly head (D8.)</i>	3 (4.62%)	1 (1.92%)	4
<b>A CONCRETE OBJECT</b> <i>we see terrorist threats (R1)</i>	2 (3.08%)	1 (1.92%)	3
<b>A CONTAINER</b> <i>Ms. Shults, 29, along with her husband Justin Shults, 30, was killed in the terrorist attacks in Brussels last month (R9).</i>	4 (6.16%)	11 (21.12%)	15

### 5.1.2 Target domains: ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS

Table 8 below summarises all results of the investigation of ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL and ISIS, which is discussed in the present section. The usage of personification yielded with 100 identified instances the most significant result: 61% of the conceptualisation ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS IS A PERSON were found in the republican corpus and 39% in the democratic corpus. Out of those 100 instances of personification, 36 instances are labelled as the subcategory ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS IS AN ENEMY, which is also more frequent in republican than democratic speeches and discussed in more detail in subsection 5.2.5.

**Table 8: Conceptualisation of ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS**

<b>ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS IS</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN CORPUS</b>	<b>DEMOCRATIC CORPUS</b>	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURANCES</b>
<b>A MOVING FORCE</b> <i>we are all committed to stopping ISIS (D4)</i>	2 (2.33%)	3 (4.69%)	5
<b>A DISEASE</b>	2 (2.33%)	3 (4.69%)	5

<i>current operations against ISIL (R1)</i>			
<b>A SHIP</b> <i>we must allow ISIS no safe haven anywhere in the world (R23)</i>	5 (5.81%)	6 (9.36%)	11
<b>A PLANT</b> <i>The group should evaluate the nature of the ISIS threat as well as the conditions in Iraq and Syria that have allowed it to grow and evolve (D2)</i>	2 (2.33%)	3 (4.69%)	5
<b>A BODY</b> <i>he happens to be the head of the Islamic State (R10)</i>	4 (4.65%)	5 (7.81%)	9
<b>A PERSON</b> <i>the Islamic State seeks to rule Muslims (R35)</i>	61 (70.93%)	39 (60.94%)	100
<b>AN ENTITY IN OR OUTSIDE A CONTAINER</b> <i>Sadly, [...] the president has failed to take ISIL seriously, [...] describing them as "contained" (R16).</i>	6 (6.99%)	5 (7.82%)	11

### 5.1.3 Target domains: TERRORIST GROUPS and TERRORISTS

An MPA of both corpora yielded the results that TERRORIST GROUPS/ TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS and TERRORIST NETWORKS are framed through the source domains MISSILE, PERSON, INVESTMENT and PLANT, which is indicated in table 9 below. However, the case of personification and the usage of the source domain PLANT is limited to a single instance, which implies that the metaphorical structure of both conceptualisations is not frequent enough to deduce a conceptual metaphor. Furthermore, the application of MISSILE as source domain was identified exclusively in the republican corpus; hence, no instance of the conceptual metaphor TERRORIST GROUPS/ ORGANIZATIONS/ NETWORKS ARE MISSILES was found in speeches given by speakers with a democratic mind-set.

**Table 9: Conceptualisation of TERRORIST GROUPS/ ORGANIZATIONS/ NETWORKS**

<b>TERRORIST GROUPS/ ORGANIZATIONS/ NETWORKS ARE</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN CORPUS</b>	<b>DEMOCRATIC CORPUS</b>	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURANCES</b>
<b>A PERSON</b> <i>terrorist groups that are lurking throughout the United States and the world (R23)</i>	1 (12.5%)	-	1

<b>AN INVESTMENT</b> <i>to fund more terrorist organizations (R10)</i>	2 (25%)	2 (100%)	3
<b>A MISSILE</b> <i>terror networks that are targeting our citizens (R29)</i>	4 (50%)	-	4
<b>A PLANT</b> <i>the terrorist group that grew from Al Qaeda in Iraq (R1)</i>	1 (12.5%)	-	1

It is further noteworthy that TERRORISTS yielded the least instances of metaphoricity in relation all other searched domains within the discourse of terrorism: the relative frequency score of 0.53% indicates that only a small instance of all 189 total hits for TERRORISTS were labelled as metaphorical, which might be due to the concreteness of the domain TERRORIST. The terrorists responsible for the attacks are often identified and the names are made public through the media; consequently, no need for conceptualisation arises.

#### 5.1.4 Target domains: ISLAM and MUSLIM

Table 10 below indicates the conceptualisation of ISLAM: it is noticeable that ISLAM is conceptualised through the usage of conceptual metaphors more by republican speakers than by democrats, who apply ISLAM as metaphor only in two instances; in contrast, the republican corpus yielded 23 instances of metaphoricity. Out of those 23 instances, six occurrences are ascribed to the concept of personification and seven hits frame ISLAM through the target domain SKILL. Further, the republican corpus yielded four instances of metonymy through the application of the metonymic structure THE PART FOR THE WHOLE, as it is described in Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 36) and discussed in subsection 5.2.3.

**Table 10: Conceptualisation of ISLAM**

<b>ISLAM IS</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN CORPUS</b>	<b>DEMOCRATIC CORPUS</b>	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURANCES</b>
<b>A PERSON</b> <i>standing behind it is radical Islam and its desire to destroy its victims (R36)</i>	6 (26.09%)	1 (50%)	4
<b>A BODY</b> <i>There is massive suffering at the hands of radical Islam (R24).</i>	4 (17.39%)		4
<b>A BUILDING</b> <i>construction of Islam (R35)</i>	1 (4.35%)	-	1
<b>A MOVEMENT</b>	1 (4.35%)	-	1

<i>within the Islamic movement (R10)</i>			
<b>A JUSTIFICATION FOR TERROR</b> <i>it is motivated by a radical Islamist ideology (d2)</i>	-	1 (50%)	1
<b>A SKILL</b> <i>was trained in Islam in elementary school (R10)</i>	7 (30.43%)	-	7
<b>THE PART FOR THE WHOLE</b> <i>there is a part of Islam—the radical Islamists—that they don't like, but it is a part of Islam (R10)</i>	4 (17.39%)	-	4

As indicated in table 11, people whose religious affiliation is Islam are framed either as a problem, an enemy, a commodity or as a homogenous mass. However, more metaphorical expressions that contain the source domains PROBLEM, ENEMY and COMMODITY would be needed to validate a conceptual status of the previously mentioned source domains. Only the conceptual metaphor with the source domain HOMOGENOUS MASS yielded enough results, especially in the democratic corpus, to assume that a conceptual metaphor operates as underlying conceptual structure. In both corpora, there is no instance in which an individual Muslim is mentioned; instead, Muslims are described as homogenous global group with identical interests and duties.

**Table 11: Conceptualisation of MUSLIM**

<b>A MUSLIM IS/ MUSLIMS ARE</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN CORPUS</b>	<b>DEMOCRATIC CORPUS</b>	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURANCES</b>
<b>A PROBLEM</b> <i>part of the solution to Muslim extremism was more gun control (R2)</i>	1 (25%)	-	1
<b>AN ENEMY</b> <i>this enemy is radical Muslim extremism (r2)</i>	1 (25%)	-	1
<b>A COMMODITY</b> <i>Obama is importing Muslims (R35)</i>	1 (25%)	-	1
<b>A HOMOGENOUS MASS</b> <i>engage the Muslim world in this effort (D2)</i>	1 (25%)	6 (100%)	7

### 5.1.5 Target domain: SYRIA

The target domain SYRIA is investigated because the terrorist group ISIS was founded by Islamic extremists who were originally based in parts of Syria but operate on a global level. The idea that ISIS originated out of Syria is also reflected in both corpora through the container metaphor SYRIS IS A CONTAINER, which constitutes the majority of identified source domains that frame SYRIA in the republican and democratic corpus. In the republican corpus, 80% of all identified conceptual metaphors that conceptualise the target domain SYRIA are a container metaphor and 92.5% in the democratic corpus belong to the container metaphor, conceptualising Syria as a container. SYRIA IS A CONTAINER is discussed in more detail in subsection 5.2.2.

**Table 12: Conceptualisation of SYRIA**

<b>SYRIA IS</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN CORPUS</b>	<b>DEMOCRATIC CORPUS</b>	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES</b>
<b>A CONTAINER</b> <i>his journey to join ISIS in Syria (R3); ISIS has claimed responsibility for horrific attacks outside of Syria (D2)</i>	20 (80%)	37 (92.5%)	57
<b>THE ORIGIN OF EVIL</b> <i>We need to continue to press the growing humanitarian crisis emanating from Iraq and Syria (D2).</i>	3 (12%)	1 (2.5%)	4
<b>A HOSTAGE</b> <i>Assad must go for the sake of a free Syria (R32.)</i>	2 (8%)	-	2
<b>A BODY</b> <i>Syria and much of Iraq face two great evils (D33)</i>	-	1 (2.5%)	1
<b>THE NOURISHING SOIL FOR ISIS</b> <i>The group should evaluate the nature of the ISIS threat as well as the conditions in Iraq and Syria that have allowed it to grow and evolve (D2)</i>	-	1 (2.5%)	1

## 5.2 Discussion of findings

The sub-sections below discuss the findings outlined above, which are all based on data collected through a MPA that investigated the target domains ISLAM, ISLAMIC

STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS, MUSLIM, SYRIA, TERRORISM, TERRORISTS and TERRORIST GROUPS/ ORGANIZATIO/ NETWORKS. The following discussion should provide insight into how republican and democratic speakers frame those target domains through the usage of conceptual metaphor within the analysed corpora. However, it should be noted that not all identified conceptual metaphors are discussed in detail but only the most striking results are discussed below, which leads up to the answer of the first research question, which questions the metaphorical framing of recent terror attacks in the US Congress. The most noticeable results are the conceptualisation of TERRORISM as evil, the frequent usage of the container metaphor, the idea that radical Islam is part of Islam, the conceptual metaphor FACILITATING TERRORISM IS GROWING A PLANT and the personification of the Islamic State

#### 5.2.1 Terrorism is evil

Even though there is no instance in which TERRORISM is directly framed through the source domain EVIL, there are several identified conceptual metaphors that apply source domains that can be labelled as possessing an evil essence: TERRORISM IS A CRISIS, TERRORISM IS A PLAGUE, TERRORISM IS A THREAT, TERRORISM IS A PERPETRATOR, TERRORISM IS AN ENEMY and TERRORISM IS A DISEASE. Those six conceptual metaphors constitute a total of 34 hits, of which 22 instances were found in speeches given by democratic speakers; thus, the data suggests that the underlying conceptual structure that maps TERRORISM with the concept of EVIL is more productive for democratic speakers than for republicans. The only conceptual metaphor from those mentioned above that is more frequently applied by republican speakers is the conceptualisation of TERRORISM as a PERPETRATOR.

In 14 of those 22 instances mentioned above, democratic speakers used the concept of THREAT and ENEMY as source domains, which is exemplified in the following examples:

(50) If we are going to fight terrorism in one place, we need to make sure we fight it everywhere (D1).

(51) With worldwide attention and support for defeating terrorism (D35)



(52) Making sure the Department of Homeland Security [...] has what it needs to protect our Nation from terrorism and other threats s a no-brainer (D24).

(53) The events in Paris recently showed us that terrorism remains a threat around the world (D36).

In the first two examples given above, TERRORISM is framed as an ENEMY through the idea that terrorism can be fought and defeated, which are both characteristics of an enemy. Through mapping TERRORISM with ENEMY, the idea that the target domain can also be fought and successfully defeated is mapped as well as the idea that an enemy needs to be stopped from gaining a superior position. This fosters the establishment of TERRORISM as an opponent that should be fought and defeated on a global level. Examples (52) and (53) given above apply the concept of THREAT probably in order to emphasise the urgency to act against terrorism. A large number of people might be familiar with feelings aroused by dangerous situations, which not necessarily have to be life-threatening as a terrorist attack might be. The natural reaction of humans in threatening or dangerous situations, as discovered by Cannon (1939), is to either fight or flight. Through mapping THREAT onto TERRORISM, both bodily responses to danger or threat are also mapped, which entails that those two choices are also given when TERRORISM is discussed in the US Congress: politicians can either argue for actively fighting terrorism or argue through a more passive approach to flee from it. Even though flight from terrorism might be possible in situations in which people are hit by a terrorist attack, flight is not an option in the political realm: politicians are asked to fight terrorism in order to protect citizens.

Another conceptual metaphor applying a source domain related to the concept of EVIL is the conceptualisation of TERRORISM as a PERPETRATOR, which is a case of personification, as illustrated through the following two examples:

(54) condemning in the strongest terms the terrorist attacks in Brussels in March 22, 2016, which murdered more than 30 innocent people (R22)

(55) paying tribute to three young people who lost their lives to terrorism (D11)

In the first given example, terrorist attacks are depicted as the acting agent causing death of civilians. The act of murder indicates an underlying structure of personification because as the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (Mayor

2010: 1149) defines, a *murder* is “the crime of deliberately killing someone”. In order to act deliberately, an entity is required to have a consciousness, which is a human characteristic that enables the consideration of pros and cons resulting in a deliberate decision. Thus, it is argued that the terrorist attack is metaphorically mapped with the characteristics of a perpetrator, extending the idea that terrorism can also consciously and deliberately decide to murder civilians.

### 5.2.2 Terrorism and Syria are containers

The source domain CONTAINER to structure TERRORISM is used in 15 instances, of which 11 were found in the republican corpus, which indicates that republican speakers tend to use the container metaphor in relation to terrorism more frequent. The conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS A CONTAINER can be classified as an image-schema metaphor. Further, Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 253, original emphasis) outline that “[c]ontainers [...] are *image-schemas* in the sense that they are primitives that structure rich images”. In both corpora, the following metaphorical expressions convey an abstract relationship between both domains through the use of the prepositions *on* and *in*, which structures the spatial relationship between the participants:

- (56) war on terror (R1, R18, D19)
- (57) war on terrorism (R13, R16, R25, R28)
- (58) killed in the terrorist attacks (R9, D11)
- (59) lives lost [...] in the terrorism attack (D16)

Different authors have proposed different labels for the two participants that are related through the prepositions *on* and *in*: Talmy (1983: 225-282) termed the participants *figure* and *ground*. Langacker (1987: 231) proposes a trajector/landmark relationship in which “a trajectory [is defined] as the figure in a relational profile; other salient entities are defined as landmarks”. As a result, a trajector can stand in relation with the landmark. Further, Langacker (1987: 231) specifies that trajectory and landmark should be considered as a special interpretation of the figure and ground relationship. Considering for instance example (58), the preposition *in* establishes a relationship between the action “X is killed” and the location, which is conceptualised as a container: the killed entity functions as trajectory, which is in the landmark. Thus, the underlying conceptual metaphor

TERRORISM IS A CONTAINER is applied to convey an abstract meaning of terrorism. When we take Lakoff and Johnson's (2003: 59) classification of events and actions into consideration, it is evident that TERRORISM IS A CONTAINER can be categorised as a special case of the EVENTS AND ACTIONS ARE CONTAINER OBJECTS conceptual metaphor. This is grounded in the assumption that "[e]vents and actions are correlated with bounded time spans, and this makes them CONTAINER OBJECTS" (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 59). For instance, in example (59), the terrorist attack is an event that corresponds with a specific time span, which allows us to conceptualise the terror attack as a bounded object or container.

Syria is also framed as a container, which is exemplified through the two examples below:

(60) It [ISIS] came out of Syria (R34)

(61) the chaos we see is not just contained in Syria (D2)

In the first given example, Syria corresponds with a container object and ISIS as an entity that transitioned from the inside into the outside, which is indicated through the preposition *out of*. The ontological metaphor SYRIA IS A CONTAINER enables politicians to conceptualise ISIS as an entity that originated from Syria; consequently, speakers establish Syria as the source that released ISIS into the world. The second example conceptualises chaos as an entity and Syria as a container that has not enough means to successfully contain ISIS.

### 5.2.3 Radical Islam is part of Islam

The present argumentation is based on Lakoff and Johnson's (2003: 36) discussion of THE PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy, in which they argue that it is not a specific part that is directly associated with the whole; in contrast, speakers can choose which part they pick in order to refer to the whole. Due to the fact that a specific part is chosen on purpose, speakers have the possibility to highlight certain aspects of the whole or foreground a specific part. When looking at the two examples below, it is evident that radical Islam is conceptualised by speakers as a part of Islam. This metonymy is exclusively applied by republican speakers and results in the consequence that the radical interpretation Islam, which is used by ISIS to justify their actions, is highlighted as a part of Islam, which further results in the

assumption that radical Islam is not directly considered as being separated from the Islamic religion but is framed as a part of it.

(62) there is a part of Islam—the radical Islamists—that they don't like, but it is a part of Islam (R10)

(63) It is Islam, but it is a part of Islam, the radical Islamists (R10)

Even though the radical interpretation is dissociated from a peaceful interpretation of Islam through THE PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy, republican speakers still establish a connection between radical Islam and Islam and acknowledge that Islam as the whole is the origin of radical Islam. Example (64) below is even more extreme:

(64) radical Islam is Islam (R10)

The example given above disregards the PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy and directly links the radical interpretation with the peaceful interpretation of Islam; consequently, the speaker who has chosen to apply this categorization equates radical Islam with Islam. This discussion shows that politicians who apply the PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy acknowledge that the radical exegesis of the Quran is a possible interpretation of the Islamic religion and only a part of it. In contrast, utterance (64) exemplifies that the ignorance of THE PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy by speakers in the US Congress results in the assumption that radical Islam is not different from the regular interpretation of the Quran. In case the PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy would be neglected by a relatively high number of politicians, the consequence could arise that Islam becomes synonymous with radical Islam, which would affect the way believers of the Islamic religion are treated regardless of whether they adhere to the radical or peaceful interpretation.

#### 5.2.4 Facilitating terrorism is growing a plant

A mapping between TERRORISM and PLANTS is evident in the following analysed target domains: TERRORISM, TERRORIST GROUPS/ ORGANIZATIONS/ NETWORKS and ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS. As indicated in the five examples below, TERRORISM and its organisations that operate from various countries are mapped with a plant that is rooted in soil. Interestingly, countries, organisations or circumstances are framed as being the soil that nourishes the plant such as Nevada (D12), Al Qaeda (R1), the Syrian civil war (D41, D43), the Assad regime (D41) or Iraq and Syria (D2). Further, the results of nourishing a plant, which are root and

leaf growth, are mapped with the expansion of terrorism and terrorist organisations.

(65) I am sorry to say this particular episode of domestic terrorism has roots in Nevada (D12).

(66) For example, the terrorist group that grew from Al Qaeda in Iraq, ISIL, is now not only capable of X (R1)

(67) The protracted Syrian civil war and the indiscriminate violence of the Assad regime have contributed to the growth of ISIL (D41)

(68) The group should evaluate the nature of the ISIS threat as well as the conditions in Iraq and Syria that have allowed it to grow and evolve (D2)

(69) We need to keep pushing for a resolution to Syria's civil war, which has created the conditions for ISIS to flourish (D43)

Through the described mapping, speakers achieve that certain countries in the political discourse are no longer seen as neutral but instead are framed as source of terrorism, providing it with essential nutrients.

Further, the mapping between TERRORISM and PLANT entails a notion of prejudice against certain countries, which results through the mapping of the essential natural process of plant growth on to the undesired process of expanding terrorism. That a plant is rooted in a nourishing soil, which helps the plant to grow and flourish is surely considered a biological fact; thus, the natural process is universally accepted. However, it is usually not universally acknowledged that certain countries or organisations provide fertile ground for terrorism. Through the mapping, the idea that it is natural that certain countries, such as Iraq or Syria, function as soil for terrorism is legitimised, which entails a prejudice towards those countries that are conceptualised as naturally nourishing terrorism.

In examples (66) and (67), Al Qaeda (R1) and the Assad regime (D41) are described as the soil that nourishes terrorist organisations. Those umbrella organisations can clearly be described as complex abstract systems, which is due to their large number of supporters and members, their global scope of action and inscrutable network of communication. Thus, the conceptualisation of TERRORISM as a PLANT is concurrent with Deignan's (2005: 191) description of the conceptual metaphor COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS ARE PLANTS. Deignan (2005: 176) identifies that

the broad target domain COMPLEX ABSTRACT SYSTEMS “can be divided into a number of sub-domains, the main ones being business, relationships, ideas and people”. The target domain TERRORISM combines several of those aspects, making it also a complex abstract system.

#### 5.2.5 Personification of the Islamic State

A search of the target domain ISLAMIC STATE and its acronyms ISIL, standing for Islamic State of Iraq and Levant, as well as ISIS, which means Islamic State in Iraq and Syria yielded a total number of 100 instances of metaphorical personification. It is noteworthy that overall the acronym ISIS is in both corpora the most frequently applied term for the terrorist organisation, which claimed responsibility for the Paris attacks (BBC 2015) and Brussel bombings (BBC 2016a): ISIS had 147 hits in the republican and 152 hits in the democratic corpus. In contrast, the term Islamic State is used 16 times by republican speakers and once by a democratic speaker. Concerning personification, relative frequency indicates that metaphoric personification of Islamic State/ ISIL/ ISIS constitutes in the republican corpus 31.94% of all hits and 25.49% in the democratic corpus. Thus, republican speakers apply a slightly higher number of personification of the target domain Islamic State/ ISIL/ ISIS.

As mentioned in section 2.3, metaphor and metonymy are two closely related processes that both govern the underlying concept of personification, which is illustrated in Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 33-40). Concerning the personification of the Islamic State and its acronyms, the distinction between the Islamic State as a location and as an institution has to be drawn. When speakers in the US Congress would acknowledge the Islamic State as a state locatable on a map, the metonymy THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION would function as operating system behind the following examples:

- (70) the Islamic State is committing genocide against Christians (R31)
- (71) ISIL-Daesh will attempt mass murder within the United States (R16)
- (72) ISIS has claimed responsibility for horrific attacks (D2)
- (73) the terrorist attacks in Paris reminded us that ISIS recruits fighters from across the globe (D38)

However, the problem with THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION metonymy (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 38) arises that there is no *Islamic State* per se that is locatable, it is not like a country with boundaries that is indicated on a map; hence, a “global caliphate secured through a global war” (Lister 2015) is the main aim of the Islamic extremists. When the metonymic structure THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION would be legitimised as the metonymic process behind the examples given above, speakers would acknowledge that the *Islamic State* has gained the status of a state even though it has not reached the goal of an officially declared area known as *Islamic State*; thus, speakers would also imply that the militant group is succeeding in their main aim to obtain a global Islamic State when they would apply the PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION metonymy. Due to the fact that the US Congress wants to stop the Islamic State in gaining more influence, it is more likely that another metonymic structure motivates the conceptual expressions above: the INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE metonymy, which is described in Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 38).

Thus, all examples given above (70 to 73) and the following four examples are all cases that possess many instances of personification of ISLAMIC STATE/ ISIL/ ISIS is the INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE:

- (74) Whereas the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) has claimed responsibility for the attacks (R23)
- (75) ISIS pillages, rapes, and kills their way across the Middle East (R33).
- (76) We have to make sure ISIS can't pay their people's salaries (D2).
- (77) ISIS does not worship Islam. ISIS worships death (D4).

When we enter buildings that belong to institutions, such as a school building or a bank, we usually deal with people working in those institutions; hence, the INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE metonymy is rooted in our experience. Such common experiences enable people responsible for attacks that are claimed by the Islamic State to function as vehicle in order to refer to the target, which conceptualises the Islamic State as an institution. Interestingly, it is unlikely that the speakers who applied this metonymy have ever entered an institution that is closely connected with the Islamic State; thus, a reference between Islamic State and the people responsible is established even though the direct personal experience is

missing. This suggests that the metonymic structure THE INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE is deeply rooted in the human experience and enables that this metonymy functions as basis for the metonymic structure THE ISLAMIC STATE FOR THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE. Thus, utterances such as example (75) are possible, in which ISIS as institution is applied in order to establish a reference to its members who function as active agents that have executed the “pillages, rapes, and kills” (R33).

In several instances, such as in the two given utterances below, the type of personification is further specified: in example (78), the verb *slaughtering* indicates that ISIS is conceptualised as a butcher and the verb *killed* in example (79) specifies that the person is a murderer who has executed the killing of civilians.

- (78) in even greater danger than ever before from the genocide being perpetrated by ISIS, al Qaeda, and others who are slaughtering them (D41)
- (79) People are being killed by ISIS (R4).

Thus, it can be argued that the metonymic concept of personification is highly productive in both corpora and can be specified through verbs that motivate different interpretations of personification through detailing the acting that is executed. Further, the personification establishes a connection between the Islamic State as institution with its main aim to establish through terrorism a global Islamic State and the people that operate based on the mind-set the Islamic State propagates.

In 36 instances, the personification is further subcategorised as an enemy, which is illustrated in the following three examples:

- (80) Ending the civil war in Syria will allow the Syrian people, our allies, and also Russia, to focus on the common goal of destroying ISIL (D3).
- (81) as long as it takes to eliminate ISIS from the planet—not just to defeat them on the battlefield but to destroy them (D2).
- (82) The President has stated a shared goal that we want to “degrade and destroy” ISIS. (R37)

The difference to other examples of personification mentioned above is that ISIS is directly connotated with verbs that indicate the Congress’s wish to set an end to all



activities that are carried out by the terrorist organisation, such as *destroying* (D3), *destroy* (D2) and *degrade and destroy* (R37). Especially the verb *destroy* seems to play an important role: once an enemy is destroyed, it can no longer pursue its evil plans.

### 5.3 Answering research question 1

The present section answers based on the discussion presented above the first research question, which questions the framing of terrorism through conceptual metaphors that are applied by republican and democratic speakers in the US Congress. The first MPA that is concerned with analysing the conceptual usage of **TERRORISM** and other associated target domains yielded the result that even though the republican corpus shows a higher degree of target-domain use, republicans tend to apply a lower degree of conceptual metaphors in order to frame the issue of terrorism than democratic speakers: table 6 above indicates that 35.28% of all hits of the searched target domains in the republican corpus are instances of conceptual metaphor. In contrast, relative frequency suggests that in the democratic corpus, conceptual metaphors constitute 39.62% of the total number of hits within speeches given by democrats.

In detail, republicans and democrats apply in their speeches metaphorical personification most frequently in order to frame terrorism and terrorist attacks. In both corpora, the concept of personification is further subcategorised as a perpetrator and as an enemy, which evidently stresses the negative connotations that are associated with terrorism and urges the listeners in the Congress to take action in order to stop the enemy. Similarly, the terrorist organisation **ISIS**, which is responsible for a broad range of recent terror attacks, is also most frequently framed through personification and subcategorised as an enemy of innocent people, America or the whole Western world. Further, Islam is also conceptualised through the conceptual metaphor **ISLAM IS A PERSON**. However, the religion is not specifically framed as an enemy, which might be due to the fact that depending on the interpretation of the Quran, Islam can also be a peaceful religion, which makes the framing as an enemy redundant. Regardless of whether individuals interpret the Quran from a radical perspective or from a neutral point of view, democrats tend to frame people who are adherent to the Muslim religion as a homogenous mass. Thus, believers of the Islamic religion are not conceptualised as individuals with different

mind-sets. Due to the fact that ISIS originated from Syria, the discussion of the target domain SYRIA is closely linked with the conceptualisation of ISIS. The investigation of the target domain SYRIA yielded in the two corpora the result that the country is framed as a container that has failed to contain the previously mentioned terrorist organisation.

When comparing the democratic and republican framings mentioned in the discussion, it is evident that republican speakers seem to be more likely to utilise conventionalised metaphors and extend them to create novel metaphors; for instance, the container metaphor and the concept of personification are deeply grounded in our conceptual system, which is applied in order to frame terrorism and Syria, creating novel metaphors that are based on conventional metaphors. Similarly, republicans use the well-established THE PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy in order to frame radical Islam as a part of Islam. In contrast, democratic speakers seem to rely more on novel metaphors without a conventionalised basis, which is, for instance, exemplified through the framing of TERRORISM as a CRISIS, PLAGUE, THREAT or DISEASE. However, both political convictions frame with equal frequency the FACILITATION OF TERRORISM through the source domain of GROWING A PLANT, which results in the finding that certain countries, such as Iraq or Syria, are framed the provider of nutrients that nourish terrorism. Thus, TERRORISM and the other investigated target domains are obviously not presented as neutral; the framings mentioned above are necessary to emphasise and address through conceptual metaphors the need to take action against terrorism.

## **6. Analysis B: target domain MORALITY/ NATION**

The present chapter presents a second analysis based on the same corpora as analysis A and investigates the conceptualisation of Lakoff's (2002: 71, 116) MORALITY IS STRENGTH and MORALITY IS NURTURANCE metaphors, which are grounded in the conceptual metaphor "The Nation As Family" (Lakoff 2002: 153). Main aim is to find out whether the understanding of MORALITY and the notion of NATION as a family changes within the political discourse when speakers are faced with the challenge to address topics that are related to terrorism and recent terrorist attacks. As outlined in section 4.4, both corpora encompassing speeches

given by republican and democratic speakers are searched for specific target domains, which all constitute the metaphorical mapping of NATION/SOCIETY IS A FAMILY. The results yielded through Stefanowitsch's (2006) *metaphorical pattern analysis* are outlined in section 6.1 below and followed by a detailed discussion in section 6.2. The findings are grouped and presented according to the various target domains in the result section and mainly compared as well as contrasted to Lakoff's (2002) findings in the discussion section, which may provide insight into the question of whether speakers change the conceptualisation of NATION/SOCIETY IS A FAMILY within the context of terrorism or whether the conceptual metaphor is topic-independent.

### 6.1 Results and findings

This section presents the results of an investigation of the following eleven target domains: CITIZENS, COMMUNITY, COUNTRY, EVIL, GOOD, GOVERNMENT, MORALITY, NATION, PRESIDENT, SOCIETY and STATE. All searched target domains are part of the conceptual metaphor NATION/SOCIETY IS A FAMILY. As Lakoff (2002: 154) points out, "the Nation As Family metaphor can be stated as follows:

- The Nation Is a Family.
- The Government Is a Parent.
- The Citizens Are Children.

This metaphor allows us to reason about the nation on the basis of what we know about family". Further, Lakoff (2002: 155) elaborates on the fact that it is not clearly specified "what kind of family the nation is. This is where the Strict Father and Nurturant Parent model comes in; to fill in such information". As outlined in section 3.3, Lakoff (2002: 155) further found out that in the case of republican speakers, the strict father functions as the head of the family whereas democrats conceptualise the nation as a parent who takes care of their children through nurturing them. These two different interpretations of the NATION/SOCIETY IS A FAMILY metaphor are accompanied by two opposing "family-based moral systems" (Lakoff 2002: 155), which are manifested in the political discourse as the conservative and the liberal political orientation. All searched target domains are part of the metaphorical mappings that constitute the NATION/SOCIETY IS A FAMILY metaphor as well as the metaphorical concepts that are linked to morality: MORALITY IS STRENGTH and

MORALITY IS NURTURANCE. Results presented in this section may provide insight into the question of whether those conceptualisations are stable when speakers discuss issues related with terrorism.

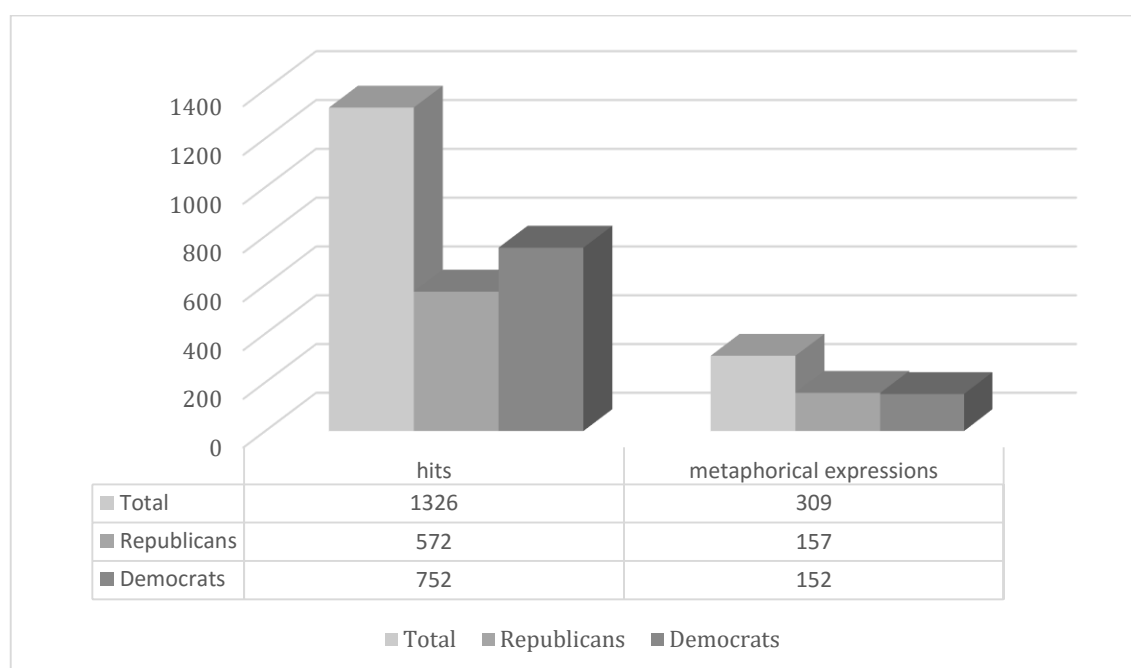
Table 13 depicts the number of hits per lexeme and its derivatives in each corpus, as well as the number of instances classified as metaphorical expression.

**Table 13: Searched target domains, hits and metaphorical instances - family**

Lexemes	total	Corpus A: Republicans			Corpus B: Democrats		
		hits	metaphorical		hits	metaphorical	
Citizens	<b>57</b>	27	15	55.56%	30	10	33.33%
Community	<b>108</b>	31	15	48.39%	77	30	38.96%
Country	<b>201</b>	91	35	38.46%	110	37	33.64%
Evil	<b>20</b>	12	5	41.67%	8	2	25%
Good	<b>62</b>	2	2	8%	37	1	2.70%
Government	<b>91</b>	54	20	37.04%	37	19	51.35%
Morality	<b>11</b>	4	0	0%	7	1	14.29%
Nation	<b>334</b>	94	19	20.21%	240	21	8.75%
Obama administration	<b>33</b>	27	13	48.15%	6	0	0%
President	<b>294</b>	156	15	9.62%	138	10	7.25%
Society	<b>22</b>	12	3	0.25%	10	5	50.72%
State	<b>93</b>	41	15	36.59%	52	16	30.77%
Total	<b>1326</b>	574	157	27.35%	752	152	20.21%

As indicated in table 13 above, a total of 1326 instances of the searched target words and their derivatives were identified in the two corpora with a distribution of 43.29% in the republican corpus and 56.71% in the democratic corpus. As depicted in figure 2 below, from the 1326 elicited words, 309 words were labelled as metaphorical, which makes up almost a quarter of the total hits, namely 23.30%. Those 309 metaphorically applied words are distributed nearly equally between the two corpora: 50.81% were found in the republican corpus and 49.19% in the democratic corpus. Even though the MPA in the democratic corpus yielded 178 more instances of the searched target domains than in the republican corpus, relative frequency suggests that the republican corpus contained 7.14% more metaphorical expressions than the democratic corpus. Thus, the provided data indicates that the metaphorical expressions identified within the searched target domains are on average more productively used by republican speakers than by democratic speakers.

Concerning the searched domains, table 13 above further indicates that NATION yielded the highest total number of overall occurrences and also the most frequent appearance with 240 instances in the democratic corpus. In the republican corpus, PRESIDENT displayed the highest occurrence rate with a total of 156 hits. However, these two target domains do not constitute the highest number of metaphorical expressions. The MPA identified the target domain COUNTRY in both corpora as most productive: a total number of 35 metaphorical expressions with the target domain COUNTRY were found in the republican corpus and 37 metaphorical expressions containing COUNTRY in the democratic corpus. However, those frequencies do not indicate whether Lakoff's (2002) family metaphor is still applied when speakers are framing topics conceptualising the issue of terrorism. Thus, an in-depth analysis of the searched target domains is provided in the following sub-sections.



**Figure 2: Analysis B - Total hits, hits and metaphorical expressions per corpus**

#### 6.1.1 Target domain: CITIZENS

As stated above, Lakoff (2002: 154) introduced a mapping between the target domain CITIZENS and the source domain CHILDREN. As indicated in table 14 below, two conceptual metaphors were elicited through the MPA from the corpora which contain the source domain CHILDREN. In comparison to speakers with a republican mind-set, democratic speakers applied the CHILDREN conceptualisation six times

more often. In contrast, republicans conceptualised CITIZENS as MILITARY TARGETS or CONTAINERS, which are both domains that are not applied by democratic speakers.

**Table 14: Conceptualisation of CITIZENS**

CITIZENS ARE	REPUBLICAN CORPUS	DEMOCRATIC CORPUS	TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURANCES
<b>CHILDREN WHO ARE REPRESENTED THROUGH THEIR PARENTS</b> <i>on behalf of the citizens (D42)</i>	-	3 (30%)	3
<b>CHILDREN WHO NEED PARENTAL PROTECTION</b> <i>we can improve to protect American citizens (D35)</i>	1 (6.66%)	3 (30%)	4
<b>MILITARY TARGETS</b> <i>X is targeting citizens for their political beliefs (R15)</i>	4 (26.67%)	-	4
<b>CONTAINERS</b> <i>remove X from citizens (R3)</i>	4 (26.67%)	-	4
<b>BEINGS INSIDE A CONTAINER</b> <i>x could have helped American citizens out (R31)</i>	3 (20%)	-	3
<b>POSSESSIONS</b> <i>his own citizens (R12)</i>	2 (13.34%)	1 (10%)	3
<b>PARTS OF THE WHOLE</b> <i>a very small portion of the American citizenry (D49)</i>	1 (6.66%)	1 (10%)	2
<b>SOLDIERS</b> <i>citizens of the current U.S. territories have bravely fought (D20)</i>		2 (20%)	2

#### 6.1.2 Target domains: PRESIDENT, OBAMA ADMINISTRATION, GOVERNMENT

Even though Lakoff (2002: 154) suggests a conceptualisation of the GOVERNMENT as a PARENT, table 15 below indicates that in both corpora, no direct evidence for this underlying conceptual metaphor could be found. The only instance similar to Lakoff's (2002: 154) conceptual metaphor "The Government Is A Parent" is the conceptualisation of the PRESIDENT as a protector of the family, which is only used by democratic speakers. In contrast, republican speakers apply source domains referring to governing authority, for instance, as an obstacle, a missile, a force or as an executor of justice. Of the total number of 49 identified instances of conceptual

metaphor belonging to the domain of governing authority, such as PRESIDENT, OBAMA ADMINISTRATION and GOVERNMENT, 16 instances were found in the democratic corpus and 33 in the republican corpus. This implies that conceptual metaphors dealing with target domains of governing authority are more frequent in republican speeches. The data further suggests that the use of the personification THE GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON is the most productive conceptualisation within the discourse of governing authority in both corpora. Sub-section 6.2.4 will elaborate on the question whether those instances of personification should be treated as cases of metaphor or metonymy.

**Table 15: Overview of selected domains belonging to the domain of governing authority**

	REPUBLICAN CORPUS	DEMOCRATIC CORPUS	TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURANCES
<b>THE PRESIDENT AS PROTECTOR OF THE NATION IS THE PROTECTOR OF THE FAMILY</b> <i>as president of this great country [...] in order to protect our national heritage (D12)</i>	-	4 (40%)	4
<b>THE PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS ARE AN UNWANTED HERITAGE</b> <i>the President's legacy of failure (R16)</i>	3 (20.01%)	-	3
<b>THE PRESIDENT IS A FORCE</b> <i>He [the President] has continued to push for unsustainably low funding (R2)</i>	2 (13.33%)	-	2
<b>THE PRESIDENT IS A KIDNAPPER</b> <i>American people are being held hostage by a president (R26)</i>	1 (6.67%)	1 (10%)	2
<b>THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION IS AN OBSTACLE</b> <i>After 7 years of the Obama administration delaying action in the war (R19)</i>	3 (23.08%)	-	3
<b>THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION IS A SOLDIER</b> <i>the next administration will need to return to the fight (R1)</i>	2 (15.38%)	-	2

<b>THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION IS AN EXECUTOR OF JUSTICE</b> <i>124 illegal immigrant criminals released from jail by the Obama administration since 2010 (R31)</i>	4 (30.76%)	-	4
<b>THE GOVERNMENT IS A MISSILE</b> <i>conservative organizations were intentionally targeted by our federal government (R15)</i>	2 (10%)	-	2
<b>THE GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON</b> <i>make foreign governments think twice before sending money to terrorist groups who target our homeland (R12)</i>	10 (50%)	11 (57.89%)	21

### 6.1.3 Target domains: COMMUNITY, NATION, COUNTRY, STATE, SOCIETY

Table 16 below summarises the main conceptualisations of COMMUNITY, NATION, COUNTRY, STATE and SOCIETY in the investigated speeches. Again, the use of personification seems most productive, which is similar to findings that concern governing authority: the MPA identified 95 instances of personification within the target domains COMMUNITY, NATION, COUNTRY, STATE and SOCIETY; of these were 34 instances found in the republican corpus and 61 were applied by democratic speakers. Thus, personification containing governing authority is more used by republican speakers whereas the target domains COMMUNITY, NATION, COUNTRY, STATE and SOCIETY are overall more often personified by democrats. Even though no instance was found that supports Lakoff's (2002: 154) claim that NATION is conceptualised as a FAMILY, the general assumption that democrats are concerned with social issues and republicans with authority are also reflected in the usage of conceptual metaphors.

**Table 16: Overview COMMUNITY, NATION, COUNTRY, SOCIETY, STATE**

	REPUBLICAN CORPUS	DEMOCRATIC CORPUS	TOTAL NUMBER OF OCCURANCES
<b>THE COMMUNITY IS A PERSON</b> <i>the Muslim community is the most frequent victim of terrorism (D14)</i>	4 (26.67%)	14 (46.67%)	18
<b>THE COMMUNITY IS A CONTAINER</b>	7 (46.67%)	5 (16.67%)	12



<i>and the citizens in the community (R17)</i>			
<b>THE COMMUNITY IS A FORCE</b> <i>community-driven reason (R3)</i>	2 (13.35%)	1 (3.34%)	3
<b>THE NATION IS A TARGET</b> <i>this was an attack on all free nations targeted and threatened by the brutal and savage tactics of Islamic terrorists who oppose the basic freedoms and liberties of the free world (R39)</i>	1 (5.26%)	1 (4.76%)	2
<b>THE NATION IS A REPRESENTATIVE FOR ALL CITIZENS</b> <i>I am proud to say, in front of the nation, that you have been awesome in this, and I want to continue to work with you (R17)</i>	2 (10.52%)	3 (14.28%)	5
<b>THE NATION IS A CONTAINER</b> <i>30 million or so of the 90 million there in the nation of Egypt (R10)</i>	4 (21.04%)	6 (28.57%)	10
<b>THE NATION IS A PERSON</b> <i>I agree with that. it is more like being the world's sheriff, where you bring together a posse of likeminded nations (D2)</i>	7 (39.84%)	9 (42.86%)	16
<b>THE COUNTRY IS A BUILDINGS</b> <i>Syrians illegally entering the country (R35)</i>	6 (17.14%)	1 (2.85%)	7
<b>THE COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER</b> <i>people who have poured into their countries (R25)</i>	5 (14.29%)	1 (2.85%)	6
<b>THE COUNTRY IS A TARGET</b> <i>countries that are attacked by ISIS (R24)</i>	2 (5.71%)	2 (5.7%)	4
<b>THE COUNTRY IS A PERSON</b> <i>and now that it is believed by the country (D19)</i>	14 (40%)	29 (78.38%)	43
<b>SOCIETY IS A BUILDING</b> <i>they struggle to re-enter society (D20)</i>	-	4 (80%)	4
<b>SOCIETY IS A PERSON</b> <i>we ask them to pay their debt to society (D20)</i>	1 (33.33%)	1 (20%)	2
<b>THE STATE IS A POSSESSION</b> <i>it will prevent them from ever having a state if they don't renounce terrorism (D39)</i>	1 (6.67%)	2 (12.5%)	3

<b>THE STATE IS A CONTAINER</b> <i>as is now reported, there are active ISIS elements in every state in the union (R35)</i>	4 (26.67%)	-	4
<b>THE STATE IS A BODY</b> <i>later this month, the president will convene heads of state from around the world (D15)</i>	-	4 (25%)	4
<b>THE STATE IS A PERSON</b> <i>our state and our city was overwhelmed (R9)</i>	8 (53.33%)	8 (50%)	16

## 6.2 Discussion of findings

This section will discuss the most interesting findings in more detail. As Lakoff (2002: 154) states, one part of the NATION/SOCIETY IS A FAMILY metaphor is the conceptualisation of CITIZENS as CHILDREN. Depending on a republican or democratic worldview, model citizens should adhere to the mind-set of the political party in question and show a range of specified characteristics and moral qualities. For instance, Lakoff (2002: 169) describes that model republicans, which are likely to support conservative convictions, are “successful, wealthy, law-abiding conservative businessmen who support a strong military and a strict criminal justice system”. The notion of militancy is present in the analysed republican corpus through the conceptual metaphor CITIZENS ARE MILITARY TARGETS, which is implemented through the following four metaphorical expressions:

(83) terror networks that are focused on targeting our citizens (R12)

(84) X is targeting citizens for their political beliefs (R15)

(85) agencies targeting American citizens (R15)

(86) terror networks that are targeting our citizens (R29)

Those four utterances above conceptualise citizens as military targets who are a group of civilians possibly becoming a victim of a terrorist attack. As pointed out by Scheffler (2006: 5), terrorists “aim to produce fear within some much larger group of people, and they hope that this fear will in turn erode or threaten to erode the quality or stability of an existing social order”. In order to preserve the social order, governments are required to protect citizens as well as possible military targets, which are usually places visited by larger groups of civilians as seen, for instance, in the Paris attacks in which “suicide bombers hit a concert hall, a major stadium, restaurants and bars” (BBC News 2015) or in the Brussels attacks which took place

at an airport and metro train station (BBC News 2016a). Thus, civilians and military targets have in common that they need large-scale governmental protection, which is a fact utilised by republicans as a supporting reason when, for instance, politicians argue for or against “passing [... a] legislation” (R12) that could benefit the safety of civilians.

It is noteworthy that no democratic speaker utilised the conceptualisation of CIVILIANS as MILITARY TARGETS. The military domain is only utilised in one instance by a democratic speaker who applies a possible correspondence between CITIZENS and SOLDIERS when stating the following:

(87) Citizens of the current U.S. territories have bravely fought in every American conflict (D20)

The utterance hints at the conceptual metaphor CITIZENS ARE SOLDIERS; however, more linguistic examples would be needed to support this claim.

In the democratic corpus, democratic speakers apply more frequently metaphors that constitute the conceptual metaphor CITIZENS ARE CHILDREN THAT ARE REPRESENTED THROUGH THEIR PARENTS, as illustrated through examples (88) to (90). All three examples carry the notion that citizens, just as children, are under age; hence, both cannot speak for themselves and consequently need parental guiding.

(88) it is most appropriate for us to examine a few topics that so many citizens in the districts we represent want to look at (D20)

(89) 435 of us that represent all of the American citizens (D49)

(90) on behalf of the citizens (D42)

Another structural metaphor closely linked with the concept of parental guidance and utilised mainly by democratic speakers is the metaphor CITIZENS ARE CHILDREN THAT NEED PARENTAL PROTECTION, which is exemplified through utterances (91) to (93) below.

(91) all of which are so valuable in protecting Israeli citizens (D26)

(92) we can improve to protect American citizens (D35)

(93) let's not put our citizens at risk (D52)

Both described conceptual metaphors fit Lakoff's (2002: 173) description of a liberal model citizen: "The model liberal citizen (1) is empathetic; (2) helps the disadvantaged; (3) protects those who need protection; (4) promotes and exemplifies fulfilment in life; (5) takes care of himself so he can do all this". Even though Lakoff (2002: 173) outlines typical convictions of a liberal, Levendusky (2009: 1) provides evidence that the liberal mind-set is largely corresponding with democratic beliefs even though the degree of agreement could vary slightly from speaker to speaker. Especially point (3) in Lakoff's (2002: 173) description given above supports the usage of the conceptual metaphors that map the source domain of CHILD onto the target domain CITIZEN within democratic speeches. Both, children as well as citizens, need protection by either parents or the government. The structural mapping of CHILDREN onto CITIZENS is also present in the following example, which illustrates the conceptual metaphor NEGLECTING CITIZENS' NEEDS IS DEPRIVING CHILDREN OF FOOD utilised by a republican speaker:

(94) X has deprived the citizens; X has starved them (R32)

Interestingly, republican speakers applied two quite similar ontological metaphors: CITIZENS ARE CONTAINERS and CITIZENS ARE BEINGS INSIDE A CONTAINER. For instance, (95) and (99) below conceptualise citizens as containers because in both utterances, X is removed or taken away from citizens just as entities can be removed or taken away from containers. In contrast, example (97) illustrates not an abstraction from the container through an external entity but indicates that the movement is started from within the container and not the act of an external force.

(95) remove X from citizens (R3)

(96) take X away from citizens (R3)

(97) American citizens speak out (R15)

(98) X has to take out an American citizen (R3)

(99) X could have helped American citizens out (R31)

Similarly, examples (98) and (99) map CITIZENS as BEINGS INSIDE A CONTAINER. In example (98) taking out a being from the container carries the notion of killing it, whereas *helping out* a being metaphorically implies not to actually remove it from a container but to support or assist citizens in various matters.

### 6.2.1 Obama as demon

The conceptual metaphor “The Nation As Family” (Lakoff 2002: 153) further suggests the conceptualisation of THE HEAD OF THE STATE IS THE FATHER OF THE FAMILY. Depending of the political conviction, the father has different qualities, which are outlined in section 3.3: Lakoff (2002: 65, 108) suggests that he is either a strict father or a nurturing parent. Considering America’s political discourse, President Barack Obama is likely to be conceptualised as the father figure as well as the government he represents. From a republican perspective, President Obama is not an ideal father because he supports matters that are not favourable in a republican mind-set. As State Senate, “he passed the first major ethics reform in 25 years, cut taxes for working families, and expanded health care for children and their parents” (Organizing for action 2016). As president, Obama

cut taxes for every American worker [...]. He passed historic Wall Street reform to make sure taxpayers never again have to bail out big banks. He passed the landmark Affordable Care Act, helping to put quality and affordable health care within reach for millions of Americans. He ended the war in Iraq and is working to responsibly end the war in Afghanistan (Organizing for action 2016).

Consequently, from a republican perspective, President Obama can be labelled as a “conservative demon”, which is a term introduce by Lakoff (2002: 170) describing people who “violate one or more of the conservative moral categories”. The conservative moral category demons and their characteristics are illustrated in table 17 below and adopted from Lakoff (2002: 170-171).

**Table 17: Conservative moral category demons**

<b>Category number</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>
Category 1 demons	Feminists, gays and other deviants, advocates of multiculturalism
Category 2 demons	People depending on welfare and people who are unable to support themselves (unwed mothers, drug users, able-bodied people)
Category 3 demons	Protectors of the public good (environmentalists, advocates of government-supported universal health care)
Category 4 demons	People opposing the military and criminal justice system (anti-war protesters, opponents of police brutality, gun control advocates)
Category 5 demons	Advocates of equal rights for women, gays, nonwhites, and ethnic Americans

Obama as first president with a dark skin colour personifies multiculturalism and ethnicity, which violates the conservative moral categories 1 and 5. Further, Obama established a health-care programme opposing category 3; in addition, he violates category 4 through committing to stop the war in Syria and other countries.

Such category violations from a republican perspective result in criticism of President Obama, which is also present in the analysed republican corpus. The republican discontent towards Obama's political actions and decisions is, for instance, present in the following metaphorical expressions:

- (100) Mr. Speaker, as we speak today, these people are held hostage, and the American people are being held hostage by a President [...] (R26).
- (101) the President's legacy is weakness (R28)
- (102) the President's legacy of failure (R16)
- (103) the President's bizarre legacy has led to more repression (R25)

The first given example maps the relationship between the President and American citizens as a kidnapper and hostage relationship, expressing clearly a negative view towards Obama's legislation. In the metaphorical scenario, the President's functions as active agent exerting his power over American citizens who are hostages; however, the mapping is only partial because the location of the kidnapping is not explicitly stated even though context suggests that people are metaphorically held hostage in the United States under Obama's period of office. Examples (98) to (100) voice additional critique through constituting the conceptual metaphor THE PRESIDENT'S ACTIONS ARE AN UNWANTED HERITAGE.

Interestingly, no republican speaker utilised metaphorical expressions that relate the President to a strict father figure or the head of the family as suggested in Lakoff's (2002) publication. In contrast, democratic speakers establish the President as a protector of the nation and its citizens, which is outlined in the four examples (104) to (107) below.

- (104) as President of this great country [...] in order to protect our national heritage (D12)
- (105) empower the President to protect our cultural, historic, and natural resources (D12)
- (106) see if President Obama will protect X (D12)

- (107) President Obama addressed the nation and detailed his four-part plan [...] to keep the American people safe from terrorist acts (D3)

Those metaphorical expressions largely coincide with Lakoff (2002: 109) who outlines that “[p]rotection is a form of caring, and protection from external dangers takes up a significant part of the nurturant parent’s attention”. The suggested correlation between protection and caregiving gives rise to the conceptual metaphor THE PRESIDENT AS PROTECTOR OF THE NATION IS THE PROTECTOR OF THE FAMILY, which can be subcategorised as a special case of the structural conceptual metaphor “Moral Action Is Nurturance” (Lakoff 2002: 117). In detail, examples (104) to (106) do not directly request a protection of American citizens but address the protection of national resources that are possibly of great importance for the majority of its citizens. Consequently, a president who cares for the public also cares for the resources that are important to them. Thus, the president or head of the family is able to show empathy, which is a characteristic described by Lakoff (2002: 114-116) as a building block for the nurturant parent morality. This interpretation of morality is also evident when Lakoff (2002: 109) states that “[t]he world is filled with evils [...]. Protection of innocent and helpless children from such evils is a major part of a nurturant parent’s job”. Example (107) directly relates American citizens who need protection from terrorists to the President conceptualised as a nurturing parent.

#### 6.2.2 Conceptualisation of governing authority

Closely related to the conceptualisation of the President is the following discussion of the target domain OBAMA ADMINISTRATION. As indicated in section 6.1.2 above, only republican speakers utilise the target domain OBAMA ADMINISTRATION in metaphorical patterns, containing the source domains OBSTACLE, EXECUTOR OF JUSTICE, BODY or SOLDIER. In the three instances below, the OBAMA ADMINISTRATION is seen as AN OBSTACLE that is either characterised through its delaying function (examples 108 and 109) or through the prevention of a forward movement (example 110).

- (108) After 7 years of the Obama administration delaying action in the War on Terror (R1)
- (109) the Obama administration is pulling out all the stops to keep this bill from moving forward (R12)

(110) I observed that after 7 years of the Obama administration delaying action in the War (R19)

Those movements are intertwined with the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL IMPROVEMENT IS A FORWARD MOTION, which is outlined in detail in section 6.2.5 below. Both utilised linguistic manifestations of the source domain OBSTACLE indicate an action that is interrupted from continuing a forward motion, which carries the notion of critique: for republican speaks that have applied the conceptual metaphor, the Obama administration is not supporting improvement but instead is obstructing the progress.

Expressing criticism might also be the main motive for conceptualising THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION as AN EXECUTOR OF JUSTICE. In three out of four total instances in which the conceptual metaphor motivates a metaphorical expression, metaphor is applied to indicate what duties the administration as executor of justice should carry out. Through pointing out what should be done, republican speakers imply in examples (111) to (113) below that the current administration is not working according to their wishes.

(111) the Obama administration should be holding Iran accountable for its actions (R27)

(112) The Obama administration may not agree with the laws that Congress passes, but that has no bearing on its responsibility to make sure the laws are faithfully carried out (R30).

(113) The Obama administration should try enforcing the law (R30)

The conceptual metaphor THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION IS AN EXECUTOR OF JUSTICE also compliments Lakoff's (2002: 164) findings that republicans are "[p]romoting punishment as a means of upholding authority" and that the administration is responsible for "[u]pholding the moral order" (Lakoff 2002: 165). Within a republican worldview, the administration is seen as being responsible for the punishment of actions that are against the moral order of the state.

In order to complete the discussion of the target domain THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION, the source domain SOLDIER is considered, which is illustrated in the two examples (114) and (115) below.



(114) the next administration will need to return to the fight (R1)

(115) Last year the Obama administration led a fierce legal battle (R34)

The conceptualisation of the ADMINISTRATION as a SOLDIER is based on the constituent mapping of the previously described conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR. Soldiers are the agents that fight the war; similarly, the administration fights a legal battle. Those similarities between argument and war enable speakers to structure the domain of the OBAMA ADMINISTRATION in terms of a SOLDIER because both engage in either verbal or physical war. The republican corpus also provides evidence that the target domain GOVERNMENT might also be conceptualised as a SOLDIER as indicated in example (116) below.

(116) I think we all recognize that this is up to the Iraqi Government to fight to win this (R34).

However, further evidence for the conceptual metaphor THE GOVERNMENT IS A SOLDIER would be required to provide enough credibility.

#### 6.2.3 Community, nation, country and state are containers

The present sub-section argues that through the usage of the container metaphor, republican speakers are able to interlace the moral category of “[p]rotecting moral people from external evils” (Lakoff 2002: 165) in their speeches.

As Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 253) point out, container metaphors belong to the group of image-schematic metaphors. Those are part of the group of ontological metaphors and are characterised through the two properties that they exhibit an inside and outside and are thus capable of holding entities in them. This is also present in the four examples below that are all taken from the republican corpus.

(117) the individual and the citizens in the community (R17)

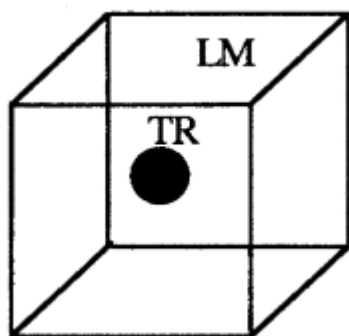
(118) too many parents in this nation worry (R37)

(119) and the victims of terrorism in our country should be able to seek justice  
(R12)

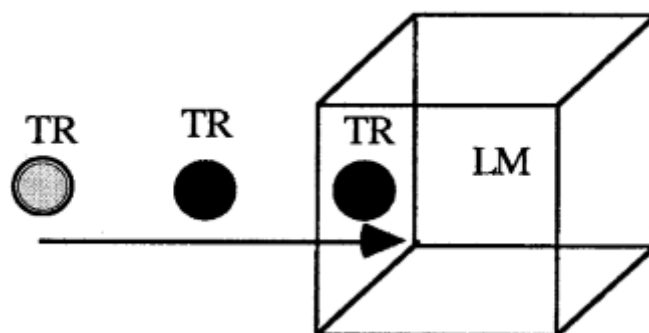
(120) there are active ISIS elements in every State in the Union (R35)

It is noteworthy that the usage of the container metaphor within republican speeches was slightly higher in comparison to the democratic usage.

Especially the metaphorical usage of the preposition *in* seems to be highly productive in the republican corpus. The metaphorical usage of the preposition *in* is explainable through Langacker's (1987) work that can be linked to Lakoff and Johnson's (2003: 253) image-schematic metaphors: Langacker (1987: 231) introduced the notions of *landmark* (LM) and *trajector* (TR), which can exhibit a metaphorical relationship. Peña Cervel (1998: 263) elaborates that "the TR is the profiled or highlighted entity, while the LM merely acts as a reference point for the TR". Considering the usage of the preposition *in*, Peña Cervel (1998: 263) outlines that either a static or a dynamic relationship between LM and TR can be observed, which is illustrated in figure 3 (Peña Cervel 1998: 264) and 4 (Peña Cervel 1998: 265) below.



**Figure 3 A TR inside a LM**



**Figure 4 A TR moved or moving into a LM**

In figure 3, the LM contains the TR, which indicates a motionless and static relationship between LM and TR whereas figure 4 illustrates a dynamic movement from outside the LM into its inside, which implies that an inversion of the movement might also be possible. Further, Peña Cervel (1998: 264) suggests that "[t]he notion of control plays a crucial role in metaphors involving a container. [... W]henever the TR is inside the LM, the latter will be controlled by the former or vice versa". The aspect of control is also reflected in the republican corpus, as the two examples below illustrate:

- (121) that we have had two—two—refugees in this country, this year, have been either charged or convicted of terrorist activities (R3)
- (122) He got into his Ford and drove north to leave out of the State (R9)

Example (121) suggests that the LM country has control over the TR refugees who enter the LM whereas example (122) indicates an inverted relationship: an unknown male TR moves out of the LM, which implies that the TR has control over the LM and can determine if he is located in the container's interior or on the exterior through crossing a boundary from inside to outside.

Instances in the republican corpus in which the LM has control over the LM are relatively frequent, which indicates that the target domains COMMUNITY, NATION, COUNTRY and STATE are conceptualised as a controlling container LM that has a controlled interior TR containing, for instance, citizens (R17), people (R17), parents (R37) or children (R31) but also problems (R27), refugees (R3) or immigrants (R31) and victims (R12). Thus, the LM is ascribed authorial control over the TR, which complements Lakoff's (2002: 164) finding that "[i]n Strict Father Morality, legitimate authority must be upheld at all costs", which also implies "[p]rotecting moral people from external evils" (Lakoff 2002: 165). Consequently, the container metaphor is used in the republican corpus to establish an authorial relationship between LM and TR, which is motivated through the republican desire to uphold their moral categories, which are outlined in the subsection 3.3.1.

#### 6.2.4 Personification

Various searched target domains yielded results that indicate an underlying process of personification, which is discussed in the following sub-section through a selection of examples. As Semino (2008: 101) states, "[i]n political discourse, personification is also widely used, particularly in relation to entities and institutions such as nation states", which is also evident in the two corpora. In both corpora, the target domains GOVERNMENT, COMMUNITY, NATION, COUNTRY and STATE display a broad number of instances of personification, which can all be classified as cases of metonymy, as illustrated through two examples per source domain:

(123) we pledge our support for the Belgian Government in its efforts to investigate and to bring to justice all those involved with the planning and execution of these deadly plans (R22)

(124) The Government of Syria has murdered over 200,000 of its own citizens (D2).

- (125) strongly advocated for the imposition of sanctions on Boko Haram, and the international community responded by doing just that (R14)
- (126) The Muslim community is the most frequent victim of terrorism and our greatest ally in ridding the world of extremism (D14)
- (127) As our Nation confronts new and expanding terror networks that are targeting our citizens (R29)
- (128) While our Nation and the world are reeling from the death and destruction ISIS has caused in recent weeks, we must not forget the terror that Boko Haram brings every single day (D18)
- (129) Our country confronts new and expanding terror networks (R12)
- (130) It was only when all of these countries got together that the sanctions really hit Iran in such a way that they decided to come to the table (D50)
- (131) The State of Missouri actually did a study on this (R18)
- (132) This resolution also includes a call upon the United States and all the states of the U.N. to conduct measures designed to prevent these crimes and genocide in the future (D32).

As outlined in section 2.3, the boundary between metaphor and metonymy is often not clear cut. Semino (2008: 102, original emphasis) indicates that “[i]n CMT terms, metonymy involves mapping *within*, rather than *across*, conceptual domains”. Considering for instance example (124), it is not the Syrian government that actually executed the murders but people that work for or in the government; example (131) explains that “[t]he State of Missouri actually did a study” (R18), which relates to researches working for the State who conducted the study. Consequently, the underlying metonymic structure THE INSTITUTION FOR THE PEOPLE becomes evident in both corpora, which is grounded in the physical experience that whenever it is required for people to deal with institutions such as GOVERNMENT, COMMUNITY, NATION, COUNTRY or STATE, we actually talk to people who work in or represent those institutions. Thus, the metonymy is framed by the idealised cognitive model of the institution, which enables conceptual highlighting within the same domain, which functions also as basis for all examples (123) to (132) stated above.

Literature provides several reasons why politicians make use of personification in their speeches. Two reasons are given by Semino (2008: 103) who states that

personification can also have an important function constructing and maintaining a sense of national identity. [...] Personification can also be used more generally in political discourse to present abstract and complex processes in terms of relatively simply human scenarios.

When linking Lakoff's (2002: 166-167) concept of the categories of republican and democratic moral action with the metonymic concept of personification, another reason why politicians might apply personification becomes overt: Lakoff's (2002: 166-167) categories are based on actions, which only a person can perform, such as *promoting* and *upholding* morality or *protecting*, *helping* and *nurturing* people. The moral concern could also be the underlying reason why personification is applied when, for instance, pledging governmental support (R22) or asking states to conduct measures against crime (D32). Only the people that are linguistically represented through the institution can act.

Moving on to the target domain GOVERNMENT, both corpora suggest the common source domain of personification, which is subcategorised through the novel metaphor THE GOVERNMENT IS A KIDNAPPER. Thus, a mapping between GOVERNMENT and KIDNAPPER is established; however, the question arises why politicians have chosen to specify the concept of personification as a kidnapper. One possible explanation is provided through the application of the blending theory: Tendahl (2009: 143) states that many novel metaphors can be explained through the application of blending theory, as outlined in section 2.5, due to the fact that "(b)lending theory sees the existence of many novel metaphorical expressions as arising from complex blending processes that reflect ad hoc, creative thought process". Thus, the following two examples constituting the novel metaphor THE GOVERNMENT IS A KIDNAPPER (examples 133 and 134) are explained with the theoretical framework of Fauconnier and Turner' blending theory (2008a), which should foreground possible reasons why politicians chose the novel metaphor.

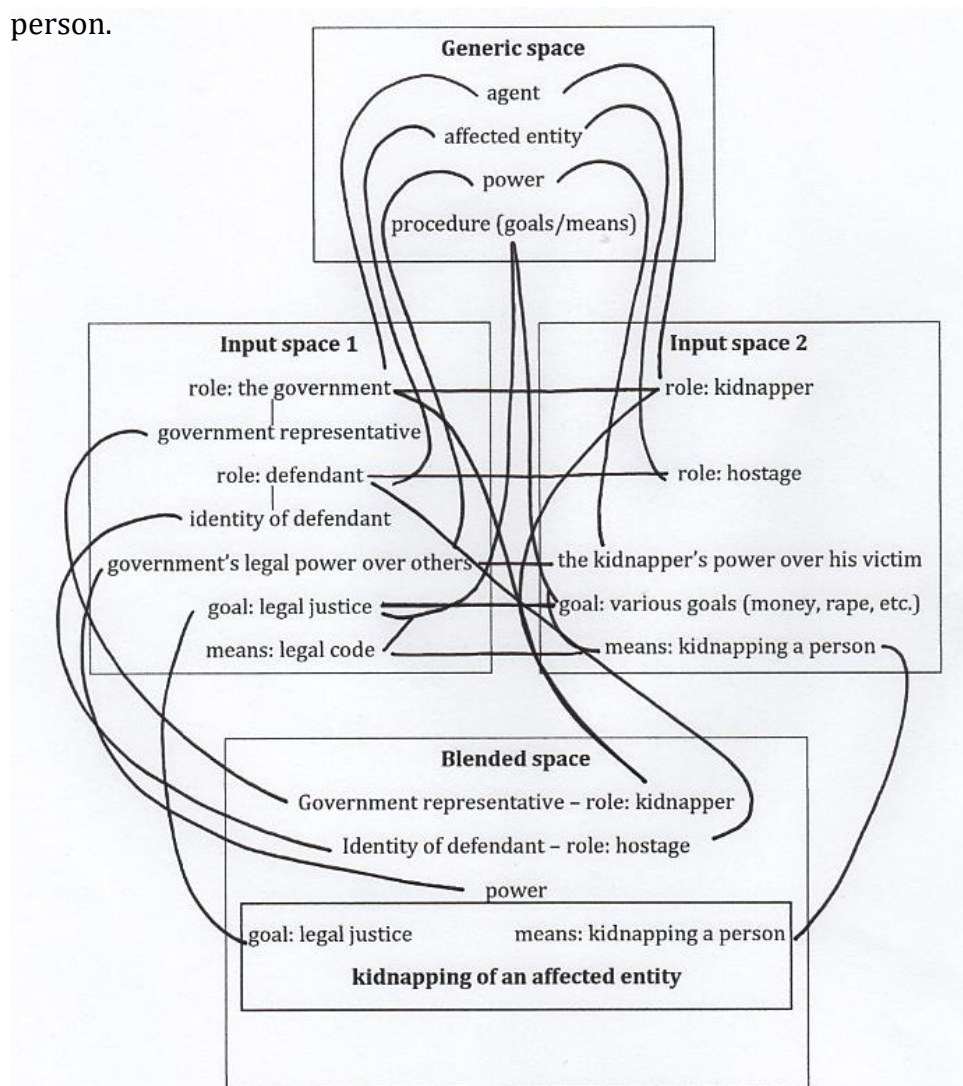
(133) at least 19 reporters are today still being held unjustly by the Iranian Government (D16)

(134) But that was a very tough incident in our political life, if you will, to see a child snatched by officials of this government to take him home to Cuba (D23)

As outlined by Grady, Oakley and Coulson (1999: 103), the blending theory works with four mental spaces:

These spaces include two 'input' spaces (which, in a metaphorical case, are associated with the source and target of CMT), plus a 'generic' space, representing conceptual structure that is shared by both inputs, and the 'blend' space, where material from the inputs combines and interacts.

The blended space in THE GOVERNMENT IS A KIDNAPPER as illustrated in figure 5 below is composed through the goal of the government to obtain legal justice within the state with the means of the source input space, which is the act of kidnapping a person.



**Figure 5: Blending of THE GOVERNMENT IS A KIDNAPPER**

[Layout adopted from Grady, Oakley and Coulson (1999: 105)]

In the described blend, the role of power is important: the government has legal power whereas the missile has the power to cause physical destruction and the kidnapper has obtained power over a victim. It is noteworthy, however, that the

target domain KIDNAPPER is only applied by democratic speakers. The application of the source domain KIDNAPPER could be routed in the democratic need of “[p]rotecting those who cannot protect themselves” (Lakoff 2002: 166). Through the mental space in which the GOVERNMENT and a KIDNAPPER are blended, speakers can underline the need to act against injustice and stress the necessity to help affected people.

#### 6.2.5 Political improvement is a forward motion

As indicated in section 6.1.2, the MPA of the target domain PRESIDENT yielded in the democratic corpus the orientational conceptual metaphor POLITICAL IMPROVEMENT IS A FORWARD MOTION, as found in the following instances:

- (135) I applaud the President for his historic first step to normalize relations (D23)
- (136) I strongly support continuing to move forward to engage with Cuba and will continue to support the President’s actions (D23)
- (137) The President’s step alone is a great step in the right direction (D23)
- (138) President Obama for taking this bold move (D23)
- (139) the President for his bold move in finally moving this outdated, anachronistic policy towards Cuba into a positive direction (D23)
- (140) Thanks to recent, very bold actions from President Obama, we have finally made some headway (D23)
- (141) when President Obama steps forward to deal with our Nation’s current problems (D20)
- (142) with the President to continually improve our ability to protect our American citizens (D35)

The source domain of a forward motion includes the linguistic expressions *first step* (D23), *continuing to move forward* (D23), *great step in the right direction* (D23), *bold move [...] towards* (D23), *bold actions [...] made some headway* (D23), *steps forward* (D20), *continually improve* (D35). It is noteworthy that some examples (135, 137, 141) directly associate the source domain of FORWARD MOTION with a physical movement, which includes the bodily experience of walking or stepping in s forward direction.

However, most metaphorical expressions constituting the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL IMPROVEMENT IS A FORWARD MOTION are extracted from a speech given by the congresswoman Barbara Lee (7.1.2015), who comments on the *United States-Cuban relation* and the progress made between the American and Cuban relationship. Obama (22.3.2016) applies in a speech, given during his most recent visit to Cuba, also the conceptualisation that POLITICAL IMPROVEMENT IS A FORWARD MOTION when stating that “[t]he history of the United States and Cuba encompass revolution and conflict; [...] and, now, reconciliation. It is time, now, for us to leave the past behind. It is time for us to look forward to the future together”. In the political discourse, the notion of progress relates to political improvement that is likely to be regarded as positive by a large number of people. Through relating the future to a positive step or move forward, speakers create trust within the audience.

Hence, the previously discussed conceptual metaphor POLITICAL IMPROVEMENT IS A FORWARD MOTION can be subcategorised as a special case of Lakoff, Espenson and Schwartz’s (1991: 16) conceptual metaphor “Progress Is Forward Motion”, which is identified in the corpus in a speech given by a republican speaker, as indicated in example (143) below.

(143) We are making a small step in our community where these institutions have come together and have established a memorandum of understanding (R17).

Semino (2009: 23) also identified four instances of the PROGRESS IS A FORWARD MOTION in an analysed political speech and found out that

all instances have similar contextual meanings (i.e. that of achieving positive change), and therefore be explained in terms of the same underlying conceptual mapping of the notion of forward movement onto (positive) development.

When we take into account that President Obama is a democrat, it is not surprising that only democratic speakers applied the concept of forward movement to political improvement in the sense of a metaphorical pattern that is unambiguously associated with the political discourse: the given utterances (135) to (142) are clearly situated within a political context because all contain linguistic expressions that belong to the discourse domain of politics.



Based on the two examples (144) and (145) below, the analysed MPA data further suggests that the POLITICAL IMPROVEMENT IS A FORWARD MOTION metaphor is closely connected with Lakoff, Espenson and Schwartz's (1991: 69) conceptual metaphor OPPORTUNITIES ARE OPEN PATHS in the sense that the former conceptual metaphor enables the latter.

(144) And we think now with the Obama administration's move we will begin to open the door to greater travel, in recognition of our own human rights and constitutional rights (D23).

(145) So thank you to the Obama administration for beginning to take the steps to open this up (D23).

In both utterances, the forward movement is given as reason for new possibilities, which is conceptualised through a newly gained openness. Further, both metaphors imply a change in the described event: the forward motion requires an entity to move from a backward position to a forward direction; similarly, an opened path requires the preceding motion of opening a closed path. Thus, both conceptual metaphors are likely to be connected due to the aspect of physical movement within the source domain.

#### 6.2.6 Good, evil, morality

As outlined in subsection 3.3.1, republicans tend to apply the following conceptual metaphors when speaking about good, evil and morality: "Being Good Is Being Upright. Being Bad Is Being Low. Doing Evil Is Falling. Evil Is a Force (either internal or external). Morality Is Strength" (Lakoff 2002: 72). However, in both corpora, which focus exclusively on context-specific speeches about terrorism, only a few metaphorical expressions that are directly related to the target domains of GOOD, EVIL and MORALITY were identified through the MPA.

The few identified metaphorical expressions suggest that EVIL could be conceptualised through the source domains BODY (example 146), FORCE (examples 147 and 148) and LIQUID (example 149).

(146) the world saw the face of evil (R22)

(147) remember the common threads that bind us together against the power of evil (R37)

(148) There is a substantial difference in style between these two evil forces  
(D32)

(149) We must continue to fight these extremists and stand as a united front  
against the rising tide of evil (R37)

The first given example above indicates that evil has a face; thus, it highlights a specific body part, which hints at the conceptualisation of EVIL as a BODY. The body, which is represented through the bodily feature of a face is seen by the world, which entails the concept of personification because the action of seeing an entity is stressed. Example (147) also proposes two conceptualisations: common threads binding entities together might imply the conceptual metaphor THREADS ARE CONVICTIONS and power is a form of force, indicating EVIL IS A FORCE, which is also present in example (148) taken from the democratic corpus. In the last given example above, EVIL is conceptualised as LIQUID, which highlights through the rising tide an increase of evil.

An MPA of the target domains GOOD and MORALITY yielded a connection with the source domain UP, which is indicated in the two examples below.

(150) That is a good, healthy growth (R31)

(151) Ms. Lynch possesses high moral character and integrity (D20).

Example (151) is the only instance within both corpora where the target domain MORALITY is mentioned, suggesting the conceptual metaphor MORALITY IS UP. However, more evidence would be needed to support the existence of those underlying conceptual metaphors. Concerning the republican corpus, it is noteworthy that within the context of terrorism, no instances of the target domains EVIL, GOOD and MORALITY were found that are identical with Lakoff's (2002: 72) findings.

### 6.3 Answering research question 2

The second MPA focused on Lakoff's (2002) NATION/ SOCIETY IS A FAMILY metaphor and questioned whether the republican and democratic interpretation of the family metaphor changes when speakers in the US Congress address issues related to terrorism or whether the conceptual metaphor is not influenced through the specific topic. Thus, domains that constitute the mapping of the NATION IS A

FAMILY were investigated. Based on findings and the discussion above, the claim is made that even though only a few instances of linguistic expressions were identified that contained the source domains GOOD, EVIL and MORALITY, which play an important role in the nurturing parent or strict father model, other source domains are applied by republican and democratic speakers to express moral concerns. For instance, in Lakoff's (2002: 153) family metaphor CITIZENS are mapped with the source domain CHILDREN. Although democrats sustain the conceptualisation of CITIZENS as CHILDREN, republican speakers place a focus on the novel metaphor CITIZENS ARE MILITARY TARGETS. Thus, democrats seem to argue based on the nurturing-parent morality (Lakoff 2002: 116) and republicans express their affinity for the strict-father morality through the military focus, which is a major interest of a *model republican* (Lakoff 2002: 169).

Even though the target domain CITIZEN seems to carry notions of the family-based morality, Lakoff's (2002) idea that the father who functions as head of the family also functions as head of the state is only present in two instances in the democratic corpus. In contrast, republicans frame the president as a *conservative demon* (Lakoff 2002: 170) because he does not adhere to republican moral categories, which is also expressed through novel conceptual metaphors when, for instance, the PRESIDENT is understood in terms of an OBSTACLE or AN UNWANTED HERITAGE. Concerning the conceptualisation of NATION, no instance was identified in which NATION is directly mapped with FAMILY; however, source domains are applied to conceptualise NATION, COMMUNITY, COUNTRY, STATE or SOCIETY that indicate that republicans seem to be more concerned with authority and democrats focus more on the social side.

## **7. Conclusion**

As the thesis has shown, various conceptual metaphors are applied by republicans as well as democrats to frame TERRORISM, which further influences the conceptualisation of the family metaphor. Analysis A investigated the framing of terrorism through conceptual metaphors in republican and democratic speeches; analysis B is based on the same corpus and investigated whether the family metaphor (Lakoff 2002) changes when the context is specified through speeches

that discuss issues related to terrorism. Even though section 4.5 already mentioned some methodological shortcomings of the analysis presented in this study, further limitations are mentioned: another limitation is the fact that, the research was exclusively focused on the political discourse within the United States, which implies that the material selected for analysis restricted the scope of applicability; hence, findings are not valid for other countries. In addition, the analysis was based on the assumption that all democrats from whom speeches were analysed share approximately the same liberal worldview and that republicans adhere to a conservative mind set. However, extreme variation is possible from speaker to speaker. A study contemplating the exact political view of each individual speaker would exceed the possibilities of the presented research.

Moving on the implications for further research, only speeches from republicans and democrats were analysed that are concerned with the topic of terrorism. Thus, the analysis of TERRORISM itself focuses the research on a specific topic; however, further research, based on the same corpora, could investigate other possible conceptual domains, such as the concepts of East and West, the role of countries such as Iraq or America as well as the notions of fear, stability, conflict, violence, radicalism or security and freedom. Additional leverage points could be the usage of the war metaphor within the analysed corpora or the conceptualisation of refugees who are also victims of terrorism.

Overall, the first MPA revealed in the republican and democratic corpus several framings of TERRORISM and associated target domains. The target domain TERRORISM is most often conceptualised in the two corpora through the image-schema metaphor TERRORISM IS A CONTAINER, the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS AN INVESTMENT and through the concept of personification, which frames TERRORISM as a PERPETRATOR or as an ENEMY. Other significant framings of TERRORISM within the republican corpus are manifested through the source domains of BODY, CONCRETE OBJECT, EVENT and INVESTMENT. Focusing on democratic speakers, several metaphorical concepts are applied to frame TERRORISM that belong to the domain of EVIL, which constitutes the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS EVIL. For instance, TERRORISM is metaphorically framed as a plague that is hard to stop and a cure still has not been found.

Further, the container metaphor is applied by both political parties in order to frame the target domain SYRIA as a container that is not able to contain ISIS, which originated in Syria. Closely connected to ISIS is also the idea that the PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy is used to differentiate between the peaceful religion of Islam and the radical interpretation, which is considered as the valid Quran interpretation by the terrorist organisation. The PART FOR THE WHOLE metonymy frames radical Islam as a separate part of Islam. Another productive conceptual metaphor identified in both corpora is the usage of the source domain PLANT in order to frame the target domains TERRORISM, ISLAMIC STATE and TERRORIST ORGANISATIONS. All three target domains are mapped with the concept of a PLANT that is rooted in soil, which corresponds with several countries, such as Iraq and Syria. The nutrients the plant is acquiring from the soil are the radical worldviews of terrorist organisations, such as the Islamic State or Al Qaida. Another nutrient such organisations receive is financial support, which is required for buying weaponry and other war items.

The discussion of the family metaphor (Lakoff 2002) and linked target domains within the context of terrorism showed that the family metaphor is no longer the omnipresent conceptual system that is used by republicans and democrats: even though the family metaphor is evident in a few instances (CITIZENS ARE CHILDREN, THE PRESIDENT AS PROTECTOR OF THE NATION IS THE PROTECTOR OF THE FAMILY), no correspondence between the NATION and the FAMILY was found and no direct instances of the nurturant or strict-father morality were identified. Thus, it is noteworthy that within the analysed corpora, the family metaphor is not the primary underlying conceptual structure; instead, a large number of novel metaphors, container metaphors and instances of personification are used, which indicates that the specific context of terrorism seems to reduce the importance of the family metaphor and foregrounds other conceptualisations. Other republican conceptualisations are, for instance, the framing of Obama as democratic demon or the understanding of the Obama administration in terms of an obstacle. In contrast, democrats apply, as examples, the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL IMPROVEMENT IS A FORWARD MOTION or personification to the domains GOVERNMENT, COMMUNITY, NATION, COUNTRY, SOCIETY and STATE.

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## 8.1 Data for analysis

### 8.1.1 Corpus A: Republicans

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## 9. Index

### B

blended space ..... 16, 17, 81  
Brussel ..... 2, 35, 37, 56

### C

Charteris-Black..... 1, 18, 19, 32, 89  
cognitive..... 4, 11, 14, 15, 16, 19, 26, 31, 32, 36,  
40, 79, 90, 91, 92  
conceptual metaphor .. 1, 3, 4, 5, 13, 14, 17, 24,  
26, 29, 36, 40, 42, 43, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 61,  
65, 69, 74, 75, 83, 85, 87, 88  
conceptual metaphor theory . 1, 2, 3, 4, 14, 16,  
17  
conceptual metaphors 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13,  
14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 23, 25, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37,  
38, 39, 40, 41, 43, 47, 49, 50, 59, 60, 64, 65,  
67, 70, 84, 85, 86, 103  
constituent mappings ..... 6  
corpus... 2, 23, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44,  
46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 56, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66,  
67, 69, 70, 73, 76, 77, 78, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87,  
89, 92, 103

### D

democratic.. 2, 3, 22, 23, 24, 32, 33, 34, 37, 41,  
42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 56, 59, 60,  
61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 73, 76, 79, 81,  
82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 103  
democrats .. 2, 22, 31, 33, 42, 44, 47, 59, 61, 67,  
85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 103

### F

family..... 2, 3, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31,  
60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 73, 74, 85, 86, 88, 103  
Fauconnier and Turner ..... 2, 3, 16, 17, 80  
figure of speech ..... 1, 3  
framing..... 2, 44, 50, 59, 60, 63, 86, 88, 103

### G

generic space ..... 16, 17  
Gibbs..... 1, 35, 40, 89, 90

### I

Ibanez and Hernández ..... 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10  
idealized cognitive model ..... 11  
imagistic metaphors..... 8, 10  
input spaces ..... 16, 17  
ISIL .... 2, 5, 6, 21, 32, 35, 38, 42, 43, 45, 46, 50,  
54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 91, 96

ISIS . 2, 34, 35, 38, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 53,  
54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 68, 76, 79, 87, 90, 91,  
94, 95, 97, 99, 101, 103, 104

Islam .... 3, 38, 42, 48, 50, 53, 54, 57, 59, 60, 87,  
103, 104

*Islamic State* .... 2, 5, 32, 34, 35, 38, 42, 46, 50,  
56, 57, 58, 88, 91

### J

Johnson .... 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17,  
18, 19, 36, 39, 47, 52, 53, 56, 57, 76, 91

### K

Kövecses .. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17,  
18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 41, 90

### L

Lakoff 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17,  
18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30,  
31, 32, 36, 39, 47, 52, 53, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63,  
64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79,  
81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 88, 90, 91, 103, 104

### M

mapping..... 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 19, 24, 26,  
28, 29, 39, 40, 51, 54, 55, 61, 64, 71, 73, 75,  
79, 80, 83, 85

mental space ..... 16, 17, 80, 81  
mental structures..... 4

metaphor... 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13,  
14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26,  
27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41,  
42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 56,  
59, 60, 61, 63, 65, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76,  
78, 79, 80, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91,  
92, 93, 103

metaphorical expression..... 4, 9, 10, 18, 19, 21,  
22, 23, 27, 36, 62, 75

metaphorical pattern analysis . 2, 3, 33, 36, 37,  
39, 61, 103

*Metaphors we live by* ..... 1, 3, 91

metonymy ... 2, 3, 11, 12, 13, 14, 47, 53, 54, 56,  
57, 60, 65, 78, 79, 87, 93

moral convictions ..... 18, 21, 22, 23, 31, 32  
morality .... 2, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29,  
31, 32, 39, 62, 74, 80, 84, 86, 88

MORALITY IS NURTURANCE ..... 21, 22, 23, 25,  
28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 38, 60, 62

MORALITY IS STRENGTH..... 21, 22, 23, 25, 26,  
27, 29, 31, 33, 38, 60, 62

Musolff ..... 1, 40, 89, 90, 91

<b>N</b>	
network .....	3, 16, 17, 38, 45, 56
network model .....	3, 16, 17
non-scenic metaphors .....	9
non-situational metaphors .....	9
non-structural metaphors .....	7, 8
non-topological metaphors.....	10
<b>O</b>	
Obama ..	3, 5, 6, 7, 21, 23, 35, 39, 49, 62, 66, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 82, 83, 84, 88, 91, 103, 104
ontological metaphors .....	8, 71, 76
orientational metaphors. ....	8
<b>P</b>	
Pairs.....	2
political discourse ..	2, 1, 3, 18, 20, 21, 24, 32, 35, 55, 60, 61, 71, 78, 79, 83, 86, 89, 91
political thought .....	2
politics .....	1, 2, 3, 22, 23, 24, 83, 90
<b>R</b>	
republican ...	2, 3, 23, 24, 26, 31, 33, 34, 37, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 103
republicans ..	2, 22, 31, 50, 59, 60, 64, 67, 69, 75, 84, 86, 87, 88, 91, 103
<b>S</b>	
scenic metaphor .....	9
Semino .....	1, 20, 33, 40, 78, 79, 83, 92
situational metaphors.....	9, 10
source domain .....	5, 6, 8, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 24, 29, 36, 41, 44, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 60, 64, 71, 75, 78, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 88
Stefanowitsch ..	1, 2, 3, 15, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 61, 92, 103, 104
strict father morality.....	2
structural metaphors.....	7, 9
Syria ...	35, 38, 42, 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 72, 78, 87, 94, 96, 101, 103
<b>T</b>	
target domain ....	3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24, 27, 29, 36, 37, 39, 43, 47, 49, 51, 56, 60, 63, 64, 71, 74, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87
terrorism ..	2, 3, 6, 19, 20, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 67, 68, 76, 78, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 93, 94, 96, 98, 103
THE NATION IS A FAMILY.....	25
topological metaphors.....	10
Trump .....	18, 19, 20, 93
<b>U</b>	
United States ..	11, 18, 33, 34, 47, 56, 79, 82, 86, 89, 92, 94, 96, 100
US Congress ...	1, 2, 6, 37, 38, 41, 50, 51, 54, 56, 57, 59, 85, 103

## 10. Appendix

### A. English abstract

The primary purpose of this thesis is to investigate the framing of **TERRORISM** and related domains, such as **ISIS** or **SYRIA**, in the US Congress through conceptual metaphors. This investigation is followed by a secondary analysis that is specifically concerned with the effect that the specific context of terrorism has on the conceptual metaphor **THE NATION AS FAMILY** (Lakoff 2002). Based on a corpus composed of speeches given by republican and democratic speakers in 114<sup>th</sup> US Congress, two metaphorical pattern analyses (Stefanowitsch 2006) were conducted. The first metaphorical pattern analysis concluded that democrats and republicans most frequently framed terrorism, the terrorist organisation **ISIS** and **Islam** through the concept of personification, whereas **Muslims** are framed as a homogenous mass and

Syria as a container that has failed to contain ISIS. The results of the second metaphorical pattern analysis indicated that the specific context of terrorism reduced the importance of the family metaphor and foregrounds other underlying conceptual metaphors, such as the republican framing of Obama as a democratic demon or the democratic conceptualisation of POLITICAL IMPROVEMENT as a FORWARD MOTION. These results suggest that conceptual metaphors indeed structure political language and thought when issues related with terrorism are discussed.

### B. German abstract

Der primäre Fokus dieser Diplomarbeit liegt darauf, das politische Framing des Begriffs TERRORISMUS und anderen verwandten Begriffen, wie etwas ISIS oder Syrien, innerhalb Reden im US Kongress durch die Verwendung konzeptueller Metaphern zu untersuchen. Diese Forschung ist gefolgt von einer zweiten Analyse, welche untersucht welchen Effekt der spezifische Kontext von Terrorismus auf die konzeptuelle Metapher DIE NATION IST EINE FAMILIE (Lakoff 2002) hat. Basierend auf einem Korpus, welcher aus republikanischen und demokratischen Reden die im 114sten US Kongress abgehalten wurden zusammengesetzt ist, wurden zwei Metapher-Struktur Analysen (Stefanowitsch 2006) ausgeführt. Die erste Metapher-Struktur Analyse hat gezeigt, dass Demokraten und Republikaner häufig Terrorismus, sowie die Terrororganisation ISIS und die Religion Islam durch Personifikation vermittelt werden. Hingegen werden Muslime als homogene Masse gesehen und Syrien als ein Container welche versagt hat ISIS in seinen Grenzen zu halten. Die Ergebnisse der zweiten Metapher-Struktur Analyse verdeutlichen, dass der spezielle Kontext von Terrorismus die Wichtigkeit der Familien Metapher reduziert und stattdessen andere zugrundeliegende konzeptuelle Metaphern hervorhebt, wie beispielsweise die republikanische Vermittlung von Obama als einen demokratischen Dämon oder die demokratische Konzeptualisierung von politischem Fortschritt als eine körperliche Vorwärtsbewegung. Diese Ergebnisse zeigen, dass konzeptuelle Metaphern politische Sprache und Denken im Rahmen der Diskussion um Terrorismus strukturieren.

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