Conceptual Metaphors in Donald Trump’s Political Discourse: Politics Domain (2018)

Konceptualiosiosios metaforos Donaldo Trampo politiniame diskurse: politikos domenas (2018)

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The object of this research is conceptual metaphors in Donald Trump’s political discourse (2018) which is aimed at his own positioning as an extremely positive and beneficial president who will “make America great again”. Furthermore, he implicitly and explicitly treats his opponents- the Democrats and previous governments as enemies who are guilty for all the problems and troubles in the USA. Linguistic expressions of the following conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, POLITICS IS A RACE, POLITICS IS A CRIME, POLITICS IS LOVE, POLITICS IS FRIENDSHIP prevail in Donald Trump’s political discourse. There are some expressions of conceptual metaphors, such as POLITICS IS A GAME, POLITICS IS WATER and POLITICS IS SLEEP in Trump’s political discourse. The majority of these conceptual metaphors are based on the opposition I/we–they, where I stands for the President Trump, we are the members of the Republican Party and they are introduced as the Democrats. Conceptual metaphor has an evaluative potential in Trump’s political discourse. Evaluations, based on the same conceptual metaphor, may differ and evoke both positive and negative connotations.

KEYWORDS: political discourse, political argumentation, conceptual metaphors, domain, concept.

Introduction

Donald J. Trump, the 45th President of the USA, is extremely controversial personality who has many supporters and even more opponents. The current president is an interesting research object for scientists from different fields, ranging from politics to linguistics, communication, advertising, public relations, etc. Various specialists analyse his body language, discourse and performance.

Trump’s political discourse is aimed at his own positioning as an extremely positive and beneficial president who will “make America great again”. Furthermore, he implicitly and explicitly treats his opponents- the Democrats and previous governments as enemies who are guilty for all the problems and troubles in the USA. Moreover, Trump introduces these politicians as obstacles on the way to the successful future of the country. Such contraposi-
tion serves as the basis for conflict communication between the president and his opponents. Although the president does not write speeches himself, his political discourse discloses and reflects his personal attitude and opinion.

The object of this research is conceptual metaphors in Donald Trump’s political discourse (2018). The aim of this research is to identify and analyse conceptual metaphors, related to the domain of politics, in Donald Trump’s political discourse. Pursuing the aim, the following tasks have been set:

1. to determine conceptual metaphors in the selected speeches of Donald Trump;
2. to analyse them and identify their role and functions in Trump’s political discourse.

This research has been done in the framework of descriptive and analytical research methods. The research is scientifically relevant because it aims at discourse of the current political leader whose political ideas are locally and globally relevant. Moreover, although Trump’s discourse has been extensively studied, there are not many studies of politics domain in relation to conceptual metaphors.

The data include three randomly selected speeches delivered in the first quarter of 2018. The research focuses on the following speeches: President Donald Trump’s Address to the 2018 March for Life in Washington D.C. (19 January 2018), President Donald J. Trump’s State of the Union Address (30 January 2018), Speech at make America Great Again Rally in Pennsylvania (10 March 2018). The data has been taken from the official government and media internet sites.

According to Teun van Dijk (2002), politics and discourse are closely interrelated at a socio-political level of description and a socio-cognitive level of description. This researcher states that socio-political level is related to “political processes and structures are constituted by situated events, interactions and discourses of political actors in political contexts” whereas at socio-cognitive level “shared political representations are related to individual representations of these discourses, interactions and contexts” (Van Dijk, 2002, pp. 204–205).

Teun van Dijk (1997) defines political discourse as texts and speeches of political leaders and institutions on national and international levels. Moreover, according to this scholar (1997), the definition of political discourse is different from other types of discourse because “politicians in this sense are the group of people who are being paid for their (political) activities, and who are being elected or appointed (or self-designated) as the central players in the polity” (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 13).

Semiotician Landowski compares political discourse with advertising because “these discourses are related by similar type of persuasion” (Landowski, 2007, p. 155). Landowski’s description of political discourse may be related to we – they opposition due to the fact that in elections those politicians, who position and present themselves as equal with electorate and emphasize the “sensuous relationship”, are more successful than the others (ibid, p. 158). Therefore, it is possible to make the conclusion that political discourse enables politicians, especially political leaders, to achieve intended aims and to form intended images of themselves and their opponents.

“The language of politics is not a neutral medium that conveys ideas independently formed; it is an institutionalized structure of meanings that channels political thought and action in certain directions” (Connolly, 1993, p. 1). It is the tool that helps politicians to reach their goals, and aims either in an open or implicit manner and to manipulate their electorate. According to Charteris-Black (2005), in all types of political system political leaders try to convince their target audience “of the benefits that arise from their leadership” (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 1). Therefore, language in politics includes a variety of different linguistic means of persuasion, such as metaphors, parallels, similes, etc.
Although political discourse varies greatly from other discourse genres, language in political discourse is similar to language in advertising due to the fact that both: politicians and advertisers have the aim to manipulate their target audience in order to sell something. Politicians want “to sell” themselves in the same way as advertisers aim to sell a particular product or service. Therefore, the language of persuasion and manipulation must be rich, vivid and attractive for the target audience.

Furthermore, language in politics is inseparable from political argumentation which prevails in discussions, debates and helps politicians to defend their ideas or interests. Ruth Wodak defines argumentation in politics as “a nonviolent linguistic as well as cognitive pattern-of problem-solving that manifests itself in a (more or less regulated) sequence of speech acts which form a complex (and more or less coherent) network of statements. Thus, argumentation allows challenging or justifying validity claims such as truth and normative rightness” (Wodak, 2015, p. 1).

According to David Zarefsky (2014), political argumentation takes place in institutionalized and public settings and aims either to resolve or to evoke conflict. Therefore, linguistic metaphors uttered by politicians serve as the basis for conceptual metaphors which enable the electorate to identify real attitudes and true intentions of their political leaders. Moreover, conceptual metaphor is a powerful tool which may be successfully exploited in conflict communication.

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson introduced conceptual metaphors, described and analysed them in the book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). These scientists emphasize the idea that “the concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people” (Lakoff, Johnson, 1980, p. 103).

Later, Zoltán Kövecses in his work *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* (2002) defines conceptual metaphor as consisting of two conceptual domains, where one domain is understood in terms of another domain: “The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called the source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain” (Kövecses, 2002, p. 4).

Chudinov (2001) emphasizes the importance of metaphorical models in political discourse analysis because they reflect national, social, personal consciousness, and evaluation and conceptualization of some reality fragment.

The study of conceptual metaphors in political discourse is very significant area of investigation because linguistic expressions of conceptual metaphors may be perceived as a powerful tool for indirect communication which enables politicians to influence the subconscious structures of the addressee through the view created by the metaphor. Goatly (2007) makes a conclusion that metaphors reflect hidden ideologies. Mio points out that metaphors “allow the general public to grasp the meanings of political events and feel a part of the process” (Mio, 1997, p. 130). Therefore, conceptual metaphors help politicians to achieve their intended aims. The following section will focus on the identification and analysis of conceptual metaphors, related to politics domain, in Trump’s discourse.

**Conceptual Metaphors in Donald Trump’s Political Discourse: Politics Domain (2018)**

The analysis of conceptual metaphors in Trump’s political discourse enables the target audience to understand his attitude to the USA, his electorate, colleagues, opponents and previous governments, local and international affairs. Identified conceptual metaphors reveal the fact that
this president associates politics not only with already classical concepts of WAR, JOURNEY and RACE, but also with LOVE, CRIME, BUSINESS, GAME and even with WATER or SLEEP.

**Politics is War**

One of the most prevalent conceptual metaphors in the analysed speeches is POLITICS IS WAR. This metaphor has two different functions in Trump’s political discourse, one is to depict the current president as an extremely positive and beneficial political leader because he fights against all detrimental issues and fights for the Americans. On the contrary, the same conceptual metaphor enables Donald Trump to present his opponents, mainly the Democrats, as being guilty for all the negative actions and problems. This helps to evoke negative connotations, related to the opposition party, in the consciousness of the target audience.

POLITICS IS WAR conceptual metaphor is generally expressed through the opposition I/we–they, in which I/we–Trump and the Republicans defend the Americans from them, the Democrats:

(1) *We are defending our Second Amendment, and have taken historic actions to protect religious liberty* (Trump 2018b).

(2) *On the National Day of Prayer, I signed an executive order to protect religious liberty. [I'm] very proud of that. Today, I'm announcing that we've just issued a new proposal to protect conscience rights and religious freedoms of doctors, nurses, and other medical professions* (Trump 2018a).

In examples (1) and (2), WAR metaphor is expressed with the help of the verbs to defend and to protect. Trump implicitly blames his predecessors for violating rights to religious liberty which are granted by the Constitution. Such political argumentation shows that Trump aims to defend and protect his citizens and this helps to position him as a positive and caring leader. Moreover, this enables the target audience to perceive ex-president Barrack Obama and the representatives of the Democratic Party as hostile power which does not respect religious freedom and rights.

POLITICS IS WAR metaphor helps to depict Trump as the defender of all possible human rights. Moreover, the implicit opposition I-they and the phrase under my administration in example (3) introduce the latter political leader as the only US president who is determined to fight not only for statutory provisions but mostly for the welfare of American citizens:

(3) *Under my administration, we will always defend the very first right in the Declaration of Independence, and that is the ‘right to life’* (Trump 2018a).

Positive image of Trump’s performance is further reinforced by constant repetition of the key word to protect:

(4) *And we will protect American workers and American intellectual property, through strong enforcement of our trade rules* (Trump 2018b).

(5) *The fourth and final pillar protects the nuclear family by ending chain migration* (Trump 2018b).

(6) *But above all else, they are Americans. And this Capitol, this city, and this Nation, belong to them. Our task is to respect them, to listen to them, to serve them, to protect them, and to always be worthy of them* (Trump 2018b).

(7) *We are protecting the sanctity of life and the family as the foundation of our society* (Trump 2018a).

Here the protection concept is not only employed in order to show that the Democrats are dangerous for the society and the citizens must be protected from them, but it is also used to emphasize all the positive and beneficial changes that have been initiated by the president and the Republican Party. The scope of protection includes such significant values and areas
as life, family and workers, which are extremely important for the working class that forms the biggest part of Trump’s electorate. Therefore, WAR metaphor, expressed in the above statements proves the electorate’s hopes and meets their expectations. The image of saviour is strengthened by the possessive pronoun my:

(8) My duty, and the sacred duty of every elected official in this chamber, is to defend Americans – to protect their safety, their families, their communities, and their right to the American Dream (Trump 2018b).

As it has already been mentioned, POLITICS IS WAR conceptual metaphor plays one more role in Trump’s political discourse and is aimed at depicting his opponents, mainly the Democrats, as enemies:

(9) But we can only do that if we elect people who are going to back our agenda and fight for our values, and that is why we have to defeat Nancy Pelosi and Maxine Waters, a very low IQ individual (Trump 2018c).

(10) These are animals and we send these guys out and we liberate those towns. We liberate them. Hillary wouldn't have liberated those towns, we liberate those towns and the people are cheering it's like a war. It's like if you got liberated as a country (Trump 2018c).

War is always associated with battles, so the battle concept includes the winning side, i.e., the president, together with the Republicans, who fight, defeat the opponents and liberate the country; and the representatives of the Democratic Party, who are depicted as the losing, or rather, defeated side. In statement (9) Trump indicates two enemies—Nancy Pelosi and Maxine Waters who must be defeated in political war. He also employs humiliation tactics and depicts these two Democrats as having low IQ. Moreover, Trump’s linguistic expressions of WAR metaphor, employed in open conflict and particular people, involved in this conflict, are women in particular; therefore, it is possible to draw a conclusion that Trump’s conflict has a sexist nature.

Example (10) focuses on counterposition of the Republicans and Democrats, where the President and the Republican Party are depicted as the only ones who liberated the country from enemies and the Democrats, particularly Hillary Clinton, would not have liberated towns and cities from criminals if she had been elected. Here, the president uses direct word war evoking negative connotations and names his most important enemy – Hillary Clinton. However, war does not always carry negative connotations in Trump’s political discourse, sometimes it helps to present positive changes initiated by the latter president:

(11) We have ended the war on American Energy – and we have ended the war on clean coal. We are now an exporter of energy to the world (Trump 2018b).

Positive image of the Republicans is also reinforced with the help of fight concept because they are fighting for but not against something or somebody. This idea is intensified with the help of the clause we need Republicans put in office:

(12) So as long as we’re proud of who we are and what we’re fighting for, there is nothing beyond our reach, nothing, we need Republicans put in office (Trump 2018c).

The analysis of POLITICS IS WAR metaphor leads to the conclusion that a conceptual metaphor in Trump’s discourse has an evaluative potential – evaluations, expressed through linguistic metaphors and belonging to the same conceptual metaphor, may differ and acquire both positive and negative connotations.
Politics is a Journey

Conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A JOURNEY reveals the idea that the Republican way leads forward, towards changes and progress, while the Democrats either put obstacles in the path or try to change its direction, turning it back. Forward direction may be identified in the following statements:

(13) Each day since, we have gone forward with a clear vision and a righteous mission –to make America great again for all Americans (Trump 2018b).

(14) It is time to begin moving towards a merit-based immigration system –one that admits people who are skilled, who want to work, who will contribute to our society, and who will love and respect our country (Trump 2018b).

Donald Trump emphasizes movement forward in his political discourse as a positive and beneficial way towards his vision and slogan–to make America great again for all Americans. Such promises form the intended positive image of this political leader and make him attractive for the working class who dream about the glorious past of the USA and have great expectations. Moreover, this president has many critics and opponents, thus, the concept of moving forward can change their attitude to Donald Trump and may even attract more supporters.

Trump’s predecessors are granted negative characteristics with the help of POLITICS IS A JOURNEY metaphor:

(15) This is all news Americans are unaccustomed to hearing –for many years, companies and jobs were only leaving us. But now they are coming back (Trump 2018b).

(16) The tasks for all of us, for everyone here tonight, is to make sure that this great American comeback continues full speed ahead (Trump 2018c).

(17) Chrysler’s coming back in, you saw that from Mexico to Michigan, you have –We have companies coming back into the United States (Trump 2018c).

All four statements above contain the verb to come back and noun comeback, expressing the way which leads back home where it is safe and cosy. The president explicitly blames the previous governments that for many years, companies and jobs were only leaving us and instantly employs the counterposition that now, under his supervision, they are coming back. Such JOURNEY metaphor enables the president to form and to complement his intended positive image in the eyes of his supporters and critics. On the contrary, he wants to depict his opponents, the Democrats, as being guilty for the recession and economic crisis in the country.

Politics is a Race

Donald Trump has been a businessman for many years, therefore he applies business principles in politics and treats it as a rat race – a term, which is related to power and money. POLITICS IS A RACE conceptual metaphor may be identified in the following statements, where the president talks about election period:

(18) Wouldn’t we love to run against Oprah? I would love it. I would love it (Trump 2018c).

(19) This guy can really help me, Rick Saccone, and I’ve got him too and he’s got a tough race and he’s got a tough race (Trump 2018c).

(20) Wisconsin came in, we won with Wisconsin, which hadn’t been won in decades and then we won with Michigan and then finally they were devastated. You see that we’re crying 1-1, crying, she’s crying (Trump 2018c).
The *race* concept is marked by verbs *to run* and *win*, moreover, it is intensified by the repetition of the phrase *a tough race* and indication of the final result: *1–1*. Here Trump talks about his fierce competition in presidential and midterm elections, and victory in some particular states. The *race* concept involves the already mentioned binary opposition *I/we–they*, in which *I/we* (the president, the Republicans and Rick Saccone) stand for the winning side and *they* – the Democrats and Oprah Winfrey, the Democrat representative, are depicted as losers in the political race—*and then finally they were devastated*.

As Donald Trump has already won the race for power, *race* concept acquires positive connotations in his discourse and is used to form a positive image of the president. One of his most important promises is “to make America great again”; therefore, the president applies the already successful race rhetoric and reinforces it with the help of repetition – *a very important race, very important*:

(21) We want to keep the agenda the Make America Great going, you got to get them in. This is a very important race, very important (Trump 2018c).

Trump’s wish to make the USA the most powerful country enables him to use one more term– *rivals*, related to race. He perceives two world powers China and Russia as competitors in the political race and compares them with terrorist groups in order to win this race:

(22) Around the world, we face rogue regimes, terrorist groups, and rivals like China and Russia that challenge our interests, our economy, and our values (Trump 2018b).

In example (22), the *race* concept, based on rivalry rhetoric, must evoke negative connotations in the minds of the target audience and to enable it to perceive China and Russia as threats for the USA and its residents. In conclusion, the conceptual metaphor **POLITICS IS A RACE** enables Donald Trump to use linguistic metaphors, having positive and negative evaluation.

**Politics is a Crime**

It is possible to identify one more conceptual metaphor **POLITICS IS A CRIME**, which is formed on the basis of *I/we–they* opposition, in Trump’s political discourse. In this case, the president uses constant repetition of pronoun *they*, which stands for the Democrats, and forms extremely negative image of his opponents as criminals:

(23) I have also just reversed the previous administration’s policy that restricted state efforts to direct Medicaid funding away from abortion facilities that violate the law (Trump 2018a).

(24) Let me give you the bad news. The bad news is, they want to take it away from us. They want to take it away, they’re doing everything they can to take it away, and that starts with the election coming up in a few months and we have to win it (Trump 2018c).

(25) We need him, we need Republicans, we need the votes, otherwise, they’re gonna take away your taxes, your tax cuts, they’re gonna take away your Second Amendment rights (Trump 2018c).

Midterm elections were held on November 6, 2018 in the USA, therefore, Trump used criminal rhetoric to threaten the electorate that the Democrats violated laws in the past and that they would take away their rights and all the benefits, promised by the Republican government. This image is even strengthened with the help of contrast in statements 23 and 25, where the president and the Republican Party are presented like safeguards of the state and its welfare. The image of Democrats as criminals is reinforced by direct address to them as gang members:

(26) The Democrats are the party of sanctuary cities <...> You know, the only thing I hate to say this, not so politically correct, but the only thing these gang members understand is toughness, I hate to say (Trump 2018c).
Murder is an extremely serious crime; therefore, Trump makes use of a verb to kill, which evokes negative connotations, when he talks about his opponents and one of the competitors in the race for power – the EU. In this context, the role of POLITICS IS A CRIME metaphor is to devalue his opponents and rivals, and to form their negative image in order to attract their supporters to Trump’s side:

(27) *They killed me, because it was the previous month, but here’s the good news the new month brought it down to the lowest level* (Trump 2018c).

(28) *European Union, they kill us, <...> They kill us on trade <...>* (Trump 2018c).

However, the concept of killing acquires positive connotations if it becomes the responsibility of the president and his team to fight against detrimental Democrats and their representative Conor Lamb:

(29) *They’re getting killed. But somebody like Lamb, he’s never gonna vote for us* (Trump 2018c).

**Politics is Love**

Trump’s discourse reveals the fact that he associates politics with love because one of the prevailing verbs in his speeches, where he introduces his favourable people and states, is to love:

(30) *I love the policemen, I love the firemen, they’re great* (Trump 2018c).

(31) *You elected your President, you like you, but you like me. I think so, right? I like you too, *I love* you, I love you, I love you* (Trump 2018c).

(32) *<...> I love the state of Tennessee <...>* (Trump 2018c).

(33) *I love Pennsylvania* (Trump 2018c).

The focus on personal pronoun I and constant repetition of love, related to various professions, states and all the electorate helps Trump to position himself as an attentive and caring president. Such an image is formed in order to deny Trump’s depiction as a fierce and tough politician which is absolutely unfavourable for him and his party. This intention is reinforced by the following statement, in which the president contraposes his love with Clinton’s anger:

(34) *You know, I was watching during the campaign and Hillary was sitting right there and Pocahontas was up and she was so angry. Look. We love each other, the women, the men, we love each other, everybody loves—She was so angry* (Trump 2018c).

The concept of love is not only related to Trump but also to his Republican team, thus, explicitly forming their positive image and implicitly forming negative image of the Democrats in the consciousness of the electorate. The Republicans, together with the president, love their citizens, especially veterans and women who are the most sensitive and numerous groups of their target audience:

(35) *To everyone still recovering in Texas, Florida, Louisiana, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, California, and everywhere else—we are with you, we love you, and we will pull through together* (Trump 2018b).

(36) *Administration has already removed more than 1,500 VA employees who failed to give our veterans the care they deserve—and we are hiring talented people who love our vets as much as we do* (Trump 2018b).

(37) *Women, women, we love you, *we love you* (Trump 2018c).

Conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS LOVE enables target audience to attribute features of a good leader to Trump’s personality. Moreover, his opponents are implicitly granted negative characteristics.
It is possible to identify single cases of non-prevailing conceptual metaphors in analysed Trump’s speeches. They are POLITICS IS A GAME, POLITICS IS WATER and POLITICS IS SLEEP. Linguistic expression of POLITICS IS A GAME conceptual metaphor enables Trump to form his own image as an active and determined political leader who cares about his country’s welfare and introduces all the beneficial changes which were not included in the scope of Democrats when they were in power, thus, implicitly forming intended negative image of his political opponents. Here the adverb of time now indicates the period of Republican governing:

(38) And I don’t think, I don’t think we should play games now (Trump 2018c).

Trump compares his political performance with tide, therefore, it is possible to identify POLITICS IS WATER conceptual metaphor in his discourse. Tide is usually associated with negative and detrimental consequences, however, it acquires positive connotations when Trump talks about changes, new ideas and decisions which are related to his presidency. Moreover, the following words implicitly indicate the idea that when the Democrats were in power there was no reason for joy, happiness and optimism:

(39) A new tide of optimism was already sweeping across our land (Trump 2018b).

Linguistic expression of POLITICS IS SLEEP conceptual metaphor is aimed at the president himself and expresses blame that Trump at the beginning of his term was not very active and efficient political leader, he was like in the state of sound sleep but when he saw the reports, he woke up and started to work for the good of his state and people:

(40) So I woke up when I saw all these reports that, you know, anybody could have done it (Trump 2018c).

Although Trump implicitly states that he was passive for some time, POLITICS IS SLEEP metaphor helps to form his positive image because it expresses the idea that the president is not indifferent to the problems of the USA, that he cares about his citizens and is ready to work and to react whenever it is necessary.

Linguistic expressions of the following conceptual metaphors POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, POLITICS IS A RACE, POLITICS IS A CRIME, POLITICS IS LOVE, may be identified in Donald Trump’s political discourse. There are some expressions of individual conceptual metaphors, such as POLITICS IS A GAME, POLITICS IS WATER and POLITICS IS SLEEP in Trump’s political discourse.

Conceptual metaphor has an evaluative potential in Trump’s political discourse. Evaluations, based on the same conceptual metaphor, may differ and evoke both positive and negative connotations. The majority of these conceptual metaphors are based on the opposition I/we–they, where I stands for the President Trump, we are the members of the Republican Party and they are introduced as the Democrats. Conceptual metaphors enable the target audience to attribute features of a good political leader to Trump’s personality. Positive image of the Republican Party is also based on the presented conceptual metaphors. His opponents are implicitly and explicitly granted bad characteristics.

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Straipsnyje aptartiamos ir analizuojamos konceptualiosios metaforos Donaldo Trampo politiniame diskurse (2018). Šių metaforų tikslas yra pristatyti visuomenei D. Trampą kaip ypač patrauklų, teigiamą prezidentą, kuris bus naudingas savo šalai ir “ji vėl taps didžia šalimi”. Be to, konceptualiųjų metaforų pagalba, jis implicitiškai ir atvirai vadina priešais savo oponentus - Demokratų partijos atstovus bei buvusias vyriausybes bei teigia, jog jie yra kalti dėl visų JAV problemų. Politiniame D. Trampo diskurse dominuoja tokios konceptualiosios metaforos kaip POLITIKA - TAI KARAS, POLITIKA - TAI KELIONĖ, POLITIKA - TAI VARŽYBOS, POLITIKA - TAI NUSIKALTIMAS, POLITIKA - TAI MEILĖ ir POLITIKA - TAI DRAUGYSTĖ. Šio politiko diskurse taip pat galima identifikuoti individualias - POLITIKA - TAI ŽAIDIMAS, POLITIKA - TAI VANDUO bei POLITIKA - TAI MIEGAS konceptualiasias metaforas. Dauguma nustatytų metaforų yra paremtos modeliu atsi/ mes- jie, kuriamė atsi išreiškia patį prezidentą, jie- Respublikonų partijos atstovus, o jie- Demokratus. Tyrimas atskleidė, kad konceptualioji metafora, kuri glūdi tam tikrame teksto lygmenyje, turi įvertinimo potencialą. Taigi, ta pati metafora gali lemti kalbines metaforas ir teigiamu, ir neigiamu potencialumu.

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