

A Study on Conceptual Metaphors in Presidential Inaugural Speeches

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EN2302

Level III English, Autumn 2010

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1. Introduction

American presidential inaugurals are typical and important political discourses, and it is of great significance to the new president, because this is the very special moment when he faces the whole nation or even the whole world to express his fundamental political policies and principles for the country's development in the following four years. Moreover, it also aims at convincing citizens, boosting their morale, motivating the confidence of people and seeking the largest amount of support from his citizens. Therefore, in order to achieve these goals and make a good impression on the public, the president will carefully weigh his words in his speech, and polish it by adopting different language skills and strategies. Among them, metaphor appears to be adopted widely and also used effectively. Lakoff and Johnson point out that metaphors are pervasive in daily life, not just in language but also in thought and action (1980: 3). Their cognitive view on metaphor proposes the conceptual metaphor theory which means that people can conceptualize a particular concept in terms of another, thus enabling us to understand some abstract concepts much easier and clearer by adopting words that have concrete referents. Politics is abstract, complicated and far from people's daily experience, thus by employing metaphors, politicians can make those abstract political concepts more concrete for people to understand and accept easily. Moreover, Jeffery and Katz maintain that metaphors offer solutions to political problems or events. They offer a course of action, and politicians hope their metaphors persuade the public to follow the prescription suggested by the metaphors (Jeffery & Katz, 1996: 131). Therefore, it will be of great significance to investigate the kinds of metaphors that are employed in the inaugurals by different presidents and to show how these metaphors are revealed.

1.1 Aim

This study attempts to apply the conceptual metaphor theory to political discourse analysis to describe, classify and explain metaphors in political speeches. Through the study of six inaugurals delivered by different presidents of the United States at different times, this paper will focus on the journey metaphors, human metaphors, and war metaphors, since these three metaphors are frequently seen and used in daily life by common people, and additionally, it is more possible for presidents to adopt

metaphors that most people are familiar with to convince their citizens in a way that people can easily understand. By giving a detailed analysis, this essay will present a systematic study of these conceptual metaphors and revealing how they work in the political world. The functions of these metaphors in politics will also be discussed.

1.2 Material

The American inaugurals are from the website of Bartleby.com 2010, and they are selected from President Richard Nixon (1969), Ronald Reagan (1985), George Bush (1989), Bill Clinton (1997), George W. Bush (2005) and Barack Obama (2009). The materials include 6 inaugural speeches in total. Choosing inaugurals as political speeches' materials is due partly to their excellence, because a writer who has ever written speeches for President Bush once said, "The beauty of the inaugural is that we have built up a huge tradition where this is the legitimizing of the president... This is one occasion where you can go way up on the eloquence scale" (Zheng: 2001), but also to their great significance by revealing political values, principles and enactment of a presidential persona. What is more, these six inaugural speeches are delivered by six really renowned presidents in American history, whose excellent inaugurals do deserve our study.

1.3 Method

Based on the conceptual metaphor theory pointed out by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in their book *Metaphors We Live By*, the examples of conceptual metaphors containing journey metaphors, human metaphors and war metaphors will be abstracted and analyzed to show how they make the abstract politics more concrete. According to different source domains, every metaphor will also be classified into several specific conceptual metaphors, each of which will be discussed and analysed in accordance with different but specific metaphorical expressions. At last, the functions of the conceptual metaphors will also be discussed. Throughout the essay, small capital letters will be used for conceptual metaphors, and italics will be adopted for metaphorical linguistic expressions.

2. Theoretical background

Research on metaphor has experienced a long history from the traditional view which considers metaphor as a figure of speech to the current cognitive view which brings out the conceptual metaphor theory. According to Lakoff and Johnson, metaphors are connected with human cognitive system, and are not only reflected in our daily language but in our thought and action. This section mainly deals with theoretical issues on the concept of metaphor in the view of cognitive linguistics, one of the working mechanisms of conceptual metaphor-mapping theory, the features of presidential inaugurals and relevant studies. Among all of them, the first thing is to know what metaphor is.

2.1 The concept of metaphor

Traditionally, metaphor is widely regarded as a rhetoric device of the language, in which sense; metaphor is also confined to the literature. However, in the book *Metaphors We Live By* which is about cognitive study on metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson claim that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but also in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature. The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 3-5). In the cognitive linguistic view, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain (A) in terms of another conceptual domain (B) (Kovecses, 2002: 4).

The fact that CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (A) IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN (B) is regarded as the conceptual metaphor, in which, the domain B from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand the conceptual domain A is called the source domain, while the domain A that is understood in this way is called the target domain (Kovecses, 2002: 4). The conceptual correspondence between the two domains is referred to as mapping (Kovecses, 2002: 6). Take the metaphorical concept THE ARGUMENT IS WAR as an example. ARGUMENT is the target domain, and WAR is the source domain. This conceptual metaphor can result in the following linguistic expressions (Kovecses, 2002: 5):

Your claims were *indefensible*.

His criticisms were *on the right target*.
I've never *won* an argument with him.
If you use this strategy, he'll *wipe you out*.
He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

The metaphorical expressions in all these examples are common in daily language.

2.2 Metaphorical mappings as a working mechanism of conceptual metaphor

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), conceptual metaphors are systematic mappings across conceptual domains. As mentioned before, the domain which is mapped is the source domain whereas the recipient of mapping is called the target domain. Mapping is a process where experience from the source domain is mapped onto the target domain, making the relatively abstract target domain more concrete (Kovecses, 2002: 6). However, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also point out that when mapping happens, it has its own characteristics. First of all, it is unidirectional. A mapping only goes from the source domain to the target domain, and not the other way around. Second, mappings are partial, which means that only a part of the source domain is mapped onto the target domain. For instance, in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, not all aspects of the journey domain can be mapped onto the love domain, because there is no correspondence between the two domains in many aspects.

Based on the perceived similarity of some elements between the source domain and the target domain, mappings occur. According to Lakoff and Turner (1989), the mapping process may include different parts, such as the mapping of relation, the mapping of property and the mapping of knowledge. Take the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY as an example. First of all, the relation in the journey domain can be mapped onto the relation in the life domain (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). When a traveler reaches a destination in the journey, it means a person achieves a goal in his life. Thus the relation between a traveler and a destination in the source domain gets mapped onto the relation between a person and his goal in the target domain. In addition, there might be full of obstacles and impediments on the path in a journey, which can be mapped onto the trouble and difficulties that might be filled with in the

course of life. Thus the property in the source domain is mapped onto the target domain (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). At last, knowledge in the source domain can also get mapped onto the target domain (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). For instance, when people get to a dead end in the journey and cannot move forward in the same direction, they have to find out another way. Metaphorically, in the life, when people hit a dead end, they have to try the other ways. The mapping of knowledge might make people draw some inferences about the target domain.

To sum up, as a working mechanism, the conceptual mapping from a source domain onto a target domain enables people to know how conceptual metaphor works, and its process includes both the fact that the entities in the source domain are mapped onto the target domain and the fact that knowledge of the source domain gets mapped onto the target domain.

2.3 Conventional metaphors and creative metaphors

As a communicative resource, metaphor enables language users to enhance the expressiveness of their messages. Conventional metaphors exist at a certain point between literal and metaphorical uses and reflect a process that was originally metaphorical becomes established within a language. They are unconsciously built into the language by long-established conventions and are important (Ungerer & Schmid, 2001: 117). In addition, Lakoff and Turner (1989) also claim that a metaphor is conventionalized to the extent that it is automatic, effortless and generally established as a mode of thought among members of a linguistic community (1989: 55). But there is not always a clear-cut distinction between conventional metaphors and creative ones because of the differences between individuals' experience of language. As Lyons (1977: 60) argues that it is impossible to draw a sharp distinction between the spontaneous extension of meanings by individual speakers on particular occasions and their use of the pre-existing meanings of a lexeme that are to be found in a dictionary. Initially, many innovative language uses presumably constitute metaphors, but once they are established through frequent use in a language community, they become conventionalized. Therefore, active metaphors may progressively be inactive, and even finally become die (Goatly, 1997: 31-35). As the extent to which a metaphor is active might differ between different individuals of a language, it also possibly differs between speakers of different languages, for

metaphors which have been lexicalized in one language may not overlap with those that have become lexicalized in another. Thus a conventional metaphor in one language may appear to be an innovative one to a speaker of another language.

2.4 The features of presidential inaugurals

Many political speeches have been carefully crafted by talents before they are delivered to the public, thus it is not hard to see that most of the American presidential inaugurals are courageous, inspiring and claiming the promise of better days ahead, even though some of them are addressed in the darkest days of America. Such kind of common goals make different presidential inaugural addresses share some common features in the aspects such as the style, content and rhetoric.

In terms of the style, the particularity that the presidential inaugural addresses are delivered in the public place at a special moment determines its style which shares the features of both oral and written discourses (Zheng, 2001: 67-68). On the one hand, inaugurals are primarily addressed orally by the presidents, thus they should have something in common with the oral speeches, such as easy words in the inaugurals to understand and remember, and using the form of an oral discourse, such as my fellow citizen, to start the speech. It is impossible for so many people to figure out the meanings of the presidents, if they adopt complicated and deep words to express. Therefore, they should use common and simple words in the speech, and make the speeches transient and momentary just like the oral discourses. On the other hand, although they are delivered orally in the public, they are not spontaneous speeches, and they are carefully planned and written by experts under the guide of some rules and principles. Therefore, the presidential inaugural addresses should have some features of written discourses.

The content of inaugurals are often in touch with the times. Many presidents will focus on the major and central subjects that are relevant to their times, because on the one hand, an effective public speech is one that is adapted to the needs of the audience (Katula, 2001: 18). On the other hand, the citizens will find it is worthy of listening to the speech if they hear the presidents' ideas and political strategies that can contribute to the topic. Moreover, people will also perceive their president's leadership qualities and feel he is taking his opportunity, his citizens and his country seriously.

The inaugurals are designed not just to state the president's political visions and missions, but also to win as much support as possible from his audience for the president (Wilson, 1994:5-6). In order to achieve this effectiveness of persuasion, many presidential inaugurals take the advantage of emotional appeals. The president will try to arouse the feelings of his audience as to attract their attention to listen to what he is talking about, to motivate them and to boost their morale. For example, John F. Kennedy (1961, <http://www.bartleby.com/124/pres56.html>) said, *My fellow Americans, not ask what your country can do for you-ask what you can do for your country*. Such a simple sentence shows its powerful persuasiveness with exciting emotion. In addition, the president will also employ a variety of rhetoric to create the emotional impact, and to attain the goal of persuading people to support him, such as antithesis, parallelism and metaphor. Among them, metaphor appears to be used more widely and serve the purpose more effectively, which to a great extent, enhance the force and vividness of the language, as Jeffery and Katz point out that metaphors in politics are applied to convey policies, convince or persuade the public for action or to characterize political opponents (1996: 127). Thus it perfectly emphasizes the president's political motivations, as Edelman argues that metaphors are employed in order to provide the motivation or justification to think or behave in a particular manner (Edelman, 1977: 36). Moreover, it enables people to understand the speech in a easy way, as Thompson claims that until and unless that metaphorical leap of understanding is made, there is no participation in politics or political discourse (1999: 186).

2.5 Previous studies

Through investigation, several researches have been done to analyze the political speeches from different perspectives. Linguists Lakoff (2002) has pointed out that metaphor is functional in discourses. Lakoff brought metaphor into political speeches, and used it as an analytical tool to help people have a better understanding of ideology and value in political speeches. In his article titled "Metaphor, Morality, and Politics" (<http://www.wvcd.org/issues/Lakoff.html>) which criticized the American government for justifying the war against Iraq, but concealing the fact that it was for its own interests, he brought forward a series of conceptual metaphors which reveal America's diplomacy to Iraq. Cen (2009) studies different political speeches from the

perspective of pragmatics. By adopting Grice's Cooperative Principle (CP) and Politeness Principle (PP), he claims that the maxim of quality in CP requires participants in conversation communication to obey the following two rules: (1) Do not say what you believe to be false; (2) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence, as the political discourses must be truthful, thus being persuasive, encouraging and convincing. In addition, Hu (2001) has studied the rhetoric in politics. In his article "Rhetoric In Politics and Its Knowledge Spreading", by studying different political speeches with different backgrounds, he points out that several common forms of rhetoric are often widely used, including metaphor, metonymy, euphemism, repetition and parallelism as well as antithesis or contrast parallelism, which in the political speeches have a powerful effect on spreading political knowledge. He also claims that according to different backgrounds, the political rhetoric can be classified into five types, namely situation rhetoric, campaign rhetoric, institution rhetoric, head rhetoric and opposite rhetoric. Therefore, political discourses can hardly be carried out efficiently without rhetoric.

Although political discourses have been studied from various perspectives, there are still some loopholes in the cognitive mechanism of the political speeches. For instance, the conceptual metaphor as people's major cognitive system is more explainable in terms of social activities, because the conceptual metaphor was proposed on the ground of everyday experience, therefore the conceptual metaphor is a tight link between cognition and social activities. Based on these experience, the present study will present a systematic study of the political conceptual metaphors through detailed analysis.

3. Analysis and discussion

In this part, journey metaphors, human metaphors and war metaphors will be focused on and will be analyzed and explained in a detailed way. The data (American presidential inaugurals) collected is taken from <http://www.bartleby.com/124/>, and six inaugural addresses of six different famous presidents are chosen for conceptual metaphor study: Richard Nixon (1969), Ronald Reagan (1985), George Bush (1989), Bill Clinton (1997), George W. Bush (2005) and Barack Obama (2009). Each metaphor contains several specific metaphors, for instance, in the journey metaphors, DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS AND BARRIERS will be abstracted from the data,

and will be discussed and analyzed through examples with specific metaphorical expressions. At last, three functions of these metaphors in politics will also be discussed. Here follows a careful classification and analysis of the selected materials.

3.1 JOURNEY metaphors

Journey is a domain which most people are familiar with. In a journey, there will be a traveler who marches toward a destination through certain routes on which there will be obstacles, landmarks and crossroads. Similarly, the country and its people will also encounter difficulties or trouble on their way to be successful. Therefore, when journey metaphors are employed by the politicians in their speeches, the following conceptual metaphors occur.

3.1.1 AMERICA OR AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TRAVELLERS

In the American presidential inaugural addresses, America is often personalized as a traveller who walks together with its people along a way to achieve their goals. They are unified in a journey and move forward together. Thus in the conceptual metaphor AMERICA OR AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TRAVELLERS, the source domain (travellers) is mapped onto the target domain (America or American people). The following examples can show this conceptual metaphor clearly:

- (1) Let us *go forward*, firm in our faith, steady in our purpose, cautious of the dangers. (Richard Nixon, 1969)
- (2) For all of us are on that same *journey of our lives*, and *our journey*, too, will come to an end. But the *journey of our America* must go on. (Bill Clinton, 1997)
- (3) Start on this *journey* of progress and justice and America will *walk* at your side. (George W. Bush, 2005)
- (4) This is the *journey* we continue today. (Barack Obama, 2009)
- (5) Let it be said by our children's children that when we were tested we refused to let this *journey* end. (Barack Obama, 2009)

Example (1), (4) and (5) show AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TRAVELLERS, whereas example (2) and (3) present both AMERICA and AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TRAVELLERS. All of these politicians are using this conceptual metaphor to call on people to participate actively and firmly in this journey to contribute to the development of their country. In 2009, American economy was badly weakened: jobs shed and businesses shuttered, which presents a major problem of that time. In order to attract people's attention, Barack Obama mainly focuses on this issue and

encourages people not to give up, but to face this challenge which needs people's enduring spirit, thus inviting people to join this journey to make a collective effort to get through this tough period. This can be further shown through another two examples in his speech:

(6) Our *journey* has never been one of *short-cuts* or settling for less. (Barack Obama, 2009)

(7) It has not been the *path* for the faint-hearted - for those who prefer leisure over work, or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame. (Barack Obama, 2009)

By displaying what kind of travelers they should be, he again calls for people's toughness and endurance to overcome the hardship. In example (6), Barack Obama points out that *our journey has never been one of short-cuts*, which shows that people need more effort to finish this journey, as *short-cuts* often cost less effort and are easier for people to arrive at the destination. By saying *no short-cuts*, he encourages people to be travelers with enduring spirit, who are not afraid of taking a long way to reach the goal. Similarly, in example (7), he uses *it has not been the path for the faint-hearted* to tell people that travelers who only enjoy leisure should be avoided, as now they are on the path where people should walk together and get through the tough period.

Similarly, in 1968, two horrible assassinations happened in America. Both the president nominee, Robert F. Kennedy, who was John F. Kennedy's younger brother and the leader of the civil rights movement, Martin Luther King, Jr was assassinated. Obviously, these events show that there was a great sense of danger in America at that time, and inevitably, people may feel lack of security and even the whole society may fall into an unsteady situation. Therefore, in the presidential inaugural Richard Nixon delivers in 1969, he stresses the importance of moving forward together and being cautious of dangers, just as example (1) shows. By emphasizing the importance of travelling together, he tries to establish confidence in people to make them believe the possibility of achieving a just and abundant society.

From the above example, it can be seen that presidents often use this conceptual metaphor to motivate their citizens to move forward together, which conveys the knowledge that unity is important.

3.1.2 DIFFICULTIES ARE BARRIERS AND BURDENS

Inevitably, there will be barriers and burdens in a journey, which may hinder progress. Confronted with barriers and burdens, people have to endure and make efforts to overcome them so as to arrive at the destination. In this conceptual metaphor, the source domain (barriers and burdens) is mapped onto the target domain (difficulties). This conceptual metaphor is adopted in the speeches to highlight the need of patience to reach the destination, and to emphasize the necessity of effort to achieve the goal, even though it sometimes presents negative aspects of the journey. This is an effective way to deliver the information that people should not expect instant results from the policies, and sometimes hardships are inevitable in order to achieve the goals that are worthwhile. Thus it asks people to bear the burdens and hold an optimistic attitude towards them. The following are some examples:

(8) Let us accept that high responsibility not as a *burden*, but gladly--gladly because the chance to build such a peace is the noblest. (Richard Nixon, 1969)

(9) We have made *enormous strides* in science and industry and agriculture. (Richard Nixon, 1969)

(10) But there are many *mountains yet to climb*. We will *not rest* until every American enjoys the fullness of freedom, dignity and opportunity as our birthright. (Ronald Reagan, 1985)

(11) Let us resolve there will be *no turning back or hesitation on the road* to an America rich in dignity and abundant with opportunity for all our citizens. (Ronald Reagan, 1985)

(12) We have come to *a turning point*, a moment for hard decisions. (George Bush, 1989)

From the above examples, it is not hard to find that this metaphor mainly appears in speeches which were addressed in relatively earlier years when America was on its way to be prosperous and powerful. There were some key moments when they have to sum up the courage to overcome the difficulties. In 1985, it is continually Reagan's second inaugural address, because he won the election both in 1980 and in 1985. In 1980, the US economy was at a standstill, and the high unemployment rate did not drop until 1984, and then continuously dropped in the following years. Therefore, according to such a background, it is understandable that in 1985, Ronald Reagan puts forward in his second inaugural address the fact that the route to a bright future may be mountainous and risky, which is shown in example (10), but he believes that no matter what kind of road it is and once it is chosen, all people can stick to the course in order to achieve the goal, which is also shown in example (11). This shows that

different metaphorical expressions are adopted in order to achieve different effects. In example (10), Reagan directly points out that there are *many mountains yet to climb*, which is directly telling people to prepare for the difficulties ahead, as *mountains* implies that the road is not flat, but risky and flexural, which calls for people's courage and carefulness. Meanwhile in example (11), he uses *no turning back or hesitation on the road* to encourage people to be brave, and once take burdens, they should just go ahead without hesitation, by which, he is telling people to stick firmly to the course so as to reach the destination. In addition, sometimes important events in history are milestones on the journey, which may be a turning point that may change the future, just like the example (12) shows. Here, he uses the metaphorical expression *a turning point*, which shows a very important event that may change their future, thus encouraging people to grasp this opportunity at this moment.

Even though some negative aspects are unavoidable in the journey, this metaphor always offers a strong positive orientation for people to move forward. For instance, in the similar examples (8) and (9), Richard Nixon shows the importance of taking the burdens, and at the same time, makes people believe that a bright future is ahead. Here, he also uses different metaphorical expressions for different purposes. In example (8), *burden* shows that the difficulty does exist, whereas in example (9), *enormous strides* shows that even though people may have heavy burdens and barriers are on their way, they still make big steps to move forward, which indicates that people are not afraid of what is happening ahead, otherwise they may walk on tiptoe and make small steps with the fearful feeling that something terrible may happen on the way. Thus by showing that people do can move forward bravely, Nixon tries to encourage people not to be afraid of taking responsibilities or burdens, as they have already shown something great.

3.1.3 SOCIAL GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS

Social goals set by the government are often the destinations. This means that the source domain (destinations) is mapped onto the target domain (social goals). These goals can be short-term ones as well as long-term ones. The final destinations include democracy, freedom and liberty, which can be shown through the following examples:

(13) Fellow citizens, let us build that America, a nation ever *moving forward toward realizing the full potential of all its citizens*. (Bill Clinton, 1997)

(14) Great nations of the world are *moving toward democracy* through the door to freedom. Men and women of the world *move toward* free markets through the door to prosperity. (George Bush, 1989)

(15) In a world *moving toward liberty*, we are determined to show the meaning and promise of liberty. (George W. Bush, 2005)

(16) Rather, it has been the risk-takers, the doers, the makers of things - some celebrated but more often men and women obscure in their labour, who have carried us up *the long, rugged path toward prosperity and freedom*. (Barack Obama, 2009)

The words after the propositions, such as *to* and *toward* usually indicate the destinations. As in example (13), an explicit goal is defined, whereas in examples (14), (15) and (16), general ones like democracy, liberty and freedom are the destinations. This conceptual metaphor helps people further understand that the goals they are pursuing are worthwhile, thus inspiring confidence in people. From the above examples, it seems that no matter in which year, almost every president adopts this metaphor to make people believe that their endeavors will not be in vain, because the world, America and its people are all together moving forward to their final goals. This can be seen from different metaphorical expressions in the above examples. In examples like (14) and (15), they show the world and nations in world are moving toward democracy and liberty. In example (13), it shows that America is *moving forward toward realizing the full potential of all its citizens*, whereas in example (14) and (16), they show people also are moving forward to the freedom and prosperity, which is a very effective way to encourage and comfort people who are really working hard, because people will forget the difficulty and arduousness when they know that a bright future is waiting for them. All in all, the bigger picture and the destinations drive their actions, and their function exists to serve the bigger picture.

From the above discussion and analysis, it can be seen that journey metaphors comply with the rhetorical objectives of the inaugural addresses. By showing that AMERICAN OR AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TRAVELLERS, DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS AND BARRIERS, and SOCIAL GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS, the presidents try to invite people to keep together, without fearing to face the challenges and difficulties ahead, and to make people always believe that a bright future and a better society are waiting for them.

3.2 HUMAN metaphors

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), personification is a special type of ontological metaphor where the object is further specified as being a person so that a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities can be described in terms of human motivations, characteristics and activities. Therefore, by adopting the human metaphor, it is possible to make people understand other phenomena in human terms, such as motivation, characteristics and actions. In the political speeches, the conceptual metaphor THE NATION IS A PERSON is often adopted to describe some phenomena. Here, some aspects of a person is mapped onto the nation, which helps people to easily understand several specific concepts of the nation. The following shows the mapping:

Source Domain	Target Domain
Disposition	Quality
Growth	Development
Health and Strength	Economic Condition and Power

Here, disposition is mapped onto quality, growth is mapped onto development and health and strength is mapped onto economic condition and power. These conceptual metaphors will be analyzed in this section.

3.2.1 DISPOSITIONS ARE QUALITIES

Starting from the first mapping, the state is considered as having dispositions, just like a person. For example:

(17)...an America that will lead the technological revolution, and also *open its mind and heart and soul* to the treasures of literature, music and poetry, and the values of faith, courage and love. (Ronald Reagan, 1985)

(18) America today is a *proud, free nation, decent and civil*, a place we cannot help but love. (George Bush, 1989)

These two examples present an America which is open-minded, proud, decent and civil, all of which are words used to describe a person. By regarding America as such a person, the politicians intend to make people understand that as a developed country, what kind of a country America is like, and what kind of qualities it possesses. For instance, in example (18), *proud, free nation, decent and civil* exactly

reflect what a country America is like. *Proud* and *free* indicate that people in America enjoy freedom and feel proud of their own country for those that their country brings to them, and these things might be wealth, freedom and peace. Meanwhile, *decent and civil* indicate that America is also a country which treats its people as well as other countries in the world in a fair and kind way, and shows a country that most people would love. Thus all these qualities of America are shown clearly by regarding it as a person. Such fantastic qualities would make American citizens feel proud of themselves as well as their country, and appeal people's emotion to love it more. Therefore, this is a very effective way to arouse people's enthusiasm of participating in the activities to contribute to the development of their country by increasing their love to the country whose good qualities have been established in people's mind.

3.2. 2 GROWTH IS DEVELOPMENT

When a person grows up, he becomes mature and is able to tell others how to be mature. This means that for a nation, it becomes fully developed and enables to tell other undeveloped countries how to develop properly. This second mapping can be shown through the following example:

(19) America became the world's *mightiest* industrial power; *saved* the world from tyranny in two world wars and a long cold war; and time and again, reached out across the globe to millions who, like us, longed for the blessings of liberty. (Bill Clinton, 1997)

In 1997, America has become fully industrialized and has been a very developed country. The words *mightiest* and *save* imply that America is a person who has grown up and is mature enough to help others, because *mightiest* often refers to a person who grows up and becomes bigger and stronger with more power. It is easy for such a person to help others who are small and weak. In the world, there are many other countries which are on their developing ways, and some are even struggling hard to survive. Therefore, helping others also becomes America's duty in the global world. This is a very good way to present America as an independent, self-supporting country and responsible country.

3.2.3 HEALTH AND STRENGTH ARE ECONOMIC CONDITION AND POWER

The last mapping shows that the health of a country is its economic condition. The healthier a country is, the stronger its economic will be. This means that the economic health is of vital importance for a country. Look at the following two examples:

(20) And we must ensure that America stands before the world united, *strong*, at peace, and *fiscally sound*. (George Bush, 1989)

(21) America stands alone as the world's indispensable nation. Once again, our economy is the *strongest* on Earth. (Bill Clinton, 1997)

Both of these two examples present a positive aspect of the American economy, especially in 1997 when American economy became prosperous, and that is why in example (21) president Clinton uses the word *strongest* to describe it. By showing the strength of America's economy, it further presents the country's wealth and powerfulness. This is a very exciting fact that can increase people's sense of pride about their country and such a positive aspect can to great extent make people feel full of energy and participate in social activities more actively.

This conceptual metaphor makes complex political ideas easier to understand, because regarding the country as a person enables people to understand its properties in a better way. This metaphor is also persuasive and powerful, as it presents the nation in a detailed way. The more people know their own country, the more they will love it, especially when they are told most of the positive aspects of their country, thus it becomes easy to persuade them to take part in social activities or sticking to political policies to make such a wonderful country better.

3.3 *WAR metaphors*

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR is frequently expressed in daily language and has been deeply rooted in people's mind. As a matter of fact, the presidential election campaign itself is a war, because at that special moment, all the candidates will try all means to fight for the presidential position. For example, during the time of the presidential election, people may find that in news reports many words that are used to describe a war, such as fight, battle, defend and protect are often adopted to describe the intensive and fierce presidential election campaign. Therefore, similarly, war metaphors are also employed by the politicians in their presidential

inaugural discourses to highlight that in order to achieve social goals that are worthwhile, personal sacrifice as well as physical struggle are essential. They also make an attempt to imply that certain short-term hardships are necessary in order to obtain worthwhile long-term goals. Thus war metaphors play a very important role in the evaluation of social goals in the inaugural speeches. In war metaphors, the following conceptual metaphors are found.

3.3.1 SOCIAL EVILS ARE ENEMIES

Obviously, there will be enemies in a war, while for a country, any forces that may prevent its progress and development will be its enemies. As a matter of fact, the social evils or drawbacks of a country can to a great extent hinder the progress of a country. Moreover, forces from other countries which are against this country will sometimes also become a factor to impact on its development. For American people, social evils and any forces which hinder the progress of America, and countries that are against America are their enemies. Thus in the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL EVILS ARE ENEMIES, the source domain (enemies) is mapped onto the target domain (social evils). The exact examples are shown in the following:

(22) Standing in this same place a third of a century ago, Franklin Delano Roosevelt addressed a Nation *ravaged by depression* and gripped in fear. (Richard Nixon, 1969)

(23) There is *crime to be conquered*, the rough crime of the streets. (George Bush, 1989)

(24) We will stand mighty for peace and freedom and maintain *a strong defense against terror and destruction*. (Bill Clinton, 1997)

From the above examples, it can be seen that the enemies include *depression*, *crime*, *terror* and *destruction*, all of which are social evils. These evils are disasters which can cause disorders to the country, destroy the country's economy and make a society become unsteady, thus affecting people's daily life as well as their life quality. In other words, they can ruin everything that people are enjoying, such as peace and freedom. By presenting these terrible social evils, the politicians are making an attempt to tell people that these evils are enemies which are powerful and if American citizens ignore them and do not know how to face them and how to deal with them, they will become a great danger for the whole society, as they will not retreat themselves.

The weaker you are, the stronger your enemies will be. At the same time, the politicians are implying that when confronted with these enemies, people should not escape or surrender, which is definitely now allowed, but to face them and conquer them, just like example (23) says, as even though the enemies are powerful, these enemies can still be conquered and they are not fearful. By pointing out the specific enemies in front of America, the politicians are making their citizens more clear about their tasks and meanwhile, effectively encourage people to take part in the social activities actively and timely so as to maintain the peace and freedom of America. In example (24), Bill Clinton is trying to appeal people to stand mighty for peace and freedom, and together maintain defense against the *terror and destruction*.

3.3.2 AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE FIGHTERS AND DEFENDERS

As mentioned in the above, there will be enemies in a war, and for a country, these enemies are social evils, like terrorism and crime. When confronted with these enemies, people have to defend themselves and fight for themselves. Therefore, the war metaphor in American presidential inaugurals shows that American people are defenders and fighters. In this conceptual metaphor, the source domain (defenders and fighters) is mapped onto the target domain (American people).

First of all, when American people are regarded as defenders, they are often called upon to defend some social goals or systems that are of great importance to be protected. And there is also a case where even the politician himself is considered as a defender. For instance:

(25) I have taken an oath today in the presence of God and my countrymen to uphold and *defend the Constitution of the United States*. (Richard Nixon, 1969)

(26) Freedom, by its nature, must be chosen, and *defended* by citizens, and sustained by the rule of law and the protection of minorities. (George W. Bush, 2005)

Example (25) shows that president Nixon regards himself as a defender to *defend the constitution of the United States*, and in (26), what needs to be defended is freedom, both of which are extremely important for American people. The Constitution of the United States defines a framework for the country's law and order, and establishes the foundation of legal authority as well as American political system, while freedom is viewed as an essential right that every American people should enjoy. Thus their high degree of importance enables people to be aware that their

great political system and their freedom are being threatened by those enemies, and if they do not take the responsibilities actively and immediately, they will suffer. This is the task that is needed not only for protecting America itself, but also for the whole world. Thus this is a very effective way of reminding people of taking responsibilities and defending what needs to be protected.

However, defense is a passive activity, and sometimes it is not enough. In order to take active actions, people are asked to fight against or attack the enemies. Therefore, in the American presidential inaugurals, there are also examples showing Americans are fighters. Here, the source domain (fighters) is mapped onto the target domain (Americans). Look at the following examples:

(27) And it is the world's only hope, to *conquer poverty and preserve peace*. Every *blow we inflict against poverty* will be a blow against its dark allies of oppression and war. (Ronald Reagan, 1985)

(28) We have already found a high degree of personal liberty, and we are now *struggling* to enhance equality of opportunity. (Bill Clinton, 1977)

In example (27), *poverty* is a social problem, and it affects people's life of quality, and will have an impact on the whole social development of America. This is serious social problem that people need to fight against and conquer. In example (28), *struggling* implies a kind of fight, which is to try extremely hard to achieve something. Thus the president Bill Clinton is telling people to fight for the social goals, because enhancing equality of opportunity is a kind of social goal that needs people's endeavors to obtain. *Struggling* in this example also shows the conceptual metaphor, DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS, since *struggling* at the same time reflects the difficulty of moving forward. Once people begin to fight in a war, there will be inevitably sacrifice. People may get injured or even lose their lives in order to win the war. However, in the American presidential inaugural discourses, the war metaphor also shows that as fighters, the American people's sacrifice is worthwhile, because they believe that the final victory belongs to America and the American people. For example:

(29) It will not be easy; it will require *sacrifice*. But it can be done, and done fairly, not choosing sacrifice for its own sake, but for our own sake. (Bill Clinton, 1997)

(30) Let us learn together and laugh together and work together and pray together, confident that in the end we will *triumph* together in the right. (Bill Clinton, 1997)

(31) We go forward with complete confidence in the *eventual triumph of freedom*. (George Bush, 2005)

From the above examples, it can be seen that example (29) emphasizes that personal sacrifice will be required, which shows the danger in fight, but in example (30), president Bill Clinton claims that the final victory is predicted, and it belongs to America. In this way, he is telling people that even though sacrifice is unavoidable, the more important thing people should know is that this sacrifice in the fight will pay back, and it can bring final triumph to America. Similarly, in example (31), President Bush also intends to give courage to the people, and encourage them to fight bravely, as he believes that America will get eventual victory. Even though this metaphor highlights the personal sacrifice, the politicians still try to make people believe that those physical struggles are necessary to achieve the final social goals, and the eventual triumph belongs to America, thus encouraging people to fight bravely and at same time boosting their morale, which is essential for the victory.

From the above discussion, it can be seen that war metaphor is often used in the American presidential inaugural discourses to encourage American people to be fighters without fearing sacrifice, to fight for the positive social goals, such as freedom and rights, and to fight against negative ones, like poverty and diseases. All those social diseases or evils are conceptualized as enemies. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR vividly presents a sequence of activities. Initially, all those enemies become a threat to America as well as the American people, and then the politicians call upon the American people (fighters) to fight against these enemies, and there will be sacrifice in the fight, but it will lead to final victory.

3.4 Functions

The functions of metaphors in political discourses may be different. According to the analysis and discussion presented in the above, three main functions that are widely accepted by different scholars can be shown.

The first one is simplification. Politics is abstracted and complicated, and thus common people will be unable to understand it if the politicians do not try to make it familiar with people. Thompson claims that until and unless that metaphorical leap of understanding is made, there is no participation in politics or political discourse (Thompson, 1999: 186). The journey is a very familiar topic for people, thus journey metaphors are often adopted by politicians to make people feel easy to understand.

The second function is persuasion. Jeffery points out that metaphors in politics are applied to convey policies, convince or persuade the public for action or to characterize political opponents. (1996: 127) Thus persuasion is a basic purpose that the politicians aim at. They will try to deliver their emotion and feeling to their citizens through effective metaphors. This can be seen clearly in the war metaphor discussed above.

The last one is motivation. Edelman argues that metaphors are employed in order to provide the motivation or justification to think or behave in a particular manner. (Edelman, 1977: 36) Therefore, in order to encourage people to behave in a right way, politicians will provide motivation. For example, in the journey metaphor, they often point out that the final destinations will be perfect, and similarly, in the war metaphor, they confidently tell people that the final victory belongs to America, all of which provide motivation for people to act and behave.

To sum up, the above functions enable politicians to make the most use of metaphors to achieve their goals, and at the same time, people cannot only easily understand various political views, but also get greatly motivated and encouraged, all of which are essential for a country to succeed.

4. Conclusion

The presidential inaugural speech is an important kind of political discourses. The new president will take advantages of the speech to publicize his fundamental political principles as well as policies. It plays an important role in the president's political life. In order to make clear to the public the political views and stands of the new government, metaphors are often adopted by the politicians in their addresses to make their speeches more convincing.

This essay has analyzed political metaphors in six American presidential inaugural addresses by applying the conceptual metaphor theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson. Through the investigation, several specific conceptual metaphors are found: In journey metaphors, there are AMERICA OR AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE TRAVELLERS, DIFFICULTIES ARE BARRIERS AND BURDENS and SOCIAL GOALS ARE DESTINATIONS. In human metaphors, there are DISPOSITIONS ARE QUALITIES, GROWTH IS DEVELOPMENT and HEALTH AND STRENGTH ARE ECONOMIC CONDITION AND POWER. In war metaphors,

there are SOCIAL EVILS ARE ENEMIES and AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE FIGHTERS AND DEFENDERS. It can also be found from the analysis that the source domains of these metaphors are closely related to people's daily life and experience, which make the abstract political speeches understandable for common people, thus together playing a very important persuasive role by arousing strong emotional responses. In addition, these metaphors in politic speeches reflect three main functions of: simplification, persuasion and motivation.

The study just focuses on three common metaphors that appear in the political speeches. There are also other metaphors like building metaphors, story metaphors and light metaphors and the like, which can be investigated in the future with more research fields.

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