

# Joe Biden's Conceptual Metaphors: Framing His Rhetoric and Staging His Political Personae

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## Abstract

This research focuses on Joe Biden's political personae framed by means of conceptual metaphors. His acceptance speech (21 August, 2020), victory speech (8 November, 2020), and inaugural address (21 January, 2021) serve as the primary data for the study. The texts are analyzed qualitatively, and metaphors are manifested following the Pragglejaz method. While discussing Biden's resultant persuasive strategies, themes, and staged identities, references are made to metaphorical (self)-presentations by his predecessor, Donald

Trump. The findings demonstrate that while Biden was hardly seen as a perfect candidate, his alternative rhetoric, emotional bonding with the public, inclusion of people into decision-making, and carefully constructed metaphorical roles (e.g., constructor, warrior, healer, author, traveler) helped him gain victory.

Keywords: *conceptual metaphor, political discourse, political speeches, Joe Biden*

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## 1 Introduction: Joe Biden and his metaphorical rhetoric

Political discourse reflects the complexity of power distribution, control, and balance of values. A presidential candidate cannot appeal to every voter, but they aim to gain as many as possible. Thus, political rhetoric is a thorough and carefully constructed textual and extratextual product, where the “staged personae” (after Goffmann 1956: e.g., 13, 47) may be distinct from a politician’s everyday life identity. It is especially true in the age of so-called “perception politics”, in which style prevails over content to entertain people rather than give them access to quality political analysis (Landtsheer et al. 2008; Waarden & Kohlrausch 2021). Contemporary politicians care about their self-presentation, image, appearance, and emotional appeal more than ever.

On 20 January 2020, Joe Biden became the 46<sup>th</sup> President of the U.S. and took the Oval Office upon his victory over the predecessor, Donald Trump. Trump’s stories from the previous elections did not work anymore; people supposedly expected more of him, while his rhetoric remained the same. Joe Biden offered a new perspective, not necessarily adored by everyone yet alternative. While Biden was hardly seen as a perfect candidate this time (just as back in 1998 and 2008), Trump’s inability to tackle the pandemic gave an upper hand for Biden with his sensible speeches, inclusion of people, and vision of what to do with the crisis.

Unlike Hillary Clinton, who also ran against Trump, Biden connected with people as a deep empath (Hart 2022, 10). He managed to save face by avoiding attacking Trump openly, focusing on his own agenda instead. Biden’s empathy is metaphorically presented on quite a few instances, where he conceptualizes of his GRIEF as a PHYSICAL SENSATION e.g., in the Acceptance Speech: *“I know that deep black hole that opens up in the middle of your chest and you feel like you’re being sucked into it”*.<sup>1</sup> The painful bodily experience evoked by this statement gives it a powerful impact. It also makes the abstract concepts of GRIEF and SADNESS tangible and thus relatable, as explained by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the forefathers of the conceptual metaphor theory.

Apart from facilitating the understanding of complex and abstract things, metaphors pinpoint certain framings and persuade the public to either think of something in a particular way or take certain actions (Bougher 2012, 146; Sebera & Lu 2018, 68). For instance, Thibodeau and Boroditsky (2015) posit that people expect different handling of a crime depending on the metaphorical framing. If it is conceptualized as a BEAST, they are inclined toward strict punishment; if it is conceptualized as a VIRUS, they treat it as a disease, hence expecting social changes. In a similar vein, the *war on drugs* once

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<sup>1</sup> This and other examples are cited verbatim from Joe Biden’s Acceptance, Victory, and Inauguration speeches.

declared by Reagan led to harsher sentences for drug dealers: the issue was conceptualized as *WAR* and, respectively, all smugglers as an *ENEMY* to be fought (Thibodeau 2016). In other words, political framing of societal problems defines the trajectory of the public perception at least to some extent. Given that discourse is a primary tool of communicating ideologies and reproducing power (cf. e.g., Van Dijk 1997), presidential speeches are a viable platform to do so. A metaphor also allows for creating a favorable emotive image and upkeeping the perception politics that modern “political consumers”<sup>2</sup> get served.

Even though metaphors in political discourse are mostly implicit (i.e., the audience is not expected to identify or consciously process them), they persuade listeners about the politician’s righteousness (Charteris-Black 2011, 304). Metaphors help lead the audience in a certain direction, make them look at a matter from a certain perspective or partake in a series of actions (cf. Gibbs 2015, 272; Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 10). Repetitive, “extended metaphors” (Gibbs 2015) are especially effective in cementing an idea and forcing the audience think of it as their own (e.g., Trump’s notorious conceptualization of immigrants as *ANIMALS*, in Pilyarchuk & Onysko 2018, 105–6).

Given the inherently persuasive power of metaphors in political discourse, this research focuses on Joe Biden’s use of metaphors. The goal is to demonstrate how Biden’s metaphors contribute to shaping his staged, political personae (cf. Waarden & Kohlrausch 2021). A detailed qualitative analysis of selected Biden’s speeches allows for tracing overarching themes and pinpointing the aspects of Biden’s staged identity that enabled him to become the 46<sup>th</sup> president.

## 2 Data and methodology

The U.S. presidential campaigns require that every official candidate deliver an acceptance speech, where they accept the nomination and publicly share their vision, political agenda, and promises. This is arguably the most competitive public address that defines the candidate’s competitive power against the opponent (Trent and Friedenber 2000, 223-30). The elected president is expected to deliver two more key speeches – the victory speech and the inaugural address. Although these three texts differ in the purposes pursued, they are key instruments to shape one’s political image, present one’s identity, and construct one’s leadership style to the public. These speeches shape specific themes and problems to build respective associations on part of listeners, and metaphors play a vital role therein (Van Dijk 2006, 361).

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<sup>2</sup> The term used by Landtsheer et al. (2008, 221) to emphasize the similarity between contemporary politics and entertainment TV shows.

The current analysis is primarily concerned with the following three speeches by Joe Biden during his election campaign and upon his victory<sup>3</sup>:

1. Joe Biden's Nomination Acceptance Speech (hereafter AS) (21 August, 2020);
2. Joe Biden's Victory Speech (hereafter VS) (8 November, 2020);
3. Joe Biden's Inaugural Address/Speech (hereafter IS) (21 January, 2021).

The analysis is informed by CMT (Conceptual Metaphor Theory), first offered by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and facilitated by the Pragglejaz Method of metaphor identification and interpretation (Pragglejaz Group 2007). According to CMT, there is an intricate link between metaphors in thought and metaphors in language. Metaphor is characteristic of both human imagination and reason (Lakoff and Turner 1989), and humans understand one conceptual domain through another domain (Kövesces 2010, 4). Abstract domains (e.g., LOVE, LIFE, or TIME) are more easily explained via concrete domains that people experience first-hand (e.g., JOURNEY or MONEY). That is why *we stand at a crossroads* (LIFE IS A JOURNEY), *use sharp words* (WORDS ARE WEAPONS), and *have breakdowns* (PEOPLE ARE MACHINES). In this regard, metaphoric mappings are grounded on bodily and everyday experience rather than created haphazardly (Lakoff 1993, 245). A lot of metaphors are used automatically, as even young children have access to mappings based on their interaction with the environment and “conceptual embodiment” (Lakoff 1987, 12; Lakoff and Turner 1989, xi). On the other hand, a large portion of metaphors in discourse are used consciously or intentionally, with a manipulative aim.

Following the Pragglejaz Method, the procedure was as follows: first reading of Biden's speeches for the larger context, without deeper interpretations; subdivision of every speech into Steen's (2007, 21) “discourse units” for further analysis; identification of potentially metaphorical chunks and dictionary work to establish the initial meanings of word; postulation and grouping of metaphors according to their source domains (see Appendix B). For illustration, this is how the following clause from AS is approached:

*“Working families will struggle to get by” – Working / families / will struggle / to / get by.*

In this case, we have already covered step 1 (the first reading) and step 2 (subdivision into discourse units). Moving on to the next steps, the basic and contextual meanings of ‘working’ and ‘families’ coincide in this case and do not pose any problems. For the sake

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<sup>3</sup> – Acceptance Speech (AS): <https://edition.cnn.com/2020/08/20/politics/biden-dnc-speech-transcript/index.html>  
 – Victory Speech (VS): <https://www.nationalheraldindia.com/international/joe-biden-victory-speech-full-text>  
 – Inaugural Address (IA): <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/01/20/politics/joe-biden-speech-transcript/index.html>

All last accessed in September 2022.

of space economy, only one unit – ‘*will struggle*’ – is presented here step by step:

**contextual meaning:** here, the verb implies effort and difficulty in satisfying the most basic needs.

**basic meaning:** As consulted in MacMillan Dictionary and confirmed in the Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles, the basic meaning of ‘struggle’ is “to use your strength to fight against someone or something”.

**contextual vs. basic meaning:** The contextual meaning does not fully coincide with the basic one but can be understood by comparison. People understand abstract concepts via physical actions.

**metaphorical meaning:** Yes.

The same process must be applied to every unit in a clause, enabling a scholar to arrive at a conclusion regarding the clause’s metaphorical meaning. It is neither rational nor necessary to go into detail about either every unit of analysis or every single metaphor. The primary attention will thus be paid to metaphors that contribute to repetitive framings and construction of Biden’s political image. All other metaphors from the three texts are listed in Appendix B, and their frequency and distribution across speeches is provided in Appendix A and represented in Figure 1 for further references.

### 3 From general findings to overarching themes in Biden’s discourse

All metaphors found in Biden’s three speeches are categorized according to their source domain (SD), as represented in Figure 1. The total number is 451 (6.54% of all words or one metaphor per 15.57 words). Some metaphors repeat, while others do not, yielding 256 unique metaphors (56.76% of all metaphors) and 184 *hapax legomena* (40.7% of all metaphors). By speeches, the distribution is as follows: 193 (1 metaphor per 17.3 words) in the AS, 145 (1 metaphor in 16.6) in the VS, and 113 (1 metaphor per 12.8 words) in the IS (Appendix A). On average, Biden uses one metaphor per 15.6 words throughout the speeches, which is 48% more than Trump did in his election campaign and employs 41% more domains than Trump (see Pilyarchuk & Onysko 2018, 102-3). At the same time, the number of his *hapax legomena* metaphors is 27% lower than Trump’s i.e., Trump’s speeches feature a larger number of unique metaphors. Among others, this finding suggests that Biden’s image is more easily traceable in that there are more thematically organized metaphors that contribute to a certain representation and must not be left out of consideration because of their scarcity.

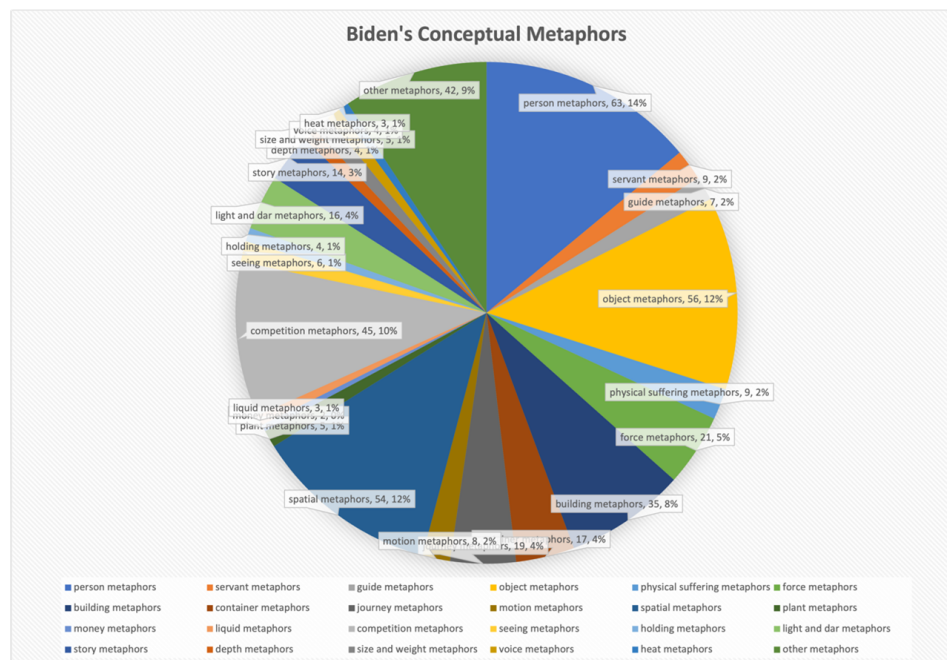


Figure 1: Conceptual metaphors grouped by SD (from all the three speeches)

Figure 1 demonstrates that a large chunk of metaphors lies within the scope of highly conventional metaphors with the SDs of PERSON (14%), OBJECT (12%), SPATIAL (12%), COMPETITION (10%) and BUILDING (8%). Such basic findings are by no means surprising as the same domains would arguably be typical for any presidential candidate, either Republican or Democratic (as also seen in Trump's use of metaphors described by e.g., Pilyarchuk & Onysko 2018, 103). At the same time, here are a few interesting observations worth mentioning already at this point. First, similarly to his Democratic predecessors Barack Obama (see Darsey 2009) and Bill Clinton (see Charteris-Black 2011, 211), Biden uses the JOURNEY domain (albeit only 4,21% or 19 instances) weaving it into his STORY metaphor. For Biden, he and his people are travelers through the history of America, who are trying to change the course of the nation for better after the previous president failed to do so. Second, Biden has no MACHINE metaphors characteristic of Trump's discourse and enabling him to self-present as an engineer (the notorious "I alone can fix it", as in Pilyarchuk & Onysko 2018, 119). In turn, Biden's discourse is marked by LIGHT AND DARK metaphors (4%), again enabling him to describe the wrongdoings of Trump and to present himself as a warrior of the light. COMPETITION (10%) and BUILDING (8%) metaphors are also abundant in Biden's discourse and contribute to his self-presentations as a nation's WARRIOR and CONSTRUCTOR. They will thus be scrutinized in the last section.

Due to space concerns and irrationality of describing every metaphor from the diagram, this short commentary should suffice for now, especially given that the subsequent sections will reiterate these findings as part of the discussion. While the primary aim thereby is to focus on “purposeful” metaphors (after Charteris-Black 2012), no metaphor can be left out of consideration. Even highly conventionalized SDs may acquire a new aim in discourse (cf. Van Dijk 2006; Pawelec 2006, 118). The following section presents Biden’s overarching themes that will then help discuss his self-presented political profile.

### 3.1 We versus them: Opponents and allies

While Biden kept personal attacks on Trump to a minimum at large, he took every opportunity (explicitly and implicitly) to pinpoint how ineffective the 45<sup>th</sup> president was in managing the country and pandemic, one of the decade’s biggest menaces. Biden never appeared in public without a protective mask – juxtaposing himself to Trump, who ridiculed all precautions and took an immature attitude towards Coronavirus. According to Hart (2022, 14–15), Trump’s presidential rhetoric was heavily marked by so-called “paranoid style” and “narcissism”. He focused on himself and presented himself as a victim of villains (*others*). Trump rarely included people into decision-making, and his notorious self-centered statement *I alone can fix it* became the second name for his campaign. In turn, Biden prefers inclusive pronouns. Throughout his three speeches, there are 306 instances of *we/our/us* against 173 times for *I/my/me*. While Biden takes agency and establishes himself as an apt leader, his rhetorical priority is democracy, unity, and equality.

Other American presidents become an important instrument in Biden’s discourse too. First, they create further possibility to divide *us* from *them* – presidents of the past are *with us*, on the side of LIGHT. Second, quoting previous leaders and their contributions, Biden does what Van Dijk (1997) dubs “using authority”. Representatives of different ideologies cite different respected figures to support their arguments, side or disagree with them. In VS, Biden lists four inflection points in the history of the nation, which forced Americans to make essential decisions regarding their identity and values. He mentions former presidents to allude to the values that he will treasure: Lincoln’s (1860) signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, F.D.R.’s (1932) New Deal, J.F.K.’s (1960) New Frontier, and Obama’s (2008) “Yes, we can”. Biden also cites a famous civil rights activist Ella Baker as well as narrates the notorious case of George Floyd and an empathic meeting with his little daughter. Siding with these people, he draws a bold line between his rhetoric and that of Trump’s. Further distance from Trump’s rhetoric is created by means of OBJECT, FORCE, and SPATIAL metaphors.

### 3.1.1 OBJECT metaphors

Fairly frequent (12% or 56 instances) and highly conventionalized, OBJECT metaphors facilitate Biden's *we versus them* dichotomy. In the AS, the incumbent president conceptualizes RESPONSIBILITY (1) and STEPS (2) as OBJECTS alluding to the fact that Trump failed to assume responsibility for his people during the pandemic. These metaphors serve the purpose of juxtaposition: Biden presents himself as the leader who will do the opposite:

- (1) RESPONSIBILITY IS AN OBJECT (“*He’s given four more years, he’ll be what he’s been for the last four years. A president who takes no responsibility*”; AS)
- (2) STEPS ARE OBJECTS (“*As president, the first step I will take will be to get control of the virus*”; AS)

While Trump *breaks his promises*, he (Biden) treats his as *holy* (“*I’ve just taken a sacred oath*”; IS).

Biden also blames Trump for failure to protect the social security policy for seniors by conceptualizing a PROMISE IS A BRITTLE OBJECT (3). He reiterates this framing in IS for DEMOCRACY IS A BRITTLE OBJECT (“*democracy is fragile*”). It creates an image of a tangible object that can break or crack, hence being in a dire need of protection.

- (3) PROMISE IS A BRITTLE OBJECT (“*the current president is threatening to break that promise*”; AS)

Every time Biden speaks of something positive as an OBJECT (4), he counterposes it to Trump's negative object-responsibility framing:

- (4) OPPORTUNITY IS AN OBJECT
  - 4.1. “*In America, everyone, and I mean everyone, should be given an opportunity*”; AS
  - 4.2. “*Let’s give each other a chance*”; VS
  - 4.3. “*Everyone should be given the opportunity*”; VS

Again, while the president does not explicitly name the guilty, the larger context – the metaphor in discourse – allows for tracing those who supposedly do not give people the opportunities and rights they deserve as the U.S. residents.

### 3.1.2 FORCE metaphors

FORCE metaphors make up 5% of all data and help Biden frame a positive self-image of a president who is united with citizens to face any woes and foes. Biden uses this domain to conceptualize disagreements between Republicans and Democrats:



- (5) DIFFERENCES ARE OPPOSING FORCES (“*I know the forces that divide us are deep*”; IS)
- (6) DISAGREEMENT IS COLLISION
- 6.1. “*clashing interests of red states or blue states*”; AS
- 6.2. “*Remember the violent clash that ensued between those spreading hate and those with the courage to stand against it*”; AS

Referring to everything negative as a physical force, Biden ascribes it to his predecessor (7, 8). Verbalizing the destructive force of what was before him, Biden alludes to the fact that he will mend it as a warrior of the nation (more on the WARRIOR image in the next section):

- (7) VIOLENCE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE (“*violence sought to shake the Capitol’s very foundations*”; IS)
- (8) BAD POLITICS IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE (“*Politics doesn’t have to be a raging fire destroying everything in its path*”; IS)

Juxtaposing positive and negative feelings (love versus hate; hope versus fear), Biden also creates the image of a clash between *us versus them* (9):

- (9) FEELINGS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES
- 9.1. “*for love is more powerful than hate*”; AS
- 9.2. “*hope is more powerful than fear*”; AS

One last way in which Biden metaphorically *others* Trump is presenting him as an ARSONIST is via the metaphor (10) ARGUMENTS ARE HEAT (“*president who [...] fans the flames of hate and division*”; AS). Presenting hatred and division as powerful destructive forces (for which Trump is responsible) to deal with, Biden offers to “*lower the temperature*” (VS, IS). While aggression and ARGUMENTS ARE HEAT (danger and destruction), coolness is a preferred reaction. Biden thus promises that his reaction will always remain cool – the temperature will be lower.

### 3.1.3 SPATIAL metaphors

SPATIAL metaphors make up 12% of all metaphors in our data, and Biden actively (re)uses X IS UP. Cognitively, positive and happy are always UP, while negative and miserable are DOWN. Such a framing has been proved in multiple simulation tests, where vertical positioning of a power group defines its perceived authority and value – the powerful should be on top and the powerless on bottom (Schubert 2005). Biden thus conceptualizes authority, societal virtues, and God as UP (11). In (11.1) Trump speaks about Obamas’

authority as worthwhile and immediately juxtaposes it to Trump's – calling him “*the occupant of the White House*” (AS).

(11) (GOD) AUTHORITY IS UP

11.1. “*A president that our children could and did look up to*”; AS

11.2. “*under President Biden, America will not turn a blind eye to Russian bounties on the heads of American soldiers*”; AS

11.3. “*Let us begin, you and I together, one nation under God*”; AS

11.4. “*one nation under God*”; IS

According to Gibbs (2015, 268), motion metaphors, both verbal and non-verbal, create the sensory experience of motion in people's minds – FORWARD and UP give the candidate a boost in how they are perceived as authority (e.g., closer to God, more knowledgeable, confident) (cf. e.g., Matlock 2004). What is located on top, above something, is more powerful. The vertical orientation and its importance are deeply engraved in human experience – small children learn that taller parents are stronger, and taller people in adult life are perceived as having more physical prowess and being more authoritative (see Schubert 2005, 3). Thus, a lot of positive aspects are UP:

(12) DUTY IS UP (“*To live up to and make real the words written in the sacred documents*”; AS)

(13) SUPPORT IS UP (“*Hunter, Ashley, all our grandchildren, my brothers, my sister [...] they lift me up*”; AS)

(14) COURAGE IS UP

14.1. “*are we going to step up?*”; IS

14.2. “*I believe we're up to it*”; AS

SPATIAL metaphors further help Biden emphasize equality. Democracy presupposes it as a concept:

(15) DEMOCRACY IS A SPATIAL LOCATION (“*the guardrail of our democracy is perhaps our nation's greatest strength*”; IS)

This space is conceptualized as bounded by protective rails: unlike a fence, guardrails allow for light and visibility because democracy is not supposed to exclude differences of opinions or prohibit disagreements. Such a democracy primarily makes everyone equal under God (as the highest authority). It contrasts with Trump's notorious framing of immigrants as wild animals and even lower animals (insects) (Pilyarchuk & Onysko 2018, 113; cf. Lakoff and Turner 1989, 166-80).

Biden says, “*I will always level with you*” (IS), creating the metaphor of (16) BEING EQUAL IS BEING ON THE SAME LEVEL. Coupled with the SPATIAL metaphor (17, 18), he effectively explains how he will be a leader on par with his citizens but also an apt navigator of the country:

(17) FIRST IS IN FRONT

17.1. “We can make America once again the leading force for good in the world”;  
IS

17.2. “and we’ll lead not merely by the example of our power”; IS

(18) FUTURE IS AHEAD (“as we look ahead in our uniquely American way”; IS).

Verbally, Biden places himself among the people – although he is the leader who takes up the responsibility, it is mostly Biden’s *we* against Trump’s *I* that manifests in the speeches. Overall, Biden’s political rhetoric lets people into the decision-making process.

### 3.2 The frame of family

It is a general belief in Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the Moral Politics Theory that people use their family relations and values as an anchor for nationhood ideas. In other words, we transfer our family experiences onto politics, which defines our engagement, support of a particular party, and beliefs about social order (Feinberg 2018). Thus, instead of focusing on his persona, Biden makes references to his late family members i.e., his first wife, son Beau, and father. Biden emphasizes that it is his beloved ones who molded him into who he is and recognizes their merit in his achievements (something that again contrasts with Trump’s egocentric self-presentation). Framing a nation as a family, Biden positions himself as a patriarch/father (Richie 2013, 179) – the idea that is reflected in many languages, e.g., *Vaterland* (German), *patria* (Spanish), *ojczyzna* (Polish), *батьківщина* [*bat’kivshchyna*] (Ukrainian), etc. In this context, Lakoff’s (1996) interpretation of A NATION IS A FAMILY (19) is based on ideas of social inclusion and caring against exclusion and neglect, on morality and health against immorality and sickness.

(19) A NATION IS A FAMILY (“*You’ve become honorary Bidens and there’s no way out*”; VS)

Biden’s emotional bond with his parents and children aligns with the nurturing parent model characteristic of the Democratic Party and dichotomizes with the Republican strict father model. A similar framing may be observed in Hillary Clinton’s rhetoric, where family and family’s wellbeing takes the central stage (Degani 2016, 139). The family of the nurturing frame empowers children to become nurturing parents by example

(cf. Feinberg 2018). In a randomized study by Feinberg (2018), those describing themselves as strict parents (leaving an infant to cry themselves out to sleep) are inclined toward conservative politics. In turn, nurturant parents (holding and soothing a crying baby instead of leaving them alone) hold more progressive, liberal views. It proves that one takes their family/parenting values to the political arena.

Positioning himself as not only a great leader of a large nation but also a father, a family man, and an empath (which is, again, characteristic of the nurturant parent model, i.e. MORALITY IS EMPATHY), Biden builds a strong connection with his listeners. Empathy and agreeableness are among key voting factors (Caprara et al. 2002, 92). He proposes to open the soul (21) and let people into the house of Bidens instead of physically and metaphorically building a wall to “*protect the U.S. from the outsiders*” the way Trump did (cf. Pilyarchuk & Onysko 2018; Chilton 2017, 585):

- (20) HEART IS A CONTAINER (“*Your loved one may have left this earth, but they’ll never leave your heart*”; AS)
- (21) SOUL IS A CONTAINER (“*We can do this [overcome differences] if we open our souls*”; IS)

Trump’s CONTAINER metaphors were concerned with keeping the inside of container intact and not letting outsiders (i.e., immigrants and refugees) get in – the rhetoric of a SEALED CONTAINER. Biden does the opposite – he *opens the container* for people and hopes that this CONTAINER (22) will accommodate everyone equally (cf. Chilton 2004, 118):

- (22) A COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER
- 22.1. “*women, black women, black Americans, south Asian-Americans, immigrants, the left out and the left behind*”; AS
- 22.2. “*those beyond our borders [We will repair our alliances]*”; IS

Biden does not address people from the outside as inherently bad and dangerous, and his immigration agenda is framed as (23) and (24). This way, he stresses the agency of shaping an effective policy and its benefits rather than threats:

- (23) IMMIGRATION POLICY IS A MIRROR (“with an immigration system that [...] reflects our values”; AS)
- (24) IMMIGRANTS ARE FUEL (“with an immigration system that powers our economy”; AS)

According to Caprara et al. (2002, 80), voters are more guided by how they see the politician’s personality than by what his or her leadership style is. Thus, Biden aims to let people

in, be open, and make alliances rather than exclude anyone. His dominant frame is that of unity, not fear.

### 3.3 Politics as a religion

LIGHT and DARK are domains that affect participants' judgments in multiple empirical studies. For instance, people automatically process bright-colored words on screen as positive and dark-colored words as negative (Meier et al. 2004). Color is not the only factor for such evaluations, but a positive idea typed in black takes longer to process. The same logic is observed in fairy tales with mostly light-haired heroes and dark-attired villains. Joe Biden makes an extensive use of LIGHT-DARK metaphors, where LIGHT stands for happiness and success (25), and DARK represents misery and failure (26):

(25) HAPPINESS IS LIGHT

25.1. *"I'll be an ally of the light, not the darkness"*; AS

25.2. *"make you to shine like the sun"*; VS

25.3. *"that we can find the light once more"*; AS

(26) MISERY IS DARKNESS

26.1. *"the current president has cloaked America in darkness"*; AS

26.2. *"grim era of demonization in America"*; VS

26.3. *"the end of this chapter of American darkness began here"*; AS

While doing so, he implies that the LIGHT moments of America are ahead and connected with his government. In turn, the DARK time is over, as linked to Trump's presidency. This metaphor draws on Lakoff's more general KNOWING IS SEEING: Biden conceptualizes the future as full of knowledge and positive changes – vision (cf. Charteris-Black 2011, 159–61). Trump is responsible, in this framing, for people's lack of understanding (SEEING) of important issues as he ignored the corona virus, neglected racism, and brought the country to failure.

Light is biblically framed as enlightenment, hence a religious meaning. Biden speaks of politics and political duties as sacred (27), communicating his vision of presidency as a holy mission i.e., to end the period of darkness and following in the footsteps of another Democratic president, Bill Clinton, whose discourse was marked by comparing politics and religion by employing religious metaphors (see Charteris-Black 2005, 218–19).

(27) POLITICS IS RELIGION

27.1. *"nor I put up with foreign interference in our most sacred democratic exercise, voting"*; AS

27.2. “*so now on this hallowed ground*”; IS

27.3. “*make real the words written in the sacred documents*”; AS

27.4. “*the sacred documents that founded this nation*”; AS

27.5. “*I’ve just taken a sacred oath*”; IS

Such an implication appeals to his religious electorate without disrupting the rational and logical discourse. Joe Biden does not over-rely on the superior forces but frames his presidency as a holy duty and equals the country’s major acts (e.g., the Declaration of Independence and Constitution) to the Bible. He does what Charteris-Black (2011, 218) refers to as “create a myth of political leadership as equivalent to spiritual guidance”, similarly to Bill Clinton. This way, Biden persuades people that he will never dare to disrespect them. Given that Republicans tend to be more religiously oriented, Biden may as well win their support with this approach.

## 4 Joe Biden’s political image

Biden gained victory over Trump i.e., managed to create a public image or a staged persona (Goffmann 1956) that appealed to a larger number of voters (cf. Degani 2016, 131). Some metaphorical mappings and overarching themes that contributed to his self-presentation were already described in the previous sections. They will serve as the basis for this last section, which focuses on how Joe Biden used the key speeches at the dawn of his presidency to metaphorically self-construct a desirable political profile. Framing a particular problem and its solution with metaphors, Biden creates a metaphorical space to appear as a leader who will do what his predecessor failed to do, correct his predecessor’s mistakes, and continue the course previously taken by Democratic presidents.

### 4.1 WARRIOR AND COMPETITOR

People do not necessarily decipher metaphors in political discourse, but they trace the general allegorical theme. If the speaker re-uses POLITICAL DEBATES ARE BOXING MATCHES metaphor to present him-/herself and the opponent as boxers, listeners experience the “embodied simulation process”: they imagine themselves taking shots or punching (Gibbs 2015, 265). This metaphor derives from a classic one ARGUMENTS ARE WAR and is highly persuasive because it allows for creating permanent associations about the politician, their strategies, and visions.

(28) ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION

28.1. “*At the time, I said we’re in the battle for the soul of this nation, and we are*”;

AS

28.2. *“And this is a battle we will win and we’ll do it together. I promise you”*; AS

28.3. *“We have won with the most votes”*; VS

In line with how Gibbs’ (2015) students imagined themselves taking punches and boxing, Biden’s listeners are expected to view themselves as heroes on the battlefield for the soul, democracy, unity, and other values (29):

(29) NATION IS A PERSON (*“love, and hope, and light join in the battle for the soul of the nation”*; AS).

(30) LIFE IS WAR

30.1. *“in the great battles of our time”*; VS

30.2. *“the battle to secure your family’s health care”*; VS

30.3. *“the battle to control the virus”*; VS

Since war is perceived as something inherently negative, this framing allows to name enemies and highlight failures of others to emerge as a savior (cf. Johnson 2005, 629-30). The domain of WAR, with battles, troops, and president as the commander in chief lets one evoke a sense of emergency. At times of war, there is always an enemy to be fought, be it inflation, the previous president, or immigration.

When Biden makes statements like (31.1) and (31.2), he promises to be the leading power of positive changes. By making references to Trump’s negative steps in combatting the virus and treating other problems, Biden appears to stand for everything civilized:

(31) MORAL VALUES ARE TROOPS

31.1. *“Americans have called on us to marshal the forces of decency and the forces of fairness”*; VS

31.2. *“to marshal the forces of science and the forces of hope”*; VS

Biden evokes unpleasant images of the American history when he says, *“We must end this uncivil war that pits red against blue”* (IS). He thus urges his people to respect unity in times of crises, as opposed to Trump who brings in fraction and conflict. It is further lexically validated in the AS (e.g., *“The president keeps telling us, the virus is going to disappear. He keeps waiting for a miracle. Well, I have news for him. No miracle is coming”*). Biden rejects any magical thinking and re-establishes himself as one who will win the control of the virus and manage other problems with wit, unity, democracy, and leadership skills (32, 33).

(32) DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES

32.1. *“face this pandemic as one nation”*; IS

32.2. “we face them [attack on democracy, inequality, virus] all at once”; IS

32.3. “uniting to fight the foes we face”; IS

- (33) VIRUS IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE (“the first step I will take will be to get control of the virus that has ruined so many lives”; AS)

A similar capacity, that of a GUARD/PROTECTOR is manifested by Biden’s repetitive X IS A WEAKLING formula, where X is something or someone in need of defence:

- (34) SOCIAL SECURITY IS A WEAKLING (“If I’m your president, we’re going to protect social security and Medicare”; AS)

- (35) CONSTITUTION IS A WEAKLING (“I will defend the constitution”; IS)

- (36) NATION IS A WEAKLING (“As president, I’ll make you a promise. I’ll protect America”; AS)

- (37) DEMOCRACY IS A WEAKLING (“We have a great purpose [...], to save our democracy”; AS)

- (38) TRUTH IS A WEAKLING (“to defend the truth and defeat the lies”; IS)

Such vivid images of urgency, threat and the president who will save the nation from foes work more effectively than explicit, non-metaphor messages (Gibbs 2015). While Biden’s voters do not necessarily establish the metaphor of BIDEN IS A SAVIOR for themselves, the messages become engraved in their mind.

#### 4.2 HEALER

Metaphors of physical suffering promote negative reactions to a subject. Trump mainly resorted to such framings to portray immigration and financial losses as physical wounds/pains (as an active anti-immigrantist and businessman concerned with money – see Pilyarchuk & Onysko 2018, 116-7). In turn, Biden uses these domains to place himself on par with the people and share their pain:

- (39) GRIEF IS A PHYSICAL SENSATION (“I know that deep black hole that opens up in the middle of your chest and you feel like you’re being sucked into it”; AS)

- (40) DIFFICULTIES ARE PAIN (“Recent weeks and months have taught us a painful lesson”; IS)

- (41) BEING INTENSE IS PRICKING (“to say he is against social divisions – a stinging inequity”; IS)



When people hear a reference to cuts and diseases, they engage in embodied simulation, basing their understanding of a larger metaphor on a previously experienced physical sensation (cf. Gibbs 2015, 275):

- (42) ANGRY IS SWOLLEN (“*neo-Nazis, and Klansmen, and white supremacists coming out of fields with lighted torches, veins bulging*”; AS)
- (43) RACIST COMMENTS ARE BILE (“*spewing the same anti-Semitic bile heard across Europe in the '30s*”; AS)
- (44) HATRED IS A VIRUS (“*those spreading hate*”; AS)
- (45) LACK OF MONEY IS A PHYSICAL WOUND (“*without any way of making up for that lost revenue, resulting in cuts. I will not let that happen*”; AS)

Healing metaphors and conceptualizing of a country as a body in need of treatment is also common in politics. It evokes the emotive aspects that are vital for voting decisions (cf. De Landtsheer et al. 2008, 220). If a nation is a patient, it calls for compassion. If a president is framed as a doctor, he is worthy of respect and support:

- (46) NATION IS A PERSON/PATIENT
  - 46.1. “*to restore the soul of America*”; VS
  - 46.2. “*to rebuild the backbone of the nation — the middle class*”; VS

Appealing to such physically vivid sensations presents the *others* as guilty of the nation’s wounds. Those *others* become responsible for all the nation’s pain and discrimination.

#### 4.3 CONSTRUCTOR and REPAIRMAN

The image of Biden as one who builds /repairs is enabled by the scheme of CONTAINMENT. A nation is typically conceived of as a BUILDING (47) – with citizens as family members, borders as walls, and the inside as something that needs protection from the potentially dangerous outside. It is especially visible in Trump’s borderline wall rhetoric (see Pilyarchuk & Onysko 2018).

- (47) AMERICA IS A BUILDING
  - 47.1. “*It’s an America we can rebuild together*”; AS
  - 47.2. “*much to do [...], much to restore, much to build*”; IS
  - 47.3. “*to build a nation of prosperity and purpose*”; VS

This frame further enables Biden to reinforce the *we versus them* dichotomy: *we* will protect, build, and restore what *they* ignored or ruined:

- (48) HEALTHCARE IS A BUILDING  
 48.1. “*with a health care system that lowers premiums, deductibles, drug prices, by building on the Affordable Care Act he’s trying to rip away*”; AS  
 48.2. “*and the assault on the Affordable Care Act will continue until it’s destroyed*”; AS
- (49) DUTIES ARE PARTS OF A BUILDING (“*Our current president has failed in his most basic duty to the nation*”; AS)
- (50) PROSPERITY IS A BUILDING (“*the battle to build prosperity*”; VS)
- (51) DECENCY IS A BUILDING (“*the battle to restore decency*”; VS)

Trump also drew on the BUILDER image (Pilyarchuk & Onysko 2018, 120). Yet, his was the *I alone can fix it* narrative. The former president spoke about people as OBJECTS to be put to work. In turn, Biden emphasizes togetherness: the people will be his co-constructors:

- (52) ECONOMY IS A BUILDING  
 52.1. “*together we can and will rebuild our economy*”; AS  
 52.2. “*We’ll not only build back. We’ll build back better*”; AS  
 52.3. “*With modern roads, bridges, highways, broadband, ports and airports as a new foundation for economic growth*”; AS
- (53) EMPLOYMENT IS A BUILDING (“*We can rebuild work*”; IS)
- (54) ALLIANCES ARE BROKEN OBJECTS (“*We will repair our alliances*”; IS)
- (55) PEOPLE ARE SUPPORTING STRUCTURES  
 55.1. “*to all those who supported our campaign*”; IS  
 55.2. “*who did not support me as for those who did*”; IS  
 55.3. “*to all those who did not support us*”; IS

Biden also uses the BUILDING frame to highlight his role of an empath and stress the important of human values:

- (56) MORAL VIRTUES ARE BRICKS (“It will be constructed out of compassion, empathy, and concern”; VS)

Biden’s image of a builder puts him on par with the people – together, they will be restoring the country that *others* left in a deplorable condition. The invitation of people to act together and serve as agents of changes distinguishes his self-presentation from Trump’s egocentric profile.

#### 4.4 AUTHOR

Biden reiterates the HISTORY IS A BOOK metaphor throughout his three speeches. In this, he follows his Democratic predecessor Obama, who conceptualized of “turning pages” as making advancement and changing the country for better (cf. Charteris-Black 2011, 299; Richie 2013, 165). Biden goes further and ascribes a place to everyone: he makes himself the author/editor and invites the people to take on the roles of co-authors and characters:

(57) A COUNTRY IS A STORY

57.1. *“For that is what America is about: the people”*; VS

57.2. *“the American story”*; VS

57.3. *“The American story depends not on any one of us, not on some of us, but on all of us”*; IS

(58) PEOPLE’S ACTIONS ARE PAGES OF A BOOK

58.1. *“May history be able to say that the end of this chapter of American darkness began here”*; AS

58.2. *“Let us add our own work and prayers to the unfolding story of our great nation”*; IS

58.3. *“Together we will write an American story of hope, not fear”*; IS

58.4. *“We’ll write the next great chapter in the history of the United States of America”*; IS

Biden thus juxtaposes himself to Trump, who *“made the job about himself”* and presented himself as the protagonist (59). Biden’s presidency should become a *“great chapter”*, and it will be *“about the people”*:

(59) PRESIDENCY IS A STORY (*“He’ll [Trump] wake up every day believing the job is all about him, never about you”*; AS)

Biden also makes a reference to his father’s wisdom (60); conceptualizing job as a story, he reiterates how worthy a president he will be, as guided by his religious and moral compass.

(60) JOB IS A STORY (*“Joey, a job is about a lot more than a paycheck. it’s about your dignity. It’s about respect”*; AS).

On one instance, Biden also speaks about (61) LIFE AS A MOVIE (*“We’ll press forward with speed and urgency”*; IS), a mapping that adds another angle to the conceptualization. Reading a book page by page is a lengthy and tiresome process unlike using a remote to press forward to LIGHT. In both cases, it is the inclusive *we* component that gives people agency in this chapter of American history.

#### 4.5 TRAVELER

SPATIAL schemas are acquired early in childhood and are inevitably used in language. Although they are highly conventionalized e.g., LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Biden uses these mappings to present himself and his supporters as politicians who are not afraid of *obstacles*, *distance*, and *difficult routes*. Biden's JOURNEY metaphor is the continuation of his STORY metaphor – he and his people are travelers writing the history of America. According to Charteris-Black (2011, 303), JOURNEY metaphors in political speeches arouse enthusiasm and emotions of travelling together and doing something important along the way.

(62) LIFE IS A JOURNEY

62.1. *“We can choose a path of becoming angrier”* AS

62.2. *“but we still have far to go”*; IS

62.3. *“She [Kamala Harris] knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country”*; AS

62.4. *“but she's overcome every obstacle she's ever faced”*; A

62.5. *“and if she puts her mind to it, just get out of the way”*; AS

62.6. *“Everyone, and I mean everyone, should be given an opportunity to go as far as their dreams and God given ability will take them”*; AS

62.7. *“At this time in this place, let's start afresh”*; IS

JOURNEY metaphors align the politician with a hero (like Odysseus), who overcomes obstacles to prove his powers, decency, and savior's role (Charteris-Black 2011, 324-5). This framing of a heroic journey with the aim to bring positive change to the country also marked Obama's campaign and served for him as a nucleus of further conceptualizations (see Darsey 2009, 94). Biden adds God and history (63) that call upon people to make this message even more emotive and convey a sense of purpose and unity.

(63) POLITICS IS A JOURNEY (*“We embark on the work that God and history have called upon us to do”*, VS)

(64) SUCCESS IS A JOURNEY

64.1. *“I believe there is only one way forward, as united America”*; AS

64.2. *“together to carry all of us forward”*; AS

(65) A NATION IS A VEHICLE (*“Winning it for workers who keep this country going, not just the privileged few at the top”*; AS)

(66) HISTORY IS A VEHICLE (*“History has delivered us to one of the most difficult moments”*; AS)

The domain of JOURNEY motivates the audience toward action as it maps the route to a better destination (Sebera and Lu 2018, 74). This is again a frame where Biden presents himself as *one of* the TRAVELERS (just like *one of* CONSTRUCTORS, HEALERS, and WARRIORS). He shares this role with the people. While assuming responsibility as the leader, he does not disregard their essential role either.

#### 4.6 BEARER OF LIGHT and NAVIGATOR

Biden uses the LIGHT/DARK domains 16 times (4%) in his three speeches. His conceptualization creates a vivid contrast to Trump's. While the latter resorted to MONEY metaphors a lot (measuring abstract concepts in their monetary value), Biden prefers a more metaphysical mapping. While Trump presented himself as a mogul and a businessman, Biden pictures himself as an ally of light and a noble knight. Churchill would often resort to contrasting the Nazi Germany and Great Britain using the same mapping: "*the dark curse*" versus "*the beacon of salvation*" (Charteris-Black 2011, 51-2; Charteris-Black 2018, 198). For Biden, *they* (Trump's administration) are the representatives of DARKNESS (67), and *we* (Biden's administration and voters) are BEARERS OF LIGHT (68):

##### (67) MISERABLE IS DARK

- 67.1. "*the current president has cloaked America in darkness*"; AS
- 67.2. "*this season of darkness in America*"; AS
- 67.3. "*Let this grim era of demonization in America begin to end*"; VS
- 67.4. "*the end of this chapter of American darkness began here*"; AS
- 67.5. "*we're entering what may be the darkest and deadliest period of the virus*"; IS
- 67.6. "*in the shadow of the civil war*"; IS

##### (68) HAPPY IS LIGHT

- 68.1. "*[And together we will write] (a book) of light not darkness*"; IS
- 68.2. "*I'll be an ally of the light, not the darkness*"; AS
- 68.3. "*that we can find the light once more*"; AS
- 68.4. "*make you to shine like the sun*"; VS
- 68.5. "*[we can choose] a path of hope and light*"; AS

##### (69) AMERICA IS A LIGHTHOUSE

- 69.1. "*We have a great purpose [...] to be a light to the world once again*"; AS
- 69.2. "*America is a beacon for the globe*"; VS

Even as Biden blames some of the dark moments on the virus, he contextually links them to Trump, who failed to take control (to be UP as the real authority). The emphasis on DARKNESS creates a powerful contrast with the LIGHT that Biden will bring.

#### 4.7 GARDENER and SERVANT

Biden builds his GARDENER/FARMER self-image differently from Trump, who drew on two dominant framings. One was the lexical expression of GROWTH (a highly conventionalized way of speaking about economy). The second was associated with money – MONEY ARE CROPS / A LOT OF MONEY IS AN ABUNDANCE OF LEAVES (see Pilyarchuk and Onysko 2018, 123). As a reported billionaire, Trump constantly used this *modus operandi* language. In turn, Biden cites the Bible to construct the CROPS (70) / SEEDS (71) metaphors and operates with abstract concepts of RESULTS and EFFORTS, not reducing everything to finances:

(70) RESULTS ARE CROPS (“*a time to reap*”; VS)

(71) EFFORTS ARE SEEDS (“*a time to sow*”; VS)

Biden presents himself as a hard-working gardener who rolls up his sleeves to eradicate weeds and harvest fruit the way the Bible teaches:

(72) RACISM IS A WEED

72.1. “[...] *and end the hard work of rooting out our systemic racism*”; AS

72.2. “*root out systemic racism in this country*”; VS

The SERVANT self-presentations of the two politicians also contrast with each other. Thus, Biden reiterates the image of the country and its people as his employers (73). In turn, Trump did not explicitly portray himself as a servant; he only used this frame to criticize *them* as not serving the people.

(73) A COUNTRY IS AN EMPLOYER

73.1. “*Speaking of President Obama, a man I was honored to serve alongside for eight years as vice president*”; AS

73.2. “*all my colleagues I serve with in the House*”; IS

73.3. “*I have the profound responsibility of serving as commander in chief*”; AS

73.4. “*I will be honored to be serving with a fantastic vice president*”; VS

73.5. “*I will work as hard for those who didn’t vote for me — as those who did*”; VS

73.6. “*President Carter [—] who we salute for his lifetime of service*”; IS

73.7. “*I will give all – all of you – keep everything I do in your service*”; IS

In two instances, Biden also presents himself as a DEFENDANT in court, stressing the serving role to the people (e.g., “*Just judge this president on the facts*” AS; “*We will be judged, you and I*”; IS). These assumed roles are manifested on fewer instances than the rest though. While they cannot be ignored due to their potential manipulative value, further research into the incumbent president’s discourse would be necessary to analyze whether these metaphorical personae are characteristic of his rhetoric at large.

## 5 Final reflection and conclusion

Metaphor in political discourse helps create a story, an image, and a desirable strategy. While human thought is inherently metaphoric, some metaphors are used consciously and purposefully e.g., to present a political candidate in favourable light, to ‘other’ the opponent, and to pinpoint problems. The resultant image of the political candidate does not necessarily correspond with his/her real-life persona. It may instead yield a political image (with multiple metaphorical roles) or so-called “staged identity” (after Goffmann 1956). This conscious use of specific metaphors in politics seems to be taking momentum in the era of perception politics. It raises the questions of how *democratic* the modern democracy is, whether people have a *real* understanding of what a political candidate offers (as wrapped in metaphorical imagery), and whether they indeed *choose* the vector of their country’s future or just *consume* a carefully constructed image served to them. Without doubt, there is a large PR and marketing team behind every politician, so his/her metaphors and resultant (self)-presentation are not theirs to the core. However, it is them who are ascribed the authorship; voters evaluate the candidate by their rhetoric as if it was created entirely by him/her and as if it was an authentic, not staged persona.

Choosing the right frames and drawing from the appropriate domains is of key importance for a politician. When judging other people, a voter extensively relies on their own schemata to evaluate the politician’s actions, words, and promises (cf. Caprara et al. 2002). It makes the process of voting over-simplistic, creating the dichotomous choice of *good/bad* and ticking the traits and values that one *agree/disagrees* with (cf. Thompson 1996). When Biden dwells on the frames of unity and family and creates his image as that of a BEARER OF LIGHT in the dark times or that of an AUTHOR of good history and prosperous future, he makes the listener want to associate with him. His values are inherently good, and the imagery he creates is vivid – the positive, light, hopeful democracy against the backdrop of the current dark times of which Trump is blamed.

Our analysis of Joe Biden’s rhetoric demonstrates how his speeches become platforms for dominant themes and metaphorical roles due to “extended metaphors”. By reiter-

ating some conceptualizations, Biden cements problems, solutions, and images in the audience's perception and associates them with his discourse. Back in the day, Trump made "I alone can fix it" and "Immigrants are criminals and wild animals" dominating in his presidential election speeches. He presented himself as a TAMER OF ANIMALS to stress the assumed danger of everyone crossing the border. In turn, Biden's rhetoric is marked by "Writing a positive chapter of the American history together with his people" and "Ending the time of misery and darkness in America". These framings allow him to implicitly criticize his predecessor, who "made the story about himself", did not include people into decision-making, and failed to take responsibility at the dark times of pandemic. Biden's self-presentations as a CO-AUTHOR of American history, BEARER OF LIGHT, TRAVELLER, and SERVANT further make him closer to average Americans. Such a dichotomy in these and other themes reinforces the liberal nurturant parent model versus the conservative strict parent model defining the rhetoric of Democrats and Republicans respectively.

Last but not least, the focus on this selection of texts allows for a very intense qualitative analysis and manifestation of all metaphors, conventional and novel, purposeful and not. At the same time, the limited corpus does not allow for generalization of Biden's political personae. As societal problems change and new solutions are required, Joe Biden may assume new metaphorical roles to address them.

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## Appendix A

### Metaphor Frequency in Joe Biden's Speeches

Total Number: 451 metaphors (6.54% = 1 per 15.57 words)

Unique Metaphors: 256 metaphors (56.76%)

Speech	Number of metaphors	Number of words	Metaphor frequency in speech
Acceptance speech	193	3,348	1 metaphor per 17.3 words (5.78%)
Victory speech	145	2,405	1 metaphor per 16.6 words (6.02%)
Inauguration speech	113	1,444	1 metaphor per 12.8 words (7.81%)

### Basic Frequency Findings

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
<b>Person Metaphors</b>		<b>63 (13.97%)</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>24</b>
1.	A NATION IS A PERSON	25	11	7	7
2.	HISTORY IS A PERSON	4	2	0	2
3.	A NATION IS A PATIENT	3	0	1	2
4.	A NATION IS A WEAKLING	3	2	0	1
5.	DEMOCRACY IS A WEAKLING	2	1	0	1
6.	TIME IS A PERSON	2	1	0	1
7.	RACIAL JUSTICE IS A WEAKLING	2	0	0	2
8.	A NATION IS AN EMPLOYER	2	0	2	0
9.	LIFE IS A PERSON	1	1	0	0
10.	HAPPINESS IS A (RUNNING) PERSON	1	1	0	0
11.	UNION IS A (RUNNING) PERSON	1	1	0	0
12.	EDUCATION IS A PERSON	1	1	0	0
13.	SOCIAL SECURITY IS A WEAKLING	1	1	0	0
14.	CONSTITUTION IS A WEAKLING	1	0	0	1
15.	TRUTH IS A WEAKLING	1	0	0	1
16.	VICTORY IS A WEAKLING	1	0	0	1
17.	MENTALITY IS A PERSON	1	1	0	0
18.	BIBLE IS A PERSON	1	0	1	0

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
19.	CLIMATE IS A VICTIM	1	0	1	0
20.	UNION IS A VICTIM	1	0	1	0
21.	A HEART IS A PERSON	1	0	1	0
22.	THE EARTH IS A PERSON	1	0	0	1
23.	MIRACLE IS A PERSON	1	1	0	0
24.	A HYMN IS A PERSON	1	0	1	0
25.	A CONSTITUTION IS A PERSON	1	0	0	1
26.	CHALLENGES ARE PEOPLE	1	0	0	1
27.	A VIRUS IS A PERSON	1	0	0	1
28.	DUTIES ARE PEOPLE	1	0	0	1
<b>Servant Metaphors</b>		<b>9 (2%)</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>
29.	A COUNTRY IS AN EMPLOYER	6	3	1	2
30.	PEOPLE ARE MASTERS	2	0	1	1
31.	TIME IS A SERVANT	1	0	0	1
<b>Guide Metaphors</b>		<b>7 (1.55%)</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
32.	AMERICA IS A LIGHTHOUSE	2	1	1	0
33.	PRESIDENT IS A NAVIGATOR	1	1	0	0
34.	LAW IS A GUIDE	1	1	0	0
35.	TALENT IS A GUIDE	1	1	0	0
36.	HISTORY, FAITH AND REASON ARE GUIDES	1	0	0	1
37.	HISTORY IS A GUIDE	1	0	0	1
<b>Object Metaphors</b>		<b>56 (12.41%)</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>18</b>
38.	AN OPPORTUNITY IS AN OBJECT	4	1	3	0
39.	A COUNTRY IS A FLEXIBLE OBJECT	4	1	3	0
40.	WORDS ARE OBJECTS	3	2	0	1
41.	A CHOICE IS AN OBJECT	3	0	3	0
42.	LIFE IS AN OBJECT	3	1	0	2
43.	AN OPPORTUNITY IS A STRETCHABLE OBJECT	2	1	1	0
44.	POLITICS IS AN OBJECT	2	1	0	1
45.	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	2	0	0	2

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
46.	TIME IS AN OBJECT	2	2	0	0
47.	PROTECTION IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
48.	RESPONSIBILITY IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
49.	STEPS ARE OBJECTS	1	1	0	0
50.	PURPOSE IS A HIDDEN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
51.	RIGHTS ARE OBJECTS	1	1	0	0
52.	FUTURE IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
53.	PROMISE IS A BRITTLE OBJECT	1	1	0	0
54.	DEMOCRACY IS A BRITTLE OBJECT	1	0	0	1
55.	FAMILY MEMBERS ARE OBJECTS	1	1	0	0
56.	DECISION IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
57.	COURAGE IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
58.	TASKS ARE OBJECTS	1	1	0	0
59.	HATE IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
60.	FUTURE IS A MOVING OBJECT	1	1	0	0
61.	VICTORY IS AN OBJECT	1	0	1	0
62.	A PERSON IS A POSSESSION	1	0	1	0
63.	A PERSON IS AN OBJECT	1	0	1	0
64.	HISTORY IS AN OBJECT	1	0	1	0
65.	COMFORT AND SOLACE ARE COMMODITIES	1	0	1	0
66.	POLITICAL AUTHORITY IS AN OBJECT	1	0	0	1
67.	AN OATH IS AN OBJECT	1	0	0	1
68.	FACTS ARE GOODS	1	0	0	1
69.	UNION IS A BALANCING OBJECT	1	0	0	1
70.	PATRIOTISM IS AN OBJECT	1	0	0	1
71.	FAITH IS AN OBJECT	1	0	0	1
72.	FUTURE IS A VISIBLE OBJECT	1	0	0	1
73.	ALLIANCES ARE BROKEN OBJECTS	1	0	0	1
74.	WORLD IS AN HEIRLOOM	1	0	0	1
75.	ECONOMY IS A PIECE OF CLOTH	1	1	0	0
76.	PEOPLE ARE LINKS OF A CHAIN	1	0	0	1
77.	DEMOCRACY IS A GEM	1	0	0	1

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
<b>Physical Suffering Metaphors</b>		<b>9 (2%)</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
78.	FAILURES ARE WOUNDS	2	0	2	0
79.	GRIEF IS A PHYSICAL SENSATION	1	1	0	0
80.	LACK OF MONEY IS A PHYSICAL WOUND	1	1	0	0
81.	DIFFICULTIES ARE PAIN	1	0	0	1
82.	BEING INTENSE IS PRICKING PAINFULLY	1	0	0	1
83.	ANGRY IS SWOLLEN	1	1	0	0
84.	RACIST COMMENTS ARE BILE	1	1	0	0
85.	HATRED IS A VIRUS	1	1	0	0
<b>Force Metaphors</b>		<b>21 (4.66%)</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9</b>
86.	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	5	2	0	3
87.	DISAGREEMENT IS COLLISION	2	2	0	0
88.	FEELINGS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES	2	2	0	0
89.	ASSERTIVENESS IS FIRMNESS	2	2	0	0
90.	DIFFERENCES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	1	0	0	1
91.	DIFFICULTIES ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS	1	0	0	1
92.	SOCIETAL VICIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	1	0	0	1
93.	VIRUS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE	1	1	0	0
94.	VIRUS IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	1	1	0	0
95.	BAD POLITICS IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	1	0	0	1
96.	VIOLENCE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE	1	0	0	1
97.	DEBT IS A PRESSING FORCE	1	1	0	0
98.	A WOMAN IS A FORCE	1	1	0	0
99.	NECESSITY IS A FORCE	1	0	0	1
<b>Building Metaphors</b>		<b>35 (7.54%)</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>6</b>
100.	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	4	3	1	0
101.	PEOPLE ARE SUPPORTING STRUCTURES	4	1	0	3

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
102.	A NATION IS A BUILDING	3	1	2	0
103.	PEOPLE ARE BUILDINGS	3	0	2	1
104.	LIFE IS A BUILDING	3	2	1	0
105.	AMERICA IS A BUILDING	2	1	0	1
106.	A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IS A BUILDING	2	0	2	0
107.	A PLAN IS A BUILDING	2	1	1	0
108.	A POLITICAL PARTY IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
109.	A NATION IS A HOUSE	1	1	0	0
110.	ACA IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
111.	DUTIES ARE PARTS OF THE BUILDING	1	1	0	0
112.	HEALTHCARE IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
113.	A SOCIAL CLASS IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
114.	A PROMISE IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
115.	CREATING IS BUILDING	1	0	1	0
116.	PROSPERITY IS A BUILDING	1	0	1	0
117.	DECENCY IS A BUILDING	1	0	1	0
118.	MORAL VIRTUES ARE BRICKS	1	0	1	0
119.	EMPLOYMENT IS A BUILDING	1	0	0	1
<b>Container Metaphors</b>		<b>17 (3.77%)</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>
120.	A FAMILY IS A CONTAINER	3	2	1	0
121.	A COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER	2	1	0	1
122.	TIME IS A CONTAINER	2	0	0	2
123.	A DOCUMENT IS A CONTAINER	2	0	0	2
124.	A HEART IS A CONTAINER	2	1	1	0
125.	A SOUL IS A CONTAINER	1	0	0	1
126.	ELECTIONS ARE A CONTAINER	1	1	0	0
127.	DIFFICULT TIMES ARE CONTAINERS	1	0	0	1
128.	GOALS ARE CONTAINERS	1	1	0	0
129.	EYES ARE A CONTAINER	1	1	0	0
130.	A PERSON IS A CONTAINER	1	0	1	0
<b>Journey Metaphors</b>		<b>19 (4.21%)</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>
131.	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	7	5	1	1
132.	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY	3	0	1	2

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
133.	UNITY IS A JOURNEY	2	0	0	2
134.	AN IDEA IS A JOURNEY	1	1	0	0
135.	MENTALITY IS A JOURNEY	1	0	0	1
136.	SAD EMOTIONS ARE PATHS	1	1	0	0
137.	A NATION IS A VEHICLE	1	1	0	0
138.	HISTORY IS A VEHICLE	1	1	0	0
139.	THREATS ARE VEHICLES	1	1	0	0
140.	ECONOMY IS A VEHICLE	1	1	0	0
<b>Motion Metaphors</b>		<b>8 (1.77%)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>
141.	TIME IS MOTION	3	1	0	2
142.	DEATH IS MOTION	1	1	0	0
143.	SUCCESS IS MOTION	1	0	0	1
144.	VICTORY IS MOTION	1	0	0	1
145.	CHANGING IS ROTATING	1	0	1	0
146.	DECISIVE IS UNFALTERING	1	0	1	0
<b>Spatial Metaphors</b>		<b>54 (11.97%)</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>17</b>
147.	FIRST IS IN FRONT	7	3	2	2
148.	FUTURE IS AHEAD	6	2	0	4
149.	AUTHORITY IS UP	4	2	0	2
150.	RESISTANCE IS REMAINING UPRIGHT	2	1	0	1
151.	STRENGTH IS UP	4	2	0	2
152.	CONTROL IS UP	2	0	2	0
153.	TO BE NEGLECTED IS TO STAY BEHIND	3	1	1	1
154.	SUPPORT IS PROXIMITY	2	2	0	0
155.	SUPPORT IS UP	2	0	2	0
156.	HOPE IS IN FRONT	2	0	2	0
157.	A PLAN IS PROXIMITY	1	1	0	0
158.	WEALTH IS UP	1	1	0	0
159.	RESPECT IS UP	1	1	0	0
160.	DUTY IS UP	1	1	0	0
161.	INTENSIVE IS UP	1	0	0	1
162.	SUPPORT IS UPRIGHT	1	1	0	0
163.	PROGRESS IS IN FRONT	1	0	0	1



#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
164.	SUPPORTING IS STANDING BEHIND	1	0	1	0
165.	COURAGE IS UP	1	0	0	1
166.	JUSTICE IS UP	1	0	1	0
167.	TIME IS A LOCATION	1	1	0	0
168.	SUCCESS IS A LOCATION	1	0	1	0
169.	FAILURE IS DOWN	2	1	1	0
170.	SECONDARY IS LOCATED AT THE SIDE	1	1	0	0
171.	FREEDOM AND JUSTICE IN FRONT	1	0	1	0
172.	IMPORTANCE IS ORDER IN LINE	1	1	0	0
173.	BEING EQUAL IS BEING ON THE SAME LEVEL	1	0	0	1
174.	DEMOCRACY IS A SPATIAL LOCATION	1	0	0	1
175.	PANDEMIC IS A CIRCLE 1	0	1	0	0
<b>Plant Metaphors</b>		<b>5 (1.11%)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>
176.	RACISM IS WEED	2	1	1	0
177.	SOCIAL VICIES ARE PLANTS	1	1	0	0
178.	SOCIAL VICIES ARE PLANTS	1	0	1	0
179.	SOCIAL VICIES ARE PLANTS	1	0	1	0
<b>Money Metaphors</b>		<b>2 (0.44%)</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>
180.	GRATITUDE IS MONEY	1	0	1	0
181.	EFFORTS AND COMMITMENT ARE MONEY	1	0	1	0
<b>Liquid Metaphors</b>		<b>3 (0.67%)</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
182.	JUSTICE IS WATER	1	0	1	0
183.	INFORMATION IS WATER	1	0	0	1
184.	PROBLEMS ARE WATERFALLS	1	0	0	1
<b>Competition Metaphors</b>		<b>45 (9.98%)</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>11</b>
185.	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	7	5	2	0
186.	ELECTIONS ARE A WAR	2	2	0	0
187.	ELECTIONS ARE A MARATHON	3	1	2	0
188.	LIFE IS A WAR	14	4	7	3
189.	POLITICS IS WAR	4	0	3	1

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
190.	POVERTY IS WAR	1	1	0	0
191.	PANDEMIC IS WAR	1	0	1	0
192.	SEARCH FOR EQUALITY IS WAR	1	0	1	0
193.	RACISM IS WAR	1	0	1	0
194.	POLITICAL PARTIES ARE ARMIES	2	0	0	2
195.	MORAL VALUES ARE TROOPS	2	0	2	0
196.	A VIRUS IS AN ENEMY	2	0	1	1
197.	A VIRUS IS A HUNTER	1	0	0	1
198.	SOCIETAL VICES ARE ENEMIES	2	0	0	2
199.	LIES ARE ENEMIES	1	0	0	1
200.	BAD EMOTIONS ARE AN ENEMY	1	0	1	0
<b>Seeing Metaphors</b>		<b>6 (1.33%)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>
201.	THINKING IS SEEING	2	0	2	0
202.	THINKING IS SEEING	2	0	0	2
203.	IGNORING IS BEING BLIND	1	1	0	0
204.	PLANNING IS SEARCHING	1	1	0	0
<b>Holding Metaphors</b>		<b>4 (0.89%)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>
205.	PROTECTING IS HOLDING	2	0	2	0
206.	CONTROLLING IS HOLDING	1	0	1	0
207.	ACCEPTING IS HOLDING	1	1	0	0
<b>Light and Dark Metaphors</b>		<b>16 (3.55%)</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>
208.	MISERY IS DARKNESS	9	6	1	2
209.	WAR IS DARKNESS	1	0	0	1
210.	HAPPINESS IS LIGHT	6	4	1	1
<b>Story Metaphors</b>		<b>14 (3.1%)</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>
211.	A COUNTRY IS A STORY	3	0	2	1
212.	PEOPLE'S ACTIONS ARE PAGES OF A BOOK	4	1	0	3
213.	HUMAN VALUES ARE CHARACTERS OF A STORY	1	1	0	0
214.	LIFE IS A STORY	1	1	0	0
215.	LIFE IS A POEM	1	1	0	0

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
216.	JOB IS A STORY	1	1	0	0
217.	PRESIDENCY IS A STORY	1	1	0	0
218.	GOVERNMENT IS A STORY	1	0	1	0
219.	POLITICS IS A MOVIE	1	0	0	1
<b>Depth Metaphors</b>		<b>4 (0.89%)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>
220.	INTENSITY IS DEPTH	2	0	0	2
221.	SINCERITY IS DEPTH	1	0	0	1
222.	IMPORTANCE IS DEPTH	1	1	0	0
<b>Size and Weight Metaphors</b>		<b>5 (1.11%)</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
223.	IMPORTANT IS BIG	1	1	0	0
224.	INTELLIGENT IS BIG	1	1	0	0
225.	LARGE-SCALE IS HEAVY	1	1	0	0
226.	DIFFICULTIES ARE WEIGHT	1	1	0	0
227.	PROBLEMS ARE BURDENS	1	1	0	0
<b>Voice Metaphors</b>		<b>4 (0.89%)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>
228.	INFLUENTIAL IS LOUD	4	2	0	2
<b>Heat Metaphors</b>		<b>3 (0.67%)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
229.	ARGUMENTS ARE HEAT	3	1	1	1
<b>Other Metaphors</b>		<b>42 (9.31%)</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>16</b>
228.	DIFFICULTIES ARE EXAMS	4	0	0	4
229.	A POLITICAL PARTY IS VALUES	3	3	0	0
230.	LIFE IS A COURTROOM	2	1	0	1
231.	SWARM IS COZINESS	2	2	0	0
232.	CAPITOL IS A TEMPLE	2	0	0	2
233.	USING TALENTS IS PULLING STRINGS	1	1	0	0
234.	DIFFICULTIES ARE HARSH WEATHER CONDITIONS	1	1	0	0
235.	A POLITICAL PARTY IS A MENTALITY	1	1	0	0
236.	MAKING SILENT IS KEEPING A GUN AT MOUTH	1	1	0	0
237.	REAL IS WITHOUT DECORATIONS	1	1	0	0

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
238.	IMMIGRANTS ARE FUEL	1	1	0	0
239.	IMMIGRATION POLICY IS A MIRROR	1	1	0	0
240.	AMBIGUITY IS A HOLE	1	1	0	0
241.	RECOGNITION IS ADORNMENT	1	1	0	0
242.	ELECTIONS ARE A HOLY ACT	1	1	0	0
243.	POLITICS IS RELIGION	1	1	0	0
244.	RACISM IS A STAIN	1	1	0	0
245.	DEATH IS REST	1	1	0	0
246.	CHANGING IS BREAKING	1	1	0	0
247.	MORAL VALUES ARE WAVES	1	1	0	0
248.	MORALITY IS AN ARC	1	0	1	0
249.	PEOPLE ARE ORGANS	1	0	1	0
250.	AGGRESSIVE IS COARSE	1	0	1	0
251.	AN OPPORTUNITY IS A SHOT	1	0	1	0
252.	PLEASANT EXPERIENCES ARE FOOD	1	0	1	0
253.	CONSTITUTION IS A PIECE OF RUBBER	1	0	0	1
254.	UNPLEASANT IS BITTER	1	0	0	1
255.	DEATH IS PEACE	1	0	0	1
256.	ASSESSING IS MEASURING	1	0	0	1
257.	ACCURACY IS CLARITY	1	0	0	1
258.	ANGRY IS FIRM	1	0	0	1
259.	FRIENDLY IS OPEN	1	0	0	1
260.	LIFE IS A GAME OF CARDS	1	0	0	1
261.	BEING DIFFERENT IS PROTRUDING	1	0	0	1

## Appendix B

### Metaphors in Biden's Discourse

Acceptance speech = AS

Victory speech = VS

Inauguration speech = IS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
<b>Person Metaphors</b>			
1.	The current president has cloaked America in darkness	A NATION IS A PERSON	AS
2.	he would recover and prevail, and he believed America could as well	A NATION IS A PERSON	AS
3.	It's about winning the heart, and yes, the soul of America	A NATION IS A PERSON	AS
4.	one of the most difficult moments America has ever faced	A NATION IS A PERSON	AS
5.	take this chance to heal	A NATION IS A PERSON	AS
6.	much to do, much to heal	A NATION IS A PERSON	IS
7.	to restore the soul	A NATION IS A PERSON	IS
8.	one that's generous and strong, selfless and humble	A NATION IS A PERSON	AS
9.	We will never again be at the mercy of China	A NATION IS A PERSON	AS
10.	That was a wake-up call for us as a country	A NATION IS A PERSON	AS
11.	At the time, I said we're in the battle for the soul of this nation	A NATION IS A PERSON	AS
12.	You know, American history tells us	A NATION IS A PERSON	AS
13.	love, and hope, and light join in the battle for the soul of the nation	A NATION IS A PERSON	AS
14.	to restore the soul of America	A NATION IS A PERSON	VS
15.	secure the future of America	A NATION IS A PERSON	VS
16.	to rebuild the backbone of the nation — the middle class	A NATION IS A PERSON	VS
17.	We must make the promise of the country	A NATION IS A PERSON	VS
18.	F.D.R. in 1932 — promising a beleaguered country a new deal	A NATION IS A PERSON	VS
19.	You deserve a special thanks from this nation	A NATION IS A PERSON	VS
20.	the strength of our nation	A NATION IS A PERSON	IS
21.	a cry for racial justice	A NATION IS A PERSON	IS
22.	our nation's greatest strength	A NATION IS A PERSON	IS
23.	leaders who are pledged [...] to protect our nation	A NATION IS A PERSON	IS
24.	our country will be stronger	A NATION IS A PERSON	IS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
25.	We must restore the soul of America	A NATION IS A PERSON	VS
26.	a nation healed	A NATION IS A PATIENT	VS
27.	they healed a broken land	A NATION IS A PATIENT	IS
28.	a story of decency and dignity, love and healing	A NATION IS A PATIENT	IS
29.	a cry for survival comes from the planet	THE EARTH IS A PATIENT	IS
30.	No miracle is coming	MIRACLE IS A PATIENT	AS
31.	No generation ever knows what history will ask of it	HISTORY IS A PERSON	AS
32.	May history be able to say	HISTORY IS A PERSON	AS
33.	the story that tells ages yet to come	HISTORY IS A PERSON	IS
34.	We answered the call of history	HISTORY IS A PERSON	IS
35.	It's a moment that calls for hope	TIME IS A PERSON	AS
36.	We met the moment	TIME IS A PERSON	IS
37.	I know how mean, and cruel, and unfair life can be sometimes	LIFE IS A PERSON	AS
38.	pursuit of happiness	HAPPINESS IS A (RUNNING) PERSON	AS
39.	united in our pursuit of a more perfect union	UNION IS A (RUNNING) PERSON	AS
40.	with an education system that trains our people for the best jobs of the 21st century	EDUCATION IS A PERSON	AS
41.	If I'm your president, we're going to protect social security and Medicare	SOCIAL SECURITY IS A WEAKLING	AS
42.	I will defend the constitution	CONSTITUTION IS A WEAKLING	IS
43.	I'll defend America	A NATION IS A WEAKLING	IS
44.	He's failed to protect us. He's failed to protect America.	A NATION IS A WEAKLING	AS
45.	As president, I'll make you a promise. I'll protect America.	A NATION IS A WEAKLING	AS
46.	I'll defend our democracy	DEMOCRACY IS A WEAKLING	IS
47.	We have a great purpose [...], to save our democracy	DEMOCRACY IS A WEAKLING	AS
48.	to defend the truth and defeat the lies	TRUTH IS A WEAKLING	IS
49.	The battle is perennial, and victory is never secure	VICTORY IS A WEAKLING	IS
50.	we can [...] make work secure	RACIAL JUSTICE IS A WEAKLING	IS
51.	we can secure racial justice	RACIAL JUSTICE IS A WEAKLING	IS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
52.	Will we be the generation that finally wipes out the stain of racism from our national character	MENTALITY IS A PERSON	AS
53.	the Bible tells us	BIBLE IS A PERSON	VS
54.	the battle to save the climate	CLIMATE IS A VICTIM	VS
55.	Lincoln in 1860 — coming to save the union.	UNION IS A VICTIM	VS
56.	ahead to an America that creates jobs	A NATION IS AN EMPLOYER	VS
57.	ahead to an America that cures disease	A NATION IS A HEALER	VS
58.	My heart goes out to each	A HEART IS A PERSON	VS
59.	Hopefully this hymn gives you solace	A HYMN IS A PERSON	VS
60.	to honour our constitution	A CONSTITUTION IS A PERSON	IS
61.	not to meet yesterday's challenges but today's and tomorrow's challenges	CHALLENGES ARE PEOPLE	IS
62.	a raging virus	A VIRUS IS A PERSON	IS
63.	will we meet our obligations	DUTIES ARE PEOPLE	IS
<b>Servant Metaphors</b>			
64.	Speaking of President Obama, a man I was honored to serve alongside for eight years as vice president	A COUNTRY IS AN EMPLOYER	AS
65.	Beau [Biden's late son] served our nation in uniform.	A COUNTRY IS AN EMPLOYER	AS
66.	I have the profound responsibility of serving as commander in chief	A COUNTRY IS AN EMPLOYER	AS
67.	all my colleagues I serve with in the house	A COUNTRY IS AN EMPLOYER	IS
68.	President Carter [...] who we salute for his lifetime of service	A COUNTRY IS AN EMPLOYER	IS
69.	I will be honored to be serving with a fantastic vice president	A COUNTRY IS AN EMPLOYER	VS
70.	I will work as hard for those who didn't vote for me — as those who did.	PEOPLE ARE EMPLOYERS	VS
71.	I will give all - all of you - keep everything i do in your service	PEOPLE ARE EMPLOYERS	IS
72.	will we master this rare and difficult hour?	TIME IS A SERVANT	IS
<b>Guide Metaphors</b>			
73.	a president who takes no responsibility, refuses to lead	PRESIDENT IS A NAVIGATOR	AS
74.	We have a great purpose [...] to be a light to the world once again	AMERICA IS A LIGHTHOUSE	AS
75.	America is a beacon for the globe	AMERICA IS A LIGHTHOUSE	VS
76.	its failure to follow the law	LAW IS A GUIDE	AS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
77.	to go as far as their dreams and God given ability will take them	TALENT IS A GUIDE	AS
78.	history, faith and reason show the way	HISTORY, FAITH AND REASON ARE GUIDES	IS
79.	may this be the story that guides us	HISTORY IS A GUIDE	IS
<b>Object Metaphors</b>			
80.	Here and now, I give you my word	WORDS ARE OBJECTS	AS
81.	you have my word	WORDS ARE OBJECTS	AS
82.	I give you my word	WORDS ARE OBJECTS	IS
83.	Let's give each other a chance	AN OPPORTUNITY IS AN OBJECT	VS
84.	It's time to put away the harsh rhetoric	AN OPPORTUNITY IS AN OBJECT	VS
85.	Everyone should be given the opportunity	AN OPPORTUNITY IS AN OBJECT	VS
86.	In America, everyone, and I mean everyone, should be given an opportunity ...	AN OPPORTUNITY IS AN OBJECT	AS
87.	steady widening of opportunity	AN OPPORTUNITY IS A STRETCHABLE OBJECT	VS
88.	who have known only America being of rising inequity and shrinking opportunity	AN OPPORTUNITY IS A STRETCHABLE OBJECT	AS
89.	America is at an inflection point	A COUNTRY IS A FLEXIBLE OBJECT	AS
90.	Our nation is shaped by the constant battle	A COUNTRY IS A FLEXIBLE OBJECT	VS
91.	America has always been shaped by inflection points	A COUNTRY IS A FLEXIBLE OBJECT	VS
92.	We stand again at an inflection point	A COUNTRY IS A FLEXIBLE OBJECT	VS
93.	We'll put politics aside	POLITICS IS AN OBJECT	AS
94.	We must set aside politics	POLITICS IS AN OBJECT	IS
95.	It's a choice we make	A CHOICE IS AN OBJECT	VS
96.	to make that choice	A CHOICE IS AN OBJECT	VS
97.	that's the choice i'll make	A CHOICE IS AN OBJECT	VS



#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
98.	We'll never have our lives back	LIFE IS AN OBJECT	AS
99.	a silent prayer for those who lost their lives	LIFE IS AN OBJECT	IS
100.	Virus that silently stalks the country has taken as many lives in one year as in all of World War Two	LIFE IS AN OBJECT	IS
101.	Let me take this moment	TIME IS AN OBJECT	AS
102.	Let me take a moment	TIME IS AN OBJECT	AS
103.	getting rid of the protections that President Obama worked so hard to get passed for people	PROTECTION IS AN OBJECT	AS
104.	He's given four more years he'll be what he's been for the last four years. a president who takes no responsibility	RESPONSIBILITY IS AN OBJECT	AS
105.	As president, the first step I will take will be to get control of the virus	STEPS ARE OBJECTS	AS
106.	I found the best way through pain, and loss, and grief is to find purpose	PURPOSE IS A HIDDEN OBJECT	AS
107.	endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights	RIGHTS ARE OBJECTS	AS
108.	So the future is made in America	FUTURE IS AN OBJECT	AS
109.	the current president is threatening to break that promise.	PROMISE IS A BRITTLE OBJECT	AS
110.	democracy is fragile	DEMOCRACY IS A BRITTLE OBJECT	IS
111.	she [Jill] put our family back together	FAMILY MEMBERS ARE OBJECTS	AS
112.	and if she puts her mind to it, just get out of the way	DECISION IS AN OBJECT	AS
113.	Hunter, Ashley, all our grandchildren, my brothers, my sister, they give me courage	COURAGE IS AN OBJECT	AS
114.	history, history has thrust one more urgent task on us.	TASKS ARE OBJECTS	AS
115.	In John's words, to lay down, quote, "The heavy burden of hate' at last, and end the hard work of rooting now our systemic racism	HATE IS AN OBJECT	AS
116.	united in our determination to make the coming years bright	FUTURE IS A MOVING OBJECT	AS
117.	they have delivered us a clear victory	VICTORY IS AN OBJECT	VS
118.	for America's educators, this is a great day: you're going to have one of your own in the White House	A PERSON IS A POSSESSION	VS
119.	to all those who gave so much of themselves to make this moment possible	A PERSON IS AN OBJECT	VS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
120.	We can right wrongs, we can put people to work in good jobs	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	IS
121.	the work and prayers of centuries have brought us to this day	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	IS
122.	Kamala Harris — who will make history as the first woman	HISTORY IS AN OBJECT	VS
123.	It can provide some comfort and solace	COMFORT AND SOLACE ARE COMMODITIES	VS
124.	to carry out the peaceful transfer of power	POLITICAL AUTHORITY IS AN OBJECT	IS
125.	I've just taken a sacred oath	AN OATH IS AN OBJECT	IS
126.	We must reject the culture in which facts themselves are manipulated and even manufactured	FACTS ARE GOODS	IS
127.	when the union itself was literally hanging in the balance	UNION IS A BALANCING OBJECT	IS
128.	where heroes who gave the last full measure of devotion	PATRIOTISM IS AN OBJECT	IS
129.	the faith you placed in us	FAITH IS AN OBJECT	IS
130.	Many of my fellow Americans view the future with fear	FUTURE IS A VISIBLE OBJECT	IS
131.	We will repair our alliances	ALLIANCES ARE BROKEN OBJECTS	IS
132.	pass along a new and better world to our children	WORLD IS AN HEIRLOOM	IS
133.	Our economy is in tatters	ECONOMY IS A PIECE OF CLOTH	AS
134.	Democracy is precious	DEMOCRACY IS A GEM	IS
135.	I ask every American to join me in this cause	PEOPLE ARE LINKS OF A CHAIN	IS
<b>Physical Suffering Metaphors</b>			
136.	a time to heal	FAILURES ARE WOUNDS	VS
137.	This is the time to heal in America	FAILURES ARE WOUNDS	VS
138.	I know that deep black hole that opens up in the middle of your chest and you feel like you're being sucked into it	GRIEF IS A PHYSICAL SENSATION	AS
139.	without any way of making up for that lost revenue, resulting in cuts. I will not let that happen	LACK OF MONEY IS A PHYSICAL WOUND	AS
140.	Recent weeks and months have taught us a painful lesson	DIFFICULTIES ARE PAIN	IS
141.	a stinging inequity	BEING INTENSE IS PRICKING PAINFULLY	IS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
142.	neo-Nazis, and Klansmen, and white supremacists coming out of fields with lighted torches, veins bulging...	ANGRY IS SWOLLEN	AS
143.	spewing the same anti-Semitic bile heard across Europe in the '30s.	RACISM COMMENTS ARE BILE	AS
144.	those spreading hate	HATRED IS A VIRUS	AS
<b>Force Metaphors</b>			
145.	one of the most difficult moments America has ever faced	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	AS
146.	face this pandemic as one nation	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	IS
147.	we face them [attack on democracy, inequality, virus] all at once	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	IS
148.	uniting to fight the foes we face	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	IS
149.	but she's [Kamala Harris] overcome every obstacle she's ever faced	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	AS
150.	I know the forces that divide us are deep	DIFFERENCES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	IS
151.	over the centuries through storm	DIFFICULTIES ARE WEATHER CONDITIONS	IS
152.	Racism, nativism and fear have torn us apart	SOCIETAL VICIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	IS
153.	no one's been tougher on the big banks and on the gun lobby	ASSERTIVENESS IS FIRMNESS	AS
154.	no one's been tougher in calling out the current administration for its extremism	ASSERTIVENESS IS FIRMNESS	AS
155.	stricken by disease, stricken by a virus	VIRUS IS A PHYSICAL FORCE	AS
156.	the first step I will take will be to get control of the virus that has ruined so many lives	VIRUS IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	AS
157.	Politics doesn't have to be a raging fire destroying everything in its path	BAD POLITICS IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	IS
158.	for love is more powerful than hate	FEELINGS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES	AS
159.	hope is more powerful than fear	FEELINGS ARE PHYSICAL FORCES	AS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
160.	violence sought to shake the Capitol's very foundations	VIOLENCE IS A PHYSICAL FORCE	IS
161.	and where cost doesn't prevent young people from going to college and student debt doesn't crush them	DEBT IS A PRESSING FORCE	AS
162.	clashing interests of red states or blue states	DISAGREEMENT IS COLLISION	AS
163.	Remember the violent clash that ensued between those spreading hate and those with the courage to stand against it.	DISAGREEMENT IS COLLISION	AS
164.	She's [Jill] an educator, a mom, a military mom, and an unstoppable force	A WOMAN IS A FORCE	AS
165.	a cry for racial justice, some 400 years in the making, moves us	NECESSITY IS A FORCE	IS
<b>Building Metaphors</b>			
166.	I'll work hard for those who didn't support me,	PEOPLE ARE SUPPORTING STRUCTURES	AS
167.	to all those who supported our campaign	PEOPLE ARE SUPPORTING STRUCTURES	IS
168.	who did not support me as for those who did	PEOPLE ARE SUPPORTING STRUCTURES	IS
169.	to all those who did not support us	PEOPLE ARE SUPPORTING STRUCTURES	IS
170.	a nation strengthened	A NATION IS A BUILDING	VS
171.	the sacred documents that founded this nation	A NATION IS A BUILDING	AS
172.	to build a nation of prosperity and purpose	A NATION IS A BUILDING	VS
173.	It's an America we can rebuild together	AMERICA IS A BUILDING	AS
174.	much to do [...], much to restore, much to build	AMERICA IS A BUILDING	IS
175.	together we can and will rebuild our economy	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	AS
176.	We'll not only build back. We'll build back better.	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	AS
177.	With modern roads, bridges, highways, broadband, ports and airports as a new foundation for economic growth	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	AS
178.	We cannot repair the economy	ECONOMY IS A BUILDING	VS
179.	without the love and tireless support of Jill	PEOPLE ARE BUILDINGS	VS
180.	to all those who supported us	PEOPLE ARE BUILDINGS	VS
181.	We can rebuild the middle class	PEOPLE ARE BUILDING	IS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
182.	he [Biden's father] worked hard and he built a great middle-class life for our family	LIFE IS A BUILDING	AS
183.	We cannot restore our vitality	LIFE IS A BUILDING	VS
184.	I am proud of the campaign we built	A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IS A BUILDING	VS
185.	I am proud of the campaign we built and ran	A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IS A BUILDING	VS
186.	not just our base or our party	A POLITICAL PARTY IS A BUILDING	AS
187.	That plan will be built on a bedrock of science	A PLAN IS A BUILDING	VS
188.	We'll implement the national strategy I've been laying out since March	A PLAN IS A BUILDING	AS
189.	and the assault on the Affordable Care Act will continue until it's destroyed	ACA IS A BUILDING	AS
190.	Our current president has failed in his most basic duty to the nation	DUTIES ARE PARTS OF THE BUILDING	AS
191.	with a health care system that lowers premiums, deductibles, drug prices, by building on the Affordable Care Act he's trying to rip away	HEALTHCARE IS A BUILDING	AS
192.	They're the ones that built the middle class.	A SOCIAL CLASS IS A BUILDING	AS
193.	It will be the work of the next president to restore the promise of America to everyone	A PROMISE IS A BUILDING	AS
194.	a time to build	CREATING IS BUILDING	VS
195.	the battle to build prosperity	PROSPERITY IS A BUILDING	VS
196.	the battle to restore decency	DECENCY IS A BUILDING	VS
197.	It will be constructed out of compassion, empathy, and concern.	MORAL VIRTUES ARE BRICKS	VS
198.	We can rebuild work	EMPLOYMENT IS A BUILDING	IS
199.	We have a great purpose as a nation to open the doors of opportunity to all Americans	A NATION IS A HOUSE	AS
<b>Container Metaphors</b>			
200.	Kamala and I both draw from our families	A FAMILY IS A CONTAINER	AS
201.	have the strength that can only come from family	A FAMILY IS A CONTAINER	AS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
202.	You've become honorary Bidens and there's no way out	A FAMILY IS A CONTAINER	VS
203.	women, black women, black Americans, south Asian-Americans, immigrants, the left out and the left behind	A COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER	AS
204.	those beyond our borders [We will repair our alliances]	A COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER	IS
205.	the time we're in now	TIME IS A CONTAINER	IS
206.	I close the day where I began, with a sacred oath	TIME IS A CONTAINER	IS
207.	Abraham Lincoln signed the emancipation proclamation [...], it'll be for this act, and my whole soul is in it'	A DOCUMENT IS A CONTAINER	IS
208.	My whole soul is in it today	A DOCUMENT IS A CONTAINER	IS
209.	Your loved one may have left this earth, but they'll never leave your heart	A HEART IS A CONTAINER	AS
210.	with full hearts	A HEART IS A CONTAINER	VS
211.	We can do this if we open our souls	A SOUL IS A CONTAINER	IS
212.	to carry the banner of our party into the general election	ELECTIONS ARE A CONTAINER	AS
213.	We've come out stronger	DIFFICULT TIMES ARE CONTAINERS	IS
214.	I'll work in common purpose for a more secure, peaceful, and prosperous world	GOALS ARE CONTAINERS	AS
215.	she looked into my eyes and she said	EYES ARE A CONTAINER	AS
216.	I am humbled by the trust and confidence you have placed in me	A PERSON IS A CONTAINER	VS
<b>Journey Metaphors</b>			
217.	We can choose a path of becoming angrier	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	AS
218.	We can choose a different path	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	AS
219.	She knows about all the obstacles thrown in the way of so many in our country	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	AS
220.	but she's overcome every obstacle she's ever faced	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	AS
221.	Everyone, and I mean everyone, should be given an opportunity to go as far as their dreams and God given ability will take them	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	AS
222.	At this time in this place, let's start afresh	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	IS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
223.	to go as far as their dreams and God-given ability will take them	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	VS
224.	We embark on the work that God and history have called upon us to do	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY	VS
225.	We've come so far	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY	IS
226.	but we still have far to go	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY	IS
227.	the way of unity	UNITY IS A JOURNEY	IS
228.	unity is the path forward	UNITY IS A JOURNEY	IS
229.	and if she puts her mind to it, just get out of the way	AN IDEA IS A JOURNEY	AS
230.	and if we are that way	MENTALITY IS A JOURNEY	IS
231.	I found the best way through pain, and loss, and grief is to find purpose	SAD EMOTIONS ARE PATHS	AS
232.	Winning it for workers who keep this country going, not just the privileged few at the top	A NATION IS A VEHICLE	AS
233.	History has delivered us to one of the most difficult moments	HISTORY IS A VEHICLE	AS
234.	just accelerating threats of climate change	THREATS ARE VEHICLES	AS
235.	we will never get our economy back on track	ECONOMY IS A VEHICLE	AS
<b>Motion Metaphors</b>			
236.	that moment arrives	TIME IS MOTION	AS
237.	'if my name ever goes down in history	TIME IS MOTION	IS
238.	about what comes next	TIME IS MOTION	IS
239.	Maybe John Lewis' passing, the inspiration	DEATH IS MOTION	AS
240.	to overcome these challenges	SUCCESS IS MOTION	IS
241.	we can overcome the deadly virus	VICTORY IS MOTION	IS
242.	to turn this pandemic around	CHANGING IS ROTATING	VS
243.	and steady hands	DECISIVE IS UNFALTERING	VS
<b>Spatial Metaphors</b>			
244.	light to see our way forward	FUTURE IS AHEAD	AS
245.	I believe there is only one way forward, as united America	FUTURE IS AHEAD	AS
246.	unity is the path forward	FUTURE IS AHEAD	IS
247.	in the work ahead of us	FUTURE IS AHEAD	IS
248.	as we look ahead in our uniquely American way	FUTURE IS AHEAD	IS
249.	together to carry all of us forward	FUTURE IS AHEAD	IS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
250.	We can make America once again the leading force for good in the world	FIRST IS IN FRONT	IS
251.	and we'll lead not merely by the example of our power	FIRST IS IN FRONT	IS
252.	a group of leading scientists	FIRST IS IN FRONT	VS
253.	we lead not by the example of our power	FIRST IS IN FRONT	VS
254.	we lead the world in confirmed cases	FIRST IS IN FRONT	AS
255.	we lead the world in death	FIRST IS IN FRONT	AS
256.	an opportunity for America to lead the world in clean energy	FIRST IS IN FRONT	AS
257.	under President Biden, America will not turn a blind eye to Russian bounties on the heads of American soldiers	AUTHORITY IS UP	AS
258.	Let us begin, you and I together, one nation under God	AUTHORITY IS UP	AS
259.	in the House and the Senate up here	AUTHORITY IS UP	IS
260.	one nation under God	AUTHORITY IS UP	IS
261.	but he [Biden's father] always got back up.	RESISTANCE IS REMAINING UPRIGHT	AS
262.	We face an attack on our democracy	RESISTANCE IS REMAINING UPRIGHT	IS
263.	we will rise to the occasion	STRENGTH IS UP	IS
264.	America has risen to the challenge	STRENGTH IS UP	IS
265.	Hunter, Ashley, all our grandchildren, my brothers, my sister [...] they lift me up	STRENGTH IS UP	AS
266.	I believe we're up to it.	STRENGTH IS UP	AS
267.	Our work begins with getting Covid under control	CONTROL IS UP	VS
268.	until we get this virus under control	CONTROL IS UP	VS
269.	those left behind	TO BE NEGLECTED IS TO STAY BEHIND	IS
270.	women, black women, black Americans, South Asian-Americans, immigrants, the left out and the left behind	TO BE NEGLECTED IS TO STAY BEHIND	AS
271.	America that never leaves anyone behind	TO BE NEGLECTED IS TO STAY BEHIND	VS
272.	I'll be a president who will stand with our allies and friends and make it clear to our adversaries, the days of cozying up to dictators is over	SUPPORT IS PROXIMITY	AS
273.	and I'll always stand for our values of human rights and dignity	SUPPORT IS PROXIMITY	AS
274.	the African-American community stood up again for me	SUPPORT IS UP	VS



#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
275.	he will raise you up on eagle's wings	SUPPORT IS UP	VS
276.	ahead to an America	HOPE IS IN FRONT	VS
277.	we're always looking ahead	HOPE IS IN FRONT	VS
278.	I'm not looking to punish anyone. Far from it.	A PLAN IS PROXIMITY	AS
279.	not just the privileged few at the top	WEALTH IS UP	AS
280.	children could and did look up to	AUTHORITY IS UP	AS
281.	to live up to and make real the words written in the sacred documents	DUTY IS UP	AS
282.	the rise of political extremism	INTENSIVE IS UP	IS
283.	what we stand for	SUPPORT IS UPRIGHT	AS
284.	as we move forward	PROGRESS IS IN FRONT	IS
285.	They always have my back, and I'll have yours.	SUPPORTING IS STANDING BEHIND	VS
286.	are we going to step up?	COURAGE IS UP	IS
287.	the battle to achieve racial justice	JUSTICE IS UP	VS
288.	the tragedy of where we are today	TIME IS A LOCATION	AS
289.	I would not be here	SUCCESS IS A LOCATION	VS
290.	he [Biden's father] got knocked down a few times pretty hard	FAILURE IS DOWN	AS
291.	for those moments when this campaign was at its lowest	FAILURE IS DOWN	VS
292.	I'll have a great vice president at my side, Senator Kamala Harris	SECONDARY IS LOCATED AT THE SIDE	AS
293.	ahead to an America that's freer and more just	FREEDOM AND JUSTICE IS IN FRONT	VS
294.	She was a great second lady, I know she'll make a great first lady for this nation	IMPORTANCE IS ORDER IN LINE	AS
295.	I will always level with you	BEING EQUAL IS BEING ON THE SAME LEVEL	IS
296.	the guardrail of our democracy is perhaps our nation's greatest strength	DEMOCRACY IS A SPATIAL LOCATION	IS
297.	To all those who volunteered, worked the polls in the middle of this pandemic	PANDEMIC IS A CIRCLE	VS
<b>Plant Metaphors</b>			
298.	and end the hard work of rooting out our systemic racism	RACISM IS WEED	AS
299.	root out systemic racism in this country	RACISM IS A WEED	VS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
300.	They're speaking to the inequity and injustice that has grown up in America	SOCIAL VICES ARE PLANTS	AS
301.	a time to reap	RESULTS ARE CROPS	VS
302.	a time to sow	EFFORTS ARE SEEDS	VS
<b>Money Metaphors</b>			
303.	I owe you everything	GRATITUDE IS MONEY	VS
304.	I will spare no effort — or commitment — to turn this pandemic around	EFFORTS AND COMMITMENT ARE MONEY	VS
<b>Liquid Metaphors</b>			
305.	and a thirst for justice	JUSTICE (MORAL VIRTUES) IS WATER	VS
306.	who don't get their news from the same source	INFORMATION IS WATER	IS
307.	cascading crises of our era	PROBLEMS ARE WATERFALLS	IS
<b>Competition Metaphors</b>			
308.	as campaign isn't just about winning vote	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	AS
309.	it's about winning the heart, and yes, the soul of America	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	AS
310.	winning it for the generous among us, not the selfish	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	AS
311.	winning it for workers who keep this country going, not just the privileged few at the top	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	AS
312.	winning it for those communities who have known the injustice	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	AS
313.	We have won with the most votes	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	VS
314.	I've lost a couple of elections	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	VS
315.	At the time, I said we're in the battle for the soul of this nation, and we are	ELECTIONS ARE A WAR	AS
316.	And this is a battle we will win and we'll do it together. I promise you	ELECTIONS ARE A WAR	AS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
317.	I ran as a proud Democrat	ELECTIONS ARE A MARATHON	VS
318.	I am proud of the campaign we ran	ELECTIONS ARE A MARATHON	VS
319.	at that moment, I knew I'd have to run	ELECTIONS ARE A MARATHON	AS
320.	Let me take a moment to speak to those of you who have lost the most	LIFE IS WAR	AS
321.	I have some idea how it feels to lose someone you love	LIFE IS WAR	AS
322.	After losing my first wife in that car accident	LIFE IS WAR	AS
323.	We can never lose that	LIFE IS WAR	AS
324.	Our history has been a constant struggle between the American ideal, that we are all created equal, and the harsh ugly reality	LIFE IS WAR	IS
325.	The battle is perennial, and victory is never secure	LIFE IS WAR	IS
326.	Through struggle, sacrifice, and setback, our better angels have always prevailed	LIFE IS WAR	IS
327.	in the great battles of our time	LIFE IS WAR	VS
328.	the battle to build prosperity	LIFE IS WAR	VS
329.	the battle to control the virus	LIFE IS WAR	VS
330.	the battle to secure your family's health care	LIFE IS WAR	VS
331.	the battle to save the climate	LIFE IS WAR	VS
332.	the battle to restore decency	LIFE IS WAR	VS
333.	our nation is shaped by the constant battle between our better angels and our darkest impulses	LIFE IS A WAR	VS
334.	We must stop treating our opponents as our enemy	POLITICS IS WAR	VS
335.	to win the confidence of the whole people	POLITICS WAR	VS
336.	the battle for the soul of America	POLITICS IS WAR	VS
337.	I will fight for those	POLITICS IS WAR	IS
338.	Working families will struggle to get by	POVERTY IS WAR	AS
339.	who have lost a loved one to this terrible virus this year	PANDEMIC IS WAR	VS
340.	(the first woman, first Black woman). We're reminded tonight of all those who fought so hard	SEARCH FOR EQUALITY IS WAR	VS
341.	the battle to achieve racial justice	RACISM IS WAR	VS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
342.	to retreat into competing factions	POLITICAL PARTIES ARE ARMIES	IS
343.	We must end this uncivil war that pits red against blue	POLITICAL PARTIES ARE ARMIES	IS
344.	Americans have called on us to marshal the forces of decency and the forces of fairness.	MORAL VALUES ARE TROOPS	VS
345.	to marshal the forces of science and the forces of hope	MORAL VALUES ARE TROOPS	VS
346.	the battle to control the virus	A VIRUS IS AN ENEMY	VS
347.	finally face this pandemic as one nation	A VIRUS IS AN ENEMY	IS
348.	virus that silently stalks the country has taken as many lives in one year as in all of world war two	A VIRUS IS A HUNTER	IS
349.	the rise of political extremism, white supremacy, domestic terrorism, that we must confront and we will defeat	SOCIETAL VICES ARE ENEMIES	IS
350.	the foes we face - anger, resentment and hatred	SOCIETAL VICES ARE ENEMIES	IS
351.	to defend the truth and defeat the lies	LIES ARE ENEMIES	IS
352.	we have the opportunity to defeat despair	BAD EMOTIONS ARE AN ENEMY	VS
<b>Seeing Metaphors</b>			
353.	that so many millions of Americans have voted for this vision.	THINKING IS SEEING	VS
354.	now the work of making this vision real is the task of our time	THINKING IS SEEING	VS
355.	as we look ahead in our uniquely American way	HOPING IS SEEING	IS
356.	set our sights on a nation we know we can be	HOPING IS SEEING	IS
357.	America will not turn a blind eye to Russian bounties on the heads of American soldiers	IGNORING IS BEING BLIND	AS
358.	I'm not looking to punish anyone	PLANNING IS SEARCHING	AS
<b>Holding Metaphors</b>			
359.	bear you on the breath of dawn	PROTECTING IS HOLDING	VS
360.	and hold you in the palm of his hand	PROTECTING IS HOLDING	VS
361.	some mysterious force beyond our control	CONTROLLING IS HOLDING	VS
362.	they can handle it	ACCEPTING IS HOLDING	AS
<b>light and Dark Metaphors</b>			
363.	the current president has cloaked America in darkness	MISERY IS DARKNESS	AS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
364.	this season of darkness in America	MISERY IS DARKNESS	AS
365.	the end of this chapter of American darkness began here	MISERY IS DARKNESS	AS
366.	that it's been in our darkest moments that we've made our greatest progress	MISERY IS DARKNESS	AS
367.	in this dark moment, I believe we're poised to make great progress again	MISERY IS DARKNESS	AS
368.	a path of shadow and suspicion	MISERY IS DARKNESS	AS
369.	to persevere through this dark winter	MISERY IS DARKNESS	IS
370.	we're entering what may be the darkest and deadliest period of the virus	MISERY IS DARKNESS	IS
371.	Let this grim era of demonization in America begin to end	MISERY IS DARKNESS	VS
372.	in the shadow of the civil war	WAR IS DARKNESS	IS
373.	that it's been in our darkest moments [...] that we've found the light	HAPPINESS IS LIGHT	AS
374.	I'll be an ally of the light, not the darkness	HAPPINESS IS LIGHT	AS
375.	that we can find the light once more	HAPPINESS IS LIGHT	AS
376.	[we can choose] a path of hope and light	HAPPINESS IS LIGHT	AS
377.	make you to shine like the sun	HAPPINESS IS LIGHT	VS
378.	[And together we will write] (a book) of light not darkness	HAPPINESS IS LIGHT	IS
<b>Story Metaphors</b>			
379.	For that is what America is about: the people	A COUNTRY IS A STORY	VS
380.	the American story	A COUNTRY IS A STORY	VS
381.	The American story depends not on any one of us, not on some of us, but on all of us	A COUNTRY IS A STORY	IS
382.	May history be able to say that the end of this chapter of American darkness began here	PEOPLE'S ACTIONS ARE PAGES OF A BOOK	AS
383.	Let us add our own work and prayers to the unfolding story of our great nation	PEOPLE'S ACTIONS ARE PAGES OF A BOOK	IS
384.	Together we will write an American story of hope, not fear	PEOPLE'S ACTIONS ARE PAGES OF A BOOK	IS
385.	We'll write the next great chapter in the history of the United States of America	PEOPLE'S ACTIONS ARE PAGES OF A BOOK	IS
386.	That's why my economic plan is all about jobs, dignity, respect and community	HUMAN VALUES ARE CHARACTERS OF A STORY	AS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
387.	Her story is the American story	LIFE IS A STORY	AS
388.	Once in a lifetime [...] hope and history rhyme. This is our moment to make hope and history rhyme.	LIFE IS A POEM	AS
389.	“Joey, a job is about a lot more than a paycheck. it’s about your dignity. it’s about respect”. I’ve never forgotten those lessons	JOB IS A STORY	AS
390.	He’ll wake up every day believing the job is all about him, never about you	PRESIDENCY IS A STORY	AS
391.	and that is what our administration will be about	GOVERNMENT IS A STORY	VS
392.	We’ll press forward with speed and urgency	POLITICS IS A MOVIE	IS
<b>Depth Metaphors</b>			
393.	I know the forces that divide us are deep	INTENSITY IS DEPTH	IS
394.	to challenge us in profound ways	INTENSITY IS DEPTH	IS
395.	I thank them from the bottom of my heart	SINCERITY IS DEPTH	IS
396.	“Daddy changed the world.” Her words burrowed deep into my heart	IMPORTANCE IS DEPTH	AS
<b>Size and Weight Metaphors</b>			
397.	Ella Baker, a giant of the civil rights movement	IMPORTANT IS BIG	AS
398.	We’re so much bigger than that	INTELLIGENT IS BIG	AS
399.	Franklin Roosevelt pledged a new deal in a time of massive unemployment	LARGE-SCALE IS HEAVY	AS
400.	We’ll have a national mandate to wear a mask. Not as a burden, but as a patriotic duty	DIFFICULTIES ARE WEIGHT	AS
401.	With Black, Latino, Asian-American, Native American communities bearing the brunt of it	PROBLEMS ARE BURDENS	AS
<b>Voice Metaphors</b>			
402.	One of the most powerful voices we hear in the country today is from our young people	INFLUENTIAL IS LOUD	AS
403.	She’s a powerful voice for this nation	INFLUENTIAL IS LOUD	AS
404.	The people - the will of the people - has been heard	INFLUENTIAL IS LOUD	IS
405.	After a riotous mob thought they could use violence to silence the will of the people	INFLUENTIAL IS LOUD	IS
<b>Heat Metaphors</b>			
406.	a president who [...] fans the flames of hate and division	AGGRESSION IS HEAT	AS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
407.	to lower the temperature	AGGRESSION IS HEAT	VS
408.	We can join forces, stop the shouting and lower the temperature.	AGGRESSION IS HEAT	IS
<b>Other Metaphors</b>			
409.	I will draw on the best of us, not the worst	USING TALENTS IS PULLING STRINGS	AS
410.	four historic crises, all at the same time. A perfect storm.	DIFFICULTIES ARE HARSH WEATHER CONDITIONS	AS
411.	character is on the ballot	A POLITICAL PARTY IS A MENTALITY	AS
412.	compassion is on the ballot	A POLITICAL PARTY IS VALUES	AS
413.	decency, science, democracy, they're all on the ballot.	A POLITICAL PARTY IS VALUES	AS
414.	who we want to be, that's all on the ballot	A POLITICAL PARTY IS VALUES	AS
415.	Just judge this president on the facts	LIFE IS A COURTROOM	AS
416.	We will be judged, you and I	LIFE IS A COURTROOM	IS
417.	a president who [...] cozies up to dictators [about Trump]	SWARM IS COZINESS	AS
418.	I'll be a president who will stand with our allies and friends and make it clear to our adversaries, the days of cozying up to dictators is over	SWARM IS COZINESS	AS
419.	We'll take the muzzle off our experts, so the public gets the information	MAKING SILENT IS KEEPING A GUN AT MOUTH	AS
420.	honest, unvarnished truth	REAL IS WITHOUT DECORATIONS	AS
421.	with an immigration system that powers our economy	IMMIGRANTS ARE FUEL	AS
422.	with an immigration system that [...] reflects our values	IMMIGRATION POLICY IS A MIRROR	AS
423.	and we can pay for these investments by ending loopholes, unnecessary loopholes	AMBIGUITY IS A HOLE	AS
424.	a year in Iraq, a decorated Iraqi war veteran	RECOGNITION IS ADORNMENT	AS

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
425.	nor I put up with foreign interference in our most sacred democratic exercise, voting	ELECTIONS ARE A HOLY ACT	AS
426.	so now on this hallowed ground	CAPITOL IS A TEMPLE	IS
427.	from this sacred ground	CAPITOL IS A TEMPLE	IS
428.	the sacred documents that founded this nation	POLITICS IS RELIGION	AS
429.	will we be the generation that finally wipes out the stain of racism from our national character	RACISM IS A STAIN	AS
430.	I met with six-year-old Gianna Floyd the day before her Daddy, George Floyd, was laid to rest	DEATH IS REST	AS
431.	maybe George Floyd murder was a breaking point	CHANGING IS BREAKING	AS
432.	the longed for tidal wave of justice can rise up	MORAL VALUES ARE WAVES	AS
433.	America has bent the arc of the moral universe towards justice	MORALITY IS AN ARC	VS
434.	Ashley, all of our grandchildren and their spouses, and all our family. They are my heart.	PEOPLE ARE ORGANS	VS
435.	It's time to put away the harsh rhetoric	AGGRESSIVE IS COARSE	VS
436.	give everybody in this country a fair shot	AN OPPORTUNITY IS A SHOT	VS
437.	We cannot relish life's most precious moments	PLEASANT EXPERIENCES ARE FOOD	VS
438.	America has been tested anew	DIFFICULTIES ARE EXAMS	IS
439.	America has been tested	DIFFICULTIES ARE EXAMS	IS
440.	folks, it's a time of testing	DIFFICULTIES ARE EXAMS	IS
441.	Now we're going to be tested	DIFFICULTIES ARE EXAMS	IS
442.	The resilience of our constitution	CONSTITUTION IS A PIECE OF RUBBER	IS
443.	for without unity there is no peace, only bitterness	UNPLEASANT IS BITTER	IS
444.	rest in eternal peace	DEATH IS PEACE	IS
445.	take a measure of me and my heart	ASSESSING IS MEASURING	IS
446.	If you hear me clearly	ACCURACY IS CLARITY	IS
447.	instead of hardening our hearts	ANGRY IS FIRM	IS
448.	if we open our souls	FRIENDLY IS OPEN	IS
449.	what fate will deal you	LIFE IS A GAME OF CARDS	IS
450.	There's one verse that stands out	BEING DIFFERENT IS PROTRUDING	IS