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CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS IN THE INAUGURAL DISCOURSE OF AMERICAN PRESIDENTS: TYPOLOGY AND MECHANISM OF CONCEPTUALIZATION

Olena Zhykharieva

*Doctor of Philological Sciences, Associate Professor,
Associate Professor at the Department of Foreign Languages
National Academy of Fine Arts and Architecture
Voznesenski Uzviz, 20, Kyiv, Ukraine,
Associate Professor at the Department of Romanic and Germanic Languages
National Academy of the Security Service of Ukraine
M. Maksymovycha str., 22, Kyiv, Ukraine
orcid.org/0000-0002-1054-3725
e-mail: bnaoma22@gmail.com*

Victoriia Stavtseva

*Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences, Associate Professor,
Associate Professor at the Department of the English Language and Translation
Kyiv National Linguistic University
Velyka Vasylkivska str., 73, Kyiv, Ukraine
orcid.org/0000-0002-0034-4757
e-mail: wictoria@gmail.com*

Abstract. *The goal of the article is to identify and analyze conceptual metaphors in the inaugural discourse of American presidents in terms of their conceptual referents and correlates. The material for the article was sourced from the inaugural speeches, available on official websites. The goal was achieved through cognitive mapping of conceptual metaphors, highlighting basic projections and entailments, determining prototypical metaphorical categories for the identified conceptualizations, and establishing a typology of the identified metaphors. As a result, the research arrived at several key conclusions. The inaugural discourse of American presidents contains sociomorphic, zoomorphic, naturomorphic, artifactual and biomorphic cognitive metaphors, through which complex socio-political phenomena are conceptualized as more understandable and clear to the audience. The prototypical metaphorical category for nature-based conceptualizations is SOCIAL-POLITICAL LIFE – NATURE, with projections to the attributes from conceptual correlates like Climate, Weather, Natural Disasters onto conceptual referents such as Hard Times (in the Country), Peace, Prosperity, Freedom, Money, Crisis, Politics, and The American Way of Life. Artifact metaphors are based on projecting characteristics of the prototypical conceptual correlate “Artifacts” onto conceptual referents like Freedom, Democracy, Economy, Country, and Memory; forming conceptual models: Freedom is a Treasure, Democracy is a Treasure, Economy is a Ship, Country is a Treasure, Memory is a Musical Instrument, Freedom is a Bastion. The prototypical conceptual correlates for sociomorphic metaphors are CRIME and WAR, with a series of projections onto conceptual referents in seven metaphorical models within the socio-political sphere: Totalitarian political regime is a Prison, Politics is a Victim, Impoverishment is Murder, Drugs are Thieves, Dogma is a Strangler, Countries (threatening national interests) are Thieves, and Separation is a Wound. The prototypical metaphorical category for zoomorphic conceptualizations is SOCIAL-POLITICAL LIFE – ANIMAL WORLD. Projections of attributes from conceptual correlates such as Insects and Predators onto conceptual referents like Power and Doctrine form conceptual models like Racism is a Stinging Insect, Outdated Arguments are Predators, Power is a Tiger. The prototype category for conceptualizations in biomorphic metaphors is the SYSTEM OF STATE/LEGISLATIVE REGULATION – LIVING ORGANISM ACTIVITY represented by projecting conceptual correlates of Body and Death onto conceptual referents Government and Law.*

Key words: *conceptual metaphor, inaugural speeches, conceptual correlates, conceptual referents, projections, entailments.*

КОНЦЕПТУАЛЬНІ МЕТАФОРИ В ІНАВГУРАЦІЙНОМУ ДИСКУРСІ ПРЕЗИДЕНТІВ АМЕРИКИ: ТИПОЛОГІЯ ТА МЕХАНІЗМ КОНЦЕПТУАЛІЗАЦІЇ

Олена Жихарєва,

доктор філологічних наук, доцент,

доцент кафедри іноземних мов

Національної академії образотворчого мистецтва і архітектури

Вознесенський узвіз, 20, Київ, Україна,

доцент кафедри романо-германських мов

Національної академії Служби безпеки України

вул. М. Максимовича, 22, Київ, Україна

orcid.org/0000-0002-1054-3725

e-mail: bnaoma22@gmail.com

Вікторія Ставцева,

кандидат педагогічних наук, доцент,

доцент кафедри англійської мови і перекладу

Київського національного лінгвістичного університету

вул. Велика Васильківська, 73, Київ, Україна

orcid.org/0000-0002-0034-4757

e-mail: wicitoria@gmail.com

Анотація. Метою статті є аналіз концептуальних метафор в інавгураційному дискурсі американських президентів з огляду на виявлення концептуальних референтів і корелятивів. Матеріалом дослідження було обрано інавгураційні промови, розміщені на офіційних сайтах. Мета була досягнута шляхом когнітивного мапування концептуальних метафор, виділення їхніх базових проєкцій і інференцій, визначення прототипових метафоричних категорій для ідентифікованих концептуалізацій і встановлення типології ідентифікованих метафор. У ході дослідження ми дійшли таких ключових висновків. Інавгураційний дискурс американських президентів містить соціоморфні, зооморфні, природоморфні, артефактні та біоморфні когнітивні метафори, за допомогою яких складні соціально-політичні явища концептуалізуються як більш зрозумілі та доступні для аудиторії. Прототиповою метафоричною категорією концептуалізацій, що формують природоморфні метафори, є СОЦІАЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНЕ ЖИТТЯ – ПРИРОДА з проєкціями атрибутів концептуальних корелятивів, таких як клімат, погода, стихійні лиха, на концептуальні референти, як-то важкі часи (для країни), мир, процвітання, свобода, гроші, криза, політика, американський стиль життя. Артефактні метафори базуються на проєктуванні характеристик прототипного концептуального кореляту Артефакти на концептуальні референти, такі як Свобода, Демократія, Економіка, Країна та Пам'ять, утворюючи концептуальні моделі «Свобода – це Скарб», «Демократія – це Скарб», «Економіка – це Корабель», «Країна – це Скарб», «Пам'ять – це Музичний інструмент», «Свобода – це Bastion». Прототиповими концептуальними корелятами для соціоморфних метафор є ЗЛОЧИН і ВІЙНА із низкою проєкцій на концептуальні референти у семи метафоричних моделях у соціально-політичній сфері: «Тоталітарний Режим – це В'язниця», «Політика – це Жертва», «Зубожіння – це Вбивство», «Наркотики – це Злодії», «Догма – це Душителі», «Країни (що загрожують національним інтересам) – це Злодії», «Поділ країни – це Рана». Прототиповою метафоричною категорією для зооморфних концептуалізацій є СУСПІЛЬНО-ПОЛІТИЧНЕ ЖИТТЯ – ТВАРИННИЙ СВІТ. Проєкції атрибутів із концептуальних корелятивів, таких як Комахи та Хижаки, на концептуальні референти, як-от Влада та Доктрина, утворюють концептуальні моделі, такі як «Расизм – це Жалюча Комаха», «Застарілі Аргументи – це Хижаки», «Влада – це Тигр». Категорією-прототипом для концептуалізацій у біоморфних метафорах є СИСТЕМА ДЕРЖАВНОГО/ЗАКОНОДАВЧОГО РЕГУЛЮВАННЯ – ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ ЖИВОГО ОРГАНІЗМУ, представлена проєктуванням концептуальних корелятивів Тіло та Смерть на концептуальні референти Уряд і Закон.

Ключові слова: концептуальна метафора, інавгураційні промови, концептуальні кореляти, концептуальні референти, проєкції, інференції.

Problem statement. Studying the inaugural discourse as a type of institutional communication, in which political meanings are tested and group identity is constructed based on the actualization of common interests and values of the newly elected president with the nation, remains one of the priority directions in contemporary linguistics within the framework of its cognitive-discursive paradigm. The success of communicative strategies in the inaugural speeches of American presidents, which are associated with the "development" of a "new face", the symbolic transfer of power to the people, emphasis on national unity, and the defense of American and universal values, is largely ensured through the use of conceptual metaphors. These metaphors make it possible to simplify complex political processes and simultaneously possess a powerful influential potential on the public, implementing argumentation models based on pathos – emotional engagement of the public, and ethos – appeals to common values [8, p. 197–199]. Recurrent concepts embodied in metaphors include, on the one hand, "success", "unity" and "consolidation", "security", and "justice", and on the other hand, "threat", "responsibility", and "caution".

The analysis of metaphors in inaugural discourse, serving as the key to understanding the characteristics of categorization, conceptualization, assessment, and explanation of social reality for the American nation through the metaphorical transmission of specific societal, cultural, and political goals and values, constitutes the main focus of this research.

Analysis of recent research and publications. Presidential speeches are distinguished in scholarly research as a separate subgenre within the genre of political speeches based on criteria such as communicative goals, rhetorical situations, function, and generic traditions [18, p. 2411], because this subgenre utilizes types and forms of rhetoric shaped by the institution of the presidency [18, p. 7]. Depending on rhetorical features, presidential speeches are differentiated into various types: inaugural speeches, State of the Union addresses, veto messages, speeches related to the rhetoric of war, speeches to prevent impeachment, pardon speeches, farewell addresses [2, p. 14–15]. Inaugural speeches, the focus of this article, contain various conceptual metaphors in terms

of their typology and conceptual domains, which are analyzed within the framework of the cognitive theory of metaphor [3; 10–19; 21–25]. In accordance with this theory, the process of metaphorization is based on the interaction between the knowledge structures of two conceptual domains – the source domain or the target domain. Through metaphorical mapping, elements from the source domain structure the conceptual target domain, determining the way the target domain is understood, which constitutes the essence of the cognitive potential of the metaphor. Due to the partial preservation of the structure of the source domain in the target domain during metaphorical projection [14; 22], metaphorical entailments become possible – those not explicitly verbalized in the metaphor but derived from background or frame knowledge.

The conceptual and methodological framework of the cognitive theory of metaphor is widely employed by researchers in the analysis of political discourse [9; 17; 19; 21; 23]. However, there are a few studies specifically dedicated to the analysis of American inaugural speeches, and these studies often focus on the speeches of a particular newly elected president [18; 19; 20; 21]. The novelty of this article lies in its attempt to comprehensively analyze the inaugural speeches of American presidents spanning from Lincoln to Joe Biden the current president, highlighting common metaphorical patterns in such discourse throughout a broad chronological range.

Setting objectives. The goal of the article is to identify and analyze conceptual metaphors in the inaugural speeches of American presidents from the perspective of their conceptual referents and correlates. The goal is further specified in the following tasks: to uncover the features of cognitive mapping in conceptual metaphors, including basic projections and inferences; to determine the prototypical metaphorical categories for the identified conceptualizations; and to establish the primary types of identified metaphors.

Material and research methods. The material under analysis consists of inaugural speeches of American presidents available on official websites, including speeches by Joe Biden, Donald Trump, Barack Obama, Ronald Reagan, John Kennedy, and Abraham Lincoln. The analysis method is based on cognitive

mapping and involves a set of procedures designed to analyze the domains of referents and correlates of conceptual metaphors, as well as the ways in which they interact through cross-domain mapping. This approach corresponds to the Lakoff's concept of "event structure metaphor" [13, p. 220], in which one domain is metaphorically structured in terms of another and includes several constitutive metaphors and their inferences.

Presentation of the main material. In the inaugural speeches of American presidents, generalizing common characteristics of source domains in metaphors has allowed the identification of predominant metaphorical types: sociomorphic, zoomorphic, naturemorphic, artifact, and biomorphic metaphors.

Nature-based metaphors manifest through conceptual models such as Hard Times (for a country) are Storms, Hard times are Clouds, Peace is Calm Waters, Prosperity (for a country) is Tides, Freedom is the Sun, Money is a Tide, Economic Crisis is a Storm, (American) Way of Life is the Sun, and Politics is Fire, which are manifested by such metaphorical statements:

"The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms" [1];

"turned the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom" [7];

"an education system flush with cash, but which leaves our students deprived of knowledge" [6];

"We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to follow" [6];

"Politics need not be a raging fire destroying everything in its path" [4].

The prototypical metaphorical category for such conceptualizations is SOCIAL-POLITICAL LIFE – NATURE, with a series of projections attributing elements of the conceptual correlate, such as climate and weather, natural disasters, natural phenomena, etc., to the social-political sphere as the conceptual referent. Some components of the correlate are not represented in the metaphors and are identified during the process of metaphorical mapping as entailments or inferences. For example, in the conceptualization "Freedom is the Sun",

in addition to the basic projection of correlate characteristics onto the referent – freedom being a fundamental element providing light and warmth in people's lives, similar to how the Sun is the central source of light and warmth on Earth – at least two entailments arise: Freedom, like the Sun, is a symbol of light, opposing darkness and restrictions; comprehensive freedom that should extend to every individual and society as a whole – akin to how the Sun envelops the entire planet with its light.

Artifact metaphors are based on projecting characteristics of the conceptual correlate Values/Preciousness Ship into conceptual referents from the social sphere, as represented in metaphors like Life is a Treasure, Freedom / Equality is a Treasure, Democracy is a Treasure, Economy is a Ship, Freedom is a Bastion, and Memory is a Musical Instrument:

"to carry forward that precious gift, that noble idea passed on from generation to generation: the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness" [1];

"If we permit our economy to drift and decline, the vulnerable will suffer most" (BIA);

"We have learned again that democracy is precious" [4];

"we, as Americans, have the capacity now, as we have had in the past, to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom" [7];

"The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field, and patriot grave, to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union" [5].

A typical conceptualization mechanism, analyzed using the example of artifact metaphor "Freedom is a Treasure", involves the projection of characteristics associated with the conceptual correlate "Treasure" onto the conceptual referent "Freedom." Attributes common to both the donor and recipient spheres include the conceptualization of Freedom as something valuable, precious, and highly esteemed, much like a treasure. It suggests that freedom is not only valuable but also something that needs to be safeguarded and appreciated.

Additional entailments derived from this metaphor could include the idea that freedom,

like a treasure, may be challenging to attain. It suggests that the moments of freedom are precious and should be treated with care and appreciation. There may also be an implication that the value of freedom increases when shared, similar to how treasures can be shared for mutual benefit.

Among sociomorphic metaphors, those with source domains of Crime (the most common subtype) and War stand out. The conceptual referents for such metaphors include Freedom/Deprivation of Freedom, Wounded, and Political Regime, with a number of projections: Countries threatening national interests are Thieves; Totalitarianism is a Prison; Impoverishment of a country is Murder; Drugs are Thieves; Dogma is the Strangler; and Politics is the Victim, Separation is a Wound. These metaphorical models are recurrent in the speeches of Presidents Biden, Trump, Obama, and Reagan, being verbalized, in particular, in the statements from their inaugural discourse:

*“We must protect our borders from the ravages of **other countries** making our products, **stealing** our companies, and destroying our jobs”* [6];

*“Now it’s time for America to **bind the wounds of division**”* [6];

*“**the drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed** our country of so much unrealized potential”* [6];

*“On this day, we come to proclaim an end to (...) the **recreminations and worn-out dogmas** that for far too long **have strangled our politics**”* [1].

The mechanism of conceptualization in the space of sociomorphic metaphor can be explicated using the example of a metaphorical model “Dogma is the Strangler”, which conveys the idea that dogmatic thinking, like a strangler, can have a constraining and inhibiting impact on intellectual and spiritual growth of the nation, emphasizing the importance of openness and flexibility in one’s beliefs and perspectives. Such characteristics of the correlate-strangler as tightening of the grip, suffocation of life, cessation of vitality are projected into the conceptual space of the referent-dogma. Accordingly, the metaphor suggests that dogmatic thinking can inhibit the flourishing of diverse ideas, stifling open mindedness, discouraging the exploration of alternative perspectives, and impeding progress and the evolution of ideas by holding on to fixed, often outdated beliefs.

Entailments may include meaning such as call for liberation or change: by characterizing dogma as a strangler, the metaphor may be an implicit call to break free from restrictive beliefs and embrace a more open-minded and flexible approach to ideas and perspectives together with the new president and his team.

In isolated cases, a biomorphic metaphor has been identified, based on projecting characteristics of conceptual correlates Body and Death into conceptual referents Government and Law, which is based on the prototype conceptual model SYSTEM OF STATE/LEGISLATIVE REGULATION – LIVING ORGANISM ACTIVITY:

*“Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing **Government**, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to **dismember** or overthrow it”* [5];

*“Tonight, I am calling on the Congress to finally close **the deadly loopholes** that have allowed MS-13, and other criminals, to break into our country”* [6].

In the latter example, the conceptual correlate is Death, and the referent is Imperfect Legislation. In the process of cognitive projection onto the conceptual referent, elements of the conceptual correlate, such as extremely negative consequences of ineffective or unjust legislation for individuals and society, akin to the consequences of death, are ascribed. The form of social “death” for society is seen as the loss of justice and order. Entailments may include meaning such as loss of trust in justice: just as the idea of death can evoke fear and concern, unjust laws can lead to a loss of trust in the judiciary and the legal system as a whole.

The zoomorphic metaphor is also represented by individual conceptual models, such as Racism is a Stinging Insect; Outdated Arguments are Predators; Power is the Tiger:

*“What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale **political arguments** that have **consumed** us for so long no longer apply”* [1];

*“**The sting of systemic racism**”* [4].

*“But we shall always hope to find them strongly supporting their own freedom – and to remember that, in the past, those who foolishly sought **power** by riding the back of **the tiger** ended up inside”* [20].

A conceptualization mechanism typical for such metaphors can be represented by the example of the metaphorical model “Racism is a Stinging Insect”, to convey the harmful, painful, and potentially aggressive nature of racism, encouraging reflection on the need to address and eradicate it. The attributes associated with the conceptual correlate “Stinging insect,” namely, harmful, aggressive, and capable of causing pain, are projected onto the conceptual referent “Ideology of Racism.” By associating racism with a stinging insect, the metaphor communicates the idea that racism inflicts emotional, psychological, and sometimes physical pain on its targets, and is aggressive and harmful when fueled by prejudice and discrimination.

Entailments derived from this metaphor could include the ideas of (a) unpredictability and suddenness: similarly to stinging insects, racism can manifest abruptly and unexpectedly in various forms, catching people off guard with its adverse effects; (b) need for caution and addressing the issue: similarly to encountering stinging insects, when people usually take precautions to avoid getting stung, individuals and societies need to take precautions and actively address racism to prevent its harmful impact.

Conclusions. In the inaugural speeches of American presidents, various types of metaphors, including sociomorphic, zoomorphic, naturemorphic, artifact-based, and biomorphic metaphors, have been identified. The prototypical metaphorical category for naturalistic conceptualizations is SOCIAL-POLITICAL LIFE – NATURE, with projections from conceptual correlates like climate, weather, natural disasters, natural phenomena onto conceptual referents such as Hard Times (for the country), Peace, Prosperity, Freedom, Money, Crisis, Politics.

Artifact metaphors are based on projecting characteristics of the prototypical conceptual

correlate *Artifacts* onto conceptual referents like Freedom, Democracy, Economy, Country, Memory. Examples include Freedom is a Treasure, Democracy is a Treasure, Economy is a Ship, Country is a Treasure, Memory is a Musical Instrument.

The prototypical conceptual correlate for sociomorphic metaphors is CRIME, with a series of projections onto conceptual referents in six metaphorical models within the socio-political sphere: Totalitarian political regime is a Prison, Politics is a Victim, Impoverishment is Murder, Drugs are Thieves, Dogma is a Strangler, Countries (threatening national interests) are Thieves.

The prototypical metaphorical category for zoomorphic conceptualizations is SOCIAL-POLITICAL LIFE – ANIMAL WORLD. Projections of attributes from conceptual correlates such as Insects and Predators onto conceptual referents like Power and Doctrine form conceptual models like Racism is a Stinging Insect, Outdated Arguments are Predators, Power is a Tiger. The prototypical conceptual domain for biomorphic metaphors is SYSTEM OF STATE/LEGISLATIVE REGULATION – LIVING ORGANISM ACTIVITY, manifested by conceptual correlates of Body and Death projected onto conceptual referents Government and Law.

Through cognitive metaphors, inaugural discourse conceptualizes complex socio-political phenomena, making them more understandable and clear to the public.

The perspective of further research involves analyzing the peculiarities of translating metaphors used in inaugural speeches into the Ukrainian language. This would include identifying whether translation transformations lead to the loss of metaphor in the target text, its replacement with another stylistic device, or the introduction of a metaphor in the translation that was not present in the source text.

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