Conceptual Metaphors in Donald Trump's Political Speeches: Framing his Topics and (Self-)Constructing his Persona

Kateryna Pilyarchuk* & Alexander Onysko**

Abstract

This study investigates the use of conceptual metaphors by Donald Trump in three important political speeches on his way to the US presidency: the acceptance speech of his candidacy, the victory speech on election night, and his inaugural address as president of the US. The consistent analysis of all the metaphors in the speeches shows that Trump relies almost exclusively on conventional conceptual metaphors that are expressed by conventionalised metaphorical expressions. Nevertheless, a range of metaphors appears as constitutive to his framing of political topics, such as immigration and the economy. In addition, Trump metaphorically constructs his political persona as that of a repairman, builder, healer, and warrior, among others.

Key words: conceptual metaphor, political discourse, Donald Trump, political speeches

* Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt; kabiletska@edu.aau.at

** Alpen-Adria-Universität Klagenfurt, Department of English; alexander.onysko@aau.at

1 Introduction

> Trump creates the aura of a super-male talking in abrupt sentences, 'barking', recycling the same words over and over again; he bullies and wants everything that is 'number one'. (Lakoff R. 2017, 598)

The year 2016 has witnessed the success of a highly controversial and unusual political persona – Donald Trump – who became the 45th President of the US. His populist ideas, presumed closeness to the average citizen, and loud statements, such as "I alone can fix it", propelled him to the presidency despite only few political experts believing that he would have serious chances against Hillary Clinton. Trump seems to fit the now popular assumption that people no longer care about politics and instead prefer to be entertained (De Landtsheer et al. 2008, 228). Considering Trump's anti-intellectual use of language (cf., e.g., Degani 2016) questions arise whether metaphors play a role in his political speeches, and, if so, to what extent and in which functions he uses them.

According to Santa Ana (1999), metaphors encountered in political discourse are reminiscent of the now classical *love* metaphors described in detail by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 195): they facilitate human understanding of complex concepts by explaining them via bodily experiences and the physical senses. As such, conceptual metaphors in political discourse help to both direct and constrain the audience's understanding by drawing on certain metaphorical themes. Since it is now a widely known fact that people's voting decisions are frequently linked to mental heuristics, or shortcuts, where an individual attends to only one aspect of a problem while ignoring others (Lau & Redlawsk 2001), aptly used metaphors may help a politician to have the public focus only on those shades of the issue that are favourable for him or her (cf. Bougher 2012, 146). For instance, when deciding whether to vote for Donald Trump, a person may use analogy and resort to one's own experience and background knowledge about the Republican Party that this candidate represents, evaluating the policy of this party and assessing previous Republican presidents. This background knowledge is then enhanced by how a particular candidate presents him- or herself and what her/his political persona looks like. In the case of Trump, metaphors can help to influence voter preferences as in TRUMP IS A WARRIOR ("*I will fight for you, and I will win for you; I will fight for you with every breath in my body*"[1]), which conceptualises him as a strong, decisive leader and as a warrior who will stand for his people.

In general, metaphor in political discourse has previously been described to bear the following functions: supporting political positioning and ideology, creating a 'myth', increasing emotional effects, and establishing the speaker as a desirable candidate (Charteris-Black 2006, 567). Metaphor can reverberate the rhetorical dimensions of *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*. The communication of a political ideology is not necessarily based on purely

---

[1] This and other illustrative sentences are taken verbatim from Trump's acceptance speech (AS), victory speech (VS), and inauguration address (IA).

factual reasoning. Instead, it overlaps with the pathos component so that reason is framed in a discourse that can leverage particular emotions. In Trump's case, this happens when he applies ANIMAL metaphors (see Section 4.1.3) to evoke fear and distrust towards all immigrants, presenting them as dangerous, wild, and uncontrolled.

According to Mio (1997, 122), one of the major aims of metaphors is to connect the logical (*logos*) with the emotional (*pathos*). If a politician embeds metaphors into his or her discourse, they are seeking to frame problems and advocate for a certain course of solutions (Stone 1988). Thus, when Trump, in his acceptance speech (AS), says "*Middle-income Americans and businesses will experience profound relief*" (metaphor: TAXES ARE PAIN), he understands that it would resonate with the group of citizens tired of paying high taxes. In this case, as well as in the metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS (see Section 3), Trump diverts attention from other issues and hyperbolises the frames of suffering and fear. According to Van Dijk (2006, 365–66), this is how manipulation in discourse works: since short-term memory is mostly involved in interpreting the meaning of clauses, sentences, and texts when listening to or reading a message, one can easily influence the order of this processing by selecting a bigger font or reiterating certain ideas many times. Trump's constant reference to the same domains ensures that his listeners pick up these metaphors as central. While short-term memory is involved in deciphering the meaning of a text, long-term memory plays a role in the formation of attitudes and opinions (ibid., 367). Thus, if people hear that IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS many times, they are likely to build this ideological model in their mind.

As these initial examples indicate, this article discusses Donald Trump's use of metaphors in his political speeches at the dawn of his presidential career and analyses how they contribute to framing his statements, to influencing his voters, and to building his political image. The study first discusses the data and methodological concerns regarding conceptual metaphors found in the corpus. This is followed by a section on general findings, which includes a discussion on the number and types of metaphors as well as on their significance in the selected speeches. Section 4 focuses on how certain metaphors in Trump's discourse are employed to frame important topics that are on his political agenda. The last section is concerned with how Trump metaphorically constructs his political persona.

2 Data and methodology

Virtually every election campaign is characterised by public speeches, during which candidates outline their plans, present their vision for the country's future, and try to persuade the audience to vote for them. The first important address that the candidates deliver to the citizens in the US is their acceptance speech. This speech is crucial as it defines to a considerable extent whether the orator is perceived as competitive and whether she or he has something better to offer than the opponents. Further important

speeches for incumbent US presidents are the victory speech and the inaugural address. By and large, these are key moments of image construction and persuasion, and they usually abound with various rhetorical strategies and figures of speech, such as repetition, inversion, anti-thesis, and allusions, to name just a few (Schoor 2015, 82–83). Since this paper is concerned with conceptual metaphors, other rhetorical elements will only be taken into account if they are important for the discussion of metaphors.

As mentioned above, our analysis focuses on three key speeches delivered by Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential race: at the beginning of his election campaign, upon his victory, and when he was inaugurated as president. The speeches were obtained from the CNN website:[2]

1. Donald Trump's Nomination Acceptance Speech (22 July, 2016);
2. Donald Trump's Victory Speech (9 November, 2016);
3. Donald Trump's Inaugural Address (21 January, 2017).

These key moments serve as a basis to examine Trump's use of metaphors in terms of their frequency, uniqueness, and context of occurrence. The particular aim of the study is to find out whether metaphors help to define his dominant political themes and whether they are constitutive to his identity as a politician. How Trump shapes his persona and agenda metaphorically is crucial since, in political discourse, metaphors are known to be powerful persuasive tools (e.g. Charteris-Black 2006, 565; Van Dijk 2006, 361). From a more general perspective, conceptual metaphor analysis in political discourse fits in the wider frame of discourse analysis (cf. Van Dijk 2006) as political persuasion is situated in the interplay of text and language (*the discourse aspect*) with the social context and its representation in the mind (*the cognitive aspect*).

In order to identify metaphors in the three speeches, we adopted Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and applied the Pragglejaz method (Pragglejaz Group 2007; Steen 2007). Conceptual metaphors were described by partly drawing on already established source-target domain descriptions and by postulating new ones as contextually appropriate. In detail, our methodological procedure consisted of the following steps: The speeches were first read without trying to identify the metaphors, rather focusing on the context, tracking Trump's ideas and establishing his message and rhetorical strategies. During the second reading, each article was divided into what Steen (2007, 21) refers to as "discourse units". Focusing only on content words, the third step consisted of identifying metaphorical phrases and going through the 5-step procedure suggested by the Pragglejaz Group (2007). Finally, metaphors were postulated and divided into respective

---

[2] – Acceptance Speech (AS):
https://edition.cnn.com/2016/07/22/politics/donald-trump-rnc-speech-text/index.html
– Victory Speech (VS):
https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/09/politics/donald-trump-victory-speech/index.html
– Inaugural Adress (IA):
https://edition.cnn.com/2017/01/20/politics/trump-inaugural-address/index.html

All last accessed in August 2018

categories, such as *person/object/building/machine* metaphors. All metaphors were inserted into a table along with the discourse units in which they occurred and the speech in which they were found (see Appendix B). For the general analysis, a frequency table was designed, which shows the total number of metaphors in the three speeches, the number of metaphors in each speech, the number of metaphors that occur only once, and the frequency of metaphors per number of words (see Appendix A and Figure 1). These basic figures summarise the findings and provide an overview of the results. The conventionalised or 'dead' metaphors are not paid much attention to in the qualitative analysis, which focuses on themes in Trump's speeches and on the (metaphorical) construction of his political image.

3 Findings and General Discussion

The conceptual metaphors found in the three speeches were categorised according to their source domain, and a basic frequency analysis was conducted. The total number of metaphors amounts to 346, of which 235 (67.9%) are *hapax legomena* (i.e. used only once in all the three speeches). In detail, the acceptance speech (AS) contains 211 metaphors, the victory speech (VS) 65 metaphors, and the inaugural address (IA) 70 metaphors. When normalising the frequency of the metaphors according to text length, there is not much of a difference between the speeches: 1 metaphor per 24.2 words (4.13%) in AS, 1 metaphor per 24.9 words (4.02%) in VS, and 1 metaphor per 20.63 words (4.85%) in IA (see Appendix A).

Figure 1 shows the 17 categories of conceptual metaphors and their share in the total pool of metaphors.
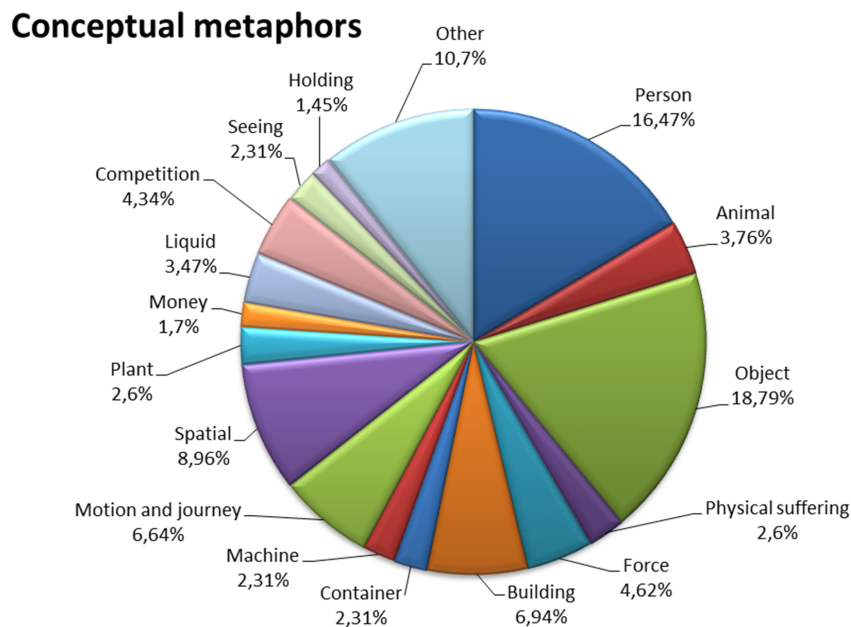
Conceptual metaphors

Figure 1: Types of conceptual metaphors (by source domain) in the three speeches

As Figure 1 shows, the biggest groups comprise conventional metaphors with person, object, building, and motion as source domains. The entire list of 346 metaphors is included in the Appendices to provide a general overview of the collected data. While analysing every metaphor clearly lies beyond the scope of the study, it also makes more sense to pay attention to those metaphors that carry a specific purpose in the discourse, in line with Charteris-Black's (2012) notion of 'purposeful' metaphor. Since the political speeches are carefully planned, the metaphors should be discussed in light of the potential aims they pursue such as influencing the audience's attitudes and beliefs, establishing rapport with the public, criticising an opponent, creating an image of a certain type of political persona, and so on. In this sense, it is only of secondary importance whether a metaphor is conventional or not as long as it can be tied to a function in the political speech. According to Pawelec (2006, 118), conventional metaphors can be "revitalized" in discourse (cf. Van Dijk 2006 for a cognitive approach in discourse analysis). In our study, some of the *person* and *object* metaphors indeed contribute to the construction of Trump's political persona (see Section 5).

Returning to Figure 1, the rest of this section will provide a brief overview of the 17 source-domain categories of conceptual metaphors found in Trump's speeches, beginning with the most frequent types.

(1) OBJECT METAPHORS

In total, 65 metaphors in the data involve instances of objectification, which is arguably one of the most basic types of conceptualisations. Some of the metaphors in this category (e.g., AN OATH IS AN OBJECT) are highly conventionalised, and it is quite unlikely that Trump pursues any particular communicative goal when he uses this metaphor as in "*when I take the oath of office*" (AS) or "*The oath of office I take today*" (VS).

On the other hand, the statement "*We cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore*" (AS), where POLITICAL CORRECTNESS IS AN EXPENSIVE ITEM, implies Trump's image of a business person. Similarly, the metaphorisation of PEOPLE AS OBJECTS in "*to put the great miners and steel workers of our country out of work*" (AS) and "*we will put millions of our people to work*" (VS) contributes to creating an image which shows that he is in control and can "move" people back into employment.

(2) PERSON METAPHORS

In this category, the most frequent metaphor is NATION IS A PERSON (26 instances). This can be regarded as a conventional metaphor in political discourse (cf. e.g., Musolff 2010) that reflects basic beliefs about the concept of the nation as a human body and it influences how we perceive messages that contain this metaphor. When Trump says "*A nation in mourning*" (AS) or "*Trade deals that strip us of our jobs, and strip us of our wealth as a country*" (AS), he evokes the image of a nation as a sad person; and when he says "*We will always put America's interests first*" (VS) and "*We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world*" (IA), he proposes solutions regarding how to make this 'sad person' happy again.

In other examples, the physicality of the body (see Ferrari 2007: 615) is at the centre of the metaphor. In expressions such as "*Now it is time for America to bind the wounds of division*" (VS), and "*the crime and violence that today afflicts our nation*" (AS), the nation appears as a body experiencing pain, wounds, and mutilation. The same level of conceptualisation is also evident in the metaphor MILITARY IS A PERSON, for which Trump uses the recurrent image of depletion: "*our depleted military*" (AS), and "*depletion of our military*" (IA). These metaphors are effective in the emotional dimension as they picture a suffering, bleeding, and wounded body – something that can impress the audience more deeply than an inanimate object or an abstract concept.

Finally, drawing on the POLITICIANS ARE SERVANTS metaphor, Trump frames politics as service to the people. Interestingly, he does not explicitly picture himself as a servant but rather draws on the discursive 'we versus them' dichotomy, like in "*My opponent would rather protect bureaucrats than serve American children*" (AS). In such a way, he kills two birds with one stone: he positions himself as a servant (which, in his view, Clinton is not) and accuses Clinton of being with 'the elite' rather than the people.

(3) Spatial Metaphors and (4) Motion and Journey Metaphors

space and motion occur as further fairly frequent source domains in the data. This is not surprising since spatial orientation, just like motion, are very basic image schematic experiences that can play a role in complex conceptualisations. The metaphors change is motion, future is ahead, and more is up are some of the most frequent in the data. Further examples draw on the conceptualisation of support is proximity (e.g., "*Tonight, this candidate and the whole nation stand in their corner to support them*", AS), which implies the metaphor of a political contest is a boxing match. Spatial and motion metaphors can also underlie highly conventionalised, idiomatic expressions, such as "*I will never, ever let you down*" (IA), which expresses the metaphor of disappointment is down. In general, these highly conventionalised spatial and motion metaphors can contribute to building Trump's image as a political persona (see Section 5).

In the acceptance speech, Trump uses the metaphor of cyclical motion to talk about human trafficking and violence as well as poverty:

    (1)   human trafficking and violence is a cyclical motion ("*the cycle of human smuggling and violence*"; AS)

    (2)   poverty is a cyclical motion ("*to escape the tremendous cycle of poverty that they're going through*"; AS)

These metaphors are close to journey metaphors, which in this article are seen as a subcategory of motion metaphors. love is a journey is probably the most well-known metaphor postulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The fact that we imagine life, love, and progress in general as motion in space does not need further comment here. Trump does not draw on the source domain of journey particularly often in the three speeches. There are three conventionalised references to *life is a journey* (e.g., "*the way of life*"; AS) which are accompanied by the genre-specific common metaphorical theme of an election campaign is a journey (e.g., "*this 18-month journey*"; VS).

(5) Building Metaphors

The 5th most frequent category of metaphors relying on building as a source domain emerges from another habitual way of metaphoric thinking. In political discourse, the nation is a building metaphor is a popular rhetorical figure. In the context of Trump's speeches, the building source domain is of particular importance as it contributes to the construction of his political persona (see Section 5).

(6) Animal Metaphors

In the data, animal metaphors may be subdivided into three categories:

1. when talking about immigrants and terrorists as in immigrants are animals (e.g., "*Illegal immigrants with criminal records (ordered deported from our country) are tonight roaming free*"; AS). This metaphor is repeatedly used by Trump (see Appendix A).

2. directed against his opponent: "*They are throwing money at her*" (AS), implying the metaphor of WASTING IS THROWING A PRECIOUS OBJECT TO AN ANIMAL.

3. in relation to success and hard work: e.g., "*I will harness the creative talents of our people*" (VS). In this case, TALENTS are metaphorised as DRAFT HORSES.

Among these metaphors, IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS has been analysed in a different context by Santa Ana (1999), who concludes that political discourse generally lacks positive metaphorisations of immigrants. Charteris-Black (2007, 565), on the other hand, finds a dichotomy of immigration metaphors: either relating to the positive phenomenon of an increasing birth rate and of helping to overcome the problem of an ageing population or in relation to negative scenarios as leading to unemployment and danger. Since these categories will serve as a point of analysis in the subsequent section, no detailed discussion will be offered here.

(7) PHYSICAL SUFFERING METAPHORS

This category is used by Trump to portray certain issues as painful in his discourse, such as immigration (IMMIGRATION IS PAIN in e.g., "*relief from uncontrolled immigration*"; AS), high taxes (TAXES ARE PAIN in e.g., "*Middle-income Americans and businesses will experience profound relief*"; AS), bad economic decisions (FINANCIAL LOSS IS BLEEDING in e.g., "*subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military*"; IA), and social division (SOCIAL DIVISION IS A WOUND in e.g., "*Now it is time for America to bind the wounds of division*"; VS).

Among these metaphors, the term *relief* is particularly conventionalised. The expression *tax relief* has dominated Republican political discourse since the Bush (senior) administration and has turned into an emblematic phrase of Republican moral politics (Degani 2015, 181).

(8) FORCE METAPHORS

The dominant metaphor in this category is DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES ("*the growing threats we face from outside the country*"; AS and "*We will face challenges*"; IA). This is another example of a conventional metaphor that is verbalised in very common expressions. The source domain of FORCE shares some similarity to that of PHYSICAL SUFFERING in Trump's speeches. In both cases, he creates negative metaphoric references to immigrants (3) and to problems supposedly created by his predecessors (4):

(3)   "*They are being released (by the tens of thousands into our communities) with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources*" (AS)

(4)   "*Not only have our citizens endured domestic disaster, but they have lived through one international humiliation after another*" (AS)

By contrast, the source domain of FORCE bears positive metaphoric implications in relation to patriotism (PATRIOTISM IS A FORCE), which Trump claims for his political agenda:

(5)   *"A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions"*
        (IA)

This phrase is mentioned close to the end of Trump's brief inaugural address, where he portrays patriotism (symbolically captured by the American flag) as a uniting power that holds for Americans of all origins and creeds (*"we all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same great American Flag"*; IA). What might superficially appear as a message of egalitarianism, is actually tied to the image of all Americans saluting their national flag, i.e. being united by a common action of greeting a symbol of authority. This is not egalitarianism that grows among the people but reinforces a generally Republican vision of authority in governance (i.e. Strict Father Morality, see Lakoff G. 1996).

(9) Container Metaphors

As one of the 'root metaphors', the container metaphor implies boundaries that separate the inside from the outside of a container. In politics, this image is often applied in the sense that something is closed and needs to be kept this way; any leakage or spill overs have to be prevented (cf. Stone 1988). Chilton (2004, 118) discusses the conceptualisation of a country as a closed container (NATION/COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER) where everything that is inside is presumably good, and anything on or from the outside is bad. In Charteris-Black's (2007) point of view, the CONTAINER metaphor is particularly persuasive because it blends the concepts of TIME and SPACE implying that CONTROL OVER SOCIAL CHANGE IS CONTROL OVER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, something that holds true in the case of 'refugees' and 'drugs' in our data:

(6)   *"existing massive refugee flows coming into our country"*; (AS)
(7)   *"to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities"*; (AS)

The movement of people and harmful substances from the outside 'weakens' the walls of the container (cf. Charteris-Black 2007: 577). Examples (6) and (7) show that Trump uses the CONTAINER metaphor to say that it is safe inside the container of the US and threatening outside, which underlies the physical manifestation of building a wall to "protect" the US (cf. Chilton 2017, 585).

   More rarely, Trump uses the THE US IS A CONTAINER metaphor in the reverse sense. This is the case when beneficial substances (as valuable possessions) are said to flow into the nation (e.g., *"trillions of dollars will start flowing into our country"*; AS).

(10) Machine Metaphors

The MACHINE metaphor is often applied to describe the unity and integrity of components. An example of that is the clock, which is a self-regulatory system where the tiniest parts are in harmony (Ezrahi 1995, 312). In his acceptance speech, Trump evokes the SOLVING PROBLEMS IS FIXING A MACHINE metaphor 5 times, using the lexical expression

of fixing something (e.g., *"we are going to fix the system"*, and *"we can fix this problem so quickly"*). Describing a nation as a machine, a mechanism where every single part matters, is likely to have strong influential power on the people, who want to participate in growth of their nation and feel their own value. This metaphor contributes to Trump's image as discussed in Section 5.

(11) Plant Metaphors

Trump conceptualises money as a plant to speak about abundance: money are crops (*"A small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government"*; IA), or a lot of money is an abundance of leaves (*"Secretary of State rakes in millions and millions of dollars"*; AS). He also falls back on the conventional metaphor of weeds to refer to unwanted entities that are conceptualised as being invasive: terrorism is a weed (e.g., *"radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely"*; IA). Some other metaphors in this domain contribute to the building of his image as a politician (see Section 5).

(12) Money Metaphors

The source domain of money is used to present Trump as a business mogul, who measures everything for its financial value. Examples in this category emphasise once more his discursive reliance on conventional metaphorical themes, which are expressed by highly conventional lexical means. This is evident in the use of the metaphor time is money (e.g., *"time I have spent with the mothers and fathers"*; AS, or *"spent my entire life in business"*; VS), which is deeply rooted in the US culture (see Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 7–9), in personal relations are business (e.g., "we will deal fairly with everyone"; VS), and in gratitude is money ("we owe her a major debt of gratitude"; VS). In addition, Trump uses the money domain non-metaphorically to establish an analogy between his own persona as a "successful" business man and his function as head of state (*"I have made billions of dollars in business making deals – now I'm going to make our country rich again"* in AS is just one out of many examples).

(13) Liquid Metaphors

Our study is in line with the findings by Charteris-Black (2007: 569), who observes that 'fluids', like natural disasters, frequently shape the theme of immigration and that the fluid and the container domains interact in that imagery. In Trump's discourse the country is conceptualised as a container that needs to be protected from water/flood from the outside, which is instantiated in the metaphor violence is an overflowing liquid (e.g., *"violence spilling across our border"*; AS).

(14) Competition Metaphors

As Gibbs (2015, 279) observes based on the results of empirical studies, people perceive politics as a competitive sport, in particular as a boxing match. This is most of all true

of political debates during election campaigns. While our data also contains a number of metaphors that draw on the imagery of competition, we only pay close attention to those metaphors that concern the self-representation of Trump, as in TRUMP IS A WARRIOR (e.g., "*I will fight for you with every breath in my body*"; IA).

(15) Seeing Metaphors and (16) Holding Metaphors

The source domains of SEEING and HOLDING give rise to metaphors that structure basic conceptualisations of mental states. In our data, however, metaphors such as BELIEVING IS SEEING or UNDERSTANDING IS HOLDING do not contribute to the framing of themes or to building Trump's image. They are listed in the Appendices as part of the complete analysis but will not be discussed further.

(17) Other Metaphors

This last category accommodates the metaphors that only occur once or a couple of times so that they do not form separate groups in the data. Since the scope of this article does not allow for a detailed analysis of each of these 37 items, the most important ones will be incorporated into the further analysis of themes and the self-representation of Trump's political persona in the sections that follow.

    In general, the overview of the different metaphor types (classified by their source domains) that occur in Trump's three key political speeches on his way to the US presidency indicates that his discourse relies on conventionalised metaphors which are often conventionally expressed. In this sense, Trump's use of metaphors falls in line with a common characteristic of political discourse as already observed some time ago by Edelman (1964, 124–125). He notes that politicians tend to repeat "clichés and stale phrases" which reinforce latent beliefs or reference frames (also see Mio 1997 for a discussion of conventionalised metaphors in political discourse). Among the range of metaphors that can be detected in Trump's speeches, those are of particular interest which reflect his framing of certain political ideas and which help to create the image of his political persona. Sections 4 and 5 will focus on these aspects.

4 Themes in Trump's Discourse

This section analyses dominant themes that Trump addresses in the selected speeches with a particular focus on the metaphors he uses. Trump's discourse is in line with the Strict Father Morality characteristic of Republican moral politics (cf. Lakoff G. 1996, 187–194) when he talks negatively about immigration and taxes (see Section 4.1). His messages also reflect populist ideas (cf. Wodak 2015; Oliver & Rahn 2016), and some of the metaphors discussed in the following are further examples of that. Chilton (2017, 592) defines populism as "a discourse that works by activating emotion-laden and value-laden schematic concepts and concomitant emotions, rather than using overt argument

and evidence". Metaphors can contribute to populist discourse since they help to create emotions and to evoke value-laden associations in the audience.

4.1 Otherness: Other Nations and Immigration

4.1.1 The Frame of Fear

The populist discourse in Europe and America is currently associated with threats coming from 'others', immigration as a negative phenomenon, and the need to prioritise citizens over immigrants when distributing jobs (cf. Wodak, 2015). Thus, 'we' is always strongly emphasised and 'they' are demonised as part of a nationalist agenda (Oliver & Rahn 2016, 191). Trump conceptualizes America as a contained entity that has to beware of enemies from the outside. He metaphorises other nations as thieves when he says in his IA, "*we must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries*" and "*other countries stealing our companies and destroying our jobs*". Both terrorism and immigration are related to the frame of fear (Charteris-Black 2006, 574). They are often combined in populist reasoning, giving rise to the implication that terrorists arrive in a country along with immigrants seeking asylum. An illogical assumption is built up: the fact that some immigrants come illegally to the nation means that they might be terrorists, leading to the more general assumption that all immigrants are potential terrorists (Charteris-Black 2006, 574). In his speeches, Trump constructs the frame of fear towards immigrants, who can 'steal' jobs from the American citizens, turn out to be terrorists, and kill everyone (e.g., 11, 12, 15). Trump himself does not draw a clear line between the two groups, and his discourse at the macro-level points to his racist views, where anyone who is not American should be feared and viewed as non-human (e.g., 13, 16). These people are depicted by him as inferior and lacking morality (cf. Shafer, 2017).

4.1.2 CONTAINER and LIQUID Metaphors

The theme of immigration is not unique to the US. As Montgomery (2017, 622–623) puts it, the recent concern was initiated by the UK planning to leave the EU and 'sealing' the country as a container (Charteris-Black 2006). Conceptualising immigrants as a disaster that threatens the inside of the 'container' (i.e. the US) encourages people to dissociate with immigrants (8). More so, the immigrants are not conceptualised as agents in Trump's discourse. They are 'water' or a 'flood'. This dehumanised lexicalisation can hardly evoke any empathy in the audience.

(8)   A COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER ("*This is not believable, but this is what's happening – refugees on top of existing massive refugee flows coming into our country under President Obama*"; AS)

In Trump's metaphors, the frame of containment is associated with that of liquids because a container can be filled, and liquids can overflow. It can also be ruined by an

excessive amount of liquid (9). Given the US history of hurricanes and frequent warnings of floods, the issue of 'flooding' becomes even more ominous.

(9)   IMMIGRATION IS A FLOOD (*"existing massive refugee flows coming into our country"*; AS)

By comparing immigration to a flood, Trump also contributes to the myth that immigration is as extensive and uncontrollable as a natural catastrophe. As Demata (2017, 282–283) points out, the flood metaphor is a frequent figure of speech in populist political discourse, and Trump uses it as his major topos when referring to immigration as a threat.

    While the word 'immigrant' or 'immigration' is not always explicitly mentioned, it can be read between the lines or emerges in the larger context in some instances. Social vices, such as drugs and violence, are associated with 'others' coming from across the border, as shown in (10) and (11).

(10)   COMMUNITIES ARE CONTAINERS / DRUGS ARE AN UNCONTAINED FLOW OF WATER (*"We are going to build a great border wall to stop illegal immigration, to stop the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities"*; AS)

Example (10) is yet another case where containment and liquids make a mutual contribution to the frame of fear. A specific instance of the CONTAINER metaphor is the CASTLE metaphor, as proposed by Santa Ana (1999, 206). The image of a castle highlights the notions of ownership, preciousness, and protection as strong walls separate the inside from the outside. There is also a connection to another possible metaphor – IMMIGRANTS ARE CONQUERORS: they come with bad intentions (drugs and violence) and take possession of the territory.

    In the case of 'overflowing water' that is uncontrollable, Trump positions himself as a warrior standing on the same side of the barricades as his audience resisting the 'violence as liquid' that is supposedly threatening the US (11).

(11)   VIOLENCE IS AN OVERFLOWING LIQUID (*"who have lost their children to violence spilling across our border"*; AS)

In terms of the 'we versus them' dichotomy (see Van Dijk 1998; 2006), the illegal penetration into the country is a symbolical entering of 'them' into 'us' because 'we' are inside the container. Charteris-Black (2006, 576–577) compares NATION IS A CONTAINER to BODY IS A CONTAINER. He says that humans are in a position to consciously control what comes in and out of the container. Similarly, Trump calls for controlling the 'national container' by erecting a wall (12), an idea that runs like a red thread through his discourse. In this frame of fear, Trump emerges as a saviour of the container, protecting it from penetration.

(12)   OPEN BORDERS ARE AN ALTAR FOR RITUAL SACRIFICE (*"One more child to sacrifice on the order and on the altar of open borders"*; AS)

The fact that some immigrants indeed come to the US by water might have reinforced the occurrence of the metaphors in (8) to (12). Charteris-Black (2006, 572) makes a similar point about discourse on immigration during the elections in Britain in 2005. In general, the use of such metaphors on immigration both simplify the audience's understanding of the complex problem and trigger the cognitive frame of fear from a natural disaster. As Ferrari (2007, 617–619) claims, there is always a counterbalance in the fear frame: whereas the outside is portrayed as dangerous and filled with monsters, the inside is a safe haven. In other words, a political candidate that evokes the frame of fear can, at the same time, present him/herself as the protector from that fearful thing to happen. This is a frequent strategy of populist discourse and Trump is no exception to that.

4.1.3 ANIMAL Metaphors

Santa Ana (1999, 196) claims that political discourse frames problems by means of metaphors, which can highlight certain aspects while blinding out others. Calling immigrants 'animals', both in the texts of his speeches and via his Twitter account (which is not the focus of this research but reinforces the point), Trump aims at building a strong association in the minds of his potential voters. The metaphor IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS (13) is very frequent in Trump's discourse and also in the three key speeches analysed in this study. Among others, it testifies to his xenophobic attitudes.

(13)   IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS
    13.1   *"Illegal immigrants with criminal records ordered deported from our country are tonight roaming free"*; AS
    13.2   *"They are being released (by the tens of thousands into our communities) with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources"*; AS
    13.3   *"One such border-crosser was released"*; AS
    13.4   *"On Monday, we heard from three parents whose children were killed by illegal immigrants. Mary Ann Mendoza, Sabine Durden, and my friend Jamiel Shaw. They are just three brave representatives of many thousands who have suffered so gravely. Americans who have been so brutally murdered, and who have suffered so so horribly"*; AS

When he speaks about 'releasing' immigrants, one readily accesses the frame of a cage, which, once opened, lets out wild animals that pose danger to people (13.2) and (13.3). Once released, these immigrants are 'roaming freely', which reinforces an image of fear. The place where wild animals can roam freely is typically a jungle rather than an inhabited city (13.1).

    The brutal and savage nature that Trump ascribes to 'others' (e.g., 13.4, 15, 16) again draws on the frame of the wild: a brute cannot be tamed. This metaphorical mapping

is prevalent in the description of terrorism as well and emphasises that Trump does not draw a clear line between terrorists and immigrants (for a similar observation drawn on different data, see Demata 2017, 284).

(14)   TERRORISM IS AN ANIMAL (“*brutal Islamic terrorism*”; AS)

(15)   A TERRORIST IS AN ANIMAL (“*Americans were savagely murdered by an Islamic terrorist*”; AS)

(16)   TERRORISTS ARE INSECTS (“*stamping out Islamic terrorism*”; AS)

That people can be conceptualised as animals is not a new metaphorical mapping. Lakoff and Turner (1989, 166–180) took the theoretical basis from Aristotle and Plato and discussed how the Great Chain of Being may serve as a model of metaphorical mappings. The Great Chain of Being, which is particularly rooted in western cultures, consists of 5 levels: God – humans – animals – plants – inorganic matter. They are located hierarchically one after the other, with God at the highest level and inorganic matter at the lowest. Since animals are located lower than humans, it is clear that such a mapping implies the superiority of humans. The comparison of terrorists to insects in one instance exemplifies this superiority relation. Insects are small invertebrates that can be ‘stamped out’ easily and destroyed (16) according to Trump.

4.1.4 DISEASE and MURDER Metaphors

When operating within the frame of disease, physical wounds and pain are immediate associations. They form part of the impressive (and in political terms persuasive) power of metaphors that draw on the source domain of disease. (17) and (18) show how Trump uses this metaphor to present himself as a healer who is going to prevent immigration and crime metaphorised as pain and disease.

(17)   IMMIGRATION IS PAIN (“*relief from uncontrolled immigration*”; AS)

(18)   CRIME AND VIOLENCE IS A DISEASE (“*The crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon – and I mean very soon – come to an end*”; AS)

The physical aspects (cf. Ferrari 2007) of disease and pain give rise to further metaphors (19 and 20), which underline Trump’s exploitation of that imagery.

(19)   SERIOUS PROBLEMS ARE SLAUGHTER (“*This American carnage stops right here and stops right now*”; IA)

(20)   EMOTIONAL SUFFERING IS A PHYSICAL WOUND (“*wounded American families*”; AS)

(19) occurs in the context of Trump accusing immigrants of killing peaceful residents. The same implicit reference to the brutality of immigrants and pain inflicted by them is expressed in (20), in which the emotional suffering over the loss of family members is equated with being physically wounded.

4.2 Opponents and Previous Presidents

In populist political discourse, opponents are a crucial theme. They are not only conceptualised as 'others' with a different agenda and values, but they also tend to be seen as a threat (Kreis 2017, 609). The way that Trump talks about his predecessors and his main rival in the election – Hillary Clinton – is reminiscent of his conceptualisation of immigrants and terrorists: they rob people, they prey on their wealth and happiness, and they threaten their peace and stability. Thus, the dichotomy of 'we versus them' is again meant to influence the audience's mental model (see Van Dijk 2006, 370). Trump is searching for culprits, and he proposes easy answers: 'others' have done it to the country (21). He is engaged in blaming these 'others' for conspiracy, an aspect that Wodak (2015, 20) defines as key in political populism. Similarly, Oliver and Rahn (2016, 200–201), comparing the voters of different 2016 presidency candidates, claim that Trump's supporters are inclined to believe in conspiracy scenarios and appear financially pessimistic – the opposite of what Clinton's voters are.

(21) BAD POLITICS IS CHAINS ("we must break free from the petty politics of the past"; AS)

While (21) shows an indirect blame – the blame put onto 'the past' politicians without mentioning concrete names – Trump does not mind pointing fingers and 'scapegoating' others saying that they bear responsibility for all the social woes (cf. Kreis 2017, 616). Thus, (22) to (24) are examples which demonstrate that he assigns a concrete fault to a specific politician, at the same time alluding to his own political work as an attempt to mend the mistakes made by the others.

(22) A TRADE DEAL IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE ("*America has lost nearly-one third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997, following the enactment of disastrous trade deals supported by Bill and Hillary Clinton*"; AS)

(23) A MISTAKE IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE ("*She supported NAFTA, and she supported China's entrance into the World Trade Organization – another one of her husband's colossal mistakes and disasters*"; AS; "*her bad instincts and her bad judgments are what caused so many of the disasters unfolding today*"; AS)

(24) OBAMACARE IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE ("*We will repeal and replace disastrous Obamacare*"; AS)

Examples (22) to (24) demonstrate what Van Dijk (1998, 2006) refers to as conceptual-discourse self-presentation, which happens both on macro- and micro- levels. The overall theme of otherness is shaped by Trump demonising 'them', de-emphasising their merits or erasing them altogether. At the same time, he hyperbolises his own merits and presents his actions as the only possible way out. In this context, it is also the lexical choice that relates to the metaphorical source domain of a destructive force, which influences the audience to visualise the scope of 'their' negative sides and his positive

sides. In (22) – (24) the noun 'disaster' and the adjective 'disastrous' allude to natural catastrophes, all-mighty forces, and destruction that can sweep away everything. The US history of hurricanes creates a contextual setting that can further build up fear among the audience: they have to beware of the politicians who bring about disaster and follow the one – i.e. Trump – who "knows" how to prevent this disaster.

Interestingly, Trump does not only depict Obama and the Clintons as a DESTRUCTIVE FORCE, but also blames them for fuelling immigration (25). In this way, he creates a common frame of 'others' who are either conceptualised as a threat or as misguided and inferior politicians.

(25)   IMMIGRANTS ARE A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE (“*They are being released (by the tens of thousands into our communities) with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources*”; AS)

In his criticism of political opponents, Trump falls back on metaphors involving physically threatening imagery (cf. Ferrari 2007, 615). This makes the presumed danger associated with his opponents more tangible (26).

(26)   AUTHORITY IS PHYSICAL POWER (“*the powerful can no longer beat up on people*”; AS)

In (26), Trump plays with the connotation of the word 'powerful'. The 'powerful' aspect of his leadership is positive (since it makes him a strong head of state capable of protecting the poor), whereas the 'powerful' aspect of the others is negative (since it implies their intention to cause suffering and impose their power on the poor). What is also striking in Trump's discourse is how he makes 'others', especially Hillary Clinton, responsible for all the problems in the US. He insinuates that Hillary Clinton's actions depend on some higher authority who tells her what to do and which decisions to take. Trump calls Clinton a puppet (27, 28) without mentioning any names of the supposed puppet masters and without explaining what exactly he refers to, i.e. without any proof whatsoever (also see Lakoff R. 2017, 597).

(27)   BEING UNDER CONTROL IS BEING A PUPPET (“*She is their puppet*”; AS)
(28)   MANIPULATING IS PULLING STRINGS OF A PUPPET (“*They pull the strings*”; AS)

Trump accuses Clinton of being manipulated by the wealthy elite, who is the biggest enemy of the populist politician, and it is quite striking that Trump gets away with that while being a billionaire himself. In this context, it is worth mentioning that Trump speaks of 'the people', the definite article presupposing that he is referring to the citizens of the US. They have been betrayed, and he is now here to give them his helping hand (cf. Chilton 2017, 589, for a comparison with Obama's discourse about 'people' in general). Trump's framing of Clinton as a toy in the hands of the elite is emphasised

in another metaphor that is targeted at decrying his opponent. The elite are wasting money by investing in her (29).

(29)   WASTING IS THROWING A PRECIOUS OBJECT TO AN ANIMAL (*"They are throwing money at her"*; AS)

The metaphor in (29), is evoked by a conventional idiomatic phrase (related to the Biblical proverb of 'casting pearls before swine', Matthew 7:6) which can be read as an implicit comparison of Clinton with an animal. This is yet another example of Trump's populist discourse, which is characterised by indecency or, as Oliver and Rahn (2016, 191) put it, by behaving "like a drunken guest" disrupting a party with "bad manners".

4.3 Economy, Business, and Trade

Given Trump's financial wealth, his conceptualisation of the economy is intrinsically linked to his way of doing business. He talks about the economy and trade by drawing comparisons to his making of business deals. While he emerges as a good and righteous person in these affairs, other politicians, such as his opponent, are blamed for striking bad and thus immoral deals (30).

(30)   A TRADE DEAL IS AN IMMORAL PERSON
    30.1   *"trade deals that strip us of our jobs, and strip us of our wealth as a country"*; AS
    30.3   *"horrible and unfair trade deals"*; AS
    30.3   *"job killing trade deal"*; AS

The theme of the economy is addressed in three major topics: the depleted economy, revitalisation of the economy, and products. To conceptualise what he deplores as a decaying state of the country because of his predecessor and opponents, Trump's metaphors again draw on physical source domains (31-33).

(31)   FINANCIAL LOSS IS BLEEDING (*"subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military"*; IA)
(32)   TAXES ARE PAIN (*"Middle-income Americans and businesses will experience profound relief"*; AS)
(33)   BAD AGREEMENTS ARE PAIN (*"agreement that hurts our workers"*; AS)

The metaphor on the topic of the depleted economy and economic problems is another example that relies on the source domain of FLOOD as an uncontrolled and harmful flow of water. Similar to his discourse on immigration (see Sub-section 4.1.2), Trump uses the frame of a flood to conceptualise all kinds of events. In his announcement speech, Trump employs the idiomatic phrase "to drown in debts" to evoke a metaphor based on water as a harmful substance (34).

(34)   DEBTS ARE A DEADLY FLOOD (*"students who are drowning in debt"*; AS)

When analysing Trump's rhetoric, it becomes evident that he relies on the same conceptual frames for presenting different issues. Water, for instance, not only serves to conceptualise danger (immigrants, terrorists, drugs, and violence) but also money as in (35) and (36). Trump's discursive role changes accordingly. When talking about immigration, he promises to safeguard the 'container' (i.e. his country) and not let anyone in (because the 'container' cannot accommodate "dangerous" foreigners). The money of foreigners, on the other hand, is seen as a welcome 'penetration' because the container has room for investment.

(35)   MONEY IS FLOWING WATER (*"trillions of dollars will start flowing into our country"*; AS)

(36)   MONEY IS WATER (*"flush with cash"*; IA)

Trump's business approach is also noticeable in other issues that he measures in terms of costs and value. Political correctness, for example, is given a price tag, too (37).

(37)   POLITICAL CORRECTNESS IS AN EXPENSIVE ITEM (*"We cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore"*; AS)

Shafer (2017) believes that what has come to be known as Trump's 'political incorrectness' is an expression of neoliberal progress closely related to the supremacy of hegemonic whiteness and fear of other races. For Trump, being polite and tolerant to other people appears as a too expensive product and time consuming behaviour. He sells a lack of sensitivity for human concerns to his audience by drawing on the capitalist conceptualisation of time as money. Wasting time on looking for the appropriate words to discuss sensitive topics means losing time that could otherwise be spent on more important, and 'less expensive', problems.

Trump's substitute for political correctness is being straightforward and direct, as shown in (38) and (39). He also implicitly opposes Clinton's 'feminised' political correctness (cf. Johnson 2017). This plainness and directness falls in line with a STRICT FATHER[3] morality of Republican discourse, in which the voice of authority speaks without trying to sugar-coat facts.

---

[3] For more on the STRICT FATHER VS NURTURANT PARENT models of Republican vs. Democratic political morality see Lakoff G. (1996), and for applications Cienki (2005) and Degani (2015).

(38)   TRUTH IS STRAIGHT ("*It is finally time for a straightforward assessment of the state of our nation*"; AS)

(39)   TRUTH IS PLAIN

      39.1   "*I will present the facts plainly*"; AS

      39.2   "*I will tell you the plain facts*"; AS

The metaphor TRUTH IS STRAIGHT also implies that the opponent does not tell the truth. For Trump, political correctness is synonymous to lies while his 'incorrectness' is an expression of honesty.

5 Trump's Political Image

In political discourse, a politician does not solely aim at persuading her/his audience but pursues a number of other goals, such as representing the course of action, taking position in relation to certain topics, expressing attitudes towards political opponents, and, finally, shaping one's own political identity (Martin 2013, as cited in Schoor 2015, 84–85). Experts in political marketing have become aware of the fact that a distinct profile of the political candidate is of primary importance for winning elections (De Landtsheer et al. 2008, 218). De Landtsheer et al. (2008, 220) also talk about modern politics as "perception politics", in which style and personality play more important roles than lines of argumentation. This claim is supported by Degani (2016, 131), who states that voters tend to base their preferences of a particular candidate not so much on what they promise but rather on the image they create for themselves. This, in turn, goes back to Aristotle's model and the primacy of ethos and pathos over logos, which explains to a certain extent why the latest US elections yielded such a result. Donald Trump managed to present himself in a way that made him more appealing than Hillary Clinton to large parts of the electorate. The last section of this article aims at exploring how Trump uses metaphors to self-construct his political identity in the three key speeches. The different metaphorical self-images will be discussed in individual sub-sections.

5.1 ENGINEER and REPAIRMAN

Gibbs (2015, 265) suggests that the audience not necessarily recognises every single metaphoric concept in a political speech. It is rather the case that listeners will catch the overall symbolic idea and "allegorical themes" that are constructed in the narrative of a politician. The FIXING domain, expressed in Trump's stock phrase "*I alone can fix it*" (AS), has become what De Landtsheer et al. (2008) refer to as "a sound bite" or a recognisable catchphrase (40). By using that expression, Trump does what Montgomery (2017, 627) calls "turning up the discursive volume". According to the

function of amplification in discourse, the speaker should indeed make strong, perhaps even hyperbolised, statements to convey a message effectively. Trump's rhetoric leaves no room for 'turning the volume up further'. Although he slightly adjusts the phrase in his speeches, sometimes replacing 'I' by 'we', in order to create the impression that his voters are also engaged in the decision making, the underlying metaphor works for his own image – Trump emerges as an engineer that knows how machines work and how to detect malfunctions that (only) he can mend.

(40)   SOLVING PROBLEMS IS FIXING A MACHINE
    40.1   *"Nobody knows the system better than me, which is why I alone can fix it"*; AS
    40.2   *"we will fix this biggest single issue"*; AS
    40.3   *"we can fix this problem so quickly"*; AS
    40.4   *"to fix our inner cities"*; AS

Operating with the frame of MACHINE, Trump achieves yet another aim – he conceptualises the US as a horizontal rather than a hierarchical structure. According to Ezrahi (1995, 316–317), a MACHINE metaphor gives the impression of egalitarianism, harmony, and order, where the movement of every part pre-defines the movement of another part, like in a clockwork (41–42).

(41)   THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE (*"to fix the system so it works justly for each and every American"*; AS)

(42)   TRANSPORTATION SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IS A MACHINE (*"we will fix TSA at the airports"*; AS)

As part of his image as a repairman, Trump promises to solve problems whereas his opponents fail to do so. By implication they are bad engineers since their system is malfunctioning.

5.2 CONSTRUCTOR and CONTROLLER

Apart from the job of an engineer and repairman, Trump also promises to take on the related role of a constructor. A NATION IS A BUILDING (43) is a very common metaphor. It builds on a primary CONTAINER metaphor as it conveys the idea of protection and the image of a walled structure, where the inside is home and the outside is alien. Trump frequently uses the BUILDING source domain in the sense of rebuilding the nation.

(43)   A NATION IS A BUILDING

    43.1   *"On the economy, I will outline reforms to add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth that can be used to rebuild America"*; AS

    43.2   *"We will get our people off of welfare and back to work – rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor"*; IA

    43.3   *"we will begin the urgent task of rebuilding our nation"*; VS

Using the term 'restore', Trump evokes the building theme in reference to abstract concepts such as peace, safety, and law, as in (44) to (46). This reification creates associations to stability and resistance. By implication, he once again creates a dichotomy of 'we versus them' since the others have left these metaphorical buildings in such a bad state.

(44)   PEACE IS A BUILDING (*"It won't be happening very much anymore. Believe me. Peace will be restored"*; AS)

(45)   SAFETY IS A BUILDING (*"Beginning on January 20th of 2017, safety will be restored"*; AS)

(46)   LAW AND ORDER IS A BUILDING (*"I will restore law and order to our country"*; AS)

Trump's political persona as a constructor and controller is also evident in the way he talks about people, who can be moved around just like objects (47).

(47)   PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS

    47.1   *"we will put millions of our people to work"*; VS

    47.2   *"We will get our people off of welfare and back to work"*; VS

Similarly, jobs are conceptualised as objects, and Trump assumes the role of the one who can bring these objects back into existence (48).

(48)   A JOB IS AN OBJECT

    48.1   *"I am going to bring our jobs back to Ohio and Pennsylvania and New York and Michigan and all of America"*; AS

    48.2   *"We will bring back our jobs"*; VS

Overall, his metaphorical image as a constructor and controller adds to his appearance as a confident and independent agent – as the one who decides and acts.

5.3 Healer

Quoting Falkowski and Wojciech (1999), De Landtsheer et al. (2008, 220) say that people do not vote with their mind but with their heart. Since health is a prerequisite of happiness and wealth for everyone, it appeals strongly to people's emotions. Conceptualising the nation as sick evokes strong adverse reactions from the public, more so if

the supposedly guilty ones are named. In his speeches, Trump emerges as a healer of the nation and its citizens (49-52).

(49) A NATION IS A PERSON ("*We Will Make America Strong Again*"; AS, IA)

(50) SOCIAL DIVISION IS A WOUND ("*Now it is time for America to bind the wounds of division*"; VS)

(51) EMOTIONAL SUFFERING IS A PHYSICAL WOUND ("*These wounded American families have been alone. But they are alone no longer*"; AS)

(52) TAXES ARE PAIN ("*Middle-income Americans and businesses will experience profound relief*"; AS)

These statements do not offer any concrete solutions, but they attempt to be persuasive by way of promise as in (49) and (52), by making an appeal for action (50), and by stating a change of conditions supposedly brought about by the speaker. These utterances are also examples of what Mio (1997, 124) calls "pseudo-deductive reasoning". Trump introduces a point which is made believable by using a metaphor that appeals to the cognitive frame of pain. While pain is bad, Trump turns into a 'healer' as he offers a solution to this painful state. The source domains of PAIN and PHYSICAL SUFFERING give rise to further metaphors that relate to the theme of immigration (53) and the economy (54). In (55) Trump's partaking in the pain of others is metaphorised by the conventional mapping of depth to intensity.

(53) PROBLEMS ARE PHYSICAL SUFFERING ("*We are one nation - and their pain is our pain*"; IA)

(54) BAD AGREEMENTS ARE PAIN ("*She supported the job killing trade deal with South Korea. She has supported the Trans-Pacific Partnership […] I pledge to never sign any trade agreement that hurts our workers*"; AS)

(55) EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IS DEPTH ("*Nothing has affected me more deeply than the time I have spent with the mothers and fathers who have lost their children*"; AS)

In (54) Trump not only constructs his persona as a healer, but he also puts blame on his opponent. Clinton becomes responsible for the workers' state of sufferance.

5.4 SAVIOR / WARRIOR

According to Wodak (2015), a populist politician always presents him- or herself as a charismatic leader who assumes the role of a modern-day Robin Hood and cares about the welfare of the people. In the discursive construction of his image as a politician, Trump claims this role as well. He talks about difficulties and resistance, implying that he will save the US and its citizens from these problems, as in (56) and (57).

(56)   DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES

    56.1   *"The growing threats we face from outside the country"*; AS

    56.2   *"We will confront hardships"*; IA

(57)   RESISTANCE IS REMAINING UPRIGHT (*"I have a different vision for our workers. It begins with a new, fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat"*; AS)

Hyperbolising the problems and conceptualising them as either chains (58) or dangerous locations (59), Trump further contributes to the frame of fear and places the blame on those before him (cf. Johnson 2017). In (59) he addresses a particularly sensitive topic that appeals to emotions. Children need protection and shelter, and they are the future of the nation. Anxiety is further enhanced as Trump refers to suffering children in his framing of immigrants as criminals (e.g., *"One more child to sacrifice on the order and on the altar of open borders"*; AS) and his reference to poverty (e.g., *"Mothers and children trapped in poverty"*; IA). This prepares the ground for him to emerge as a saviour.

(58)   BAD POLITICS IS CHAINS (*"We must break free from the petty politics of the past"*; AS)

(59)   BAD SCHOOLS ARE A DANGEROUS LOCATION (*"We will rescue kids from failing schools"*; AS)

Trump's image as a warrior is most evident in relation to the election campaign. While the rivalry with an opponent during election campaigns is frequently conceptualised as a belligerent strife in US politics (cf. Gibbs 2015, 265 for the metaphor of POLITICAL DEBATES ARE BOXING MATCHES), Trump verbally enhances the image when he promises to fight with "every breath in my body" (62.2).

(60)   ELECTIONS ARE A WAR

    60.1   *"Let's defeat her in November"*; AS

    60.2   *"We love defeating those people"*; AS

(61)   POLITICS IS A COMPETITION

    61.1   *"We don't win anymore, but we are going to start winning"*; AS

    61.2   *"I can be your champion in the White House"*; AS

(62)   TRUMP IS A WARRIOR

    62.1   *"I will fight for you, and I will win for you"*; AS

    62.2   *"I will fight for you with every breath in my body"*; IA

Built on the source domains of WAR and COMPETITION, the metaphors in (60) and (61) are examples of the conventionalised conceptualisation of elections and politics as an extension of the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor proposed in Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 79–81).

5.5 Gardener / Farmer

Apart from conceptualising the nation as a building, which is constitutive to his image as a constructor, some metaphors draw on the source domain of PLANT, which makes Trump appear as a gardener or farmer of the nation (63). The major lexical expression that evokes the PLANT domain is 'growth', which is also applied to the economy (64). However, the term 'growth' is highly conventionalised when talking about the economy, as in the collocation 'economic growth', which could reduce the rhetorical flagging of the metaphorical image of Trump as gardener in that context.

(63) A NATION IS A PLANT

    63.1 "*We will embark upon a project of national growth and renewal*"; VS

    63.2 "*Our country will thrive and prosper again*"; IA

(64) ECONOMY IS A PLANT ("*We have a great economic plan. We will double our growth*"; VS)

Trump employs a few more source domains from the plant frame to refer to terrorism (65), to blame the elite (66), and to denounce his opponent Clinton for supposed monetary gains (67). Particularly in (66) and (67) these metaphors are part of his positioning as one of the ordinary citizens who need to stand up against the exploitative establishment. Once more Trump uses this theme to make Clinton appear as a member of the political elite (i.e. as removed from the ordinary people).

(65) TERRORISM IS A WEED ("*radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely*"; IA)

(66) MONEY ARE CROPS ("*A small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government*"; IA)

(67) A LOT OF MONEY IS AN ABUNDANCE OF LEAVES ("*Secretary of State rakes in millions and millions of dollars*"; AS)

The metaphors that purvey the role of gardener are examples of the fact that the billionaire relies on simple and conventional language to evoke certain metaphorical themes that become constitutive of his political persona.

5.6 Tamers of Animals

Finally, there is another small group of metaphors that add yet a further nuance to Trump's image. In a few cases, he uses members of the ANIMAL source domain to underline his quality as a tamer of these animals. The verb 'harness', in particular, evokes the source domain of DRAFT HORSES, which is used with reference to people's talents (69) as well as to economic and technical progress (70).

(68)   COMPANIES ARE LIONS ("*companies and new jobs to come roaring back into our country*"; AS)

(69)   TALENTS ARE DRAFT HORSES ("*I will harness the creative talents of our people*"; VS)

(70)   ENERGIES, INDUSTRIES, AND TECHNOLOGIES ARE DRAFT HORSES ("*to harness the energies, industries and technologies of tomorrow*"; IA)

Ironically, the source domain of DRAFT HORSES is reminiscent of the allegorical *Animal Farm* by Orwell. In the novel, pigs try 'to harness' the talents of the horse Boxer. This is not for the latter's benefit, but for the financial gain of the pigs. It remains doubtful though whether Trump is aware of that intertextual reference.

6   Final Reflections and Conclusion

This study has examined the occurrence of conceptual metaphors in three important speeches of Trump's political career – his acceptance of the nomination, his victory speech, and his inaugural address as 45th president of the US. All the metaphors in the speeches were elicited (see Appendix A) with the aim of exploring how they contribute to the framing of political topics and to the construction of his political persona. Considering the metaphors in general, it is striking to see that almost all instances emerge from highly conventionalised lexical expressions. This underlines Trump's plain and uncreative use of language (cf. Degani 2016) and is consistent with his self-ascribed discursive stance that he is an ordinary person ('we') that stands against the elite ('them').

In a first classification, the metaphors were categorised according to their source domains. This yields 17 different categories, from which object metaphors, personification, space and motion metaphors with its subtype of journey metaphors, building metaphors, and animal metaphors stand out as the most frequent types. Trump applies them to three major topics that are pervasive in the selected key speeches: 1) economy, business, and trade, 2) his opponents and former presidents, and 3) immigration and other nations. The latter topic of immigration is the most prevalent one, and Trump uses the conceptual metaphors of IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS and IMMIGRANTS ARE A FLOOD extensively throughout his discourse. Gibbs (2015) refers to such metaphors as "extended metaphors" since they structure the entire discourse and become allegoric to the extent that they might lead to the permanent conceptualisation of a theme in the audience's minds, i.e. in Trump's case: immigrants as dangerous people and criminals. Indeed, there is not a single instance in the three speeches where this theme appears in a positive light. The conceptualisations of immigrants are always pejorative and dehumanising.

When talking about his opponents, Hillary Clinton and former presidents are frequently conceptualised as destructive forces and as being responsible for inflicting pain

onto the nation. Business and the economy, on the other hand, are presented as a way forward for the country's future once the current state of the nation as a depleted and wounded body (in Trump's metaphorical terms) is overcome.

In addition, a range of conceptual metaphors contribute to Trump's strong focus on *ethos* in his speeches. By talking about himself, Trump aspires to be a charismatic leader, who will 'fix it all alone' and 'seal the country from evil and enemies' (also see Montgomery 2017). He tries to construct an image of a successful leader and worthy candidate, and conceptual metaphors point to his political persona as that of a warrior, engineer, repairman, healer, saviour, constructor, gardener, and even tamer of animals. These metaphorical personae overlap to some extent. Thus, engineer, repairman, and constructor pertain to the domain of construction which, perhaps unsurprisingly so, emerges as the most prevalent characteristic of his image as a politician. Warrior, saviour, and healer are further related facets of his self-ascribed personality, which depict him as a "Robin Hood" of the US citizens. In general, these conceptualisations share the implication of him being in control and acting upon other entities, which is very much in line with a Strict Father morality (cf. Lakoff G. 1996).

As a final note, the examples of metaphors throughout the article have made it clear that Trump's discourse is largely built on set phrases and straightforward idiomatic collocations that give rise to many conventionalised conceptual metaphors. This raises two questions which emerge as limitations of the current study. First of all, it is difficult to assess to which extent the high level of conventionalisation in both his language and the underlying conceptual metaphors triggers the rhetorical effects that have emerged from the close analysis of his speeches. Secondly, this investigation only focussed on conceptual metaphors and how they contributed to Trump's discussion of political topics and to the construction of his political persona. A comprehensive analysis taking into account other rhetorical strategies as well would give a more complete picture of Trump's discursive practices.

References

Bougher, Lori D. 2012. "The case of metaphors in political reasoning and cognition". *Political Psychology* 33 (1): 145–163.

Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2006. "Britain as a container: Immigration metaphors in the 2005 election campaign." *Discourse & Society* 17 (5): 563–581.

Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2012. "Forensic deliberation on 'purposeful metaphor'". *Metaphor and the Social World* 2 (1): 1–21.

Chilton, Paul. 2004. *Analyzing political discourse.* London: Routledge.

Chilton, Paul. 2017. "'The people' in populist discourse. Using neuro-cognitive linguistics to understand political meanings". *Journal of Language and Politics* 16 (4): 582–594.

Cienki, Alan. 2005. "Metaphor in the 'strict father' and 'nurturant parent' cognitive models: Theoretical issues raised in an empirical study". *Cognitive Linguistics* 16 (2): 279–312.

Degani, Marta, 2015. *Framing the Rhetoric of a Leader: An Analysis of Obama's Election Campaign Speeches.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Degani, Marta. 2016. "Endangered intellect: A case study of Clinton vs Trump campaign discourse". *Iperstoria* 8: 131–145.

De Landtsheer, Christ'l, Philippe De Vries & Dieter Vertessen. 2008. "Political impression management: How metaphors, sound bites, appearance effectiveness, and personality traits can win elections". *Journal of Political Marketing* 7 (3-4): 217–238.

Demata, Massimiliano. 2017. "'A great and beautiful wall.' Donald Trump's populist discourse on immigration." *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict* 5 (2): 274–294.

Edelman, Murray. 1964. *The Symbolic Uses of Politics.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Ezrahi, Yaron. 1995. "The theatrics and mechanics of action: The theater and the machine as political metaphors". *Social Research* 62 (2): 299–322.

Ferrari, Federica. 2007. "Metaphor at work in the analysis of political discourse: Investigating a 'preventive war' persuasion strategy". *Discourse & Society* 18 (5): 603 – 625.

Gibbs, Raymond W. Jr. 2015. "The allegorical character of political metaphors in discourse". *Metaphor and the Social World* 5 (2): 264–282.

Johnson, Paul E. 2017. "The art of masculine victimhood: Donald Trump's demagoguery". *Women's Studies in Communication* 40 (3): 229–250.

Kreis, Ramona. 2017. "#refugeesnotwelcome: Anti-refugee discourse on Twitter". *Discourse & Communication* 11(5): 498-514.

Lakoff, George. 1996. *Moral politics: What Conservatives know that Liberals don't.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George & Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live by.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, George & Mark Turner. 1989. *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor.* Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, Robin T. 2017. "The hollow man. Donald Trump, populism, and post-truth politics". *Journal of Language and Politics* 16 (4): 595–606.

Lau, Richard R., & David P. Redlawsk. 2001. "Advantages and disadvantages of cognitive heuristics in political decision making". *Journal of Political Science* 45 (4): 951–971.

Martin, James. 2013. *Politics and rhetoric: A critical introduction.* London: Routledge.

Mio, Jeffery S. 1997. "Metaphor and politics". *Metaphor and Symbol* 12 (2): 113–133.

Montgomery, Martin. 2017. "Post-truth politics? Authenticity, populism and the electoral discourses of Donald Trump". *Journal of Language and Politics* 16 (4): 619–639.

Musolff, Andreas. 2010. *Metaphor, Nation and Holocaust: The Concept of the Body Politic.* London & New York: Routledge.

Oliver, Eric J., & Wendy M. Rahn. 2016. "Rise of the Trumpenvolk: Populism in the 2016 election". *The Annals of the American Academy* 667: 189–206.

Pawelec, Andrzej. 2006. "The death of metaphor". *Studia Linguistica* 123: 117–122.

Pragglejaz Group. 2007. "MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse". *Metaphor and Symbol* 22 (1): 1–39.

Santa Ana, Otto. 1999. "'Like an animal I was treated': Anti-immigrant metaphor in US public discourse". *Discourse & Society* 10 (2): 191–224.

Shafer, Jessica G. 2017. "Donald Trump's 'political incorrectness': Neoliberalism as frontstage racism on social media". *Social Media + Society*, July-September: 1–10. doi: 10.1177/205630511 7733226

Schoor, Carola. 2015. "Political metaphor, a matter of purposeful style. On the rational, emotional and strategic purposes of political metaphor". *Metaphor and the Social World* 5 (1): 82-101.

Steen, J. Gerard. 2007. "Finding metaphor in discourse: Pragglejaz and beyond". *Culture, Language and Representation* 5: 9–25.

Stone, Deborah A. 1988. *Policy paradox and political reason*. Glenview: IL: Scott, Foresman.

Van Dijk, Teun, A. 2006. Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse & Society* 17 (3): 359–383.

Van Dijk, Teun A. 1998. *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Wodak, Ruth. 2015. *The politics of fear: What right-wing populist discourses mean*. London: SAGE Publications.

Primary data

"Victory speech". CNN. 9 Nov. 2016.
    Accessed at http://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/09/politics/donald-trump-victory-speech/

"Inaugural Address" CNN. 21 Jan. 2017.
    Accessed at http://edition.cnn.com/2017/01/20/politics/trump-inaugural-address/.

"Address accepting the presidential nomination".
    Accessed at http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=117935

Appendix A

Metaphor Frequency

Total Number: 346 metaphors;
Unique Metaphors: 235 metaphors (67.9%)

Speech	Number of metaphors	Number of words	Metaphor frequency in speech
Acceptance speech	211	5,114	1 metaphor per 24.2 words (4.13%)
Victory speech	65	1,617	1 metaphor per 24.9 words (4,02%)
Inauguration speech	70	1,444	1 metaphor per 20.63 words (4.85%)

Basic Frequency Findings

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
Person Metaphors		**57 (16.47%)**	**27**	**8**	**22**
1.	A NATION IS A PERSON	26	12	5	9
2.	POLITICIANS ARE SERVANTS	3	1	2	0
3.	HISTORY IS A PERSON	2	2	0	0
4.	THE MILITARY IS A PERSON	2	1	0	1
5.	A PLANET IS A PERSON	2	0	0	2
6.	A TRADE DEAL IS AN IMMORAL PERSON	2	2	0	0
7.	OTHER NATIONS ARE THIEVES	2	0	0	2
8.	A NATION IS A THIEF	1	1	0	0
9.	A POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A PERSON	1	1	0	0
10.	A POLICY IS A PERSON	1	1	0	0
11.	ECONOMY IS A PERSON	1	0	1	0
12.	A TRADE DEAL IS A MURDERER	1	1	0	0
13.	LAWS ARE PEOPLE	1	1	0	0
14.	JOBS ARE PEOPLE	1	1	0	0
15.	BUILDINGS ARE PEOPLE	1	0	0	1
16.	ALLIES ARE FAMILY RELATIONS	1	1	0	0
17.	PATRIOTISM IS A DOCTOR	1	0	0	1
18.	PATRIOTISM IS A VISITOR	1	0	0	1
19.	A PRESIDENT IS A PREACHER	1	1	0	0
20.	THE MILITARY PERSONNEL ARE SERVANTS	1	1	0	0

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
21.	A NATION IS A SERVANT	1	0	0	1
22.	PROTECTION IS A GUIDE TOWARDS WELL-BEING	1	0	0	1
23.	REGULATIONS ARE GUIDES	1	0	0	1
24.	AMERICA IS A GUIDE	1	0	0	1
25.	MORAL VALUES ARE GUIDES	1	0	0	1
Animal Metaphors		**13 (3.76%)**	**10**	**1**	**2**
1.	IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS	4	4	0	0
2.	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	1	0	0	1
3.	TERRORISM IS AN ANIMAL	1	1	0	0
4.	A TERRORIST IS AN ANIMAL	1	1	0	0
5.	TERRORISTS ARE INSECTS	1	1	0	0
6.	WASTING IS THROWING A PRECIOUS OBJECT TO AN ANIMAL	1	1	0	0
7.	CLINTON IS A PIG	1	1	0	0
8.	COMPANIES ARE LIONS	1	1	0	0
9.	TALENTS ARE DRAFT HORSES	1	0	1	0
10.	ENERGIES, INDUSTRIES, AND TECHNOLOGIES ARE DRAFT HORSES	1	0	0	1
Object Metaphors		**65 (18.79%)**	**40**	**21**	**4**
1.	AN OATH IS AN OBJECT	5	4	1	0
2.	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	4	2	2	0
3.	POLITICAL POWER IS AN OBJECT	4	0	4	0
4.	A NATION IS AN OBJECT	3	3	0	0
5.	A JOB IS AN OBJECT	3	2	1	0
6.	SUPPORT IS AN OBJECT	2	2	0	0
7.	TIME IS AN OBJECT	2	0	2	0
8.	LOVE IS AN OBJECT	2	2	0	0
9.	A DREAM IS AN OBJECT	2	0	2	0
10.	CONTROL IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
11.	A PLAN IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
12.	E-MAILS ARE OBJECTS	1	1	0	0
13.	SECRETS ARE OBJECTS	1	1	0	0
14.	SUCCESS IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
15.	ACTIONS ARE OBJECTS	1	1	0	0
16.	POLICY IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
17.	GOALS ARE OBJECTS	1	1	0	0
18.	EXPENDITURE IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
19.	PAIN IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
20.	RESPECT IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
21.	VOICE IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
22.	VICTORY IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
23.	GUIDANCE AND HELP IS AN OBJECT	1	0	1	0
24.	A MOVEMENT IS AN OBJECT	1	0	1	0
25.	CHALLENGE IS AN OBJECT	1	0	1	0
26.	GRATITUDE IS AN OBJECT	1	0	1	0
27.	DESTINY IS AN OBJECT	1	0	0	1
28.	WEALTH IS AN OBJECT	1	0	1	0
29.	PREJUDICE IS AN OBJECT	1	0	1	0
30.	AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
31.	A TALENT IS AN OBJECT	1	0	1	0
32.	CRIME AND VIOLENCE IS A MOVING OBJECT	1	1	0	0
33.	A CONVENTION IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
34.	A NOMINATION IS AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
35.	IDEAS ARE POSSESSIONS	1	1	0	0
36.	LIFE IS A VALUABLE POSSESSION	1	0	1	0
37.	SOLIDARITY IS AN OBJECT TO BE PURSUED	1	0	0	1
38.	POVERTY IS A TRAP	1	0	0	1
39.	BAD POLITICS IS CHAINS	1	1	0	0
40.	PEOPLE ARE LINKS OF A CHAIN	1	0	0	1
41.	PROBLEMS ARE FABRIC	1	1	0	0
42.	FAMILIES ARE FABRIC	1	1	0	0
43.	WEALTH IS A FABRIC	1	0	1	0
44.	POLITICAL CORRECTNESS IS AN EXPENSIVE ITEM	1	1	0	0
45.	LIES ARE SKILLFULLY MANUFACTURED GOODS	1	1	0	0
46.	RESULTS ARE PRODUCTS	1	1	0	0
47.	WAGES AND UNEMPLOYMENT ARE PRODUCTS	1	1	0	0

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
Physical Suffering Metaphors		**9 (2.6%)**	**5**	**1**	**3**
1.	SOCIAL DIVISION IS A WOUND	2	0	1	1
2.	IMMIGRATION IS PAIN	1	1	0	0
3.	EMOTIONAL SUFFERING IS A PHYSICAL WOUND	1	1	0	0
4.	PROBLEMS ARE PHYSICAL SUFFERING	1	0	0	1
5.	FINANCIAL LOSS IS BLEEDING	1	0	0	1
6.	CRIME AND VIOLENCE IS A DISEASE	1	1	0	0
7.	BAD AGREEMENTS ARE PAIN	1	1	0	0
8.	TAXES ARE PAIN	1	1	0	0
Force Metaphors		**16 (4.62%)**	**13**	**0**	**3**
1.	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	4	2	0	2
2.	RESISTANCE IS REMAINING UPRIGHT	2	2	0	0
3.	A PROBLEM IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	1	2	0	0
4.	IMMIGRANTS ARE A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	1	1	0	0
5.	A TRADE DEAL IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	1	1	0	0
6.	A MISTAKE IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	2	1	0	0
7.	OBAMACARE IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	1	1	0	0
8.	TRANSPORTATION SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	1	1	0	0
9.	CURRENCY MANIPULATION IS A DEVASTATING FORCE	1	1	0	0
10.	PATRIOTISM IS A FORCE	1	0	0	1
11.	AUTHORITY IS PHYSICAL POWER	1	1	0	0
Building Metaphors		**24 (6.94%)**	**16**	**2**	**6**
1.	A NATION IS A BUILDING	5	2	1	2
2.	PEACE IS STABILITY	2	2	0	0
3.	PEACE IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
4.	SAFETY IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
5.	CRIME IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
6.	THE WORLD IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
7.	COMMUNITIES ARE BUILDINGS	1	1	0	0
8.	LAW AND ORDER IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
9.	LIFE IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
10.	ISIS IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
11.	SOCIAL CLASS IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
12.	TRANSACTION IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
13.	THE MILITARY IS A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
14.	A MOVEMENT IS A BUILDING	1	0	1	0
15.	DESOLATION IS A RUSTED BUILDING	1	0	0	1
16.	A PROMISE IS A BUILDING	1	0	0	1
17.	POLITICS IS A BUILDING	1	0	0	1
18.	HEART IS A HOME	1	0	0	1
19.	BORDERS ARE DOORS TO A BUILDING	1	1	0	0
Container Metaphors		**8 (2.31%)**	**4**	**0**	**4**
1.	A COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER	2	2	0	0
2.	COMMUNITIES ARE CONTAINERS	1	1	0	0
3.	POVERTY IS A CONTAINER	1	1	0	0
4.	MEANING IS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER	1	0	0	1
5.	THE HEART IS A CONTAINER	1	0	0	1
6.	PEOPLE ARE CONTAINERS	1	0	0	1
7.	THE UNKNOWN IS THE CONTENTS OF A LOCKED CHEST	1	0	0	1
Machine Metaphors		**8 (2.31%)**	**8**	**0**	**0**
1.	SOLVING PROBLEMS IS FIXING A MACHINE	5	5	0	0
2.	THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE	1	1	0	0
3.	TRANSPORTATION SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IS A MACHINE	1	1	0	0
4.	IMMIGRATION IS A MACHINE	1	1	0	0
Motion and Journey Metaphors		**23 (6.64%)**	**17**	**2**	**4**
1.	CHANGE IS MOTION	8	5	1	2
2.	TIME IS MOTION	3	2	0	1
3.	A CHARACTERISTIC IS A PARTICULAR ROTATION	1	1	0	0
4.	REACHING A GOAL IS MOTION ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	1	1	0	0
5.	TIME IS A MOVING VEHICLE	1	1	0	0
6.	REFUSING IS GOING AWAY	1	1	0	0
7.	DAMAGE IS FALLING	1	0	0	1

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
8.	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	3	3	0	0
9.	AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS A JOURNEY	2	2	1	0
10.	HUMAN SMUGGLING AND VIOLENCE IS A (NEVER-ENDING) JOURNEY	1	1	0	0
11.	POVERTY IS A (NEVER-ENDING) JOURNEY	1	1	0	0
Spatial Metaphors		**31 (8.96%)**	**16**	**11**	**4**
1.	SUPPORT IS PROXIMITY	4	4	0	0
2.	MORE IS UP	3	3	0	0
3.	DISAPPOINTMENT IS DOWN	2	0	1	1
4.	FUTURE IS AHEAD	2	0	1	1
5.	STRONG IS UP	1	1	0	0
6.	SUPPORTING IS LIFTING UP	1	0	1	0
7.	HEAVEN IS UP	1	0	1	0
8.	HONOR IS UP	1	0	1	0
9.	GOOD IS UP	1	0	0	1
10.	LESS IS DOWN	1	1	0	0
11.	HUMILIATION IS DOWN	1	1	0	0
12.	ATTENTION IS PROXIMITY	1	1	0	0
13.	SYMPATHY IS PROXIMITY	1	0	1	0
14.	AGREEMENT IS PROXIMITY	1	0	1	0
15.	SAFETY AND PROSPERITY AND PEACE ARE LOCATIONS	1	1	0	0
16.	BAD SCHOOLS ARE A DANGEROUS LOCATION	1	1	0	0
17.	AGREEING IS SETTLING AT A LOCATION	1	0	1	0
18.	LOYALTY IS A LOCATION	1	0	1	0
19.	TIME IS SPACE	1	0	1	0
20.	DUTY IS AN ORDERLY SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT	1	1	0	0
21.	EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IS DEPTH	1	1	0	0
22.	IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL	1	0	0	1
23.	REDUCING THE PRICE OF A PRODUCT IS DECREASING VERTICAL ELEVATION	1	1	0	0
24.	INCREASE IN QUANTITY IS INCREASE IN SIZE	1	0	1	0
Plant Metaphors		**9 (2.6%)**	**2**	**2**	**5**
1.	A NATION IS A PLANT	2	0	1	1

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
2.	A CITY IS A PLANT	2	0	0	2
3.	ECONOMY IS A PLANT	1	0	1	0
4.	MONEY ARE CROPS	1	0	0	1
5.	TERRORISM IS A WEED	1	0	0	1
6.	A LOT OF MONEY IS AN ABUNDANCE OF LEAVES	1	1	0	0
7.	KILLING IS CUTTING DOWN GRASS	1	1	0	0
Money Metaphors		**6 (1.7%)**	**2**	**4**	**0**
1.	TIME IS MONEY	3	1	2	0
2.	GRATITUDE IS MONEY	1	0	1	0
3.	PUNISHMENT IS PAYING EXCESSIVE AMOUNTS OF MONEY	1	1	0	0
4.	PERSONAL RELATIONS ARE BUSINESS	1	0	1	0
Liquid Metaphors		**12 (3.47%)**	**7**	**2**	**3**
1.	DRUGS ARE AN UNCONTAINED FLOW OF WATER	1	1	0	0
2.	MONEY IS FLOWING WATER	1	1	0	0
3.	MONEY IS WATER	1	0	0	1
4.	WAR IS A FLOOD	1	1	0	0
5.	IMMIGRATION IS A FLOOD	1	1	0	0
6.	DEBTS ARE A DEADLY FLOOD	1	1	0	0
7.	VIOLENCE IS AN OVERFLOWING LIQUID	1	1	0	0
8.	SOUL IS A LIQUID	1	0	0	1
9.	POTENTIAL IS A LIQUID	1	0	1	0
10.	PRIDE AND JOY ARE LIQUIDS	1	0	1	0
11.	A SCANDAL IS A SUBSTANCE	1	1	0	0
12.	MEANING IS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER	1	0	0	1
Competition Metaphors		**15 (4.34%)**	**8**	**5**	**2**
1.	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	4	2	2	0
2.	ELECTIONS ARE A WAR	2	2	0	0
3.	TRUMP IS A WARRIOR	2	1	0	1
4.	ELECTIONS ARE FIGHTS	2	0	2	0
5.	POLITICS IS A COMPETITION	2	2	0	0
6.	AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS A HORSERACE	1	0	1	0

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
7.	DEALING WITH PROBLEMS IS FIGHTING	1	1	0	0
8.	DEALING WITH POVERTY IS FIGHTING	1	0	0	1
Seeing Metaphors		**8 (2.31%)**	**7**	**0**	**1**
1.	BEING CONFRONTED WITH STHG. IS LOOKING AT STHG.	3	3	0	0
2.	BELIEVING IS SEEING	2	2	0	0
3.	HAVING A PLAN IS SEEING	1	1	0	0
4.	IGNORING A PROBLEM IS INTENTIONALLY NOT SEEING	1	1	0	0
5.	LOSING IS MOVING OUT OF SIGHT	1	0	0	1
Holding Metaphors		**5 (1.45%)**	**3**	**2**	**0**
1.	UNDERSTANDING IS HOLDING	2	2	0	0
2.	POSSESSION IS HOLDING	2	0	2	0
3.	ENFORCING LEGISLATION IS HOLDING UP AN OBJECT	1	1	0	0
Other Metaphors		**37 (10.7%)**	**26**	**4**	**7**
1.	TWO DIFFERENT OPINIONS ARE TWO HANDS OF THE BODY	3	3	0	0
2.	BEING THE BEST IS BEING FIRST	2	2	0	0
3.	REFORMS ARE DRAWINGS	2	2	0	0
4.	GOOD IS LIGHT	2	0	1	1
5.	INTELLIGENT IS BRIGHT	2	1	1	0
6.	TRUTH IS PLAIN	2	2	0	0
7.	A CHARACTERISTIC MESSAGE IS A SIGNATURE	1	1	0	0
8.	A CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE IS A SIGNATURE	1	1	0	0
9.	INTELLIGENT IS SHARP	1	0	1	0
10.	BEING UNDER CONTROL IS BEING A PUPPET	1	1	0	0
11.	MANIPULATING IS PULLING STRINGS OF A PUPPET	1	1	0	0
12.	LOSING JOBS AND WEALTH IS BECOMING NAKED	1	1	0	0
13.	DESTROYING JOBS IS BURNING	1	1	0	0
14.	EXISTENCE IS BEING ON A MAP	1	1	0	0

#	Metaphor	Total number	Acceptance speech	Victory speech	Inauguration speech
15.	INFLUENCE IS VOICE	1	1	0	0
16.	PROJECTS ARE SHIPS	1	0	1	0
17.	AMERICA IS A SHIP	1	0	0	1
18.	BIG IS GOOD	1	0	0	1
19.	BEGINNING IS BIRTH	1	0	0	1
20.	UNITY IS SHARING	1	0	0	1
21.	EXPRESSING ONE'S OPINION IS PREACHING	1	1	0	0
22.	DEATH IS LOSS	1	1	0	0
23.	OPEN BORDERS ARE AN ALTAR FOR RITUAL SACRIFICE	1	1	0	0
24.	SERIOUS PROBLEMS ARE SLAUGHTER	1	0	0	1
25.	EMOTION IS TEMPERATURE	1	1	0	0
26.	KIND IS WARM	1	1	0	0
27.	RESTRICTIONS ARE WEIGHT	1	1	0	0
28.	A FINANCIAL OBLIGATION IS PRESSURE	1	1	0	0
29.	EXPENSES ARE BAGGAGE	1	0	0	1
30.	TRUTH IS STRAIGHT	1	1	0	0

Appendix B

Metaphors in Trump's Discourse

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Person Metaphors			
1.	a country of generosity and warmth	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
2.	the crime and violence that today afflicts our nation	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
3.	Iraq was seeing a big, big reduction in violence	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
4.	Iran was being choked by sanctions	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
5.	Muslim brotherhood	ALLIES ARE FAMILY RELATIONS	Acceptance speech
6.	political system lacks the will, or the courage, or the basic decency	A POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
7.	a nation in mourning	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
8.	our laws will finally receive the respect they deserve	LAWS ARE PEOPLE	Acceptance speech
9.	fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
10.	job killing trade deal	A TRADE DEAL IS A MURDERER	Acceptance speech
11.	horrible and unfair trade deals	A TRADE DEAL IS AN IMMORAL PERSON	Acceptance speech
12.	I will make individual deals with individual countries	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
13.	country that cheats	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
14.	China's outrageous theft	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
15.	job-killers	JOBS ARE PEOPLE	Acceptance speech
16.	our depleted military	MILITARY IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
17.	History is watching us now.	HISTORY IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
18.	It's waiting to see [about history]	HISTORY IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
19.	America is still free and independent and strong	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
20.	We Will Make America Strong Again	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Person Metaphors			
21.	We Will Make America Proud Again	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
22.	now it is time for America to bind the wounds of division	A NATION IS A PERSON	Victory speech
23.	the strongest economy anywhere in the world	ECONOMY IS A PERSON	Victory speech
24.	we will have great relationships (with other nations)	A NATION IS A PERSON	Victory speech
25.	we expect to have great, great relationships	A NATION IS A PERSON	Victory speech
26.	we must reclaim our country's destiny	A NATION IS A PERSON	Victory speech
27.	we will always put America's interests first	A NATION IS A PERSON	Victory speech
28.	depletion of our military	THE MILITARY IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech
29.	the crime and gangs and drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential	A NATION IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech
30.	the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has disappeared over the horizon	A NATION IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech
31.	the factories shuttered and left our shores	BUILDINGS ARE PEOPLE	Inauguration speech
32.	We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries	OTHER NATIONS ARE THIEVES	Inauguration speech
33.	(other countries) stealing our companies and destroying our jobs	OTHER NATIONS ARE THIEVES	Inauguration speech
34.	we will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world	A NATION IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech
35.	the right of all nations to put their own interests first	A NATION IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech
36.	a nation is only living as long as it is striving	A NATION IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech
37.	the face of the Earth	A PLANET IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Person Metaphors			
38.	no challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America	NATION (AMERICA) IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech
39.	to free the Earth from the miseries of disease	A PLANET IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech
40.	a new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions	PATRIOTISM IS A DOCTOR	Inauguration speech
41.	we will make America strong again	A NATION IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech
42.	we will make America wealthy again	A NATION IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech
43.	we will make America proud again	A NATION IS A PERSON	Inauguration speech
44.	when you open your heart to patriotism	PATRIOTISM IS A VISITOR	Inauguration speech
45.	fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat	A POLICY IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
46.	trade deals that strip us of our jobs, and strip us of our wealth as a country	A TRADE DEAL IS AN IMMORAL PERSON	Acceptance speech
47.	trade deals that strip us of our jobs, and strip us of our wealth as a country	A NATION IS A PERSON	Acceptance speech
48.	who has used the pulpit of the presidency	A PRESIDENT IS A PREACHER	Acceptance speech
Servant Metaphors			
49.	my opponent would rather protect bureaucrats than serve American children	POLITICIANS ARE SERVANTS	Acceptance speech
50.	those who serve this country	THE MILITARY PERSONNEL ARE SERVANTS	Acceptance speech
51.	her service to our country	POLITICIANS ARE SERVANTS	Victory speech
52.	nation exists to serve its citizens	A NATION IS A SERVANT	Inauguration speech
53.	who want and expect our government to serve the people	POLITICIANS ARE SERVANTS	Victory speech

Guide Metaphors

54.	protection will lead to great prosperity and strength	PROTECTION IS A GUIDE TOWARDS WELL-BEING	Inauguration speech
55.	we will follow two simple rules	REGULATIONS ARE GUIDES	Inauguration speech
56.	to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to follow	AMERICA IS A GUIDE	Inauguration speech
57.	your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way	MORAL VALUES ARE GUIDES	Inauguration speech

Animal Metaphors

58.	illegal immigrants with criminal records (ordered deported from our country) are tonight roaming free	IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS	Acceptance speech
59.	they are being released (by the tens of thousands into our communities) with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources	IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS	Acceptance speech
60.	stamping out Islamic terrorism	TERRORISTS ARE INSECTS	Acceptance speech
61.	one such border-crosser was released	IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS	Acceptance speech
62.	they are throwing money at her	WASTING IS THROWING A PRECIOUS OBJECT TO AN ANIMAL	Acceptance speech
63.	they are throwing money at her	CLINTON IS A PIG [CASTING PEARLS BEFORE SWINE]	Acceptance speech
64.	brutal Islamic terrorism	TERRORISM IS AN ANIMAL	Acceptance speech
65.	Americans were savagely murdered by an Islamic terrorist	A TERRORIST IS AN ANIMAL	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Animal Metaphors			
66.	(On Monday, we heard from three parents whose children were killed by illegal immigrants Mary Ann Mendoza, Sabine Durden, and my friend Jamiel Shaw. They are just three brave representatives of many thousands who have suffered so gravely). Americans who have been so brutally murdered, and who have suffered so so horribly	IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS	Acceptance speech
67.	companies and new jobs to come roaring back into our country	COMPANIES ARE LIONS	Acceptance speech
68.	I will harness the creative talents of our people	TALENTS ARE DRAFT HORSES	Victory speech
69.	mothers and children trapped in poverty	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS	Inauguration speech
70.	to harness the energies, industries and technologies of tomorrow	ENERGIES, INDUSTRIES, AND TECHNOLOGIES ARE DRAFT HORSES	Inauguration speech
Object Metaphors			
71.	(I humbly and gratefully) accept your nomination	A NOMINATION IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
72.	(the crime and violence that today afflicts our nation) come to an end	CRIME AND VIOLENCE IS A MOVING OBJECT	Acceptance speech
73.	the Democrats are holding their convention next week	A CONVENTION IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
74.	he took office	A JOB IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
75.	(President Obama) took his oath of office	AN OATH IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
76.	to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America's foreign policy	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Acceptance speech
77.	to retake control	CONTROL IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
78.	(I will) share with you my plan of action	A PLAN IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
79.	our plan will put America first	A NATION IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
80.	put America first	A NATION IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Object Metaphors			
81.	a Secretary of State illegally stores her emails	E-MAILS ARE OBJECTS	Acceptance speech
82.	(a Secretary of State) puts our country at risk	A NATION IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
83.	(the Secretary of State was "extremely careless" and "negligent,") in handling our classified secrets	SECRETS ARE OBJECTS	Acceptance speech
84.	we will bring the same economic success to America	SUCCESS IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
85.	when I take the oath of office	AN OATH IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
86.	every action I take, I will ask myself	ACTIONS ARE OBJECTS	Acceptance speech
87.	the failed policy of nation building and regime change that Hillary Clinton pushed in Iraq, Libya, Egypt and Syria	POLICY IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
88.	share our goal	GOALS ARE OBJECTS	Acceptance speech
89.	the United States has been picking up the cost	EXPENDITURE IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
90.	share in their pain	PAIN IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
91.	to send them our love	LOVE IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
92.	our laws will finally receive the respect they deserve	RESPECT IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
93.	from the moment I take the oath of office	AN OATH IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
94.	the day I take the oath of office	AN OATH IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
95.	I am going to bring our jobs back to Ohio and Pennsylvania and New York and Michigan and all of America	A JOB IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
96.	intellectual property	IDEAS ARE POSSESSIONS	Acceptance speech
97.	to put the great miners and steel workers of our country out of work	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Acceptance speech
98.	Ten Point Plan has received tremendous veteran support	SUPPORT IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Object Metaphors			
99.	the support they have given me	SUPPORT IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
100.	their voice has been taken away	VOICE IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
101.	I will always give you my love	LOVE IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
102.	deliver a victory	VICTORY IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
103.	I'm reaching out to you for your guidance and your help	GUIDANCE AND HELP IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
104.	it is a movement comprised of Americans from all races, religions, backgrounds, and beliefs	A MOVEMENT IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
105.	we will put millions of our people to work	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Victory speech
106.	no dream is too big	A DREAM IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
107.	no challenge is too great	CHALLENGE IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
108.	I would like to take this moment	TIME IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
109.	I want to give a very special thanks	GRATITUDE IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
110.	transfer of power	POLITICAL POWER IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
111.	transferring power from one administration to another	POLITICAL POWER IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
112.	we are transferring power from Washington, D.C.	POLITICAL POWER IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
113.	giving it [power] back to you	POLITICAL POWER IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
114.	this moment is your moment: it belongs to you	TIME IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
115.	the crime and gangs and drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential	LIFE IS A VALUABLE POSSESSION	Victory speech
116.	we share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny	DESTINY IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
117.	the oath of office I take today	AN OATH IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
118.	we will bring back our jobs	A JOB IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
119.	we will bring back our wealth	WEALTH IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
120.	we will bring back our dreams	A DREAM IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
121.	we will get our people off of welfare and back to work	PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS	Victory speech
122.	room for prejudice	PREJUDICE IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Object Metaphors			
123.	major donors are lining up behind the campaign of my opponent	AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
124.	to leverage their tremendous talent	A TALENT IS AN OBJECT	Victory speech
125.	mothers and children trapped in poverty	POVERTY IS A TRAP	Inauguration speech
126.	pursue solidarity	SOLIDARITY IS AN OBJECT TO BE PURSUED	Inauguration speech
127.	we must break free from the petty politics of the past	BAD POLITICS IS CHAINS	Acceptance speech
128.	we, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort	PEOPLE ARE LINKS OF A CHAIN	Inauguration speech
129.	(her bad instincts and her bad judgment) are what caused so many of the disasters unfolding today	PROBLEMS ARE FABRIC	Acceptance speech
130.	families ripped apart	FAMILIES ARE FABRIC	Acceptance speech
131.	the wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes	WEALTH IS A FABRIC	Victory speech
132.	we cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore	POLITICAL CORRECTNESS IS AN EXPENSIVE ITEM	Acceptance speech
133.	the carefully-crafted lies	LIES ARE SKILFULLY MANUFACTURED GOODS	Acceptance speech
134.	to produce a change in outcomes	RESULTS ARE PRODUCTS	Acceptance speech
135.	decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment	WAGES AND UNEMPLOYMENT ARE PRODUCTS	Acceptance speech
Physical Suffering Metaphors			
136.	the crime and violence that today afflicts our nation	CRIME AND VIOLENCE IS A DISEASE	Acceptance speech
137.	wounded American families	EMOTIONAL SUFFERING IS A PHYSICAL WOUND	Acceptance speech
138.	relief from uncontrolled immigration	IMMIGRATION IS PAIN	Acceptance speech
139.	agreement that hurts our workers	BAD AGREEMENTS ARE PAIN	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Physical Suffering Metaphors			
140.	(middle-income Americans and businesses) will experience profound relief	TAXES ARE PAIN	Acceptance speech
141.	now it is time for America to bind the wounds of division	SOCIAL DIVISION IS A WOUND	Victory speech
142.	their pain is our pain	PROBLEMS ARE PHYSICAL SUFFERING	Inauguration speech
143.	subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military	FINANCIAL LOSS IS BLEEDING	Inauguration speech
144.	a new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, *and heal our divisions*	SOCIAL DIVISION IS A WOUND	Inauguration speech
Force Metaphors			
145.	they are being released (by the tens of thousands into our communities) with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources	IMMIGRANTS ARE A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	Acceptance speech
146.	the problems we face now	RESISTANCE IS REMAINING UPRIGHT	Acceptance speech
147.	(a Secretary of State) faces no consequence	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	Acceptance speech
148.	the powerful can no longer beat up on people	AUTHORITY IS PHYSICAL POWER	Acceptance speech
149.	the growing threats we face from outside the country	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	Acceptance speech
150.	fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat	RESISTANCE IS REMAINING UPRIGHT	Acceptance speech
151.	devastating currency manipulation	CURRENCY MANIPULATION IS A DEVASTATING FORCE	Acceptance speech
152.	we will face challenges	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	Inauguration speech
153.	we will confront hardships	DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES	Inauguration speech
154.	a new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions	PATRIOTISM IS A FORCE	Inauguration speech
155.	domestic disaster	A PROBLEM IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Force Metaphors			
156.	(her bad instincts and her bad judgment) are what caused so many of the disasters unfolding today	A MISTAKE IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	Acceptance speech
157.	disastrous trade deals	A TRADE DEAL IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	Acceptance speech
158.	colossal mistakes and disasters	A MISTAKE IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	Acceptance speech
159.	we will repeal and replace disastrous Obamacare	OBAMACARE IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	Acceptance speech
160.	and we will fix TSA at the airports which is a total disaster	TRANSPORTATION SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Building Metaphors			
161.	safety will be restored	SAFETY IS A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
162.	bringing down crime	CRIME IS A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
163.	the world is far less stable	THE WORLD IS A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
164.	the world is far less stable	PEACE IS STABILITY	Acceptance speech
165.	Libya was stable	A NATION IS A BUILDING PEACE IS STABILITY	Acceptance speech
166.	communities crushed by our horrible and unfair trade deals	COMMUNITIES ARE BUILDINGS	Acceptance speech
167.	rebuild America	A NATION IS A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
168.	I will restore law and order to our country	LAW AND ORDER IS A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
169.	lives ruined	LIFE IS A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
170.	destroying ISIS	ISIS IS A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
171.	Peace will be restored	PEACE IS A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
172.	destroying our middle class	SOCIAL CLASS IS A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
173.	no longer will we enter into these massive transactions, with many countries	TRANSACTION IS A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
174.	(we will completely) rebuild our depleted military	THE MILITARY IS A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
175.	rebuilding our nation	A NATION IS A BUILDING	Victory speech
176.	our work on this movement	A MOVEMENT IS A BUILDING	Victory speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Building Metaphors			
177.	rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor	A NATION IS A BUILDING	Inauguration speech
178.	rusted-out factories	DESOLATION IS A RUSTED BUILDING	Inauguration speech
179.	to rebuild our country and to restore its promise	A NATION IS A BUILDING / A PROMISE IS A BUILDING	Inauguration speech
180.	At the bedrock of our politics	POLITICS IS A BUILDING	Inauguration speech
181.	when you open your heart to patriotism	HEART IS A HOME	Inauguration speech
182.	(one more child to sacrifice) on the order and on the altar of open borders	BORDERS ARE DOORS TO A BUILDING	Acceptance speech
Container Metaphors			
183.	children are living in poverty	POVERTY IS A CONTAINER	Acceptance speech
184.	existing massive refugee flows coming into our country	A COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER	Acceptance speech
185.	to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities	COMMUNITIES ARE CONTAINERS	Acceptance speech
186.	trillions of dollars will start flowing into our country	A COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER	Acceptance speech
187.	the time for empty talk is over	MEANING IS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER	Inauguration speech
188.	to unlock the mysteries of space	THE UNKNOWN IS THE CONTENTS OF A LOCKED CHEST	Inauguration speech
189.	they fill their heart with the same dreams	THE HEART IS A CONTAINER	Inauguration speech
190.	they are infused with the breath of life	PEOPLE ARE CONTAINERS	Inauguration speech
Machine Metaphors			
191.	we're going to fix that	SOLVING PROBLEMS IS FIXING A MACHINE	Acceptance speech
192.	I alone can fix it	SOLVING PROBLEMS IS FIXING A MACHINE	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Machine Metaphors			
193.	we will fix his biggest single issue	SOLVING PROBLEMS IS FIXING A MACHINE	Acceptance speech
194.	to fix the system so it works justly for each and every American	THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE	Acceptance speech
195.	we can fix this problem so quickly	SOLVING PROBLEMS IS FIXING A MACHINE	Acceptance speech
196.	we will fix TSA at the airports	TRANSPORTATION SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IS A MACHINE	Acceptance speech
197.	to fix our inner cities	SOLVING PROBLEMS IS FIXING A MACHINE	Acceptance speech
198.	to fix the system so it works justly for each and every American	POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE	Acceptance speech
199.	decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment	IMMIGRATION IS A MACHINE	Acceptance speech
Journey Metaphors			
200.	way of life	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	Acceptance speech
201.	he ended the life of an innocent young girl	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	Acceptance speech
202.	the cycle of human smuggling and violence	HUMAN SMUGGLING AND VIOLENCE IS A (NEVER-ENDING) JOURNEY	Acceptance speech
203.	to escape the tremendous cycle of poverty that they're going through	POVERTY IS A (NEVER-ENDING) JOURNEY	Acceptance speech
204.	young people just starting out their adult lives	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	Acceptance speech
205.	in this journey	AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS A JOURNEY	Acceptance speech
206.	this 18-month journey	AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS A JOURNEY	Victory speech
Motion Metaphors			
207.	the crime and violence that today afflicts our nation come to an end	TIME IS MOTION	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Motion Metaphors			
208.	the corporate spin	A CHARACTERISTIC IS A PARTICULAR ROTATION	Acceptance speech
209.	rollback of criminal enforcement	CHANGE IS MOTION	Acceptance speech
210.	it will go down in history	TIME IS MOTION	Acceptance speech
211.	on the path to nuclear weapons	REACHING A GOAL IS MOTION ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION	Acceptance speech
212.	she will keep our rigged system in place	CHANGE IS MOTION	Acceptance speech
213.	the time for action has come	TIME IS A MOVING VEHICLE	Acceptance speech
214.	a true step in the right direction	CHANGE IS MOTION	Acceptance speech
215.	we'll walk away (if we don't get the deal that we want)	REFUSING IS GOING AWAY	Acceptance speech
216.	ours was not a campaign but rather an incredible and great movement	CHANGE IS MOTION	Victory speech
217.	America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay	DAMAGE IS FALLING	Inauguration speech
218.	You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement	CHANGE IS MOTION	Inauguration speech
219.	at the center of this movement	CHANGE IS MOTION	Inauguration speech
220.	now arrives the hour of action	TIME IS MOTION	Inauguration speech
221.	but his supporters will join our movement	CHANGE IS MOTION	Acceptance speech
222.	Democrats will join our movement	CHANGE IS MOTION	Acceptance speech
223.	(you came by the tens of millions) to become part of a historic movement	CHANGE IS MOTION	Inauguration speech
224.	at the center of this movement	CHANGE IS MOTION	Inauguration speech
Spatial Metaphors			
225.	killings have risen by 50 percent	MORE IS UP	Acceptance speech
226.	they are up nearly 60 percent	MORE IS UP	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Spatial Metaphors			
227.	the number of police officers killed in the line of duty has risen by almost 50 percent	MORE IS UP	Acceptance speech
228.	we will lead our country back to safety, prosperity, and peace	SAFETY AND PROSPERITY AND PEACE ARE LOCATIONS	Acceptance speech
229.	the line of duty	DUTY IS AN ORDERLY SPATIAL ARRANGEMENT	Acceptance speech
230.	household incomes are down	LESS IS DOWN	Acceptance speech
231.	our sailors being forced to their knees	HUMILIATION IS DOWN	Acceptance speech
232.	major donors are lining up behind the campaign of my opponent	SUPPORT IS PROXIMITY	Acceptance speech
233.	to have at my side the next Vice President of the United States	SUPPORT IS PROXIMITY	Acceptance speech
234.	tonight, this candidate and the whole nation stand in their corner to support them	SUPPORT IS PROXIMITY	Acceptance speech
235.	nothing has affected me more deeply	EMOTIONAL INTENSITY IS DEPTH	Acceptance speech
236.	to listen very very closely	ATTENTION IS PROXIMITY	Acceptance speech
237.	we will rescue kids from failing schools	BAD SCHOOLS ARE A DANGEROUS LOCATION	Acceptance speech
238.	to have at my side my wife	SUPPORT IS PROXIMITY	Acceptance speech
239.	if we will rise to the occasion	STRONG IS UP	Acceptance speech
240.	to leverage their tremendous talent	SUPPORTING IS LIFTING UP	Victory speech
241.	we will get along with all other nations willing to get along with us	SYMPATHY IS PROXIMITY	Victory speech
242.	America will no longer settle for anything less than the best	AGREEING IS SETTLING AT A LOCATION	Victory speech
243.	we will seek common ground	AGREEMENT IS PROXIMITY	Victory speech
244.	I want to thank my parents, who I know are looking down on me right now	HEAVEN IS UP	Victory speech
245.	he is highly respected in Washington	HONOR IS UP	Victory speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Spatial Metaphors			
246.	that I will not let you down	DISAPPOINTMENT IS DOWN	Victory speech
247.	I look very much forward to being your president	FUTURE IS AHEAD	Victory speech
248.	at the end of two years or three years or four years or maybe even eight years	TIME IS SPACE	Victory speech
249.	we will rediscover our loyalty to each other	LOYALTY IS A LOCATION	Victory speech
250.	at the center of this movement	IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL	Inauguration speech
251.	we are looking only to the future	FUTURE IS AHEAD	Inauguration speech
252.	I will never, ever let you down	DISAPPOINTMENT IS DOWN	Inauguration speech
253.	A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions	GOOD IS UP	Inauguration speech
254.	product dumping	REDUCING THE PRICE OF A PRODUCT IS DECREASING VERTICAL ELEVATION	Acceptance speech
255.	we will double our growth	INCREASE IN QUANTITY IS INCREASE IN SIZE	Victory speech
Plant Metaphors			
256.	Secretary of State rakes in millions and millions of dollars	A LOT OF MONEY IS AN ABUNDANCE OF LEAVES	Acceptance speech
257.	men, women and children viciously mowed down	KILLING IS CUTTING DOWN GRASS	Acceptance speech
258.	we will embark upon a project of national growth and renewal	A NATION IS A PLANT	Victory speech
259.	we will double our growth	ECONOMY IS A PLANT	Victory speech
260.	a small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government	MONEY ARE CROPS	Inauguration speech
261.	Washington flourished	A CITY IS A PLANT	Inauguration speech
262.	radical Islamic terrorism, which we will eradicate completely	TERRORISM IS A WEED	Inauguration speech
263.	our country will thrive and prosper again	A NATION IS A PLANT	Inauguration speech
264.	the urban sprawl of Detroit	A CITY IS A PLANT	Inauguration speech

Money Metaphors

265.	especially when others who have done far less, have paid so dearly	PUNISHMENT IS PAYING EXCESSIVE AMOUNTS OF MONEY	Acceptance speech
266.	time I have spent with the mothers and fathers	TIME IS MONEY	Acceptance speech
267.	we owe her a major debt of gratitude	GRATITUDE IS MONEY	Victory speech
268.	spent my entire life in business	TIME IS MONEY	Victory speech
269.	the time I've spent with them	TIME IS MONEY	Victory speech
270.	we will deal fairly with everyone	PERSONAL RELATIONS ARE BUSINESS	Victory speech

Liquid Metaphors

271.	Syria is engulfed in a civil war	WAR IS A FLOOD	Acceptance speech
272.	existing massive refugee flows coming into our country	IMMIGRATION IS A FLOOD	Acceptance speech
273.	violence spilling across our border	VIOLENCE IS AN OVERFLOWING LIQUID	Acceptance speech
274.	to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities	DRUGS ARE AN UNCONTAINED FLOW OF WATER	Acceptance speech
275.	trillions of dollars will start flowing into our country	MONEY IS FLOWING WATER	Acceptance speech
276.	students who are drowning in debt	DEBTS ARE A DEADLY FLOOD	Acceptance speech
277.	my opponent dismissed the VA scandal as being not widespread	A SCANDAL IS A SUBSTANCE	Acceptance speech
278.	flush with cash	MONEY IS WATER	Inauguration speech
279.	the time for empty talk is over	MEANING IS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER	Inauguration speech
280.	a new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions	SOUL IS A LIQUID	Inauguration speech
281.	the untapped potential	POTENTIAL IS A LIQUID	Victory speech
282.	source of pride and joy	PRIDE AND JOY ARE LIQUIDS	Victory speech

Competition Metaphors

283.	let's defeat her in November	ELECTIONS ARE A WAR	Acceptance speech
284.	in this race for the White House	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Competition Metaphors			
285.	struggling citizens	DEALING WITH PROBLEMS IS FIGHTING	Acceptance speech
286.	presidential race	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	Acceptance speech
287.	we don't win anymore, but we are going to start winning	POLITICS IS A COMPETITION	Acceptance speech
288.	we love defeating those people	ELECTIONS ARE A WAR	Acceptance speech
289.	I can be your champion in the White House	POLITICS IS A COMPETITION	Acceptance speech
290.	I will fight for you, and I will win for you	TRUMP IS A WARRIOR	Acceptance speech
291.	hard-fought campaign	ELECTIONS ARE FIGHTS	Victory speech
292.	she fought very hard	ELECTIONS ARE FIGHTS	Victory speech
293.	and while they celebrated in our nation's capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land	DEALING WITH POVERTY IS FIGHTING	Inauguration speech
294.	I will fight for you with every breath in my body	TRUMP IS A WARRIOR	Inauguration speech
295.	very historic victory	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	Victory speech
296.	unless we win it	ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION	Victory speech
297.	he would not have that bust at the track at Belmont	AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN IS A HORSERACE	Victory speech
Seeing Metaphors			
298.	look the other way	IGNORING A PROBLEM IS INTENTIONALLY NOT SEEING	Acceptance speech
299.	(a Secretary of State) faces no consequence	BEING CONFRONTED WITH STHG. IS LOOKING AT STHG.	Acceptance speech
300.	facing justice for her terrible terrible crimes	BEING CONFRONTED WITH STHG. IS LOOKING AT STHG.	Acceptance speech
301.	the growing threats we face from outside the country	BEING CONFRONTED WITH STHG. IS LOOKING AT STHG.	Acceptance speech
302.	I have a different vision	HAVING A PLAN IS SEEING	Acceptance speech
303.	a person of similar views	BELIEVING IS SEEING	Acceptance speech
304.	political views	BELIEVING IS SEEING	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Seeing Metaphors			
305.	the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has disappeared over the horizon	LOSING IS MOVING OUT OF SIGHT	Inauguration speech
Holding Metaphors			
306.	who does not grasp this danger	UNDERSTANDING IS HOLDING	Acceptance speech
307.	how out of touch she really is	UNDERSTANDING IS HOLDING	Acceptance speech
308.	uphold our laws and our Constitution	ENFORCING LEGISLATION IS HOLDING UP AN OBJECT	Acceptance speech
309.	I'm reaching out to you for your guidance and your help	POSSESSION IS HOLDING	Victory speech
310.	beyond our reach	POSSESSION IS HOLDING	Victory speech
Other Metaphors			
311.	number one in her class	BEING THE BEST IS BEING FIRST	Acceptance speech
312.	Third World condition	BEING THE BEST IS BEING FIRST	Acceptance speech
313.	ISIS was not even on the map	EXISTENCE IS BEING ON A MAP	Acceptance speech
314.	thousands of lives lost	DEATH IS LOSS	Acceptance speech
315.	I will outline reforms	REFORMS ARE DRAWINGS	Acceptance speech
316.	reforms that I will outline	REFORMS ARE DRAWINGS	Acceptance speech
317.	She is their puppet	BEING UNDER CONTROL IS BEING A PUPPET	Acceptance speech
318.	they pull the strings	MANIPULATING IS PULLING STRINGS OF A PUPPET	Acceptance speech
319.	no longer have a voice	INFLUENCE IS VOICE	Acceptance speech
320.	trade deals that strip us of our jobs, and strip us of our wealth as a country	LOSING JOBS AND WEALTH IS BECOMING NAKED	Acceptance speech
321.	the best and brightest prosecutors	INTELLIGENT IS BRIGHT	Acceptance speech
322.	a signature message	A CHARACTERISTIC MESSAGE IS A SIGNATURE	Acceptance speech
323.	signature feature	A CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE IS A SIGNATURE	Acceptance speech
324.	brighter future	GOOD IS LIGHT	Victory speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Other Metaphors			
325.	we will embark upon a project of national growth and renewal	PROJECTS ARE SHIPS	Victory speech
326.	we will call upon the best and brightest	INTELLIGENT IS BRIGHT	Victory speech
327.	they're sharp (about Secret Service people)	INTELLIGENT IS SHARP	Victory speech
328.	we must think big and dream even bigger	BIG IS GOOD	Inauguration speech
329.	we stand at the birth of a new millennium	BEGINNING IS BIRTH	Inauguration speech
330.	we share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny	UNITY IS SHARING	Inauguration speech
331.	on the other hand	TWO DIFFERENT OPINIONS ARE TWO HANDS OF THE BODY	Acceptance speech
332.	on the other hand	TWO DIFFERENT OPINIONS ARE TWO HANDS OF THE BODY	Acceptance speech
333.	on the other hand	TWO DIFFERENT OPINIONS ARE TWO HANDS OF THE BODY	Acceptance speech
334.	firing their employees along the way	DESTROYING JOBS IS BURNING	Acceptance speech
335.	we will determine the course of America	AMERICA IS A SHIP	Inauguration speech
336.	to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to follow	GOOD IS LIGHT	Inauguration speech
337.	prevent you from speaking your minds from your own pulpits	EXPRESSING ONE'S OPINION IS PREACHING	Acceptance speech
338.	(one more child to sacrifice) on the order and on the altar of open borders	OPEN BORDERS ARE AN ALTAR FOR RITUAL SACRIFICE	Acceptance speech
339.	this American carnage stops right here and stops right now	SERIOUS PROBLEMS ARE SLAUGHTER	Inauguration speech
340.	a country of generosity and warmth	EMOTION IS TEMPERATURE	Acceptance speech
341.	she was strong, but also warm and fair-minded	KIND IS WARM	Acceptance speech

#	Text passage	Metaphor	Speech
Other Metaphors			
342.	to lift the restrictions on the production of American energy	RESTRICTIONS ARE WEIGHT	Acceptance speech
343.	take the pressure off	A FINANCIAL OBLIGATION IS PRESSURE	Acceptance speech
344.	people have borne the cost	EXPENSES ARE BAGGAGE	Inauguration speech
345.	it is finally time for a straightforward assessment of the state of our nation	TRUTH IS STRAIGHT	Acceptance speech
346.	I will present the facts plainly	TRUTH IS PLAIN	Acceptance speech
347.	plain facts	TRUTH IS PLAIN	Acceptance speech