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**METAPHOR USE IN NEWS ARTICLES COVERING
THE 2016 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION**

**METAFORU LIETOJUMS ZIŅU RAKSTOS PAR 2016. GADA
ASV PREZIDENTA VĒLĒŠANĀM**

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ANOTĀCIJA

Bakalaura darbs ir veltīts metaforu lietojuma izmeklēšanai divu ASV laikrakstu (The Wall Street Journal un The New York Times) interneta vietnēs. Pētījums analizē konceptuālās metaforas lietojumu ziņu rakstos par 2016. ASV prezidenta vēlēšanām. Pētījuma mērķis ir izmeklēt konceptuālo metaforu nozīmi ASV prezidenta vēlēšanu konceptualizācijā. Pielietotā metode ir konceptuālo metaforu analīze. Apkopotie dati ļauj secināt, ka analizētajos rakstos konceptuālajā metaforām ir būtiska nozīme vēstījuma veidošanā.

Atslēgvārdi: metafora, tēlainās izteiksmes līdzekļi, konceptuālo metaforu teorija, 2016 ASV vēlēšanas

ABSTRACT

The bachelor's thesis is devoted to the investigation of metaphor use in the online versions of two U.S. newspapers: The Wall Street Journal and The New York Times. The study investigates the use of conceptual metaphor in news articles covering the 2016 U.S. presidential elections. The aim is to evaluate the significance of conceptual metaphors in the conceptualisation of U.S. presidential elections. The method used is conceptual metaphor analysis. The data gathered allow to conclude that conceptual metaphor plays a fundamental role in shaping the message in the analysed articles.

Keywords: metaphor, figurative language, conceptual metaphor theory, 2016 U.S. elections

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INTRODUCTION

The 2016 U.S. presidential election is a historical event for the country, as the choice was between the first woman candidate, Democrat Hillary Clinton, and a bombastic personality from a business background with no experience in politics, Donald Trump. The topic of this paper is notable because of Trump's campaign - his statements and promises were oftentimes bold and controversial, and the outcome of the election was received with surprise and incredulity by many. The national mood of the American people is said to have been welcoming to his establishment-berating rhetoric (Online 1). Thus, the language used by American journalists to report the election can give an insight into the American public perception of the election process as a whole.

Metaphorical language is commonly considered to belong to 'figurative' or 'imaginative' language. Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory (1980), however, shows that, metaphor is a fundamental process of human thought and action (1980: 3). Very much of our 'literal' language and reasoning is structured in terms of other concepts – spatial (e.g. MORE IS UP), substantial (e.g. INFLATION IS AN ADVERSARY), and structural (e.g. ARGUMENT IS WAR), and these can be analysed in texts to reveal part of their fundamental messages. Steinhart and Kittay write that metaphors serve both the commonly known decorative function, but also may be used to mislead by implying incorrect ideas and making messages emotional (Steinhart, Kittay, 1998: 579).

The **goal** of the research paper is to investigate the use of metaphors in news articles about the 2016 USA presidential election.

The **research questions** are

1. What types of metaphor are used in the analysed news articles, and which are used more often than others?
2. Can ideological purposes for using certain metaphors in the articles be identified?

The **enabling objectives** are

1. to analyse the relevant literature on the conceptual metaphor theory;
2. to develop criteria for selecting a sample of relevant political news articles reporting the results of the 2016 U.S. presidential election;
3. to develop a framework for analysing metaphors in those articles;
4. to interpret the findings;
5. to draw relevant conclusions.

The present research employs the cognitive metaphor analysis (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) approach, using elements of the qualitative and quantitative analysis.

In Chapter 1, the general theory on metaphor, on other types of figurative language, and on conceptual metaphor is described. In Chapter 2, the research method is specified and the results of the analysis are reported and interpreted. After that, the conclusions are offered.

1 METAPHOR

This chapter is devoted to the general discussion of metaphor – specifying the terminology used in this paper and discussing its implications, and describing relevant theory and research on metaphor. A sub-chapter is devoted to the discussion of other types of figurative language, their functions in writing, and their relation to metaphor.

1.1 Terminology

Cambridge online dictionary defines metaphor as ‘an expression, often found in literature, that describes a person or object by referring to something that is considered to have similar characteristics to that person or object’ (Online 2). It is a basic definition very much like others in general dictionaries. Its purpose is to give its reader the name of something that they most probably already know but do not have a word for. Five main points are made: a metaphor is a linguistic realisation; metaphors mainly appear in creative writing; metaphors are descriptive of people and objects; metaphors express a relationship between two elements; and metaphors are created on the basis of perceived similarity.

The definition ‘a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them (as in drowning in money)’ (Online 3) is more encompassing, as it does not suggest that metaphor is more related to literature than other discourse, and it allows that metaphors may describe abstract concepts. It does also state that metaphor is based on perceived similarity between two elements, and is a linguistic realisation. These two definitions represent popular conceptions of the term. As such, the description of any conceptual basis for the phenomenon is limited to a “similarity,” ‘likeness,’ or ‘analogy,’ which is rather vague.

An even more encompassing definition, which is used as a working definition in this paper, can be found in the Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics ‘metaphor is a figure of speech in which a word, expression of one kind of object or action is extended, applied and conceived as another (used as representative or symbolic)’ (2007: 243). This definition also refers to a linguistic realisation, but it goes beyond the above two in that the conceptual basis of that realisation is specified as one thing being conceived as another. This is the main idea of conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), a more explicit way of looking at the relationship between elements in a metaphor than attempting to describe ‘similarity,’ and

an argument for the encompassing role of metaphor in human cognition. The way this theory describes the linguistic realisations of metaphor is central to the empirical part of this paper.

1.2 Theories on metaphor

Metaphor has been discussed at least since the times of Aristotle in the contexts of different fields, and is now widely regarded as relevant to the general discussion of the relation between language and the human mind (Gregory, 2006).

Roziņa (2013) outlines the three main views on metaphor found in classical theories: the comparison view, the substitution view, and the interaction view.

The comparison view espouses the Aristotelian theory on metaphor, in which metaphor is a ‘set of figurative linguistic expressions, where meaning can be derived from some set of literal propositions (Ning, 1998: 1, in Roziņa, 2013: 48). Essentially, in this view, metaphor is a ‘figure of speech’ (Roziņa, 2013: 48), a matter of literature.

The substitution view (e.g. Black, 1962, in Roziņa, 2013: 48) concerns itself with metaphor as a source of rhetorical effect, also without bearing on cognition, terming metaphor as “where a metaphorical expression is used in place of some equivalent literal expression” (Ning, 1998: 3 in Roziņa, 2013: 48).

The interaction view (e.g. Black, 1993; Cameron, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2004, in Roziņa, 2013: 48) views metaphor as having a central role in human cognition, that is, metaphor is a name given to the human cognitive process, and the linguistic realisations thereof, of understanding concepts in terms of others. Some researchers integrate linguistic and neurological research in an argument for the embodiment of concepts and their interaction as the basis of metaphor (Fieldman and Narayan, 2004). The terms used in these discussions are not uniform, including ‘focus’ for the idea conveyed and ‘frame’ for the linguistic means of expression (Black, 1993: 27, in Roziņa, 2013: 49), contrasted with ‘target domain’ for something abstract that is metaphorically defined in terms of a more concrete or directly understood ‘source domain,’ the relationship between them expressed as or ‘mappings’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). These latter terms belong to the conceptual metaphor theory, which is credited to be the basis of modern metaphor theory (Knowles and Moon, 2006: 30; Roziņa, 2013: 49).

1.3. Application and importance of metaphor

Reflecting the interaction view, Knowles and Moon write that ‘metaphor is not just a kind of artistic embellishment, at the rarefied end of linguistic usage, divorced and isolated from everyday communication. It is instead a basic phenomenon that occurs throughout the whole range of language activity’ (2006: 2). They elaborate by pointing out the metaphoricity of the words in their own apparently literal description. ‘Rarefied’ is typically used to describe air that is difficult to breathe because it is high above sea level, as in high mountains. ‘*At the [...] end of linguistic usage*’ depicts the subject of diversity as if it had physical dimensions, and metaphor as physically located in a problematic (‘rarefied’) part of that space. This is one of two principal ways the authors (2006: 4) state that metaphor is important, i.e. the lexicalisation of concepts. Names for new concepts and technology are often metaphorical to aid comprehension (‘web, bug, virus’), as are compound words that frame concepts (‘pigeonhole’), and idioms and proverbs that relay life experience (‘miss the boat,’ ‘don’t put all your eggs in one basket’) (ibid.).

The other way metaphor is important (ibid.) is its functions in discourse – ‘explaining, clarifying, describing, expressing, evaluating, entertaining’ When one says that ‘she won the battle but not the war,’ what they mean is that she gained the upper hand in a certain realisation of a conflict of interest but is not certain to be the overall winner in that conflict. In this short sentence alone, a metaphor of conflict evokes physical warfare to describe a situation (conflict), express an opinion (certainty), evaluate (worthy opposition), and entertain the listener (to attract attention to an idea). For reasons like these, metaphor is also a tool of linguistic economy, which makes it irreplaceable in professional contexts, for example banking and finance (Roziņa, 2013) and newsworld (Gravengaard, 2011).

Geary (Online 7) states that we use about six metaphors per minute, and that it is essential to understanding, communication, learning, discovery, and invention. According to him, we “inevitably” resort to metaphor “whenever we deal with anything abstract. He states that metaphor involves pattern recognition and creation, conceptual synaesthesia (e.g. the instinctual perception of similarities between sound and physical shape – ‘bouba’ is ‘rounder’ than ‘kiki’. Metaphors that reflect synaesthesia are ‘silence is sweet’ and ‘neckties are loud’), and cognitive dissonance which guides concept combination (exemplified by the Stroop test – if the name of a colour is written in differently coloured ink, we struggle to identify the colour

of the ink). Geary warns of the manipulative power of metaphor with examples from financial discourse – when stocks are described with what he calls ‘agent metaphors’, e.g. ‘the NASDAQ *climbed* higher,’ we infer that they will continue to ‘climb,’ as climbing is a deliberate activity of living beings.

Roziņa (2013) provides an illuminating account of the communicative power of metaphor in banking and finance discourse in the genre of annual bank reports. She achieves this by analysing grammatical metaphor, which is instrumental for persuasion (Karapetjana, 2014: 132), and conceptual metaphor, altogether revealing metaphor to be the ‘principal cognitive tool of thought’ for communication in that context (ibid.: 133).

Kövecses (2010: 57) states that ‘some metaphors, conventional or novel [distinction discussed further below], may run through entire literary texts without necessarily “surfacing”,’ calling these extended metaphors (or ‘megametaphors’) which make surface ‘micrometaphors’ coherent. That is, individual metaphorical expressions and other elements are sometimes pieces of an overarching metaphor. Kövecses reports Werth’s (1994: 84) analysis of Dylan Thomas’s radio drama ‘Under Milk Wood’ (1954), where the extended metaphor is SLEEP IS DISABILITY. This structural metaphor is formed in part by personification – ‘the wood is hunched,’ ‘the houses are blind,’ and the semantic field of DEATH contributes to gloom with ‘the shops are in mourning’. Evidently, extended metaphor warrants identification and contextual interpretation in the empirical part of this paper, as they can be regarded a type of theme running through texts.

To summarise, metaphors are ubiquitous in language because of their expressive, explanatory, and manipulative power. They easily mix with other types of figurative language, may take extended forms sometimes including various other kinds of expressive elements, and are subject to various changes in form and meaning. For these reasons, many metaphors are expected to be found in the empirical part of this study, and at times they may prove difficult to categorise.

1.4. Metaphor and journalism

Arrese and Vara-Miguel (2016) examine the way how certain news outlets employed metaphor in reporting the European sovereign debt crisis, with an aim to reveal differences in the use of metaphor between countries and over time (2010-2012). They note that ‘when

confronted with phenomena of a very abstract nature, the use of metaphors for understanding current events has been a widespread practice,' some examples being 'toxic assets,' 'green shoots,' and 'stress test' (2016: 134). Their study examines local discussions of an international crisis by analysing how the conceptual frames of different news outlets, as reflected by rhetorical devices, converge or diverge, allowing to examine if the authors of the articles had viewed the reported events 'from the same conceptual perspectives [...], or whether the metaphors used [...] have reflected the particularities of national circumstances and the peculiar targets and editorial orientations of different [...] newspapers' (ibid.).

They found the source domains and their frequency, generalized the source domains as semantic fields (war, health and disease, mechanical, etc.), and connected these with news framing theory, which understands 'frames' as 'tools for presenting relatively complex issues efficiently and in a way that makes them accessible to lay audiences because they play to existing cognitive schemas' (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007: 12, in Arrese and Vara-Miguel, 2016: 135). Several similar comparative studies, they note, have revealed great similarities in the economic conceptual metaphors used by news outlets of different countries, with differences mainly exhibited in the frequency of use and the presence of local cultural expressions (Silaski and Durovic, 2010; Esager, 2011; Wang et al., 2013; Pühringer and Hirte, 2013; Joris et al., 2014, in Arrese and Vara-Miguel, 2016: 135), which indicates the global nature of economic discourse as well as international similarities in metaphorical conceptualisation as such. Such a comparative analysis of two North American news sources – 'The Wall Street Journal' and 'The New York Times' - is the aim of the present paper, only with different methodology, outlined further below.

Krennmayr (2011, in Arrese and Vara-Miguel, 2016: 138-139) notes that news stories are rich sources of figurative language. They are contrasted with academic texts in the sense of being generally written for an audience without specialist knowledge, and the use of metaphorical words and expressions 'can be set with clarity in the vast majority of cases' (Arrese and Vara-Miguel, 2016: 139). The domain of U.S. elections at a glance seems quite reliant on metaphorical expressions. It will be interesting to note which source domains are prevalent, as these at least partly illuminate the conceptualisation of the domain.

1.5 Conventional and creative metaphor

A common and important distinction is made between so-called ‘conventional’ and ‘creative/novel’ metaphors (Knowles and Moon, 2006: 5). They state that conventional metaphors are ‘metaphorical usages which are found again and again to refer to a particular thing’ (ibid.: 6). An example is ‘a fox’ for ‘a cunning person’. Other commonly used terms for this category are ‘trite metaphor’ (Roziņa, 2013: 54) and ‘dead metaphor’ (Knowles and Moon, 2006: 6; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 211; Pawelec, 2006: 117; Snowball, 1991), both referring to their unchanging form which through frequent use has lost the impression of metaphoricity. Conventional and creative metaphors are the terms adopted for this study.

One view is that conventional metaphors are those that have undergone a change in meaning from being metaphorical to literal because the speakers of a language have grown accustomed to them – ‘an expression that has lost its ability to excite has lost its metaphorical character’ (Snowball, 1991: 126). Pawelec adopts the term dead metaphor, and defines it as a lexical item with a ‘conventional meaning different from [their] original meaning (or some previous meaning in the chain of semantic change)’ (2006: 118), semantic change being a historical process. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 211) discuss this, calling it the ‘objectivist’ view, but hold a very different view themselves.

Lakoff and Johnson argue that, from the perspective of conceptual metaphor theory, ‘dead metaphor’ is a misleading term, as these metaphors ‘structure the ordinary conceptual system of our culture’ (1980: 139). They assert that unchanging form is no reason for the label ‘dead’ and argue that ‘Expressions like *wasting time*, *attacking positions*, *going our separate ways*, etc., are reflections of systematic metaphorical concepts that structure our actions and thoughts’ (ibid.: 55). Their argument is essentially that conventional metaphors are the basis of most of our thinking. This view is quite bold and so naturally not without criticism. For example, Pawelec (2006: 199) argues that a consequence is that conventional metaphors thus become in a sense more important than novel metaphors, even though ‘on the theoretical plane, the relationship between these conceptual levels is never explained’. Nevertheless, the widespread support for the distinction has motivated its adoption for the purposes of this study.

Conventional metaphors take the form of both single words (e.g. fox) and larger lexical units that together convey a meaning that is not conveyed by the constituent words separately (e.g. broken heart).

Creative or novel metaphors are, as the name implies, created to convey an idea in a novel way, e.g. in a literary work ('All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players' in W. Shakespeare, 1967.). The peculiarity of creative metaphors is that we must engage the imagination to make sense of them as we have not encountered them many times over as we have conventional metaphors. They can also be based on familiar ideas or images, combining or otherwise modifying them (Knowles and Moon, 2006: 5), and can consist of any number of words. In the conceptual metaphor theory, novel metaphors are considered to have the power to create new ways of thinking (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 53).

For these reasons, the metaphors encountered in the empirical part of this research will be categorized into conventional and novel metaphors, the reasons for using each case will be evaluated, and noteworthy cases will be discussed.

1.6. Other types of figurative language

A general discussion of metaphor calls for a discussion of other types of figurative language so that differences, similarities, and relation may be discerned. For the purposes of this paper, personification, simile, metonymy, synecdoche, and idiom will be discussed, as each of these bears a certain resemblance or relation to metaphor.

Personification is defined as 'reference to something general or abstract as if it were an individual, for instance love is personified in *love conquers all*' (Matthews, 2007: 296). It is classified as a subtype of metaphor (Knowles and Moon, 2006: 7; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 33), specifically a type of ontological metaphor in the conceptual metaphor theory (both elaborated further). It 'allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities' (ibid.: 33). For these reasons personification is a powerful ideological tool if used consciously (Pérez-Sobrinó, 2013: 233) and is, therefore, of particular interest in the empirical part of this paper.

Simile attributes the characteristics of an entity to another in a more "literal" way than metaphor – 'one thing is explicitly compared with something else of a different kind using the words "as" or "like"' (Online 4). Knowles and Moon (2006: 8) state that simile and metaphor are similar in that a comparison is made between two entities, however, there is an important philosophical distinction – metaphor is a statement that something *is* something else, which is literally false, while simile is 'literally possible or true, even if it is not especially appropriate or clear'. Roziņa (2013: 49) states that simile is an 'alternative form of metaphor'. A simile

may be employed when it is stylistically preferred by an author, as in this extract found in Semino (2008: 16). It bears a more subdued shade of reflection than a metaphorical statement of equation: ‘They had nothing to say to each other. *A five-year age gap between siblings is like a garden that needs constant attention.* Even three months apart allows the weeds to grow up between you’. The latter sentence is a metaphor, and the preceding simile sentence seems to introduce it in a pattern of increasingly figurative language starting from a literal sentence (although, according to conceptual metaphor theory, ‘to have something to say’ is a realisation of the hugely significant ‘conduit metaphor’ – the conceptualisation of words as containers filled with information and ‘given’ to the listener, originally discussed in Reddy [1979], the seminal paper that started conceptual metaphor theory [Lakoff, 1992: 204]).

Metonymy is defined by MacMillan online dictionary as ‘the use of a word or phrase, when you refer to something using the name of something else that it is closely related to’ (Online 5). Ben-Amos (2001: 147) defines it as a use of language ‘in which the transference of meaning occurs between two associated objects’. Matthews defines it as a

figure of speech in which a word or expression normally or strictly used of one thing is used of something physically or otherwise associated with it: e.g. the Pentagon (strictly a building) when used of the military inhabiting it. (2007: 244)

Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 35) use a similar definition: ‘using one entity to refer to another that is related to it’. They give the following example (ibid.): ‘The *ham sandwich* is waiting for his check,’ which is an exchange that might reasonably occur behind the counter of a café. They draw attention to the dehumanizing nature of this expression – the speaker is only concerned about the referent as a customer and not as a person (ibid.: 39), which is the manipulative power of this figure of speech. They state, however, that ‘metaphor and metonymy are two *kinds* of processes’ (ibid.: 36).

Synecdoche is defined by MacMillan online dictionary as ‘the use of a word or phrase, when a part of something is used in order to refer to the whole of it,’ as in ‘wheels’ meaning ‘car’ (Online 6). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 36) consider this a type of metonymy and formulate its general pattern as PART FOR THE WHOLE, as in the above example. They specify other patterns as well (ibid.: 38-39): PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT as in ‘he bought a *Ford*’; OBJECT USED FOR USER as in ‘the *sax* has the flu today’; CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED in ‘*Nixon* bombed Hanoi’; INSTITUTION FOR THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE in ‘the *Senate* thinks abortion is immoral’; THE PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION in ‘The *White House* isn’t saying anything’; and THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT as in ‘Remember the *Alamo*’.

Burke (1945: 507-508) specifies other types, for instance, whole for the part, container for the contained, sign for the thing signified, material for the thing made, cause for effect and vice versa, genus for species and vice versa. As it can be seen, this is a widely-used form of figurative language, one which we rely on heavily for discussing the world ('the world' in most cases is another example of PART FOR THE WHOLE). Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 39) draw attention to the ideological power of this literary device in the CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED example about Nixon above and explain that the sentence frames him as personally responsible, not considering the context that caused him to order it be done, nor the fact that other people carried out the physical actions.

An important category of figure of speech is the idiom. In this category, Kövecses (2010: 231) includes expressions based on or being metaphors (e.g. 'spill the beans'), metonymies (e.g. 'throw up one's hands'), pairs of words (e.g. 'cats and dogs'), idioms with 'it' (e.g. 'live it up'), similes (e.g. 'easy as pie'), sayings (e.g. 'a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush'), phrasal verbs (e.g. 'come up' in the sense of 'be approaching'), grammatical idioms (e.g. 'let alone'), and others, and generally characterises the category as 'a mixed bag'. He argues against what he calls the traditional view which considers idioms unsystematic occurrences without a conceptual basis, "kick the bucket" being often used as evidence for this view (ibid.: 233), instead proposing evidence for their conceptuality and systematicity. This is an endeavour beyond the scope of this paper; however, idioms based on metaphors are to be identified.

Weisbergs (2013: 76-79) notes that metaphors undergo constant changes in their meanings and popularity, and new metaphors are constantly formed and borrowed from other languages. Their composition changes over time, as they mix together with other figures of speech such as idioms, sayings, personifications, metonymy and others, and so they may prove difficult to categorise.

For the purposes of this study, the outlined characteristics serve as a basis for distinguishing metaphors from other types of figurative language, and for analysing the composition of complex and uncertain examples.

1.7 Conceptual metaphor theory

With the general theory and terms used in discussing figurative language outlined thus far, this section is devoted to describing in more detail the theory which serves as the basis for the empirical part of this paper, i.e. conceptual metaphor theory (hereafter CMT), as presented in

‘Metaphors We Live By’ by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) – the ‘pioneering book’ of the field (Gibbs and Steen, 1999: 5) which set the direction for modern research on metaphor (Krennmayr, 2011: 11; Roziņa, 2013: 49), and supplementing with other sources (Roziņa, 2013; Lakoff, 1991; Chandler, 2002; Berger, 1998).

As has been mentioned, CMT considers metaphor an essential process in human thought and language: ‘we have found [...] that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 3), and attempts to prove its permeating systematicity on the basis of linguistic evidence. According to them, there are systematic mappings called ‘metaphorical concepts’ in the human mind. These are pairs of distinct conceptual domains, conventionally represented in the theory with equations such as ARGUMENT IS WAR, that allow us to think about the more abstract first element (‘target domain,’ here ‘argument’) as if it were the more concrete second element (‘source domain,’ here ‘war’), and produce metaphors such as ‘He *attacked every weak point* in my argument’ (ibid.: 4). Through this metaphor, we use the ‘conceptual network of battle’ (ibid.: 7) to conceptualise a verbal dispute. This example illustrates the metaphoricity of our literal language: an argument (in the sense of ‘a point’) is a position on the battlefield, and the attacker exploits the vulnerabilities of that position to hurt the enemy. The people involved are opponents who employ strategies to win the battle, they can ‘win or lose ground,’ abandon positions that cannot be maintained in the face of oncoming attacks, and *do* whatever else is *consistent* with the metaphor.

However, metaphor can ‘keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor’, (ibid.: 10) which is the manipulative power of metaphor. What is not consistent is ‘hidden,’ such as the ‘cooperative aspects of arguing,’ for example, the giving of time ‘in an effort of mutual understanding’ (ibid.: 9). Consequently, new metaphors (novel/creative metaphors) can create new realities by framing them in a certain way (ibid.: 145), unlike conventional metaphors (such as those in the above example), which have the function of structuring ‘the ordinary conceptual system of our culture’ (ibid.: 139). ‘Highlighting’ and ‘hiding’ are terms proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 9) to describe what a metaphor brings to attention about the thing it describes and what it consequently diverts attention from. An example is the STATE IS A PERSON ontological metaphor (specifically, a personification), which ‘highlights the ways in which states act as units, and

hides the internal structure of the state: class structure, ethnic composition, religious rivalry, political parties, and the influence of the military and corporations' (Lakoff, 1991: 21).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) propose a categorization of metaphorical expressions: orientational, ontological, and structural. Orientational (or spatialization) metaphors organize 'a whole system of concepts with respect to one another (ibid.: 14) and are based on spatial orientation. Directions have positive and negative evaluations because of associated physical experiences (e.g. 'have the *upper* hand' originates in physical combat – to defeat an enemy is to force them to the ground and cause them to remain there) and emotional states (e.g. 'I'm feeling *up* today' is based on how positive emotional states typically cause people to stand upright, instead of slouching, which in turn is related to 'I'm feeling *down*'). This basis in experience is referred to as 'grounding' (ibid.: 107).

Orientational metaphors are coherent pairs of opposites, e.g. GOOD IS UP; BAD IS DOWN, and more specialised orientational metaphors such as HEALTH IS UP can be reduced to more general ones as in that pair. These metaphors have internal systematicity, e.g. HAPPY IS UP 'defines a coherent system [of metaphorical expressions like "the *height* of ecstasy"] rather than a number of isolated cases,' and external systematicity which permeates the language, e.g. UP is positive across different orientational metaphors (ibid.: 17). A point to contrast with the latter statement is that UP can be negative when it is part of a MORE IS UP metaphor about undesirable things such as inflation, which can 'go up' and even 'skyrocket'.

Ontological metaphors allow us to think about and discuss abstract things in terms of physical ones, applying to them what we know about physical substances and entities. This allows us to refer, categorize, group, and quantify our experiences and things not clearly bounded, e.g. clearings in forests (ibid.: 25). Events and actions are seen as objects (e.g. he's *in the race*), activities as substances 'and therefore containers' (e.g. 'How did you *get into* window washing as a profession?'), and states as containers (e.g. I'm *in love*) (ibid.: 30-31). Personification is a type of ontological metaphor, an example being 'inflation'. This noun and all the verbs we use with it, such as in 'inflation is hacking us into a corner,' 'allows us to refer to [an abstract, permeating socio-economic process], quantify it, identify a particular aspect of it, see it as a cause, act with respect to it, and perhaps even believe that we understand it'. Indeed, the authors go so far as to say that without ontological metaphors we could not even attempt to 'deal rationally with our experiences' (ibid.: 26). Ontological metaphors are represented in writing as INFLATION IS AN ENTITY, where the first element is

what is defined and the other is the *type* or *category* of thing it is equated to. Ontological metaphors are often extended with specific objects that the speaker knows the characteristics of, such as when THE MIND IS AN ENTITY is extended to THE MIND IS A MACHINE (ibid.: 27). This gives rise to such expressive sentences as ‘I’m *a little rusty* today’ (ibid.).

Structural metaphors are the ‘richest source’ of elaboration, they allow us ‘to use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another’ (ibid.: 61). Examples are TIME IS A RESOURCE and LABOUR IS A RESOURCE, which are metaphors basic to Western society (ibid.: 66). The ARGUMENT IS WAR example at the beginning of this subchapter is a structural metaphor.

According to the authors, metaphorical thought is systematic. Metaphorical language reflects this (ibid.: 7), and we can specify its ‘internal systematicity, external systematicity, grounding, and coherence’ (ibid.: 107). However, it must be emphasised that this study is only concerned with identifying linguistic metaphors in texts, proposing mappings based on contextual and secondary source evidence, and proposing their contextual function. A description of the mental processes that gave rise to the given examples, for instance, is obviously out of the scope of this study.

Furthermore, Krennmayr criticises the idea that a clear connection can be made between a metaphorical expression and ‘how the metaphor works in people’s minds’ (2011: 22), referring to several studies on the matter which have produced mixed results (e.g. Allbritton, McKoon, and Gerrig, 1995; Gibbs, Bogdanovic, Sykes, and Barr, 1997; Glucksberg and McGlone, 1999).

A peril of an analysis by a cultural outsider is related to the fact that ‘metaphor is created in a particular cultural environment’ (Roziņa, 2013: 53) and is dependent on corresponding ‘codes,’ i.e. ‘frameworks within which [metaphors] make sense’ (Chandler, 2002: 17, in Roziņa, 2013: 53). Berger (1998: 26, in Roziņa, 2013: 53) states that codes determine the interpretation of signs and symbols, and consequently that of metaphor. An example of such misinterpretation of language by a cultural outsider is given in Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 143). An Iranian student at Berkeley interpreted the literal expression ‘the solution of my problems’ to be a ‘beautifully sane’ metaphor representing problems as a large volume of boiling liquid with fluctuating states of aggregation, wherein problems precipitate to the top and are at best dissolved for a time, certain to coagulate and rise to the top again.

Therefore, to minimize misinterpretation, secondary sources are implemented to ascertain the metaphoricity of words and lexical units in the study corpus.

For the purposes of this research, the distinction between orientational, ontological, and structural metaphors is applied in the identification of metaphors in the primary sources. The identified metaphors are grouped into conventional and novel, and interpreted contextually in terms of the concepts of highlighting and hiding. The exact procedure for the analysis is specified in the following chapter.

2 METAPHOR ANALYSIS

This chapter concerns the empirical part of the paper. Subchapter 2.1 describes and justifies the method used to identify metaphors in this research, and Subchapters 2.2 and 2.3 report the results of the analyses of the two sources (The Wall Street Journal and The New York Times) and offer interpretations, and in Subchapter 2.4 the results are summarised and more generalised interpretation based on quantitative data is carried out. After this chapter, conclusions are offered.

2.1 Methodology

Krennmayr (2013) describes the two major approaches to metaphor identification, which she calls “top-down” and “bottom-up”. In the top-down approach, the researcher presupposes the presence of one or more conceptual metaphors and then “searches for linguistic expressions that are compatible with them” (ibid.: 7). In the bottom-up approach, a text is analysed for metaphoric expressions and only then mappings are proposed (ibid.: 8). She prefers the latter, and discusses extensively how these methods “can and do” (ibid.) produce different results.

She reports Low’s observation that generalisation is a risk of the top-down approach is generalisation. If no reliable method for the identification of linguistic and conceptual metaphor is used, the researcher may “over-identify expressions matching those metaphors they have recently been working on, while simultaneously under-identifying others” (Low, 1999: 49, in Krennmayr, 2013: 8). The researcher may also seek out evidence for a claim (Cameron, 2003: 252, in Krennmayr, 2013: 8), for example “defend, position, maneuver, or strategy” may belong either to a conceptual metaphor of athletic sports or one of chess (Ritchie, 2003: 125, in Krennmayr, 2013: 9). Therefore, the bottom-up approach without employing contextual interpretation is deemed suitable for this paper.

Many scholars have used subjective intuition when identifying metaphors (Pragglejaz Group, 2007: 1-2; Krennmayr, 2011: 14). The Pragglejaz Group advise rather consulting a dictionary for the verification of metaphoricity, at the same time reminding that dictionaries vary considerably in their definitions (2007: 25), which encourages the author to choose only one dictionary. The online version of the Oxford dictionary (Online 25) was chosen for its reputation, accessibility, and wealth of examples given with each entry.

As shown in the previous chapter, linguistic metaphors can appear on all levels of a text, starting from a preposition (e.g. ‘*in* love’ metaphorically expressing an emotional state as a container) up to a whole text in the shape of an extended metaphor, so the unit for analysis must be specified. Based on the analysed theory, the conceptual metaphor is deemed a suitable and an insightful unit of measurement. By focusing on identifying individual conceptual metaphors, the analysis is restricted to a single level. The analysis of the articles is carried out according to this procedure:

1. Identify a conceptual metaphor in the article, then answer the questions below about the conceptual metaphor and its textual realisation:
2. Is it an orientational, ontological, or structural metaphor?
3. What are the source and target domains?
4. What is the mapping (the intended meaning)?
5. Is it a conventional or creative metaphor?
6. Is it part of an extended metaphor?
7. What is its function?

The study involves elements of the qualitative analysis in that the conceptualisation of the U.S. presidential election is analysed, and the quantitative analysis in that the number of conceptual metaphors identified is used to draw conclusions on the relative commonness of certain conceptual metaphors.

The study corpus consists of 13 articles. 11 are taken from The Wall Street Journal (5008 words total) and 2 are taken from The New York Times (2410 words total), and the total amount of words is 7418. The difference in amount of words between sources is not considered very important for this study, as the analysis of both sources contributes to the aim of describing the conceptualisation of U.S. elections. The two groups of articles cover different aspects of the election process – the articles taken from The Wall Street Journal are those published before the election results were made known, and those from The New York Times were published after the results were made known. The uncovered data about each article are compiled and analysed in Subchapters 2.2 and 2.3 below.

2.2 Analysis of the articles taken from The Wall Street Journal

Article 1: ‘Donald Trump Wins Ohio’ (Online 8)

The first of the analysed articles unveils a conceptualisation of presidential campaigns as races, with elements from the source domain of war conceptualising concerted effort and the synecdoche ‘the White House’ standing for the ‘finish line,’ which is characteristic of the whole range of articles from this source analysed here. This article is 285 words long and features 4 orientational, 16 ontological, and 13 structural metaphors (34 altogether), and 2 extended metaphors.

The two extended metaphors that make up the above-mentioned theme are AN ELECTION IS AN ATHLETIC COMPETITION and AN ELECTION IS A JOURNEY. The first is supported by these phrases: Donald Trump has *won* Ohio; *won* the White House; *winning* Ohio; *raised the stakes* for Mr. Trump’s *victory*; the state looked more *in play* this year; a “*must win*”; the Associated Press called *the race*; Mr. Obama’s Ohio *wins*. ‘More in play’ is one of the crucial phrases that motivate labelling this extended metaphor as one of ATHLETIC COMPETITION, because of this contextually appropriate definition provided by the Oxford online dictionary – ‘The status of the ball in a game as being available to be played according to the rules’. ELECTION IS A JOURNEY is supported by *on the path to* the White House; an unexpected *path to* the White House; the Associated Press called *the race*. The latter is obviously a metaphor of COMPETITION, but a competition of covering a set physical distance, as in journeys - the most basic sense given by the Oxford online dictionary is ‘a competition between runners, horses, vehicles, etc. to see which is the fastest in covering a set course’.

These are the orientational metaphors:

1. *Raised* the stakes for Mr. Trump’s victory (MORE IS UP),
2. *Raised* the prospect (POSSIBLE IS UP),
3. Rob Portman, who is *up for re-election* (ENTITLEMENT IS UP), and
4. *Central* to Mr. Obama’s wins (CENTRAL IS IMPORTANT, PERIPHERAL IS UNIMPORTANT).

These are some of the 16 ontological metaphors:

1. 18 electoral votes his *campaign considered* a “*must win*” (personification AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY),

2. The *Associated Press* called *the race* (personification AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY), and
3. *Ohio* voted twice (personification A STATE IS AN ENTITY).

These are some of the 13 structural metaphors:

1. Mr. Trump promised to *capture the Rust Belt with his populist messages* (STATEMENTS ARE MEANS OF CAPTURE. Source domain [henceforth SD]: war; target domain [henceforth TD]: persuasion; mapping: persuasion is a means of control),
2. Donald Trump has *won Ohio* (A STATE IS A COMPETITION. SD: sports; TD: presidential elections; mapping: two opposing teams compete in a systematic way to be the ones to achieve a goal),
3. *Door-knocking operation* led by the state's Republican U.S. senator, Rob Portman (POLITICS IS WAR. SD: war; TD: presidential campaign actions; mapping: systematic concerted action as part of a campaign), and
4. They may have *hurt* Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton in Ohio. (POLITICS IS WAR. SD: war; TD: prospects of being elected; mapping: to hinder progress is to cause damage).

Article 2: 'Hillary Clinton Wins Virginia' (Online 9)

This article is 172 words long and contains 2 orientational, 6 ontological, and 13 structural metaphors, and 2 extended metaphors are present (POLITICS IS WAR and AN ELECTION IS A RACE). The election is conceptualised similarly as in the first article, but here the source domain of WAR is introduced and relied on heavily. The extended metaphor POLITICS IS WAR is supported by these phrases: *battleground* state (which is notably used instead of the more primary but less exciting synonym 'swing state'); *defeating* her republican *opponent* Donald Trump; Donald Trump, whose campaign pulled its *field operation* out of the state in mid-October; Virginia has become *favorable terrain* for Democrats. 'Defeating her republican *opponent* Donald Trump' could be categorised differently because *defeat* and *opponent* are words of general conflict, but they take on contextual meaning related to battle, and so they are considered to be part of the extended metaphor. AN ELECTION IS A RACE is supported by 'her *running mate*'s home state' and 'the Associated Press called *the race*'.

These are the orientational metaphors:

1. *picked up* a victory (GOOD IS UP), and
2. *Buoyed by growth* (MORE IS UP).

These are the ontological metaphors:

1. Hillary Clinton *picked up a victory* (A VICTORY IS AN OBJECT). ‘Pick up a victory’ is a conventional metaphor that occurs primarily in athletic contexts, indirectly contributing to the extended metaphor AN ELECTION IS A RACE.
2. the *Associated Press* called the race (Personification: AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY),
3. with 97% of *precincts reporting* (Personification: A PRECINCT IS AN ENTITY),
4. Donald Trump, whose campaign *pulled its field operation out of the state* in mid-October. (CONCERTED ACTION IS AN OBJECT and A STATE IS A CONTAINER OBJECT), and
5. *Mrs. Clinton’s campaign cancelled advertisements* (Personification: AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY).

These are some of the 13 structural metaphors:

1. she *held* a commanding *lead* in recent days (CONTROL IS GRASPING. SD: physical activity, TD: election results, mapping: to hold something in your hand is to be able to control it),
2. Virginia has become favorable terrain for Democrats over the past decade, *buoyed* by growth in its African-American, Latino and Asian populations (A GROWING POPULATION IS RISING WATER. SD: water; TD: demographics; mapping: rising water and population levels both have widespread effect). The source domain WATER is also a popular conceptualisation of immigration. Common examples include the article titles ‘Mexico Braces For *Flood Of Returnees* As Trump Cracks Down On Immigration’ [Online 21] and ‘Mexican Consulates *Flooded With Fearful Immigrants*’ [Online 22].

Article 3: ‘Hillary Clinton Wins Colorado’ (Online 10)

This article is 219 words long and contains 5 orientational, 7 ontological, 5 structural metaphors, coming to a total of 17 and forming 2 extended metaphors (POLITICS IS WAR and AN ELECTION IS A COMPETITION). The conceptualisation remains consistent – elections are

contests of power. There are not many structural metaphors, and they all make up the mentioned extended metaphors:

1. *battleground* state (POLITICS IS WAR),
2. Colorado, a perennial presidential *battleground* (POLITICS IS WAR),
3. Donald Trump, her Republican *rival* (AN ELECTION IS A COMPETITION. SD: sports; TD: elections; mapping: two opponents compete for a title),
4. in the *contest's* final few weeks (AN ELECTION IS A COMPETITION), and
5. Mr. Trump began *contesting the state* once more (A STATE IS A COMPETITION. SD: sports; TD: elections; mapping: both sporting competitions and voting occur in set areas for a set time, and in both there are participants competing for a title).

Oriental metaphors are more prevalent:

1. Colorado, a perennial presidential battleground, for months appeared to be *tilting Mrs. Clinton's way* (REPUBLICAN IS RIGHT; DEMOCRAT IS LEFT),
2. *bolstered by a surge* in Hispanic voter registration (MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN),
3. Mrs. Clinton's campaign *took down* its advertising (ACTIVE IS UP, INACTIVE IS DOWN. The grounding could be in posters being the historically prior form of advertisement.),
4. her polling lead *narrowed* (MORE IS WIDER, LESS IS NARROWER), and
5. Mr. Trump hoped to win the state by *running up* his margin of victory with white voters (MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN).

The 7 ontological metaphors include these:

1. Perennial battleground state *moves more firmly toward* the Democrats (Personification. A STATE IS AN ENTITY),
2. Colorado, a perennial presidential battleground, for months appeared to be *tilting Mrs. Clinton's way* (A STATE IS AN OBJECT that can be tilted and tipped over),
3. *the state voted* consistently for Republicans (Personification: A STATE IS AN ENTITY), and
4. its population—which had grown younger and more racially diverse—*delivered two wins* for Barack Obama (A VICTORY IS AN OBJECT).

Regionally prevalent political conviction is expressed through colours associated with political parties (metonymy): Hillary Clinton has won Colorado's nine electoral votes, bringing the *purplish* state more firmly into the *blue* column.

Article 4: 'Donald Trump Wins Florida' (Online 11)

This article is 236 words long and features 2 orientational, 10 ontological, and 8 structural metaphors, coming to a total of 20 and forming 2 extended metaphors: AN ELECTION IS A RACE and POLITICS IS WAR. The first is supported by the phrases 'to *win the White House*,' 'the Associated Press called *the race*,' 'Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton held an advantage throughout *the race*,' and 'Mr. Trump was declared *the winner*'. It is indirectly supported by A CAMPAIGN IS A JOURNEY in '*campaign stops* and ad dollars spent there' because journeys involve covering distances just as races do. The mapping between elections and races is that both have competitors who try to be the first to accomplish a goal, and in elections ballots are counted and the results are constantly unveiled, showing who is 'closer' to becoming president. POLITICS IS WAR is supported by 'in other *battlegrounds*' and '*presidential battleground*'. Another structural metaphor is related to control: 'Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton *held an advantage* throughout the race' (CONTROL IS GRASPING).

This article is a good example of how the abstract and complex can be presented as concrete and unified through ontological metaphor. Ideas, victories, and emotional states are perceived as objects and individual agents, and organisations and precincts are perceived as individual agents:

1. Both candidates *placed much significance on* the Sunshine State (AN IDEA IS AN OBJECT),
2. Donald Trump *took home a crucial victory* in Florida (A VICTORY IS AN OBJECT),
3. a triumph that *carries 29* electoral votes and *creates* several paths for him (Personification. A VICTORY IS AN ENTITY),
4. The state's growing population of Hispanic voters was also expected to cast ballots in record numbers (A GROUP IS AN ENTITY), and
5. whether *fervor* for Mr. Trump's candidacy *could drive* more voters to the polls than Mrs. Clinton's methodical, data-driven approach. (Personification. AN EMOTIONAL STATE IS AN ENTITY).

These are the 2 orientational metaphors:

1. Polls of the state, however, showed Mrs. Clinton's *advantage narrowing* (MORE IS WIDER, LESS IS NARROWER), and

2. *raising* questions (KNOWN IS DOWN, UNKNOWN IS UP. The grounding of this metaphor is that what is on the ground or can be held in hand is easier to examine and understand than what is floating in the air [Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 20).

Article 5: ‘Donald Trump Wins North Carolina’ (online 12)

This article is 255 words long and contains 5 orientational, 7 ontological, and 13 structural metaphors, coming to a total of 25 and forming 3 extended metaphors: AN ELECTION IS A COMPETITION, POLITICS IS WAR, and CONTROL IS GRASPING. The first extended metaphor is supported by ‘Donald Trump *scored* an upset *victory*,’ ‘was declared *the winner*,’ ‘a state *won* by Republican Mitt Romney,’ ‘Mr. Trump also *won*,’ ‘his *running* mate,’ and ‘*won the state*’. POLITICS IS WAR is supported by ‘The GOP *stronghold*’ and ‘Mrs. Clinton built up a sophisticated *ground operation*, with *fleets* of staffers and volunteers registering’. CONTROL IS GRASPING is supported by ‘to *take* a state,’ ‘polls have shown Mrs. Clinton *holding* a slight but steady *lead*,’ and ‘Mrs. Clinton *held* a 6-point *lead* in late October’. One more structural metaphor is AN INCREASING NUMBER OF PEOPLE IS A FLOOD in ‘Mrs. Clinton’s operation *flooded* the state with popular surrogates’. The mapping in the latter is that both the SD (WATER) and the TD (PEOPLE) have significant impact when introduced in large quantities to an area.

The 7 ontological metaphors in article are similar to those noted thus far:

1. taking home the state’s 15 electoral votes (A VOTE IS AN OBJECT)
2. the Associated Press called the race (Personification: AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY)
3. with 93% of precincts reporting (Personification: A PRECINCT IS AN ENTITY)
4. take a state won by Republican Mitt Romney (A STATE IS AN OBJECT)
5. Polls have shown (Personification: A POLL IS AN ENTITY)
6. powered by the state’s quickly diversifying demographics (A GROUP IS AN ENTITY)
7. despite being outspent by Mrs. Clinton’s campaign (Personification: AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY)

These are the orientational metaphors:

1. *Upset victory* comes after polls had shown Hillary Clinton with a slight but steady lead (KNOWN IS DOWN, UNKNOWN IS UP)
2. an *upset* victory (KNOWN IS DOWN, UNKNOWN IS UP)
3. *broadening* his path to the White House (POSSIBILITIES ARE WIDENESS, RESTRICTIONS ARE NAROWNESS)
4. The GOP stronghold *emerged* (VISIBLE IS UP, INVISIBLE IS DOWN)
5. one of Mrs. Clinton's *top* opportunities (GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN)

This article features a sentence that characterises a significant part of the conceptual system of U.S. presidential elections: 'Donald Trump scored an upset victory in North Carolina, taking home the state's 15 electoral votes and broadening his path to the White House'. The election is a sports game and so a victory is 'scored,' the victory is called 'upset' because of the orientational metaphor KNOWN IS DOWN, UNKNOWN IS UP, votes can be taken home because they are OBJECTS, and a candidate is on a JOURNEY to a synecdoche (the White House) by a path that can be WIDE or NARROW (Orientational metaphor POSSIBILITIES ARE WIDE, RESTRICTIONS ARE NARROW).

Article 6: 'Donald Trump Wins Iowa' (Online 13)

This article is only 124 words long and features 1 orientational, 7 ontological, and 9 structural metaphors, coming to relatively dense total of 17, part of which form 2 extended metaphors: POLITICS IS WAR and AN ELECTION IS AN ATHLETIC COMPETITION. The former is supported by '*battleground* Iowa,' 'the *battleground*'s white and noncollege-educated voters,' 'Mr. Trump *defeated* Mrs. Clinton,' 'Mrs. Clinton's campaign *aggressively pursued* Iowa voters, *targeting* Republican women in particular,' and 'with white and noncollege educated voters serving as a *bastion* of Trump support'.

AN ELECTION IS AN ATHLETIC COMPETITION is supported by 'the Associated press called *the race*,' 'he had a slight *lead*,' and the defining phrase (which prompts the generalisation from RACE to ATHLETIC COMPETITION) is 'Trump's *ground game*' (ground game is 'play consisting of running to advance the ball' in American football). The mapping between the SD (SPORTS) and TD (ELECTION) is in part as outlined in Article 4 in AN ELECTION IS A RACE, and the American football metaphor extends the conceptualisation to

include the distinction between physically holding election rallies ('running with the ball') and reaching potential voters through the media ('throwing the ball').

The last structural metaphor is SUPPORT IS A RESOURCE in '*Capitalizing on support from the battleground's white and noncollege-educated voters*'. Resource metaphors are common to Western industrial societies (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 151). Based on what these authors have said, the mapping here is interpreted so: the TD (SUPPORT) is an activity, which is seen as a SUBSTANCE through the ontological metaphor AN ACTIVITY IS A SUBSTANCE (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 66), and a substance can be used purposefully to achieve a goal.

The ontological metaphors are all cases of personification:

1. *State votes Republican after twice supporting* President Barack Obama (Personification: A STATE IS AN ENTITY)
2. *after the state voted twice for* President Barack Obama (Personification: A STATE IS AN ENTITY)
3. *the Associated Press called* the race (Personification: AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY)
4. *Mrs. Clinton's campaign aggressively pursued* Iowa voters (Personification: AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY)
5. *Her campaign also outdid* (Personification: AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY)
6. *the state as a whole voted for* Mr. Obama in 2008 (Personification: A STATE IS AN ENTITY)
7. *Demographic trends helped* Mr. Trump (Personification: A TREND IS AN ENTITY)

The only orientational metaphor is related to the conventional definition of the political spectrum: the hope of swaying them to the Democratic side (REPUBLICAN IS RIGHT; DEMOCRAT IS LEFT).

Article 7: 'Hillary Clinton Wins Nevada' (Online 14)

This article is 205 words long and features 1 orientational, 6 ontological, and 6 structural metaphors, coming up to a total of 13 metaphors and forming 1 extended metaphor AN ELECTION IS A RACE. The extended metaphor is supported by '*rival Donald Trump,*' '*Mrs.*

Clinton was declared the state's *victor*, 'her Republican *rival*,' 'President Barack Obama *won Nevada*,' and the defining phrase is 'to carry her across the *finish line*' (without this phrase, the extended metaphor would be one of general COMPETITION).

As regards ontological metaphors, there are 5 personifications and one OBJECT metaphor:

1. Hillary Clinton *took home a victory* (A VICTORY IS AN OBJECT)
2. the Associated Press *called* the race (Personification: AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY)
3. with 35% of precincts *reporting* (Personification: A PRECINCT IS AN ENTITY)
4. *Her campaign counted on* the state's surging population of Hispanic and Asian voters (Personification: AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY)
5. *her campaign spent* far more on television advertising (Personification: AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY)
6. Early *voting patterns* in the days leading up to the election *showed* Democrats with a slight lead in the number of ballots returned (Personification: AN ORGANISATION IS AN ENTITY)

The only orientational metaphor is 'high numbers of voters' (MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN), and there is a use of the metonymy '*red state*' which refers to widespread political opinions in terms of the colour conventionally associated with the Republican party.

Article 8: 'Donald Trump Wins Utah' (Online 15)

This article is 448 words long and features 3 orientational, 6 ontological, and 13 structural metaphors, coming up to 22 metaphors and forming 2 extended metaphors. The two extended metaphors are the common POLITICS IS WAR and AN ELECTION IS A RACE. POLITICS IS WAR is supported by '*Holds back* challenge from Hillary Clinton' and '*targeting* people based on their race'. AN ELECTION IS A RACE is clearly defined in 'an independent candidate who *ran* on a conservatism platform,' 'Mr. McMullin *came in second*,' 'with polls in late October showing him *running close with*—or even *ahead of*—Mr. Trump'. The metaphor is indirectly supported by 'Donald Trump *prevailed* in Utah on Tuesday' (AN ELECTION IS A COMPETITION) and 'Gov. Gary Herbert, who *coasted* to re-election on

Tuesday’ (AN ELECTION IS A JOURNEY, which is coherent with the aspect of purposeful forward movement in races).

Other structural metaphors are

1. CONSENSUS IS PHYSICAL STABILITY in ‘an unlikely *swing* state’ (SD: physical objects that can be tipped over to a side; TD: the Electoral College system [winner-takes-all]),
2. A MOVEMENT IS A BUILDING in ‘*build* “a new conservative movement”’ (SD: buildings; TD: concerted action; mapping: both the SD and TD consist of parts that are assembled over time, both have parts that are more basic than others [such as the foundation and leaders], and both can be destroyed),
3. A PARTY IS A BUILDING in ‘*the Republican Party* can no longer be considered *the home* for conservatives’ (SD: buildings; TD: organisations; mapping: buildings can serve as places of gathering, a building is called ‘home’ by those who belong to it, and a party is an organisation formed when people with common beliefs gather to accomplish common goals and to feel a sense of belonging), and
4. LIFE IS A JOURNEY in ‘*a turnoff* for the people of Utah’ (SD: physical travel; TD: life experience; mapping: life is the continuous occurrence of events perceived in a linear fashion, and travel on a road is going from one point to another by forward movement. Literally, a turnoff is ‘a junction at which a road branches off from a main road’ [Online 26], and metaphorically it is a manifestation of character incompatibility which motivates dissociation).

An interview excerpt included in this article features a case of multiple coherent concept interaction: ‘*The policy side of what you will do in the Oval Office lines up a lot better with Utah*’. The meaning is that certain campaign promises resonate with voters. Promises are ideas, and IDEAS ARE OBJECTS (an ontological metaphor). If two groups of objects are ‘in line’, they are parallel to each other, do not clash, and share a direction. The structural metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY allows for the conceptualisation of a state as having a ‘direction’ of ‘movement’ or ‘orientation’, which appears in common literal expressions such as ‘where the state is headed’. This direction is the views and actions of a state’s inhabitants. Thus, if a candidate’s campaign promises are ‘headed’ or ‘pointed the same way’ as the ‘state,’ they are accepted by the voters. Trump’s character is ‘*a turnoff* for the people of Utah’, but his campaign promises are agreeable.

Some of the 6 ontological metaphors are

1. I *tossed* that *idea* out the window (AN IDEA IS AN OBJECT),
2. he wasn't surprised Mr. Trump had *carried the state* (A STATE IS AN OBJECT), and
3. That *carried the day* (A DAY IS AN OBJECT).

The orientational metaphors are

1. *distanced themselves from* Mr. Trump (PROXIMITY IS AGREEMENT, DISTANCE IS DISAGREEMENT)
2. not a very *upstanding* guy (VIRTUE IS UP, DEPRAVITY IS DOWN)
3. *under* a Trump administration (HAVING CONTROL OR FORCE IS UP, LACKING CONTROL OR FORCE IS DOWN)

Article 9: 'Donald Trump Wins Pennsylvania' (Online 16)

This article is 148 words long and features only 2 ontological and 5 structural metaphors (compare to Article 6), coming to a total of 7 and forming the extended metaphor AN ELECTION IS A RACE. The latter is supported by 'The 48.8% to 47.6% *victory* comes after Mr. Trump's Democratic *opponent*, Hillary Clinton, *led in the polls* for the final month of the *presidential race*,' 'Mrs. Clinton began *to take the lead in polls*,' '*lead in the polls* by *opponent* Hillary Clinton,' and 'Donald Trump *won Pennsylvania*'. The structural metaphor POLITICS IS WAR is found in 'helped Mr. Trump *overcome* Mrs. Clinton's strong *support* from minority voters'.

The two ontological metaphors are both personifications:

1. *Pennsylvania has voted* for Democrats in every election since 1992 (Personification: A STATE IS AN ENTITY)
2. *The state elected* President Barack Obama (Personification: A STATE IS AN ENTITY)

Article 10: 'Hillary Clinton Wins Maine' (Online 17)

This article is 140 words long and features only 1 ontological and 3 structural metaphors, and all of the latter are A STATE IS A COMPETITION: 'Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton *won the state* overall,' 'Mr. Trump *won one of Maine's congressional districts*,' and 'Mrs.

Clinton *won the state's other congressional district*'. The ontological metaphor is a personification: 'the two additional electoral votes *the state awards* the statewide majority winner'.

Article 11: 'Donald Trump Wins Key Battleground States, Narrowing Hillary Clinton's Path' (Online 18)

The last of the articles from the Wall Street Journal is their final article on the election before the results were made known, and offers a summary of developments regarding topics such as advertisement, speeches, voter turnout, and early voting results. The article is 1339 words long and features 8 orientational, 13 ontological, and 27 structural metaphors, coming to a relatively sparse total of 48 metaphors. 2 extended metaphors are identified: AN ELECTION IS A RACE, and POLITICS IS WAR. The first is supported by

1. Republican's *lead* in Florida and Ohio augurs far *closer* election than experts expected,
2. She *trails* Mr. Trump in Wisconsin,
3. who *accepts the baton of leadership* from the nation's first black president,
4. aiming to energize African-American and young voters who helped *propel* Mr. Obama to his historic *victory* in 2008,
5. a steady but narrow *lead* over Mr. Trump,
6. to *win* the White House,
7. *the winner of enough states* to accumulate 265 electoral votes,
8. Five states have yet to be called. Mr. Trump *leads* in all five of them, and Mrs. Clinton would need to *win* all of them to maintain a chance,
9. Mr. Trump's *victory* in Ohio,
10. a *win* for the Republican,
11. state in which a Republican Senate candidate has *won*,
12. GOP Sen. Ron Johnson has *defeated* Democratic *challenger* Russ Feingold in *a rematch* of their 2010 *contest*,
13. The election will be historic whoever *wins*,
14. if Mrs. Clinton is deemed *the winner*,
15. the candidates revealed where they think the election will be *won* or *lost*, and

16. leaving Mrs. Clinton needing to *run the table* of what remained.

‘To run the table’ is an expression originating in pool and meaning ‘to sink all the necessary balls in a row, not giving a chance for the opponent to play,’ but it is currently more often used in the context of American football, where it means ‘to win all the remaining games’ in a series of games. SD: sports; TD: elections.

POLITICS IS WAR is supported by three uses of ‘*battleground state(s)*,’ and ‘to *take the White House*’ and ‘Mrs. Clinton *hit three states* on Monday’. Another notable structural metaphor in the article is A POPULATION IS WATER in ‘He beat the GOP *high-water mark*’ (SD: natural phenomena; TD: mass behaviour; mapping: a high turnout is impactful just as high water level is).

The ontological metaphors in this article conceptualise states as objects; the nation as a person; and media transmissions, ideas, and processes as objects. A STATE IS AN OBJECT appears in ‘But among competitive *states*, Mr. Trump *carried one after another*,’ ‘Mrs. Clinton *carried Virginia*, a state she was long expected to *carry*,’ and ‘hasn’t *carried* a single *state*’. A NATION IS A PERSON appears in ‘the next president will face a *deeply divided nation* that may take a long time *to heal*’ and ‘Neither *won approval* from more than half of *the country*’. A MEDIA TRANSMISSION IS AN OBJECT appears in ‘Clinton *pulled her advertising* from the state’s *airwaves* for months before *putting them back on* in the final weeks’. AN IDEA IS AN OBJECT appears in ‘voters *cast* a more sceptical *eye* toward Mr. Trump,’ ‘Mr. Trump’s *core* campaign *itches*,’ ‘His immigration *platforms* – building a wall along the Mexican border and threatening to deport illegal immigrants – got the support of only a minority of voters’ and ‘*tapped into* Mr. Trump’s *claims*’.

These are good illustrations of how ontological metaphor gives us a handle on the abstract. A reader can immediately imagine, for example, radio *airwaves* as a substance that carries *pieces* of advertisement, and this image can be significantly more impactful and memorable to that reader than a matter-of-fact statement. Even more so, in cases such as when it is predicted that there might be long-term unease among the inhabitants of a country due to different political beliefs and opinions on what should be done, news article writers are simply dependent on metaphor. All the latter sentence is expressed in ‘a *deeply divided nation* that may take a long time *to heal*’. In fact, the bulk of the message is carried by ‘*deeply divided*’ and ‘*heal*’ (A NATION IS A PERSON) because we all know what it feels like to have a

physical wound and what its natural healing entails in terms of pain, time, and caution required for healing.

Oriental metaphors in the article express intensity in terms of depth (STRONG IS DEEP, WEAK IS SHALLOW in ‘Early polls of voters found *deep unease* toward both candidates’) and quantity in terms of verticality (MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN in ‘authorities reported *high* voter turnout’ and ‘to *boost* her turnout’ [‘boost’ in North American English also stands for ‘push from below’]) and horizontality (MORE IS WIDER, LESS IS NARROWER in ‘the results are *narrower* than expected,’ ‘with a steady but *narrow* lead over Mr. Trump,’ and ‘*narrowing* Hillary Clinton’s path to the White House’). These examples illustrate how basic spatial intelligence is to abstract conceptualisation.

2.3 Analysis of the articles taken from The New Yorker

The articles taken from The New Yorker cover the election after the ballots had been counted and the winner had been established. Two articles were chosen: ‘Presidential Election Live: Donald Trump’s Victory,’ which focused on reporting election turnout, and ‘Donald Trump Is Elected President in Stunning Repudiation of the Establishment,’ which takes on a very different tone from the other articles analysed thus far in that it gives an account of the reaction of the public and the political establishment, and offers an interpretation of the unexpected outcome of Donald Trump being elected. Overall, the recurring themes of WAR, COMPETITION/RACE, and JOURNEY found in the first group of articles are found here as well, but these articles employ metaphor to more evaluative and emotional effect (e.g. Mrs. Clinton watched the *grim results roll in*), and the texts are overall less dense in metaphor content.

Article 12: ‘Presidential Election Live: Donald Trump’s Victory’ (Online 19)

This article is 785 words long and contains 4 orientational, 9 ontological, and 17 structural, coming to a relatively very sparse total of 30 and forming the 2 extended metaphors POLITICS IS WAR and AN ELECTION IS A RACE. The former is supported by these expressions: the key *battleground* of Florida; Democratic hopes that Hillary Clinton would easily *defeat* Mr. Trump; with Mr. Johnson and Ms. Stein *capturing* 7 percent of their votes;

in which several Democratic Senate candidates *fell short* (meaning: ‘(of a missile) fail to reach its target’); *flanked* by Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana and his son, Barron.

AN ELECTION IS A RACE is supported by these phrases: Donald J. Trump’s *victory* in the *presidential race*; Mrs. Clinton’s *gaping lead* in the Miami and Orlando areas; *won the state*; Mr. Trump won majorities in both groups; the same percentage that Mitt Romney *won* in 2012. The phrases ‘Mrs. Clinton *won voters*,’ ‘Mrs. Clinton *won this group*,’ and ‘Mr. Trump *won that group* by a broad margin’ can be grouped under A VOTER IS A COMPETITION, which is coherent with the RACE metaphor.

There are also the structural metaphors SUPPORT IS A BUILDING in ‘Mr. Trump *built his support* largely on voters who expressed deep dismay with Washington,’ POLITICS IS THEATRE in ‘*set the stage* for a drastic reordering of politics,’ and CHANGE IS FOOD in ‘Mr. Trump’s support among those *hungry for change*’.

The ontological metaphors conceptualise ideas, feelings, and processes as objects, and various concepts as persons:

1. *capped* a remarkable election (AN ELECTION IS AN OBJECT),
2. Here are some key *takeaways* (AN IDEA IS AN OBJECT),
3. Mr. Trump said he wanted to “*reclaim* our country’s *destiny*” (AN IDEA IS AN OBJECT),
4. *hopes* that Hillary Clinton would easily defeat Mr. Trump *crumbled* as the evening wore on (HOPE IS AN OBJECT),
5. Mrs. Clinton got *54 percent* of their *support* (AN ACTION IS AN OBJECT),
6. interested in electing a president who would *bring serious change* (CHANGE IS AN OBJECT),
7. Trump *pulled most of his support* from the Gulf Coast and the central part of the state (AN ACTION IS AN OBJECT),
8. the Republican candidate’s bombastic *style appeared to win* significant support (Personification: A TRAIT IS AN ENTITY), and
9. Mr. Obama’s job performance, and three-quarters thought the president’s *health care law went too far* (Personification: LEGISLATION IS AN ENTITY).

The 4 orientational metaphors are

1. a stunning result that *upended* conventional expectations (KNOWN IS DOWN, UNKNOWN IS UP)
2. a stunning *upset* against Hillary Clinton (KNOWN IS DOWN, UNKNOWN IS UP)
3. the coalition that *lifted* President Obama *to victories* (GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN)
4. white voters, who *skew older* in the state (age is represented in terms of leaning toward a side)

Content-wise, this article is different to the ones from The Wall Street Journal, but on the level of conceptual metaphor notable similarities can be observed. These indicate a common conceptualisation of the U.S. elections as war, competitions and races, and journeys.

Article 13: ‘Donald Trump Is Elected President in Stunning Repudiation of the Establishment’ (Online 20)

This article is 1625 words long and contains 7 orientational, 22 ontological, and 36 structural metaphors, coming to a total of 65 and forming 3 extended metaphors: POLITICS IS WAR, AN ELECTION IS A RACE, and POLITICS IS A MACHINE. The first is supported by these phrases:

1. a stunning culmination of an *explosive*, populist and polarizing *campaign* that *took relentless aim* at the institutions and long-held ideals of American democracy;
2. a powerful rejection of the establishment *forces* that had *assembled against him*;
3. Only one Republican-controlled seat, in Illinois, *fell to* Democrats;
4. the *defeat* signalled an astonishing end to a political dynasty;
5. states in which they were confident of victory, like Florida and North Carolina, either *fell to* Mr. Trump;
6. Mr. Obama’s strategy of *mobilizing* the party’s ascendant liberal coalition;
7. Mr. Trump’s *win* — stretching across the *battleground* states;
8. an electoral machine that would *swamp* Mr. Trump’s ragtag *band* of loyal *operatives* and family members.

AN ELECTION IS A RACE is supported by these phrases:

1. a modest but persistent *edge*,
2. they found an improbable *champion*,
3. easily *won re-election* in a *race* that had been among the country's *most competitive*,
4. Republican incumbents facing *difficult races* were *running* better than expected,
5. his *opponents*,
6. his Democratic rival,
7. sweeping *victory*, in the election and otherwise,
8. Eight years after *losing* to President Obama,
9. Her shocking *loss*,
10. many of whom had no experience *running a national campaign*, and
11. a Republican who *ran* as an unapologetic populist.

This extended metaphor is enriched by a set of coherent LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphors:

1. who believed that Mr. Trump had no mathematical *path to victory*,
2. rather than *pursuing a more moderate course* like her husband did,
3. millions who had *cheered* her *march* toward history,
4. a referendum on *gender progress*, and
5. Her shocking loss was a devastating *turn*.

POLITICS IS A MACHINE is expressed by ‘an insistence that the *country's political machinery* was “rigged”’ and ‘who believed they had built *an electoral machine*’. Another structural metaphor of physical constructions is A PARTY IS A BUILDING in ‘move so drastically away from their ancestral *political home*,’ ‘blue-collar voters who had formed *the party base*,’ and less directly in ‘She struggled to *build trust*’. In this article, aggressiveness is expressed through HEAT metaphors: ‘a *blistering* campaign’ and ‘he repeatedly *stoked division*’. HEAT is also a good thing in small amounts: ‘unusually *warm words*’. Two more structural metaphors are related to food: ‘she failed to excite voters *hungry for change*’ (CHANGE IS FOOD) and ‘in the party’s *lean years*’ (the well-being of an organisation is understood in terms of physical prosperity).

The ontological metaphors in the article are mostly personifications and object metaphors. The personifications are

1. The surprise outcome [...] threatened *convulsions* throughout the *country* and the *world* (THE WORLD IS A PERSON),
2. Mr. Trump's unvarnished *overtures* to disillusioned voters *took hold* (A SPEECH IS A PERSON),
3. Now it's time for America to *bind the wounds of division* (A NATION IS A PERSON),
4. *an air of improbability trailed his campaign* (AN IDEA IS A PERSON),
5. his *angry message* (AN IDEA IS A PERSON),
6. *remedies* that *raised questions* (AN IDEA IS A PERSON),
7. unshakable *self-regard* attracted a zealous following (A TRAIT IS A PERSON),
8. an economic *populism that often defied* party doctrine (AN IDEA IS A PERSON),
9. *speeches* that *earned* her millions of dollars (A SPEECH IS A PERSON),
10. One county in the Mahoning Valley of Ohio, Trumbull, *went to Mr. Trump* (A COUNTY IS A PERSON),
11. Mr. Trump's dozens of *business entanglements* — many of them in foreign countries — *will follow him into the Oval Office* (A RELATIONSHIP IS A PERSON),

The ontological object metaphors are such:

1. the *consensus* they had *forged* (AN IDEA IS AN OBJECT),
2. when Mr. Trump in his campaign *cast doubt* on (AN IDEA IS AN OBJECT),
3. From the moment he *entered the campaign* (A CAMPAIGN IS A CONTAINER OBJECT),
4. a shocking *set of claims* (AN IDEA IS AN OBJECT),
5. Mr. Trump's *unfiltered rallies* (AN IDEA IS A SUBSTANCE),
6. He seemed to embody the *success* and *grandeur* that so many of his followers felt was *missing* from their own lives (A CHARACTERISTIC IS AN OBJECT)
7. like Florida and North Carolina, either fell to Mr. Trump or seemed in danger of *tipping his way* (A STATE IS AN OBJECT)
8. Mrs. Clinton watched the grim *results roll in* (INFORMATION IS AN OBJECT)
9. *Uncertainty abounds* as Mr. Trump prepares to take office (UNCERTAINTY IS AN OBJECT),
10. has left the American people with considerable *gaps in their understanding* (AN IDEA IS AN OBJECT)

A final ontological metaphor is TIME IS A RESOURCE in 'a *waste of time*'.

The orientational metaphors are the following:

1. His *rise* was largely missed by polling organizations (GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN),
2. the economically downtrodden (GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN),
3. an opportunity to *elevate* a woman to the nation's *top job* (GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN),
4. To the surprise of many *on the left* (REPUBLICAN IS RIGHT; DEMOCRAT IS LEFT),
5. whose remarkably boorish behavior toward women had assumed *center stage* (CENTRAL IS IMPORTANT, PERIPHERAL IS UNIMPORTANT),
6. remedies that *raised questions* (KNOWN IS DOWN, UNKNOWN IS UP),
7. *raising questions* about potential conflicts of interest remedies that *raised questions* (KNOWN IS DOWN, UNKNOWN IS UP).

This article also features a relatively high concentration of other types of figurative language:

1. *Blue-collar* (metonymy),
2. He relied on his *gut* (metonymy),
3. seeking access to *Mr. Trump's ear*, *losing it* and, often, *regaining it*, depending on the day (synecdoche),
4. For supporters, the election often felt *like* a referendum on gender progress (simile).

To conclude, this article featured the same main characteristics as most others analysed in this study. The results of this analysis allow the author of the present study to draw certain conclusions about the conceptualisation of U.S. elections as presented in two news sources.

2.4 Quantitative analysis

The conceptual metaphors identified are quite varied, although certain patterns emerge immediately. That is, the U.S. elections appear to be conceptualised as races and other competitions, and political disputes in general as war. Because the composition of the conceptual metaphors identified is very varied, it would be beneficial for drawing conclusions to group the metaphors in terms of a single characteristic. The source domain of metaphors is deemed to be a practical unit for the compilation of results and drawing of conclusions about the conceptual nature of the field. Structural metaphors are the units of interest in this part of

the analysis, because in them we can specify the source domain. In Table 2.1 and Table 2.2 below, the source domains identified in the two news sources are compiled.

Table 2.1 Source domains identified in the articles from The Wall Street Journal

Article:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	TOTAL
Source domain												
COMPETITION	5	4	3	2	6	1	4	2	1	3	9	40
WAR	4	4	2	2	2	5	1	1	1		5	27
RACE	1	3		2	1	2	1	1	3		7	21
JOURNEY	3			1	1			4				9
GRASPING		1		1	3							5
WATER		1			1							2
BUILDING								2				2
RESOURCE											1	1
FINANCE						1						1
PHYSICAL STABILITY								1				1
Total SD:												109

Table 2.2. Source domains identified in the articles from The New York Times

Article:	1	2	TOTAL
Source domain			
WAR	6	9	15
COMPETITION	7	6	13
RACE	2	5	7
JOURNEY		5	5
BUILDING		3	3
HEAT/FIRE		3	3
FOOD	1	1	2
MACHINERY		2	2
THEATRE	1		1
FAT		1	1
GRASPING		1	1
Total SD:			53

As can be seen from the tables, the quantitative data confirms what was inferred during analysis – the U.S. presidential elections are primarily conceptualised in terms of the source domains COMPETITION, WAR, RACE, and JOURNEY. The analysis of the articles has illustrated how ontological metaphors allow for conceptualisation of the abstract in terms of

the concrete and ordinary, enabling rapid and emotive transfer and inference of information, and orientational metaphors are shown to be basic to the inner organisation of concepts.

CONCLUSIONS

The goal of the study was to investigate the use of metaphors in news articles about the 2016 USA presidential election. The research has revealed the practicality in illuminating the conceptual structure of American journalism and potentially thought on the topic of U.S. presidential elections. The analysis of the primary sources revealed 162 uses of structural metaphor in a corpus of 7418 words, giving an average of one structural metaphor per 46 words. The elections are conceptualised primarily in terms of races, competitions, war, and journeys, and the actions carried out therein as objects, substances, and individual agents (personification).

In broader context, the results of the study may be questioned on the basis of a lack of strict selection criteria, the metaphors having been identified on intuition guided by theoretical guidelines. In fact, this is the principal weakness of the study. Another weakness is that it is not a full conceptual metaphor description of the discourse, as that would involve the dissection of each individual sentence due to such facts as the commonness of spatial conceptualisation in grammar (*'in grammar'* depicting 'grammar' as a CONTAINER OBJECT). Nevertheless, the author of the present study never intended such a thorough analysis, rather only aiming to illustrate what can be reasonably called 'typical' of conceptual metaphor in the discourse of U.S. presidential elections. Such a thorough analysis would be the next logical step to take in describing the analysed discourse, and is the suggestion of the author to future researchers.

THESES

1. Metaphor is the conception of the relatively abstract in terms of the relatively concrete.
2. Metaphor is an essential and commonplace process of human language and thought.
3. Spatial intelligence is essential to abstract conceptualisation.
4. Metaphor is in various contexts an indispensable tool of language economy by way of conceptualisation, inference, and evocation.
5. Conceptual metaphor analysis can reveal part of the fundamental messages of a discourse.
6. The language used by journalists corresponds to the commonplace conceptual and experiential systems of their target audience for increased intelligibility and rhetorical effect, and is heavily reliant on figurative language.
7. The language used by American journalists to report the election gives an insight into the American public conceptual perception of the election process.
8. U.S. presidential elections are primarily conceptualised in terms of the source domains COMPETITION, WAR, RACE, and JOURNEY;
9. Personification is the most often used type of ontological metaphor in the analysed articles.
10. An average of one structural metaphor was identified per 46 words of text.

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