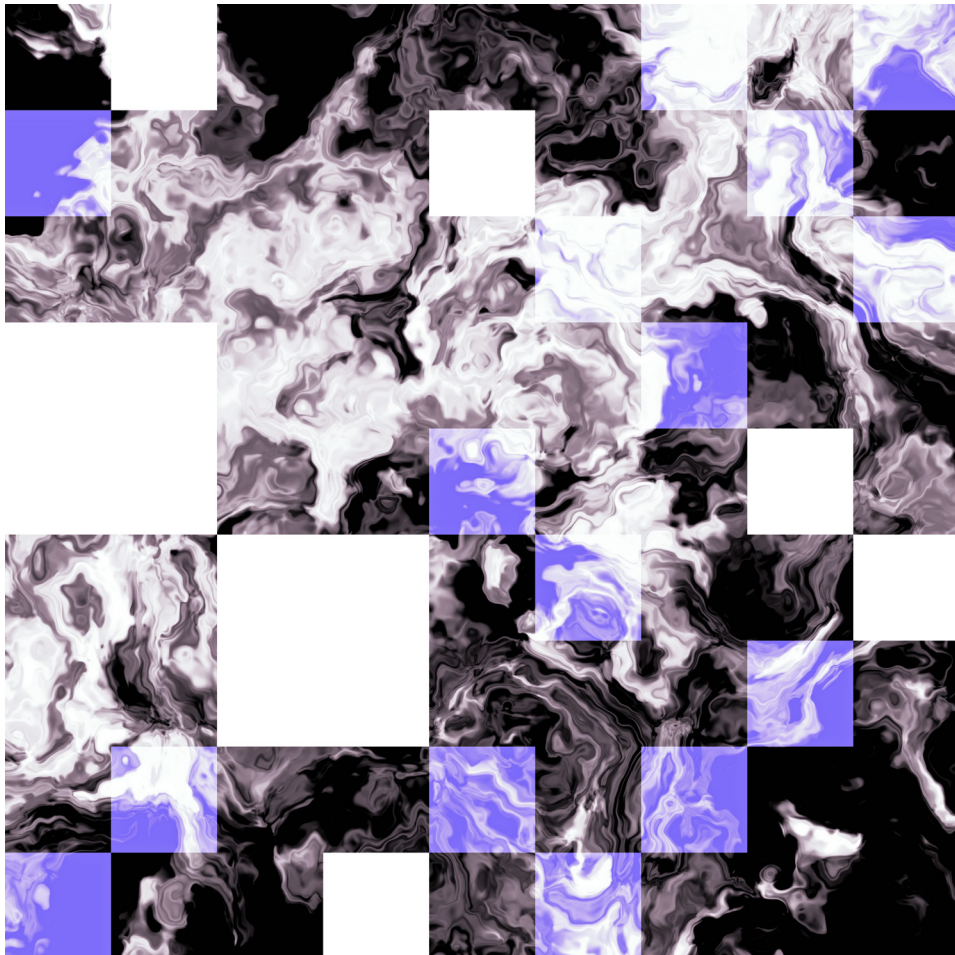


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Onkraj pristanka: važnost razmatranja šireg spektra govornih činova u kontekstu seksualnog odgoja

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Abstract

In this paper, I start from the assumption that sex education, either as a separate subject or in the form of an interdisciplinary topic, is an indispensable part of the modern school curriculum. Although it has not yet entered the Croatian education system under this name, certain important topics related to human sexuality can be found in the school curriculum. However, what is missing now is the issue of intimate and sexual communication. By this I do not mean conversations about sexuality and sexual relations with parents or teachers, but those among partners who are considering entering an intimate relationship or have already done so. In recent years, the term “consent” has been widely discussed, but this speech act is only one form of sexual communi-

cation. In this paper, I consider other speech acts important in the intimate sphere, such as “invitations”, “gifts”, the use of “safe words” and “intimate overtures”, whose proper use and understanding are based on general criteria of appropriate and successful communication. By mastering these general principles and discussing specific communicational interactions between partners, young people can learn to communicate better in the intimate sphere, which would lead to the improvement of their private relationships.

Keywords: *sex education, speech acts, consent, invitation, gifts, safe words, intimate overtures*

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1 Uvod

Na spomen seksualnog odgoja na pamet vam mogu pasti scene u kojima učitelj učenicima na banani ili sličnom voću ili povrću demonstrira kako navući prezervativ, ili pak razgovor o vrstama kontracepcije i spolno prenosivim bolestima. S lakoćom možete zamisliti kako bi se na takvom predmetu učilo i o temama poput razlike između roda i spola, rodni i seksualnih manjina ili pak o prostituciji. U ovome trenutku predmet koji bi se sveobuhvatno bavio ovim temama ne postoji u hrvatskom obrazovnom sustavu. Božo Pavićin, glavni savjetnik ministra znanosti i obrazovanja Radovana Fuchsa, za medije je izjavio kako se o takvom predmetu ni ne razmišlja (Cvrtila 2021) jer se takve teme obrađuju u međupredmetnoj temi Zdravlje. Iz Odluke o donošenju kurikulumu za međupredmetnu temu Zdravlje za osnovne škole i srednje škole u Republici Hrvatskoj (NN 10/2019) saznajemo kako ta tema uključuje tri domene: tjelesno zdravlje, mentalno i socijalno zdravlje te pomoć i samopomoć te kako se provodi kroz pet ciklusa od prvog razreda osnovne škole do četvrtog razreda srednjih škola. Predviđa se da će, u kontekstu seksualnog i spolnog odgoja, djeca učiti o tjelesnim razlikama između dječaka i djevojčica, o razvoju ljudskoga tijela od začeca do puberteta, što uključuje i spoznaju o važnosti higijene djevojaka/žena za vrijeme menstruacije, na primjer redovitu zamjenu higijenskih uložaka tijekom menstruacije. Nadalje, govori se o važnosti očuvanja reproduktivnoga zdravlja i razgovora o reproduktivnom zdravlju s roditeljima, učiteljima i stručnjacima, kao i o važnosti odgovornoga spolnoga ponašanja te uporabi zaštite, pri čemu se kao ključan sadržaj navode teme neplanirane trudnoće, maloljetničke trudnoće, pobačaja, utvrđivanja rane trudnoće te gdje i kako zatražiti pomoć, pitanje kontracepcije, vođenje menstrualnoga kalendara i određivanje plodnih dana pri ciklusu različitoga trajanja, a spominje se i razlikovanje između prikladnih i neprikladnih dodira.

Ipak, više od tri četvrtine građanki i građana Republike Hrvatske smatra da u škole treba uvesti sveobuhvatno seksualno obrazovanje, dok bi 72 posto ispitanih to obrazovanje u školama učinilo obveznim. Pokazalo je to istraživanje javnog mnijenja koje je u ožujku prošle godine agencija IPSOS provela za Centar za edukaciju, savjetovanje i istraživanje (CESI 2021). Stoga u radu krećemo s pretpostavkom da se teme vezane uz seksualni odgoj u školama mogu širiti ili da će se jednom i uvesti poseban sveobuhvatni predmet koji bi se bavio ljudskom seksualnošću.

U gore navedenom popisu tema iz međupredmetne teme Zdravlje nedostaju mnogi aspekti vezani uz ljudsku seksualnost, no u ovom ću se radu usredotočiti na važan čimbenik u svim međuljudskim vezama, a to je komunikacija. Među temama koje se nalaze na popisu relevantnih školskih tema su one vezene uz razgovor „o reproduktivnom zdravlju s roditeljima, učiteljima i stručnjacima“, ipak, nedostaje ključan element komunikacije u seksualnom i intimnom kontekstu, a to je komunikacija s partnerom ili partnericom.

Upravo je formalno obrazovanje pogodan prostor za takvo što jer ako su mladi prepušteni stihijskom učenju o seksualnosti, mogu, na primjer gledajući pornografski sadržaj, lako pomisliti da je razgovor o seksualnoj želji, kontracepciji ili određenoj seksualnoj radnji sasvim nepotreban. Jednako tako, stvaraju se nerealna očekivanja o seksualnom odnosu, njegovom cilju te samoj provedbi. Kako to navodi Lehmler, pornografija sama po sebi nije problem, no može to postati kada zamijeni seksualni odgoj (Lehmler 2018, pogl. 8). Učenje da kod zavođenja i seksualnog odnosa riječi nisu potrebne te da se u takvim situacijama sve odvija spontano i instinktivno pogrešno je. Priopćiti vlastite želje, maštarije, strahove i inhibicije veoma je važno kako bi odnos bio izgrađen na povjerenju i iskrenosti. Svladavanje takve otvorene komunikacije nije lako, no može se naučiti, ili barem poboljšati. Važno je naglasiti i da iako je izravna verbalna komunikacija ključna, kod zavođenja, ali i kod svih drugih međuljudskih interakcija, verbalne insinucije, ali i neverbalni znakovi isto tako igraju važnu ulogu. Tako, na primjer, ako osoba s kojom se želite upustiti u intimni odnos izrijekom pristaje na to, no pritom se iz njezina govora tijela iščitava nervoza tada je iz opreza bolje stati i razriješiti tu kontradikciju između verbalne i neverbalne sfere. Možda je sve u redu i osoba će se uskoro opustiti, no možda je ipak nesprijetna na taj korak.

Ovdje se nećemo baviti neverbalnom komunikacijom, ali ćemo se, uz izravnu, posvetiti i neizravnoj verbalnoj komunikaciji koja je često sastavni dio zavođenja i seksualnih interakcija. Ipak, prije no što se posvetimo toj domeni ljudskog djelovanja predstaviti ćemo općenitu teoriju govornih činova, koja objašnjava djelatnu prirodu jezika, odgovornu za konkretne reperkusije jezika u stvarnome svijetu. Vjerujem da takav pragmatički metodološki pristup može na optimalan način objasniti složenost ljudske komunikacije, ali i pravilnosti kojima je vođena. Kako u drugim domenama, tako i u onoj seksualne i intimne komunikacije na koju se lako primjenjuje.

2 Govorni činovi

Prije no što prijedemo na govorne činove u intimnoj domeni, uvest ćemo ih kroz neke druge, u literaturi zastupljenije primjere, koji čitatelju pružaju uvid u raznolikost i širinu primjene govornih činova. Možemo reći i kako se ljudsko sporazumijevanje u najvišem dijelu odvija upravo pomoću govornih činova, to jest ljudskog djelovanja ostvarenog jezičnim sredstvima¹. Tako na primjer iskazom „Proglašavam vas mužem i ženom“ matičar

¹ Ako želimo ulaziti u tehnikalije, možemo reći da je teorija govornih činova specifična teorija značenja, to jest teorija koja pokušava odgovoriti na pitanje što je uopće značenje, prema kojoj se značenje jezičnih izraza može objasniti pravilima koja reguliraju njihovu upotrebu u izvođenju različitih govornih radnji (npr. opominjanje, tvrdnje, zapovijedanje, uzvikivanje, obećanje, ispitivanje, upozoravanje). Za razliku od teorija koje tvrde da jezični izrazi imaju značenje na temelju njihovog doprinosa uvjetima istinitosti

može sklopiti brak između dvoje ljudi. Ono što je važno naglasiti jest da su govorni činovi konvencionalni utoliko što njihovo uspješno izvođenje ovisi o eksplicitnim ili implicitnim društvenim konvencijama. Na primjer, izgovaranjem riječi „Proglašavam vas mužem i ženom“ matičar može sklopiti brak između dvoje ljudi, ali izgovaranjem tih istih riječi to neće postići zajednički prijatelj para koji nije matičar. Čak i u slučaju da brak sklapaju matičar ili svećenik, koji su za takvo što ovlašteni, oni moraju poštivati točno određene jezične i nejezične procedure kako bi govorni čin bio ispravno ostvaren. To nam pokazuje i nedavni slučaj otkriven u medijima vezan uz katoličkog svećenika koji je odstupio s dužnosti nakon što je optužen za nevažeća krštenja. Naime, otac Andres Arango iz američkog Phoenixa, koji je u svojoj svećeničkoj karijeri obavio tisuće krštenja, pri toj je ceremoniji izgovarao rečenicu „Krstimo te u ime Oca i Sina i Duha Svetoga“, no ispravna formulacija koju je trebao koristiti glasi „Krstim te u ime Oca i Sina i Duha Svetoga“, dakle problem je prouzročilo korištenje prvog lica množine umjesto prvog lica jednine glagola „krstiti“. Vatikanska Kongregacija za nauk vjere 2020. godine potvrdila je kako korištena formula koja započinje s „Krstimo...“ nije valjana i da ljudi pri čijem je krštenju korištena moraju ponoviti primanje tog sakramenta (Slobodna Dalmacija, 2022). Takve situacije nisu prisutne samo pri religijskim obredima. Tako je 44. predsjednik Sjedinjenih Američkih Država, Barack Obama, 2009. godine ponovio svoju inauguracijsku zakletvu zbog pogrešnog redoslijeda izgovorenih riječi. U ovom slučaju, John Roberts, predsjednik Vrhovnog suda Sjedinjenih Američkih Država koji je vodio inauguraciju, krivo je izgovorio tekst inauguracije koji je Obama u ceremoniji ponovio. Greška je bila u tome što je izrekao rečenicu „Obnašat ću dužnost predsjednika Sjedinjenih država vjerno“ umjesto „Vjerno ću obnašati dužnost predsjednika Sjedinjenih Država“. Kako bi uklonili sumnje u legitimitet Obamina preuzimanja predsjedničkih dužnosti jer nije izgovorio zakletvu točno kako je propisano, Roberts i Obama idući su dan u Bijeloj kući opet izveli ceremoniju zakletve kako je to navedeno u ustavu (Mason 2009).

Navedeni primjeri govornih činova iz različitih životnih domena naglašavaju važnost poštivanja određenih institucionalnih pravila pri njihovome izvođenju. Ipak, konvencionalnost govornih činova ne iscrpljuje se u njihovom institucionalnom obliku. Svi govorni činovi vođeni su određenim pravilnostima i uvjetima koji ih čine uspješnima i prikladnima. Jedan od standardnih primjera neinstitucionalnih govornih činova jest obećanje. Uvjete koje Searle navodi za iskazivanje iskrenog obećanja (Searle 1965, 131–134) možemo parafrazirati na sljedeći način. Kako bismo nešto nekome obećali i mi i osoba

rečenica u kojima se pojavljuju, ona objašnjava jezično značenje upotrebom riječi i rečenica pri izvođenju radnji govorom. Takve teorije upotrebe smatraju upravo govorne činove temeljnim komunikacijskim jedinicama (vidi npr. Lycan 2018). U ovome radu nećemo se toliko baviti samom teorijom govornih činova i njezinom analizom, već ćemo kroz primjere pokušati ukazati na neke njezine elemente koje ćemo koristiti u razmatranju intimne komunikacije.

kojoj dajemo obećanje moramo imati određeno znanje jezika koji koristimo, oboje moramo biti svjesni onoga što činimo, govornik ne smije djelovati pod prijetnjom, ne smije biti riječ o šali i slično. Recimo da su ovo početni preduvjeti za obećanje. Nadalje, pri obećanju radi se uvijek o budućoj radnji, ne možemo obećati prošlu radnju. Jednako tako ne možemo obećati da će netko drugi učiniti nešto. Osim toga, obećanje nije ispravno ako osoba kojoj nešto obećamo ne želi da izvršimo obećanje, tj. osobi kojoj se nešto obećava trebalo bi biti draže kada bi govornik ispunio obećanje nego kada to ne bi učinio. Na taj način razlikujemo obećanje od drugih govornih činova poput prijetnje. Osim toga, pri iskrenom obećanju govornik namjerava ispuniti obećanje, ali jednako tako on mora vjerovati da je to obećanje ostvarivo. Dakle, ne možemo obećati nešto što ne planiramo učiniti ili pak nešto što ne možemo učiniti. I za kraj, obećanje obvezuje govornika koji ga je izrekao da ga i ostvari. Slični uvjeti mogu se konstruirati i za druge govorne činove, na primjer, neprikladno je uvečer pozdraviti s „dobro jutro“, naređivati stvari nadređenim osobama, obraćati se sa „ti“ starijima i slično. Naravno, svaki od njih ima svoje posebnosti. Dakle, da bi se neki govorni čin uspješno izveo, trebaju biti zadovoljeni određeni uvjeti, to jest, mora postojati prihvaćena konvencionalna procedura pri kojoj određene osobe u prikladnim okolnostima izgovaraju određene riječi, i to ispravno i potpuno. Ta procedura vodi buduće ponašanje sudionika koji moraju imati namjeru djelovati u skladu s njom (prema Austin 2014, 19–27).

Naravno, procedure se mogu kršiti i to će dovesti do neuspjeha govornog čina. No to kršenje neće na sve govorne činove jednako utjecati. Ako se ne pridržavamo propisane procedure pri sklapanju braka i umjesto „uzimam“ izgovorimo nešto drugo ili ako se ne možemo uopće vjenčati jer smo već u braku s drugom osobom taj čin, dakle, sklapanje braka, ne možemo uopće izvršiti. S druge strane, ako kažemo „Čestitam“, ali ne vjerujemo da je osoba kojoj smo uputili te riječi ičime zaslužila čestitku neiskreni smo, iako smo čin obećanja izvršili. Jednako smo tako neiskreni ako nešto obećamo bez da imamo namjeru ispuniti svoje obećanje. Neiskreni smo i ako damo nekome savjet ne vjerujući u to da bi za tu osobu bilo korisno da nas poslušaju. U ovakvim slučajevima ne možemo reći da nismo obećali ili dali savjet, ali smo to učinili neiskreno, stoga je govorni čin, iako je izvede, neuspješan. Dakle, u slučajevima prve vrste zbog kršenja procedure govorni čin nije uopće ostvaren, dok u slučajevima druge vrste govorni čin jest ostvaren, ali je manjkav.

Nadalje, između raznih govornih činova mogu se pronaći još neke razlike, pa tako za razliku od formalnih procedura, svakodnevni govorni činovi ne moraju biti eksplicitni. One eksplicitne prepoznat ćete po glagolima koji ukazuju na njihovu performativnost. Tako obećati možemo iskazom „Obećavam da ću doći večeras“ u kojemu je prisutan performativni glagol „obećati“ koji govorni čin čini eksplicitnim. S druge strane, obećanje

možemo, u prikladnim okolnostima, izvršiti i implicitno, bez performativnih glagola iskazom poput „Dolazim večeras“.

No, osim što mogu biti implicitno iskazani, govorni činovi mogu biti i neizravni, to jest, površinski se može činiti da govornik izriče jednu vrstu čina, dok zapravo čini nešto drugo. Tako se, na primjer, kod aluzije, ironije ili metafore značenje govornikovog iskaza i rečenice ne poklapaju. To se događa i kod mnogih iskaza u kojima ni ne primjećujemo takvu neizravnost. Na primjer govornik može reći „Želim da to učiniš“ – to je na izravnoj razini izjava, ali ono što se primarno izriče jest zahtjev. Moguće je i da govornik izgovara rečenicu i podrazumijeva ono što govori, ali i drugu ilokuciju s različitim sadržaja suda. Na primjer, govornik može reći „Možeš li mi dodati sol?“ i ovim pitanjem u stvari zahtijevati ili zamoliti da mu se doda sol. Prema Searlu, kod neizravnih govornih činova govornik prenosi slušatelju više nego što *de facto* kaže pouzdajući se u njihove zajedničke pozadinske informacije, jezične i nejezične, i na slušateljeve racionalne i logičke sposobnosti: „aparatus koji je potreban za objašnjenje neizravnog dijela neizravnih govornih činova uključuje teoriju govornih činova, određene opće principe suradničkog razgovora [...] i uzajamno dostupne pozadinske informacije govornika i slušatelja, zajedno sa sposobnošću slušatelja da izvodi zaključke“ (Searle 1975, 61).

Searle razmatra primjer indirektnog govornog čina nalik ovome:

- (1) Ivan: Hajdemo u kino večeras.
- (2) Marko: Moram učiti za ispit.

Iskaz (1) je prijedlog, a iskaz (2) u ovom kontekstu označava odbijanje tog prijedloga, ali ne zbog svoga značenja. Gledajući njegovo značenje radi se samo o tvrdnji o činjenici vezanoj uz Marka. Slušateljevo (nesvjesno) zaključivanje odvija se u nekoliko koraka. U prvome se utvrđuju činjenice o razgovoru poput toga što je tko rekao, nadalje pretpostavlja se da je sugovornik, Marko, suradnički nastrojen te da je njegova opaska relevantna za razgovor koji vode. U ovom kontekstu, relevantan odgovor bio bi prihvaćanje prijedloga, njegovo odbijanje, davanje novog prijedloga itd. Markov izravni odgovor nije nešto od toga, stoga Ivan može pretpostaviti da govornik podrazumijeva više od onog što je rekao. Ivan zna da učenje za ispit zahtijeva puno vremena, kao i da odlazak u kino troši vrijeme. Stoga, Ivan zaključuje kako Marko vjerojatno ne može ići i u kino i učiti za ispit u istoj večeri te da stoga odbija njegov prijedlog za odlazak u kino.

U ovom kratkom i donekle pojednostavljenom osvrtu na govorne čine vidjeli smo kako su oni slojevite ljudske radnje čije ispravno iščitavanje i korištenje vode određena formalna i neformalna pravila te kako mogu biti implicitni ili eksplicitni, kao i izravni ili neizravni. Za njihovo pravilno razumijevanje od temeljne važnosti bit će da su sve osobe uključene u komunikacijsku razmjenu suradnički nastrojene te da aktivno prate

reakcije sugovornika te svoje ponašanje aktivno modificiraju u skladu s ciljem i tijekom razgovora².

Vratimo se sada na temu komunikacije u seksualnom i intimnom kontekstu, koja je vođena istim općim pravilima koje smo ovdje naveli i koja čitatelj treba imati na umu. Za početak krećemo s govornim činom pristanka.

3 Govorni čin pristanka

Klasična tema u razgovorima o seksualnoj komunikaciji jest pristanak na seksualni odnos, ili na engleskom, „consent“. Millum i Bromwich pojašnjavaju kako „dajući pristanak, kompetentne odrasle osobe mogu dopustiti čine koji bi inače bili kršenja njihovih prava“ (Millum i Bromwich 2018, 45). Da se poslužimo primjerom koji nudi Dougherty, ako nekome dopustite da uđe u vašu kuću, to jest date svoj pristanak na takvo što, lišavate ga dužnosti da ne stupa nezakonito na tuđe tlo (Dougherty 2015, 233). Millum i Bromwich predlažu ideju da osoba koja daje pristanak mora razumjeti tri stvari kako bi pristanak bio valjan: (1) da daje pristanak, (2) kako ostvariti svoje pravo na davanje ili uskraćivanje pristanka i (3) na što se traži da pristane.

Kako bi osoba znala da daje pristanak, mora joj biti jasno da se on od nje traži te na taj zahtjev mora odgovoriti pristankom, a ne nekim drugim govornim činom. Drugi uvjet govori nam kako se pravo na pristanak ostvaruje na razne načine, na primjer verbalno, gestom ili pak potpisom. Pojašnjavajući treći uvjet, to jest ideju da osoba mora razumjeti na što pristaje, predlažu kako osoba koja daje pristanak i osoba koja dobiva pristanak moraju imati zajedničko razumijevanje načina na koji se njihov odnos mijenja predmetom pristanka, to jest, što nakon njega slijedi. U kontekstu seksualne komunikacije, bitno je pristaje li osoba samo na poljubac ili na neku drugu vrstu dodira.

Ovakva koncepcija pristanka ocrtava ga kao izvanjsku aktivnost osobe, to jest izraz određenih stavova pojedinca, vrstu čina. Ipak, to nije jedini pristup pitanju pristanka.

U literaturi možemo pronaći dva vodeća pristupa prirodi pristanka: mentalističko i performativno. Mentalističko shvaćanje pristanka zastupaju, između ostalih Alexander, Hurd i Westen (2016). Autori predstavljaju primjer u kojemu žena, nazovimo je Danica, želi stupiti u seksualni odnos s Ivanom, no opire se njegovom zavodjenju kako ne bi ispala laka. Kada on neovisno o tome ustraje u svojim nastojanjima te dolazi do seksualnog odnosa, prema njima nije joj učinjeno ništa nažao jer je zapravo sve prošlo kako se i navela. Navode kako bi se muškarca moglo teretiti za seksualni napad, no ustraju na tome

² Za čitatelje koji žele znati više o teoriji govornih činova preporučamo knjige *Kako djelovati riječima* Johna L. Austina (Zagreb: Disput, 2014) te *Govorni činovi: ogled iz filozofije jezika* Johna R. Searlea (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2018), kao i članak Johna R. Searlea „A Taxonomy of Illocutionary Acts“ iz 1975. godine u kojemu autor iznosi svoju poznatu podjelu govornih činova.

da nije učinio ništa loše, to jest, nije Danici nanio nikakvu štetu. Prema njima, pristanak je mentalno stanje. Kako bismo primjer pojasnili, možemo ga interpretirati tako da pretpostavimo da autori razlučuju dvije razine pristanka. Unutarnju, koja se događa unutar same osobe i vanjsku, po njima sporednu, koja se odvija između više osoba. O ovom je primjeru Danica dala unutarnji pristanak na spolni čin, iako je izostala vanjska manifestacija te njezine namjere. Autori na taj način razlikuju između štete i krivice, što može biti važna pravna podjela.

Ipak, ljudska mentalna stanja različita su, to mogu biti vjerovanja, želje, maštanja i drugi oblici ljudskih unutarnjih sadržaja. Ja mogu vjerovati da je nebo plavo te podijeliti to vjerovanje s drugima ili ga zadržati za sebe. Jednako tako mogu maštati o odlasku u Pariz i opet, učiniti tu želju javnom ili je zadržati za sebe. Nadalje, prema toj maštariji mogu djelovati; kupiti avionsku kartu i otići u Pariz, gledati dokumentarne filmove o tom gradu ili ne učiniti ništa. Kada govorimo o seksualnim maštarijama, postoje mnoge koje bi trebale ostati samo u našim glavama te se u stvarnosti ne bi trebale povoditi. To su zasigurno one koje uključuju da se naudi drugoj osobi koja nije pristala na takvo što ili pak osobi koja ima maštariju u mjeri koja nadilazi njezin užitak. Maštarije o egzibicionizmu i voajerizmu isto tako ne bi trebalo provoditi u stvarnosti jer uključuju osobe koje ne žele biti njihov dio. Nadalje, postojat će maštarije čije uspješno ostvarenje ovisi o danom kontekstu, o tome s kim se žele ostvariti i kada (vidi Lehmilller, poglavlje 7). Dakle, seksualne maštarije, kao i želja da se s nekim uopće stupi u seksualni odnos ne moraju se i ostvariti. Na primjer, možete željeti aferu s oženjenim kolegom, no kako mislite da bi ostvarivanje te želje bilo nemoralno, nećete na temelju nje djelovati, iako joj se povremeno možete vraćati bez da ikome naštetite.

No je li pristanak mentalno stanje? To jest, možemo li na pristanak gledati samo kao na unutarnje stanje osobe? Smatram da ne možemo, kao što to, na primjer, ne možemo na taj način gledati na zahvale. Mogu prema nekome osjećati zahvalnost, no dok ne djelujem po tom osjećaju i izrazim ga, na primjer verbalnim iskazom, ne mogu reći da sam nekome zahvalila. Jednako tako, mogu željeti intiman odnos s nekim, no dok tu želju ne verbaliziram ili je dam do znanja na neki drugi način nisam pristala na takav odnos. Upravo zato, u ovom se radu priklanam peformativnom pristupu pristanku. Prema performativnom shvaćanju pristanka kakvo, između ostalih, predlaže Dougherty (2015), namjera nije dovoljna za moralno valjani pristanak, već je za to potrebna javna komunikacija. Namjera je kod komunikacije veoma bitna, ona je njezin preduvjet. Kada govorimo želimo drugima prenijeti određeni informativni sadržaj, takvo što se ne događa slučajno i ovisi upravo o našoj namjeri da to učinimo. Grice je jedan od klasičnih autora koji su pojam namjere stavili u središte svoje teorije o jeziku i komunikaciji. Prema Griceu (1957) značenje onog što neka osoba govori ovisi o tome što želi poručiti. No sama namjera nije

dovoljna, nju slušatelj mora prepoznati da bi komunikacija uspjela. Stoga slušatelj mora imati dodatnu namjeru, namjeru da njegova namjera da nešto poruči bude prepoznata. Važnost namjere ide onkraj verbalne komunikacije. Na primjer, vozaču u automobilu iza vas možete htjeti poručiti da skrećete ulijevo time što ćete upaliti lijevi pokazivač smjera. Osoba će vjerojatno odmah shvatiti što joj želite poručiti i sukladno reagirati, na primjer prikočiti, upravo zbog toga što je ispravno prepoznala vašu namjeru. Ipak, koliko god sama namjera bila bitna, kako bi ona drugim osobama koje sudjeluju u interakciji bila dostupna osoba koja ima tu namjeru mora je na određeni način iskazati. U slučaju skretanja, paljenjem pokazivača, a u slučaju jezične komunikacije verbaliziranjem te namjere.

Dakle, uspješna javna komunikacija pri kojoj izražavamo svoja mentalna stanja ne mora biti eksplicitna pa čak ni verbalna, a razina eksplicitnosti ovisi o kontekstu i o ozbiljnosti situacije o kojoj je riječ, no komunikacijska namjera mora biti izražena. Dougherty navodi upravo pristanak na seksualni čin kao primjer ozbiljne situacije visokog rizika u kojoj obje strane moraju snažno vjerovati da takav pristanak postoji i da je on jasan. To je nužno kako bi se stvorila i održala odgovornost pri seksualnim susretima, što kako bi se pojedinci zaštitili od neželjenog spolnog čina, što kako bi se utvrdilo značenje tog čina za sve uključene strane. Stoga, pristanak na seksualni čin mora biti jednoznačan, ipak, to ne znači da uvijek mora biti eksplicitan ili verbalan. Autor navodi primjer u kojemu jedan partner drugome stavlja prezervativ, time mu dajući pristanak na spolni čin. Višeznačnost je češće moguća među ljudima koji su se tek upoznali jer osobe koje se dulje znaju imaju na raspolaganju više strategija i dokaza koji mogu voditi njihovo ponašanje.

Ipak, i ovaj pristup razgovor o i oko seksualnih odnosa između dviju strana svodi na pristanak da se određeni seksualni čin, većinom shvaćen kao penetracija, dogodi. Takav je fokus možda opravdan iz pravnog aspekta kada se pokuša utvrditi je li nešto slučaj silovanja ili ne, pri čemu se silovanje određuje kao seksualni odnos bez pristanka, jer je u pravnoj domeni dobro imati jasan kriterij prema kojemu se određena presuda može dosuditi, no time se izostavljaju mnogi drugi komunikacijski slojevi vezani uz seksualne odnose, a i perpetuiraju se vjerovanje da je silovanje jedini način na koji intimni odnos može poći po zlu. Takva klasifikacija visoko podiže ljestvicu seksualnih prekršaja jer kako piše Kukla „nevoljko ikoga stavljamo u takvu pogrdnu kategoriju [silovatelja] osim ako baš nužno ne moramo“ (Kukla 2018, 94).

Pristanak ponekad ni s pravne strane neće biti nedvojbeno dovoljan kriterij za presudu o tome jesu li nekome prava prekršena. Uzmimo kao primjer slučaj Donne McLean koja je godinama bila u vezi s policajcem na tajnom zadatku te mu je služila kao paravan kako bi mogao neometano sakupljati informacije o aktivističkim djelatnostima u njezinome kraju (McLean 2022). Njegov odlazak pod pomno osmišljenom izlikom, ali posebice činjenica da je cijela njihova veza zapravo bila lažna ostavilo je na njoj velike emotivne

posljedice. Sve u toj vezi bilo je poput uvrnute kazališne predstave ili filma u kojoj samo jedna strana zna sve informacije, a druga živi u iluziji iskrenosti. U takvom kontekstu, koliko vrijedi pristanak na spolni odnos s drugom osobom kada se on temelji na laži? Donna je saznala da policajac s kojim je bila zaručena ima drugu, „pravu“ obitelj. Dakle, ako je njezin pristanak značio nadu za ulazak u monogamnu vezu, ona je izigrana. Donna je s drugim ženama koje su se našle u istoj situaciji kao i ona podnijela tužbu protiv londonske Metropolitanske policije zbog „psihološkog mučenja“. Postupak je trajao pet godina i rezultirao je odštetom.

Ovdje možemo parafrazirati Wonga i sur. koji pišu o informiranom pristanku u medicini i reći kako je takav informirani pristanak, dakle pristanak do kojeg dolazi u kontekstu u kojemu je govornik dovoljno informiran o onome na što pristaje, kao prvo, zapravo izraz poštovanja prema onome koji taj pristanak traži, u medicinskom kontekstu liječniku ili znanstveniku, i to upravo zato što osoba koja daje pristanak to čini potpuno slobodno te, kao drugo, znak da postupak na koji se pristaje prolazi kroz prikladne, institucionalno regulirane procese te je stoga osoba koja na njega pristaje zaštićena (Wong i sur. 2021, 2). Kada takvo razmišljanje preslikamo na međuljudski kontekst seksualnih odnosa vidimo da Donna nije dala „informirani“ pristanak na odnos s policajcem na tajnom zadatku. On ju je na to naveo svojim lažima te procesi koji su do njega doveli nisu bili iskrene intimne prirode, već proračunati i poslovni. Jasno, ovaj je slučaj ekstreman, no tjera nas da uvidimo kako čak ni eksplicitan pristanak nije dovoljan u slučaju da se temelji na određenim sebičnim interesima i manipulaciji. Kao i svaki drugi govorni čin, čin pristanka mora biti izveden ispravno. Kao što smo već vidjeli, moraju postojati određene konvencionalne procedure te ih svi uključeni moraju poštivati te izvesti u potpunosti, uzimajući u obzir prihvatljivo vrijeme i mjesto radnje. Ako su razlozi zbog kojih se seksualni odnos nudi ili prihvaća skriveni, tada sam čin pristanka postaje neuspješan. U takvom je slučaju govorni čin ostvaren, ali je neuspješan zbog neiskrenosti, skrivenih motiva ili drugačijeg viđenja toga do čega pristanak na spolni odnos ili pak sam spolni odnos dovodi.

Da se vratimo na uvjete Milluma i Bromwicha, pristanak je uspješan kada je jasno da je riječ o pristanku, a ne o nekom drugom govornom činu, na što upućuju kontekst i prethodna komunikacija uključenih strana. Pristanak mora biti voljan, kako bismo ga razlikovali od iznude, a mora se ograničiti i na ostvarive činove, ne možemo pristati na nešto što je neizvedivo. Nadalje, bitno je znati kako pristati, ali i kako odbiti dati pristanak na neku radnju te mora biti jasno kako se odnos mijenja nakon pristanka. To se ne iscrpljuje u tome je li došlo do intimnog odnosa i koje su sve intimne radnje poduzete, već uključuje i što se događa nakon toga. Je li netko pristao na čin jer je očekivao romantičnu vezu nakon njega, je li osjećao da je od početka takve veze prošlo previše da bi se seksualni odnos odgađao, ali ga ne želi tako skoro ponoviti i tako dalje. Da se vratimo na

Donnin slučaj. Ona je pristala na seksualni odnos jer je vjerovala da implicira ozbiljnu monogamnu vezu, no već je na početku to bilo neostvarivo jer je osoba s kojom se upustila u intiman odnos bila policajac na tajnom zadatku koji ima obitelj. Dakle, možemo reći da je Donna pristala na nešto drugo od onoga što je njezin partner nudio te da stoga pristanak nije valjan. Važno je zapaziti da u tom slučaju pristanak seže puno dublje od seksualnog odnosa, ali i da se romantični i seksualni odnos vjerojatno nisu odvijali samo kroz formu govornog čina pristanka u kojemu jedna osoba nešto nudi, a druga to prihvaća ili odbija. Donna i njezin partner flertovali su, upoznavali se, slali si dvoznačne poruke i sl. U nastavku ćemo stoga sagledati neke druge govorne činove važne za intimne odnose, počevši od onih koje predstavlja Kukla (2018).

4 Neki drugi govorni činovi u kontekstu seksualnosti

Kukla se u svom radu želi odmaknuti od pojma seksualnog pristanka, koji, iako je bitan, nije onaj koji određuje najveći broj seksualnih odnosa³. Smatra kako su jedini govorni činovi koji su u tom kontekstu dobili teorijsku i filozofsku pažnju pristanak i, uz njega posljedično i odbijanje. Takve su rasprave uvijek usredotočene na ono što u takvim odnosima može poći po zlu, kako se ljude može zavarati, prisiliti na neku radnju, smatrati odgovornima za nešto što nisu smjeli nikad obećati te silovati. Navodi i kako pristanak, koliko god iskren bio nikad nije dovoljan kako bi sve u seksualnom činu bilo kako treba jer možemo pristati i na dosadan, neugodan ili otuđujući seksualni odnos, a vidjeli smo i da pristanak može biti posljedica obmane. Za dobar seksualni odnos potrebna je dobra sveobuhvatna komunikacija, i to ne samo u trenutku kada je otvoreno pitanje hoće li do spolnog odnosa doći ili ne, već i tijekom i nakon čina. Takva je otvorena komunikacija važna jer oslanjanje na neko pretpostavljeno znanje i usklađenost želja među partnerima često nije dobra ideja, posebice kod osoba koje se ne poznaju dovoljno.

Kao što smo već napomenuli, u paradigmatičkim slučajevima pristanka jedna osoba uvijek aktivno želi seksualni odnos, dok druga pasivno na njega pristaje i tako dopušta da do njega dođe. Uz to, slika koja se pritom stvara je uvijek ona u kojoj je muškarac aktivni djelatnik koji potiče na takav odnos, a žena je ona koja mu dopušta ili odbija određene radnje (Kukla 2018, 75). Kukla zapaža i kako je došlo do pozitivnog pomaka od modela „Ne znači ne“ prema principu „Da znači da“, gdje fokus nije na odbijanju neželjenog čina, već na aktivnom izricanju dopuštenja da do željenog čina dođe. Iako je takva promjena pozitivna, u središtu je i dalje striktna podjela uloga, a ne aktivno djelovanje oba partnera. Takvo aktivno sudjelovanje u kontekstu seksualnih odnosa nije jednostavno: „komunikacija nam je potrebna kako bismo bili jasni i uspješni jer greške pri komunikaciji

³ Kukla svoj stav djelomično gradi na idejama koje su iznijeli Millar 2008 i Anderson 2005.

u seksualnoj domeni mogu dovesti do ogromne štete. A ipak, uobičajeni erotski govor neizravan je“ (Kukla 2018, 75). Dok flertujemo i zavodimo, ali i tijekom samog seksualnog čina često se služimo insinucijama, elipsama, metaforama i drugim neizravnim i implicitnim jezičnim sredstvima. Kako bismo i u tim situacijama uspješno komunicirali, Kukla predlaže da o „seksualnim pregovorima“, kako ih naziva, razmišljamo kao o posebnoj vrsti komunikacije koja se odvija u „alternativnom diskurznom okviru“ (Kukla 2018, 75), kojim upravljaju lokalne unutarnje norme koje određuju što riječi i rečenice znače. Unutar tog okvira, konotativna značenja i nedoslovni govor su norma. Zanimljivo je ovdje osvrnuti se na riječ „ne“, za koju se tvrdi kako u seksualnom kontekstu ima jedno, fiksno značenje negacije. Ipak, kako to primjećuje Kukla, unutar tog konteksta ta riječ može imati i druga značenja, to jest, ne mora označavati kraj seksualnog čina. To je posebice jasno u kontekstu BDSM-a u kojemu jedna strana prepušta drugoj potpunu kontrolu nad onim što će se tijekom seksualnog susreta dogoditi. Ipak, i izvan tog konteksta, u odnosu velikog dijela osoba koje se puštaju u seksualne odnose, „ne“ ne znači uvijek „ne“, no, tvrdi Kukla, upravo zbog toga je neophodno znati u kojem se komunikacijskom okviru osobe nalaze.

Iako intimna i seksualna komunikacija imaju svoje specifičnosti, smatram kako govor o različitim diskurzivnim okvirima nije potreban jer seksualna domena po svojim komunikacijskim strategijama ipak ne odudara značajno od uobičajene komunikacije, koja se uvijek prilagođava i nijansira ovisno o tome s kim smo u komunikacijskoj interakciji, je li to prijatelj, član obitelji, poslovni suradnik, koliko nam je u toj komunikaciji ugodno, koliko smo sigurni u ono što govorimo i sličnome. Nadalje, kada govorimo o alternativnom diskurzu pretpostavlja se da postoji neki drugi diskurz koji je primaran ili neutralan i koji vrijedi za sve ostale domene ljudske komunikacije te da je seksualna komunikacija neka iščašena domena s posebnim pravilima koja treba zasebno učiti. Takvo gledanje na intimnu i seksualnu komunikaciju ocrtava je, uz sve tabue koji su uz nju i dalje u društvu prisutni, kao neku stranu i mističnu domenu. I iz tog je razloga bolje gledati na tu vrstu komunikacije kao na još samo jedno moguće račvanje u općoj strukturi svakodnevne komunikacije, kakva su i prijateljska komunikacija, obiteljska ili poslovna. O povezanosti, kao i kontinuitetu, intimnih i ostalih aspekata ljudske komunikacije svjedoči i činjenica da se govor o pristanku iz seksualne domene proširio i na druge, pa tako govorimo o traženju pristanka da, na primjer, nećaka uštipnemo za obraz. Taj kontekst nije seksualan, no i u njemu su prisutna „pregovaranja“ u Kuklinu smislu. Da se radi o dvije sasvim odijeljene domene takvo što ne bi bilo moguće.

Kukla ipak ispravno zapaža i da se usredotočenošću na pristanak zanemaruju drugi načini na koji osobe stupaju u seksualne odnose, a koji su mnogo učestaliji od upita o spremnosti na seksualni odnos i niječni ili potvrdni odgovor na njega. Izdvaja dva takva

govorna čina: „pozivanje“ i „darivanje“. Pozivanja ostavljaju pozvanoj osobi mogućnost da sadržaj govornog čina odbije bez da pritom prekrši kakvu normu, no istovremeno ona moraju izražavati dobrodošlicu. Kao i drugi govorni činovi, pozivanja su vođena uvjetima uspješnosti i prikladnosti. Kada govorimo o seksualnim kontekstima, početak seksualnog odnosa najčešće će imati upravo oblik pozivanja, a ne pitanja za dopuštenje. Pozivanje otvara mogućnost seksualnog odnosa, točnije nadu da će do njega doći. Njime se izražava želja, ali se ništa ne zahtjeva. Iako odbijanje može biti razočaravajuće, osoba koja upućuje poziv nema osnove za ljutnju jer ga je netko odbio. Zanimljivo je zapaziti kako Kukla ne nudi primjere pozivanja u intimnoj sferi, no iz svega što piše jasno je da se radi o otvorenim i izravnim pozivima poput „Jesi li za seks?“. Takav poziv partner može, jednako izravno, prihvatiti ili odbiti. Neki od uvjeta uspješnosti i prikladnosti koje navodi Kukla, a koji su u skladu s onima koje smo ranije naveli za druge govorne čine, su sljedeći (Kukla 2018: 82): ne možete osobu pozvati na seksualni odnos umjesto nekog drugog. Ne možete nekoga pozvati na takav odnos ako bi taj poziv bio zloupotreba moći ili pak na kraju dvominutnog razgovora s neznancem o tome kako je danas u autobusu poprilična gužva. Dakle, za ovakvo pozivanje postoje prikladno mjesto i vrijeme, a nužno je i da budu posljedica izravne komunikacije među uključenim stranama. Činjenica da se poziv uvijek može odbiti ne znači da je on uvijek prihvatljiv, a Kukla vješto zapaža kako ulični zlostavljači i dobacivači to često zaboravljaju. Važno je i da se oko prihvaćanja poziva možemo predomisli. U nekim drugim kontekstima za predomišljanje trebamo imati valjan razlog, no u seksualnoj domeni, tvrdi Kukla, takvo što nije potrebno. Osoba može odustati od seksualnog odnosa u bilo kojem trenutku.

Drugi govorni čin koji Kukla navodi jest darivanje ili nuđenje dara. Naglašava kako je takav čin uobičajeniji kod ljudi koji su već u vezi nego kod onih koji se tek upoznaju. Ponekad partneru možemo ponuditi određeni seksualni čin kao dar čak i kada sami nismo sasvim raspoloženi za njega. Darovi se uvijek moraju nuditi spontano i bez prisile te se moraju davati s ciljem uveseljavanja primaoca. Oni darovi koji su prihvaćeni, pozivaju na zahvalnost i uzvratanje. Baš kao i kod pozivanja, za čin darivanja postoje vrijeme i mjesto te takav čin ne smije biti neprikladan.

To su dva načina za iniciranje seksualnog čina koje Kukla nudi, a navodi i „sigurne riječi“, komunikacijski oblik korišten tijekom samog čina. Kukla smatra kako njihovo korištenje zahtjeva vješto kretanje između erotskog diskursa i svakodnevnice komunikacije. No uz kritiku koju smo tom pristupu uputili ranije, možemo zapaziti kako i u istom diskursu može doći do promjene tona, što upućuje sugovornika na zaključak da se u odnosu nešto promijenilo, no da on nije zauvijek izmijenjen. Na primjer, takvo što može biti vidljivo i u dječjoj igri koja se do određenog trenutka može odvijati bez problema, no tada može doći do trzavice i nezadovoljstva koji će promijeniti tok igre, ipak, djeca će i dalje biti

u prijateljskom odnosu i spremna na igru. Na sličan način nastavnik koji ležernije vodi nastavu promjenom tona i ozbiljnijim ponašanjem može ukazati učenicima na to da su pretjerali s upadicama, ali time neće prekinuti nastavu ili svoj prijateljski odnos s njima. Takvi su prekidi situacijski i ne mijenjaju samu prirodu odnosa te time i ne označavaju promjenu diskurza, već samo tona.

Određeni seksualni čin može se u potpunosti prekinuti ili modificirati korištenjem određene riječi koju su uključene strane dogovorile u tu svrhu, na primjer „Zagreb“, ali one nisu jedini način da se taj cilj ostvari. Rečenice kao što su „Dosta mi je, moram na wc“ nisu dogovoreni način prekida čina, ali znače upravo da osoba više ne želi nastaviti s određenom aktivnošću.

Pri intimnoj i seksualnoj komunikaciji uvijek govorimo o prepoznavanju nijansi, iščitavanju signala, govora tijela i poznavanju partnera. U većini stvarnih situacija nemoguće je tražiti pristanak za svaki novi pokret ili dodir te bi takav pokušaj doveo do nemoguće složene komunikacijske i intimne situacije. Uz to, ponekad je nejasno što sve „pristanak na seksualni odnos“ uključuje, a to može biti veoma problematično ako govornik i sugovornik imaju druge stvari na umu. Nije nezamisliva situacija u kojoj osoba koja traži pristanak smatra da on pokriva više mogućih seksualnih činova, ili da je pristanak na intimni odnos pristanak na bilo što što može uslijediti, a osoba od koje traži pristanak na umu ima samo određeni ograničeni skup radnji. Što u takvoj situaciji znači „pristati na seksualni odnos“? Dakle, u intimnoj domeni nije se dovoljno zaustaviti samo na komunikaciji vezanoj uz pristanak na odnos, koji, kada je i izrečen, ne briše sve komunikacijske probleme ili potrebu za daljnjim razgovorom. Upravo je zato sveobuhvatna seksualna komunikacija među partnerima bitna.

Takva komunikacija u velikom broju slučajeva počinje i puno prije samog intimnog odnosa. Tako postoje određeni govorni činovi koji su neizravni i koji služe kao predradnja, kao uvod u mogući intimni odnos. Ovo nisu otvoreni pozivi u Kuklinu smislu, ali jesu određena vrsta poziva u intimnu sferu, nakon kojih se mogu formirati i izravni pozivi, koji opet mogu biti više ili manje eksplicitni. Nazovimo takve govorne čine „intimne uvertire“.

Ovakve vrste neizravnih činova u ovom kontekstu česte su jer omogućavaju govorniku da se odmakne od seksualnih konotacija ako vidi da druga strana oklijeva ili pak jasno daje do znanja da ne razmišlja u tom smjeru. O poništavanju poruke prenesene neizravnim govornim činovima pisao je već i Grice pri razradi svoje teorije o implikaturama (vidi, npr., Grice 1987, 44), a Pinker i Lee (2010) takvo opovrgavanje neizravno prenesenog sadržaja izravno povezuju sa sebičnim interesima govornika. U svom radu ne posvećuju se iscrpno seksualnim pregovorima, ali ih navode kao jedan od mogućih primjera razgovornih situacija u kojoj govornik može vagati prednosti i mane određene komunikacijske

strategije. U intimnoj sferi sebični interesi ne označavaju nužno dobitak za govornika ili gubitak za druge uključene strane, već se mogu očitovati jednostavno u izbjegavanju neugode. Korištenjem neizravne komunikacije u intimnom kontekstu govornik može izbjeći neugodnost ili sram. Prvotno poslana poruka neće nestati, ali se može ublažiti. Kako autori pojašnjavaju, „mnogi neizravni činovi takvi su samo *pro forma* ili su veoma providni te puštaju malo mjesta sumnji o govornikovim namjerama“ (Lee i Pinker 2010, 795). Osim što takvi govorni činovi govorniku pomažu prebroditi određene strahove i nesigurnosti, oni i slušatelju omogućuju da odnos održi platonskim sve do točke otvorenog govora o seksu. Tek tada slušatelj mora odbiti prijedlog, zadržavajući odnos kakav je bio ili ga prihvatiti. Kako pišu Pinker i Lee, „neizravni govor koristan je dok dopušta mogućnost nijekanja, čak i kada nijekanje nije uvjerljivo“ (Lee i Pinker 2010, 796). Ovdje neizravnost i mogućnost, barem formalnog, nijekanja izrečene poruke ili njezina razumijevanja nemaju kao svrhu manipulirati, već olakšati komunikaciju između dviju strana za koje nije sigurno imaju li iste ciljeve i želje.

Na primjer, to mogu biti razgovori poput ovih:

- (1) Nikola: Jesi li sama kući?
- (2) Ana: Jesam.

Iskazom (1) Nikola ispituje mogućnost da dođe kod Ane i da se otvori prilika za intiman susret ako njezini roditelji, cimeri ili netko treći nisu kod kuće. Ako je u njihovoj komunikaciji već bilo seksualnih aluzija, a možda i dodira, Ana vjerojatno zna što Nikola ima na umu i svojim odgovorom (2) zapravo mu daje pristanak da dođe. Otvara li ona time vrata intimnom odnosu nije sasvim određeno, a čak i da je krenula s tom idejom, može se predomisliti u svakom trenutku njihova susreta. Zato je to tek uvertira u moguću intimni odnos, ne izravna stipulacija kakvog neraskidivog dogovora. U ovakvim situacijama obje strane mogu biti nesigurne te iako su možda i obje u vidu imale neku vrstu fizičke interakcije do nje ne mora doći jer jedna ili druga strana ipak na nju nisu spremne, jer su umorne ili zbog bilo kojeg drugog razloga koji se ni ne mora verbalizirati. Ovakve su uvertire neobvezujuće te, kao kod ponešto izravnijih poziva, ne stvaraju ikakve obaveze. Neostvarena želja može biti razočaravajuće iskustvo, ali kod intimnih odnosa ključno je da obje strane žele bliskost.

Sličan efekt imat će iskaz „Želiš li ući popiti nešto“ nakon što su se dvije osobe družile u javnom prostoru i jedna je drugu dopratila do stana. Hoće li to biti poziv na fizički odnos ovisit će o tome kako je proteklo prethodno druženje, a hoće li do njega doći nije strogo utvrđeno. Možda je izravnije pitanje „Idemo kod mene ili kod tebe?“ postavljeno nakon spoja ili upoznavanja u večernjem izlasku, ali upravo zbog nedorečenosti pitanja obje strane bi se bez prevelikih neugodnosti mogle izvući u slučaju da njihovi planovi

za ostatak večeri ne idu u istome smjeru. Komunikacijska neizravnost objema stranama ostavlja dovoljno prostora da u bilo kojem trenutku uzmaknu ili pak izbjegnu neugodnost, neovisno o tome što je govornikova poruka jasna. Ni ova zakonitost nije uvjetovana striktno jezičnim normama, već širim društvenim uzusima.

5 Neke smjernice za poučavanje komunikacije u intimnom i seksualnom kontekstu

Pozivanjima, darivanjima, sigurnim riječima i intimnim uvertirama nipošto se ne iscrpljuju svi mogući govorni činovi vezani uz intimne odnose pa spomenimo i važnost uočavanja i razumijevanja govornih činova koji nisu nužno povezani sa seksualnošću, ali jesu s intimom i romantičnim odnosima, poput onih kojima započinjemo ili završavamo određeni odnos ili obilježavamo razne faze odnosa, poput ulaska u vezu, prekida ili mirenja, koji su u literaturi o govornim činovima ostali neistraženi. Tu je još i komunikacija koja se ne odvija uživo govorom, već kroz poruke preko raznih aplikacija, pri čemu se koriste riječi, ali i emotikoni, fotografije te videozapisi. Zbog toga je važno u teme seksualnog odgoja uključiti i znanja iz medijske pismenosti (vidi npr. Trültzsch-Wijnen 2020 i Kellner i Share 2019) i objašnjenje pojmova kao što su „sekstanje“ (vidi Walrave i sur. 2018) ili, onkraj verbalnog, „osvetnička pornografija“, koja je ipak usko vezana uz pitanje pristanka (vidi Kirchengast i Crofts 2019)⁴.

U svim ovim komunikacijskim inačicama otvorenost i iskrenost su najvažnije, a one proizlaze iz dobrih namjera pri odašiljanju i primanju poruke, neovisno o tome govorimo li o izravnoj ili neizravnoj, verbalnoj ili nekoj drugoj komunikaciji. Prikladna komunikacija uči se od malih nogu te je nužno u hrvatsko obrazovanje uvrstiti više teorijskih i praktičnih spoznaja koje će povećati pragmatičke kompetencije novih generacija, bilo u kontekstu intimne komunikacije, bilo u drugim komunikacijskim situacijama.

S obzirom na nisku procjenu sposobnosti komunikacije o intimi i seksualnosti s partnerom ili partnericom kod adolescenata i mlađih osoba (vidi npr. Quinn-Nilas et al. 2016) o svim ovim temama bitno je govoriti u okviru školskog sustava, a sveobuhvatni programi seksualnog odgoja ne bi trebali biti usredotočeni prvenstveno na sprječavanje negativnih ponašanja i ishoda, već bi također trebali poticati pozitivna ponašanja koja poboljšavaju međuljudske odnose, što sa sobom nosi i druge benefite. Na primjer, pomoći učenicima da nauče kako s partnerom razgovarati o kontracepciji daleko je učinkovitije od toga da im se sugerira da jednostavno kažu „ne“ ili da se sami pobrinu za zaštitu. Sa-

⁴ Pri razgovoru o seksualnosti s učenicima to svakako treba učiniti na način koji je prilagođen njihovoj dobi i na način koji u obzir uzima njihov psihološki razvoj, ipak u ovom smo se radu usredotočili na sadržaje koji bi im se trebali predstaviti.

tovi seksualnog odgoja nude idealan kontekst za poučavanje vještina seksualne i intimne komunikacije i pružanje prakse za razgovor o tim temama. Adolescenti koji prođu obuku i dobiju upute o tome kako komunicirati o seksualnim pitanjima, u tome postaju vještiji od onih koji nemaju takvu podlogu (Barth et al. 1992; Kirby et al. 1991).

Prvi korak k uspješnoj seksualnoj komunikaciji jest razvoj općenitih komunikacijskih i pragmatičkih vještina, no kako to pokazuje Butler (2011) u istraživanjima koja je provela, intimna i seksualna komunikacija imaju određene specifičnosti koje se ne mogu prepoznati i savladati vježbanjem komunikacije o drugim temama jer su upravo seksualne teme i dalje tabu i izazivaju nelagodu i stid te stoga učenje o komunikacijskim vještinama korištenjem primjera vezanih uz seksualnost bolje utječe na sposobnost uspješne primjene tih vještina od onoga koje se odvija kroz neseksualne primjere. Dakle, uspješni seksualni odgoj koji u kurikulum uključuje temu intimne i partnerske komunikacije mora se temeljiti na pričama, svjedočanstvima i primjerima intimne komunikacije koje učenici mogu analizirati te na temelju kojih mogu vrednovati uspješnost određene komunikacijske strategije.

Na primjer, Butler nudi primjere za raspravu ovakvog tipa:

Marko i Ana općenito su sretni u svojoj vezi, ali postoji nešto što tišti Anu. Osjeća da njihov seksualni život postaje predvidljiv i htjela bi začiniti stvari. Proteklih nekoliko tjedana radili su potpuno istu stvar svaki put kada su bili intimni. Kupila je knjigu s prijedlozima različitih seksualnih položaja i htjela bi s Markom isprobati neke od njih. Pokušala ga je tijekom seksualnog odnosa malo pomaknuti te se sama drugačije namjestiti, no nije shvatio njezine namjere. Nije rekla ništa izravno jer se bojala da će Marko negativno reagirati na njezin prijedlog. Ne želi da misli da je zahtjevna ili kritična, ili pak da je nasrtljiva. Stoga umjesto da je nešto rekla, ostavila je knjigu na dnu ormara i nastavila biti nezadovoljna ovim dijelom njihove veze (prema Butler 2011, 82).

U primjerima koje autorica nudi muška i ženska se perspektiva izmjenjuju te se nudi rasprava o mogućim uzrocima situacija te potencijalnim rješenjima, potiče se učenike da uočavaju dobre i loše komunikacijske obrasce te da razmisle jesu li se oni kad našli u sličnoj komunikacijskoj situaciji te kako se tada reagirali (za korisne komunikacijske smjernice i primjere vidi Butler 2011, 81–94).

Primjer s Markom i Anom zanimljiv je iz komunikacijske perspektive jer nam otkriva koliko je otvorena i iskrena komunikacija bitna. Ako preformuliramo primjer tako da u njemu Ana partneru kaže nešto poput „Jesi li vidio knjigu koju sam kupila?“ s učenicima se može raspraviti o tome koliko je komunikacijama ostvarena kroz razgovorne implikature i slične neizravne komunikacijske oblike korisna tijekom faze zavođenja, ili pak kada se osobe već dovoljno dobro poznaju i znaju pravilno iščitavati partnerove poruke, ali i kako ponekad ona može dovesti do nerazumijevanja i nezadovoljstva. Na ovakvim se

primjerima mogu razraditi mogućnosti raznih načina na koje se određena poruka može prenijeti te s učenicima raspraviti koji je najbolji u nekoj situaciji. Tako Ana u ovom slučaju može iskoristiti neku od ovih opcija: sakriti knjigu na dno ormara i zaboraviti na nju, staviti knjigu na vidljivo mjesto i nadati se da će Marko započeti razgovor o njoj, staviti knjigu na vidljivo mjesto i nadati se da Marko neće započeti razgovor o njoj već samo nešto iz nje primijeniti u praksi, staviti knjigu na vidljivo mjesto i upitati je li ju vidio i na taj način pokrenuti priču o toj temi, izravno reći da želi isprobati nešto novo, izravno reći što točno želi probati. Mogućnosti je mnogo, a izbor će ovisiti o uključenim osobama i detaljima situacije. Rasprava o ovakvim primjerima može pružiti uvide u razne komunikacijske mogućnosti, njihove prednosti i nedostatke, a razgovarajući o njima učenici se pripremaju za otvorenu i kvalitetnu komunikaciju s partnerom koja je temelj svakog zdravog odnosa.

6 Zaključak

U radu sam krenula od pretpostavke da je seksualni odgoj, bilo kao zaseban predmet ili u obliku međupredmetne teme neizostavan dio suvremenog školskog programa. Iako za sada pod tim imenom nije ušao u hrvatski obrazovni sustav, određene važne teme vezane uz ljudsku seksualnost mogu se naći u školskom planu i programu. Ipak, ono što sad nedostaje jest pitanje intimne i seksualne komunikacije. Pod tim ne mislim na razgovor o seksualnosti i spolnim odnosima s roditeljima ili nastavnicima, već onaj među partnerima koji razmatraju stupanje u intimne odnose ili su to već učinili. Zadnjih se godina često govori o pojmu „pristanak“, no taj govorni čin samo je jedan oblik seksualne komunikacije koji razgovor o spolnom odnosu svodi na pitanje i potvrđan ili niječan odgovor na njega. Gradeći na teorijama i stavovima prisutnima u literaturi, u radu razmatram druge govorne čino ve važne u intimnoj sferi, poput „pozivanja“, „darivanja“, korištenja „sigurnih riječi“ i „intimnih uvertira“, čije se ispravno korištenje i razumijevanje temelje na općenitim kriterijima prikladne i uspješne komunikacije. Kako bih te komunikacijske oblike objasnila smještam ih u okvir teorije govornih činova. Prema toj teoriji, komunikacija može biti izravna i jednoznačna, ali i implicitna i neizravna te je za njezino ispravno korištenje i razumijevanje u raznim kontekstima ljudske interakcije potrebna visoka doza pragmatičke kompetencije, vidljive, na primjer, u ispravnom prepoznavanju tuđih namjera i reakcija. Govorne čino ve prisutne u intimnom kontekstu i oko njega, ako su uspješni, krasi određena blagost i permisivnost naspram odgovora i reakcija sugovornika, što ih uvelike razlikuje od drugih govornih činova poput naredbi ili prijetnji. Pristup koji primjenjujem je performativan, pa tako na pristanak na seksualni odnos, ali i na bilo koji drugi intimni govorni čin gledam kao na javno iskazivanje određenih mentalnih stanja uključenih strana.

Ta su mentalna stanja, poput želja i strahova, s pripadajućim im govornim činovima neraskidivo povezana, ali se na njih ne mogu svesti. Upravo je zato u intimnoj i seksualnoj domeni važno naučiti ispravno komunicirati svoje želje i strahove, ali jednako tako prepoznati tuđe poruke. Takve vještine učenici će najbolje steći upravo kroz razgovor o tim temama u sigurnom i prikladnom okruženju poput škole.⁵

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

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Abstract

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

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

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

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1 Introduction: Joe Biden and his metaphorical rhetoric

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2 Data and methodology

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

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

The current analysis is primarily concerned with the following three speeches by Joe Biden during his election campaign and upon his victory³:

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

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

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

"Working families will struggle to get by" – Working / families / will struggle / to / get by.

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

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

All last accessed in September 2022.

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

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

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

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

metaphorical meaning: Yes.

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

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

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

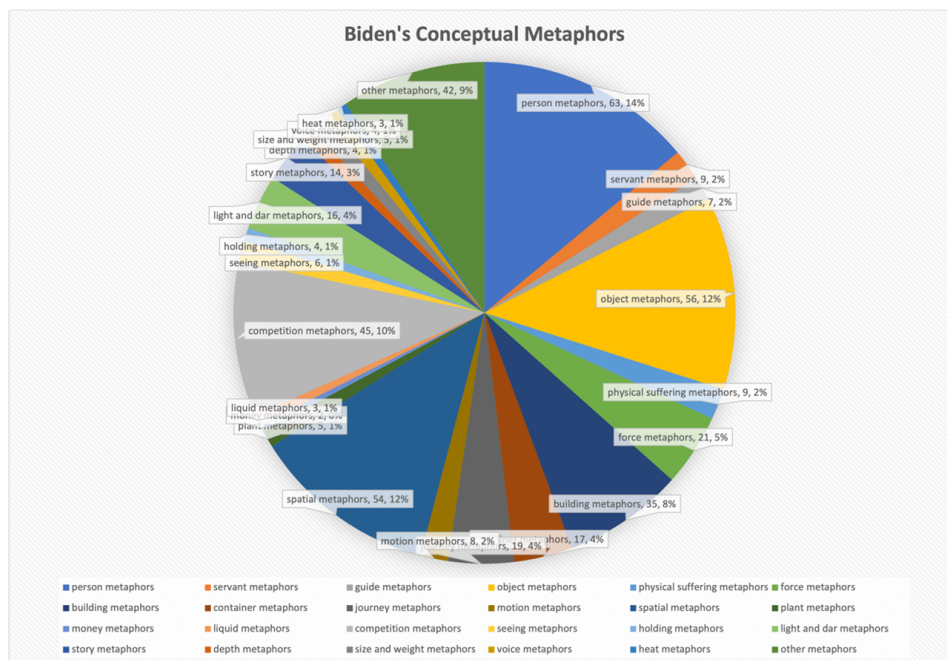


Figure 1: Conceptual metaphors grouped by SD (from all the three speeches)

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

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

3.1 We versus them: Opponents and allies

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

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

3.1.1 OBJECT metaphors

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.2 FORCE metaphors

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.3 SPATIAL metaphors

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

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

(11) (GOD) AUTHORITY IS UP

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

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

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

11.4. “*one nation under God*”; IS

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

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

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

(14) COURAGE IS UP

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

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

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

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

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

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

(17) FIRST IS IN FRONT

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

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

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

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

3.2 The frame of family

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3 Politics as a religion

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

(25) HAPPINESS IS LIGHT

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

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

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

(26) MISERY IS DARKNESS

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

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

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

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

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

(27) POLITICS IS RELIGION

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

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

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

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

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

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

4 Joe Biden’s political image

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

4.1 WARRIOR AND COMPETITOR

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

(28) ELECTIONS ARE A COMPETITION

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

AS

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

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

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

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

(30) LIFE IS WAR

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

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

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

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

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

(31) MORAL VALUES ARE TROOPS

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

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

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

(32) DIFFICULTIES ARE OPPOSING FORCES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2 HEALER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.3 CONSTRUCTOR and REPAIRMAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.4 AUTHOR

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

(57) A COUNTRY IS A STORY

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

57.2. “*the American story*”; VS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.5 TRAVELER

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

(62) LIFE IS A JOURNEY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(64) SUCCESS IS A JOURNEY

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

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

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

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

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

4.6 BEARER OF LIGHT and NAVIGATOR

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

(67) MISERABLE IS DARK

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

(68) HAPPY IS LIGHT

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

(69) AMERICA IS A LIGHTHOUSE

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

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

4.7 GARDENER and SERVANT

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

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

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

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

(72) RACISM IS A WEED

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

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

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

(73) A COUNTRY IS AN EMPLOYER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 Final reflection and conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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Appendix A

Metaphor Frequency in Joe Biden's Speeches

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

Unique Metaphors: 256 metaphors (56.76%)

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

Basic Frequency Findings

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appendix B

Metaphors in Biden's Discourse

Acceptance speech = AS

Victory speech = VS

Inauguration speech = IS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Amara Lakhous e la scrittura multilingue

Analisi comparata di *Scontro di civiltà per un ascensore a Piazza Vittorio* e *Kayfa tarḍa’u min al-di’ba dūna an ta’addaka*

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Abstract

This essay aims to examine in a comparative perspective both the Arabic and the Italian versions of Amara Lakhous’s novel *Clash of civilizations over an Elevator in Piazza Vittorio*. The author refers to the Italian novel as a rewriting and not a translation claiming to “Arabize Italian and Italianize Arabic”. However, as I will prove in this paper, Lakhous’s rewriting shows an asymmetrical relationship between the two languages since Italian is more prevalent in both versions at different levels.

Consequently, the two texts constitute two different steps of the same creative process that begun in 2001 and ended in 2006 when Lakhous published the ultimate and perfected version of the text in Italian. .

Keywords: *self-translation, postcolonial literature, migrant literature, Amara Lakhous, Clash of Civilisations over an Elevator in Piazza Vittorio, multilingual writing*

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1 Introduzione

Amara Lakhous è un autore di origine algerina, nato nel 1970 ad Algeri ed emigrato in Italia nel 1995 per fuggire dalla guerra civile. Fino al 2001 lo scrittore ha vissuto a Roma nella zona multiculturale di Piazza Vittorio osservando dal vivo le dinamiche di convivenza tra italiani e immigrati, spunto di riflessione per la sua produzione letteraria.

La prima lingua appresa da Lakhous è la lingua cabila (Ruta 2008, 15), un dialetto berbero parlato in Algeria che, a causa delle politiche linguistiche di arabizzazione adottate dopo l'Indipendenza, è stato relegato per molto tempo a lingua priva di status ufficiale. È Lakhous stesso a lamentare questa lacuna in diverse occasioni e a mettere in luce come ciò lo abbia portato poi a scrivere nella sua seconda lingua (D'Alessio 2014), l'arabo algerino che caratterizza il primo romanzo, *Al-baq wa al qursan*, pubblicato nel 1999 in un'edizione bilingue a Roma con il titolo *Le cimici e il pirata* presso la casa editrice Arlem. In seguito, la scelta di utilizzare l'italiano è stata motivata dall'autore nei termini di una forte intesa (D'Alessio 2014) che lo ha spinto a tradurre il suo secondo romanzo *Kayfa tarda'u min al-di'ba dūna an ta'addaka*.

Tuttavia, come è stato messo in evidenza dai recenti sviluppi dei cosiddetti *self-translation studies*, spesso, tra le lingue utilizzate da un autore per autotradursi, si instaurano relazioni asimmetriche derivate da istanze contestuali (Lusetti 2018, 159). Pascale Casanova, in particolare, colloca la lingua araba tra quelle che definisce "lingue dominate"; essa, infatti, nonostante sia utilizzata in una vasta area del mondo non gode di un vasto riconoscimento sul mercato editoriale internazionale (Casanova 2002, 9).

Alla luce di questo dato non desta stupore il fatto che il romanzo di Lakhous sia stato reso noto a livello mondiale grazie alle traduzioni compiute a partire dalla versione italiana anziché da quella araba. L'italiano rappresenta per Lakhous un mezzo per raggiungere un pubblico più vasto (Grutman 2018, 15), il che sembra accomunare lo scrittore a diversi autori postcoloniali, in particolare francofoni, come Tahar Ben Jelloun e Assia Djebar che prediligono l'utilizzo del francese per la scrittura anziché la propria lingua madre. Tuttavia, ciò che distingue in maniera peculiare l'opera di Lakhous è la scelta di scrivere inizialmente solo in arabo ma in seguito di adottare un metodo di scrittura plurilingue che viene utilizzato anche nel terzo romanzo, *Divorzio all'islamica*.

In questo articolo vorrei compiere un'analisi testuale comparata delle due versioni del romanzo, quella araba, *Kayfa tarda'u min al-di'ba dūna an ta'addaka*, e quella italiana, *Scontro di civiltà per un ascensore a Piazza Vittorio*, per cercare di comprendere come siano nati questi testi, in che modo abbia lavorato lo scrittore e, soprattutto, se sia possibile parlare di autotraduzione o di riscrittura, come rivendicato più volte dallo stesso Lakhous. Questo aspetto si rivela di fondamentale importanza per la comprensione della produzione letteraria successiva dell'autore in quanto l'operazione intrapresa da Lakhous

in questa fase si configura come un primo tentativo piuttosto sperimentale di scrittura plurilingue e di adattamento per il lettore italiano di un testo pensato e scritto per un pubblico arabofono.

2 Autotraduzione o riscrittura?

Scontro di civiltà per un ascensore a Piazza Vittorio si presenta in entrambe le versioni come un giallo polifonico dove a turno prendono la parola diversi personaggi, ossia i condomini di un palazzo in Piazza Vittorio che esprimono le proprie opinioni sulle indagini in corso per l'omicidio di Lorenzo Manfredini, detto il Gladiatore.

La prima vistosa differenza che emerge dal confronto tra i due romanzi consiste nella scelta del titolo: in arabo, *Kayfa tarḍa'u min al-di'ba dūna an ta'addaka*, ossia "Come farsi allattare dalla lupa senza che ti morda", in italiano, *Scontro di civiltà per un ascensore a Piazza Vittorio*. Il romanzo arabo si presenta come una sorta di manuale per l'individuo che vive in una condizione simile a quella del protagonista della vicenda, Amedeo, diviso tra due identità differenti. Il riferimento al latte della lupa, animale che richiama il mito di fondazione di Roma, è un'immagine del processo di acquisizione della nuova identità italiana di Amedeo, in contrapposizione al morso che rappresenta il dolore dell'emarginazione, la solitudine, la nostalgia e il senso di alienazione provati dai personaggi stranieri nel romanzo. Come fa notare giustamente Chiara Lusetti (2017, 119) "Il titolo arabo [...] si rifà secondo una dichiarazione dell'autore a quei manuali con titoli come 'Come imparare l'inglese in una settimana'". Con un evidente intento ironico Lakhous si richiama a questi manuali per parlare al lettore di argomenti complessi quali l'integrazione e l'identità che non possono essere ridotti a indicazioni semplicistiche e universali come si evince dalle diverse esperienze di immigrazione descritte nel romanzo.

Il titolo italiano, invece, si distingue in primo luogo per la menzione esplicita dell'ambientazione del romanzo che porta il lettore a un collegamento immediato con la realtà multiculturale tipica di molte città italiane e di conseguenza con il dibattito pubblico di forte attualità oggi in Italia sull'immigrazione. In secondo luogo, un elemento assente nel testo arabo ma fondamentale per la struttura stessa del romanzo italiano è la menzione dello scontro di civiltà che, accostato all'ascensore, produce un effetto comico (Moll 2014, 182). Infatti, se da una parte la storia mette in scena personaggi in conflitto tra di loro, dall'altra la narrazione enfatizza il carattere fluido della costruzione identitaria e la futilità di certe categorie definite *a priori* nel momento in cui vengono osservate nella vita quotidiana (Fabris 2021, 24-35). Ranier Grutman (2018, 11) afferma, tuttavia, che la modifica del titolo del romanzo italiano da parte di Amara Lakhous non è un'operazione sufficiente a differenziare una autotraduzione da una riscrittura. A tal proposito è

interessante ricordare le parole pronunciate da Lakhous nel corso di un'intervista:

Cos'è un titolo? Un titolo è un'indicazione molto importante che l'autore dà a un lettore che si avvicina al libro. Io direi più che un'indicazione, è una scommessa. Una scommessa come in un viaggio: io ti dico che ti prometto un viaggio. Perché la scrittura, la lettura, è un viaggio. C'è sempre una destinazione. Allora, io ti prometto una destinazione già dal titolo. (Gallippi 2016)

La produzione letteraria di Amara Lakhous si caratterizza per una costante scelta di titoli differenti per le due versioni dello stesso romanzo, quasi a sottolineare una volontà autoriale di promettere sempre “destinazioni” diverse a ciascun pubblico. Per esempio, il titolo del secondo romanzo di Lakhous, *Divorzio all'islamica*, presenta un richiamo evidente al film *Divorzio all'italiana* mentre nella versione araba *Al-Qāhira al-saghira* (traduzione araba dall'inglese “Little Cairo”, uno dei luoghi dove è ambientata la vicenda) si allude a uno dei primi romanzi del celebre scrittore egiziano Nagib Mahfuz, *Al-Qāhira al-jadida*.

Per quanto riguarda il primo romanzo, *Scontro di civiltà per un ascensore a Piazza Vittorio*, da una parte, al pubblico algerino si promette ironicamente una guida semplice ed esaustiva sul come vivere l'esperienza dell'emigrazione, mentre dall'altra al lettore italiano lo scrittore preannuncia già dal titolo un'opera che sottolinea e afferma l'incompatibilità di differenti sistemi culturali, salvo poi decostruire la narrativa dello scontro di civiltà attraverso la messa in discussione del concetto di una identità italiana monolitica e rigida. L'autore, quindi, riesce a posizionarsi in maniera differente rispetto a ciascun pubblico già a partire dal titolo; infatti, come già osservato da Lorenzo Casini (2016, 174), uno degli aspetti più interessanti e originali delle opere di Lakhous consiste proprio nella “capacità dell'autore di interagire consapevolmente con due diversi immaginari sociali e di trasformarli”. La lingua adottata, quindi, obbliga l'autore ad interfacciarsi con un determinato pubblico e una specifica tradizione letteraria e di conseguenza con un certo “orizzonte di attesa”, sulla scia delle suggestioni di Hans Robert Jauss (1982).

Dopo il titolo, la seconda grande differenza tra il testo arabo e quello italiano consiste nell'aspetto dialogico dei capitoli delle “verità” dei personaggi che viene indicato in forma esplicita solamente nel romanzo arabo. Nel testo arabo le “verità” appaiono come dialoghi tra il personaggio che parla in prima persona e una voce silenziosa che non parla mai ma che fa sentire la sua presenza nel testo attraverso i tre puntini di sospensione seguiti da un punto interrogativo; la punteggiatura in effetti fa sì che le “verità” si presentino come dei dialoghi all'interno dei quali il lettore può leggere solamente quello che viene raccontato dalla voce narrante. Talvolta, tuttavia, è possibile dedurre dalla risposta della voce narrante che è stata posta una domanda; per esempio, nella prima “verità”, quella

di Parviz Samad Mansoor, nel testo arabo il discorso sulla pizza si arresta quando leggiamo “vorrei capire come fanno gli italiani a divorare una impressionante quantità di pasta mattina e sera” (Lakhous 2003, 8) e subito dopo abbiamo l’intervento dell’altro personaggio col quale Parviz sta dialogando segnalato attraverso i consueti tre puntini seguiti dal punto interrogativo. Parviz risponde di seguito dicendo: “No! Al contrario: la pizza ha molto a che fare con l’argomento” (Lakhous 2003, 8), frase che nella versione italiana del romanzo non compare, facendo così intuire al lettore che il contenuto dell’intervento dell’altro personaggio dovesse essere una sorta di rimprovero per Parviz che stava andando fuori tema rispetto all’argomento centrale, l’indagine. Quello che resta invariato, invece, sia nel testo arabo che nel testo italiano, è l’aspetto degli “ululati”: infatti, in entrambi i testi essi si presentano come stralci di una sorta di diario personale di Amedeo che vi si dedica sempre in orario serale o notturno, quando si rifugia nel bagno, la sua stanza preferita.

Inoltre, tra le modifiche operate nel romanzo italiano, Lakhous decide di rimuovere frasi ed espressioni arabe che appesantirebbero il testo italiano, soprattutto nei riguardi di alcune spiegazioni inerenti personaggi e luoghi ben noti al lettore italofono. Per esempio, quando Benedetta Esposito parla di *Striscia la notizia* (Lakhous 2003, 37), l’autore nel testo arabo aggiunge qualche parola per spiegare di che cosa si tratti. Stessa cosa accade quando si parla del tenente Colombo, di Bruno Vespa, di Indro Montanelli etc. Tutti questi elementi esplicativi per il lettore algerino vengono eliminati nella versione italiana che si arricchisce però di una serie di spiegazioni nel momento in cui ci sono riferimenti troppo specifici a scrittori o personaggi del mondo arabo.

In altri casi l’autore elimina porzioni di testo che sono accettabili in arabo ma che risulterebbero ridondanti in italiano; espressioni arabe come “enigma che sbalordisce la mente” (Lakhous 2003, 12) o “fate pure: questo è un vostro diritto” (Lakhous 2003, 13) in italiano vengono semplificate. Si ha quindi l’impressione che l’autore voglia rendere il testo italiano più scarno, forse per adattarlo al registro linguistico dei personaggi. In questa direzione procede anche la rimozione di una parte del discorso all’interno della verità di Sandro Dandini, dove si afferma un concetto già evidente nel testo senza la necessità di ulteriori chiarimenti e probabilmente più adatto al romanzo arabo in quanto ripresa dell’immagine dell’allattamento presente nel titolo:

Tu conosci Roma come un marito il seno di sua moglie, tu hai allattato dal seno della lupa per questo meriti di stare in mezzo tra i gemelli Romolo e Remo nel grembo di Roma! (Lakhous 2003, 94)

Lakhous afferma che uno dei vantaggi della scrittura multilingue consiste nel poter dare maggiore spazio allo sviluppo della potenzialità dei personaggi (Lakhous 2012). Nella

versione italiana del romanzo quindi alcuni personaggi possono pronunciare discorsi che nella versione araba l'autore non ritiene adatti al pubblico al quale si rivolge. Per esempio, l'autore in un intervento circa la scrittura bilingue ha spiegato come la protagonista femminile di *Divorzio all'islamica*, Sofia, si interroghi problematicamente su alcune questioni religiose nella versione italiana del romanzo ma non in quella araba; la stessa riflessione, infatti, secondo l'autore non è adatta al pubblico arabofono ma, grazie all'autotraduzione ha modo di svilupparsi nella versione in italiano (Lakhous 2012, 76).

I cambiamenti apportati nei due testi, dunque, non sono solo di tipo lessicale come ritengono alcuni studiosi (Grutman 2018, 9) ma anche strutturali come la rimozione del carattere esplicitamente dialogico delle “verità”, le dislocazioni di porzioni di testo, aggiunte, rimozioni e cambiamenti nella veste linguistica di alcuni capitoli. Basti pensare alla differenza della “verità” di Benedetta nei due testi: in italiano il capitolo si arricchisce di coloriture dialettali, la lingua si fa più bassa e ricca di espressioni colloquiali. Nel romanzo in arabo non troviamo espressioni come “quel povero Cristo” e “pigliate” o “inciuciare” (Lakhous 2006, 31) al posto dell'originale “essere pettegola e spiona” (Lakhous 2003, 36). Una frase che in arabo risulta come “questo giovane biondo è straniero dalla testa fino alla pianta del piede” (Lakhous 2003, 35), nel testo italiano diventa “questo guaglione biondo è forestiero dalla capa ai piedi” (Lakhous 2006, 32).

Inoltre, vengono sviluppati maggiormente i riferimenti a *Le mille e una notte* che nel testo italiano sono più numerosi rispetto al testo arabo. Per esempio, quando l'autore descrive Parviz alle prese con la preparazione dei pasti, leggiamo:

Parviz non sbaglia quando dice che ognuno ha un luogo dove si tranquillizza. Basta vederlo in cucina. Assomiglia a un re nel suo reame perché ritrova la quiete e la calma in pochi secondi. Mi sembra di vedere Shahrayar, il sultano delle *Mille e una notte* sereno e felice dopo aver ascoltato un racconto di Shahrazad. (Lakhous 2006, 18)

Il paragone con Shahrayar è assente nel testo arabo, così come l'immagine di Shehrazade nella verità di Stefania Massaro:

La bella Shahrazade riesce a salvarsi dalla vendetta del sultano Shahrayar tradito dalla moglie solo attraverso le storie delle Mille e una notte. Al canto del gallo lasciava incompleto il racconto per riprenderlo la notte successiva. Fu così che salvò dalla morte sé stessa e le altre donne. (Lakhous 2006, 105)

Scontro di civiltà per un ascensore a Piazza Vittorio si presenta, quindi, come il risultato di un unico lungo processo creativo che ha inizio nel 2001 con la stesura del testo in arabo pubblicato nel 2003 e prosegue fino al 2006, anno di pubblicazione del romanzo in

italiano che ha ottenuto un grande successo di critica aggiudicandosi il premio letterario Recalmare Leonardo Sciascia e il premio Flaiano.

Come emerge da un'intervista in italiano con Idriss Amid (Lakhous 2014, 3) Lakhous all'inizio della sua carriera letteraria scrive in arabo per non perdere il contatto con la madrepatria, l'Algeria, l'unico luogo dove gli è vietato l'accesso a causa del suo status di rifugiato in Italia. È interessante a questo proposito ricordare come il primo testo di Lakhous comparso in italiano (Amid 2016, 125), sia in realtà una autotraduzione di un breve racconto scritto dall'autore nel 2000: *Perché ho pianto Julio Monteiro Martires*. In questo testo si possono individuare alcuni temi centrali nella produzione letteraria successiva di Lakhous:

io vivo in un esilio incompiuto, sto combattendo la tentazione della lingua italiana, scrivo in arabo e traduco quello che scrivo per uscire dall'isolamento, scrivo nella mia lingua d'origine perché è il ponte che mi lega alla mia memoria, al mondo di ieri, come diceva Stefan Zweig, e la lingua/ponte/sale che salvaguarda il prolungamento della ferita, che la ferita rimanga aperta, testimone del nostro scandalo, lo scandalo dell'upupa che fa i suoi bisogni nel proprio nido. (Lakhous 2001)

L'autore in questo breve racconto propone una distinzione tra "esilio totale" e "esilio parziale" dove la prima espressione fa riferimento all'esperienza di coloro che, lasciato il proprio paese, tagliano ogni legame con le origini mentre la seconda espressione descrive la situazione dell'autore che, nonostante sia lontano dalla patria, continua a mantenere un saldo legame con essa attraverso la lingua.

La scelta della lingua in questa fase della produzione letteraria di Lakhous ha di conseguenza un forte valore politico; essa si configura come una forma di resistenza, una lotta silenziosa contro il paese che l'ha costretto ad andarsene (Lakhous 2014, 3). Tuttavia, nel 2004, un avvenimento importante porterà Lakhous a modificare l'obiettivo perseguito fino a quel momento: il rientro in Algeria che mette fine all'"esilio totale" e inaugura una nuova fase:

Quando sono tornato a Roma nel 2004 mi sono guardato e ho detto: adesso il capitolo esilio è chiuso. Adesso mi sento libero. Il patto che avevo fatto con me stesso di scrivere solo in arabo non aveva più senso. L'esilio era finito. Per cui, come nel 1995, ho deciso di guardare avanti e non indietro. Allora in quel momento, in quel contesto, mi sono chiesto cosa succedrebbe, se decidessi di dare ai miei personaggi, soprattutto italiani di الذئبة دون أن تعضك (Come farti allattare dalla lupa senza che ti morda) una voce originale. (Lakhous 2014, 4)

Lakhous presenta la propria autotraduzione come un tentativo di dare una voce diversa, “originale”, ai personaggi del romanzo e in diverse occasioni presenta la sua operazione come una riscrittura (D'Alesso, 2014), in quanto lo status di autore gli garantisce una maggiore libertà nei confronti del testo originale rispetto al traduttore. Tale posizione è stata messa in discussione da Ranier Grutman che riconduce queste affermazioni a una concezione rigida della contrapposizione binaria tra traduzione e riscrittura sulla base del principio di fedeltà all'originale: una traduzione si caratterizzerebbe quindi per una maggior fedeltà al testo originale rispetto a una riscrittura. Grutman, tuttavia, ritiene che gran parte delle modifiche apportate da Lakhous al primo testo siano operazioni effettuabili anche nelle traduzioni alloglotte, quindi difficilmente ascrivibili a un'operazione di riscrittura del testo. Perciò le dichiarazioni dell'autore sarebbero da leggersi, secondo Grutman, in relazione alla questione dello status del testo e come rivendicazioni di una autorialità anche nei confronti dell'autotraduzione (Grutman 2018, 5).

Una prospettiva interessante è quella offerta da Oustinoff che vede nell'autotraduzione una terza via alternativa alla scrittura e alla pratica traduttoria in grado di produrre un secondo originale. Sulla scia delle riflessioni di Oustinoff Amid propone l'etichetta di “autotraduzione in between” per questo genere di testi:

Il testo nell'autotraduzione in between è un fatto mobile in cui come diceva lo stesso Oustinoff si assiste alla presenza di un secondo originale. O meglio per utilizzare l'espressione di Fitch si potrebbe dire che il testo “originale” diventa nel processo autotraduttivo «retroactively incomplete», perché diventa condizionato dalla presenza dell'altro testo nell'altra lingua. L'altro testo, quello che nella terminologia tradizionale della traduzione si dovrebbe chiamare “testo di arrivo” si presenta non come una ripetizione di quanto detto prima in un'altra lingua ma rinnovato grazie ai processi della riscrittura ed entra in concorrenza con il testo dell'altra lingua. (Amid 2016, 18)

Le riflessioni di Salmon sul tema dell'autotraduzione, invece, conducono lo studioso alla negazione della possibilità stessa di una vera e propria pratica autotraduttoria:

se è vero che gli autotraduttori ‘subiscono l'interferenza del loro *potere di autori* [...], il testo di arrivo del processo è allora in realtà, in quanto riscrittura, una ‘non-traduzione’ [...]. L'autotraduzione richiede una vera impossibilità: si dovrebbe esser disposti a conservare – danneggiandosi e potendo evitare di farlo – ciò che spiace nel proprio testo e che oggi sembra estraneo (Ceccherelli 2013, 15)

Alla luce di ciò, l'operazione che Lakhous mette in atto con la pubblicazione della seconda versione del romanzo difficilmente può essere etichettata come autotraduzione poiché l'autore, come analizzato finemente da Amid, considera la seconda ripubblicazione un'occasione imperdibile per correggersi e modificare il testo a suo piacimento:

L'opera autotradotta di Lakhous è basata sulla complementarità fra le versioni, in cui i testi e le autotraduzioni sono solo delle ultime bozze, come diceva Borges, e non solo nel senso metaforico ma anche nel senso stretto del termine, perché in vari esempi analizzati abbiamo trovato che l'autore rettificava degli errori da una versione ad un'altra e questo succedeva più spesso nelle versioni italiane, che si presentavano più chiare e scorrevoli rispetto alle versioni arabe, in cui spesso si riscontrano ripetizioni inutili ed errori logici (Amid 2016, 263)

Una posizione affine per certi versi a quanto rivendicato da Lakhous, invece, è quella di Andrea Ceccherelli che vede l'autotraduzione come scrittura creativa alloglotta e non solo trasferimento interlinguistico. L'autore che si autotraduce sarebbe dunque più che un "traduttore privilegiato", "un autore privilegiato":

Mentre traduce se stesso l'autore sperimenta un riattivarsi del processo creativo, è nuovamente posseduto dalla Musa. E diventa così, più che un traduttore privilegiato, un *autore privilegiato*, come rileva acutamente Mulinacci, poiché può creare un nuovo testo in un'altra lingua che non è semplicemente un trasferimento interlinguistico, bensì, in termini propri, una *riscrittura autoriale alloglotta*. E la cosa non finisce qui, poiché l'autotraduzione comporta spesso un percorso di andata e ritorno dall'originale alla traduzione e poi di nuovo all'originale [...] Autotraduzione e riscrittura sono dunque da intendersi in rapporto endiadico [...] non separate, contrapposte o giustapposte, bensì unite da un vincolo dialettico, intrecciate fino a compenetrarsi in quella che si configura come una vera e propria riscrittura alloglotta. (Ceccherelli 2013, 14)

3 Conclusioni

Come abbiamo visto, Lakhous decide di autotradursi per diversi motivi: in primo luogo, per la necessità di raggiungere un pubblico più vasto attraverso l'utilizzo della lingua italiana; in secondo luogo, per la possibilità offerta all'autore dall'utilizzo della nuova lingua per poter esprimere le potenzialità dei personaggi del romanzo precedente. Un terzo motivo strettamente legato a ciò è la possibilità di sfuggire all'autocensura che si impone

all'autore nel momento in cui parla al pubblico arabofono. Infine, la possibilità di sperimentare le potenzialità di una nuova lingua, quella italiana, giocando con i dialetti, i proverbi e le espressioni colloquiali.

Amara Lakhous, in quanto autore dell'opera, gode certamente di una posizione privilegiata rispetto al traduttore comune che cerca di attenersi il più possibile al testo di partenza. Lo scrittore, infatti, afferma di sentirsi libero di sbizzarrirsi nel processo di riscrittura come più preferisce senza temere di creare un testo poco fedele all'originale (Esposito 2012, 423) e, come fa notare Grutman (2018, 5), alla base della rivendicazione di Lakhous, che afferma di non aver tradotto ma riscritto la storia, è presente senza dubbio una differenza di status. Basti solo pensare al fatto che, mentre i traduttori hanno accesso solo al prodotto finale, gli autotraduttori hanno accesso alle diverse fasi del testo, a tutti i materiali consultati e ai possibili scenari scartati durante la stesura e ciò comporta evidentemente grandi differenze nella modalità di approccio al testo da tradurre o riscrivere.

Dal punto di vista testuale il processo di riscrittura del romanzo in italiano non sembra seguire meccanismi ripetitivi e modalità fisse: l'autore decide pagina per pagina se tradurre, traslitterare, cancellare o modificare il testo. Il meccanismo di riscrittura del romanzo si configura come una fase successiva rispetto al primo romanzo, un vero e proprio "secondo originale" (Oustinoff 2001), ossia una fase durante la quale l'autore racconta e riscrive nuovamente la vicenda, che da un lato perde alcune caratteristiche del testo arabo ma dall'altro ne acquisisce di nuove e inaspettate in quanto, come osservato da Derobertis (Derobertis 2008, 231), "a partire dal testo arabo, Lakhous ha operato una traduzione che è una ricollocazione del testo nella nuova lingua e nel nuovo contesto; esso non è stato semplicemente trasportato da una lingua ad un'altra, ma anche adattato nei contenuti alla diversa realtà di ricezione."

Un elemento fondamentale che avvalorava l'ipotesi del processo creativo unico portato alla perfezione con la seconda versione del romanzo è la data apposta alla fine del testo: nel romanzo italiano, infatti, il processo di scrittura è fatto risalire al 2001 come se l'autore avesse pianificato fin dall'inizio una futura autotraduzione e ciò è avvalorato anche dalla posizione di Amid che ritiene che già nel testo arabo siano presenti elementi che fanno presagire la futura riscrittura in italiano. Egli, infatti, fa notare come nella versione araba siano presenti forzature della grammatica e sintassi che adattano l'arabo alle strutture linguistiche dell'italiano quando non ce ne sarebbe stato alcun bisogno considerato che il lettore del primo testo è arabofono (Amid 2016, 262).

Tra le due versioni del romanzo si instaura, quindi, un rapporto gerarchicamente sbilanciato in quanto, come abbiamo visto, le due lingue utilizzate da Lakhous non solo non hanno pari riconoscimento nel mercato editoriale internazionale ma la versione araba

sembra costituire per l'autore una fase preparatoria in vista di un futuro testo in italiano. Inoltre, nel testo arabo l'italiano pervade massicciamente il romanzo mentre il testo italiano non sembra presupporre una versione araba precedente e si presenta al pubblico come una seconda versione del testo, indipendente dalla prima e, forse, perfezionata.

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Tracing the Lost Bodies: Testimony, Witnessing, and Trauma in *Billydéki*

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Abstract

The last residential school in Canada, for Aboriginal students, was shut down in 1996; however, its repercussions has affected not only the survivors but their next generations. By reading literary works, the audience can be informed of what happened in the past. The literary work merges narrativization and history to the extent that literature is involved in the action of creating a new form of narrative testimony to rethink historical incidents. History is transformed by bearing literary witness to residential schools in Canada. Sonia Perron's *Billydéki* (2019), not only bears literary witness to residential schools in Canada but also indicates the transformational relationship between narrative and history. In reading *Billydéki*, there is the possibility of finding out what residential schools have done to Aboriginal

communities. Its language transmits eye witness's direct experience through the various characters at the moment of abuse and, therefore, historicize these incidents. The narrative does not tell, this is what happened, but it shows us through the eyes of various characters who were present at the moment of trauma; either being engaged in it or having onlooker stand. The aim of this paper is applying Judith Herman's concept of trauma and Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub's concept of testimony and witnessing to Sonia Perron's *Billydéki*, in order to shed light on the historical incidents that happened at residential schools and left unspoken for some time.

Keywords: *trauma, testimony, witnessing, residential schools, aboriginals*

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Introduction

History is a mode of knowledge, while a narrative is a mode of discourse. A narrative is a verbal act, while history represents the facts of the past through narrativization. To understand an event, people should know not only its consequences but also its antecedents. By putting an event into a narrative sequence, one can understand a particular event. Through the help of narrative, history can be conveyed while history can explain the incidents that took place with the help of narrativization; therefore, there are mutual claims between narrativization and history.

Narrative makes possible the birth of history for succeeding generations. One aim of history is inclusion, in two senses: it assembles the important data of experience, and it makes them accessible to an audience, the awareness of whose consciousness is a promise of the historians. (Felman & Laub 1991, 108)

Through the help of history, the next generations can learn about the incidents that happened and try not to repeat them in the present or the future. Felman and Laub also emphasize that “what we call history, we usually conceive of as a discipline of inquiry and as a model of knowledge” (Felman & Laub 1991, 93). As history is a mode of knowledge, some questions arise, such as the impact of residential school incidents on history and narrative. Historically, can contemporary narrative bear witness not only to the effects of residential schools on Aboriginal communities but also to the impact of residential schools on shifting and modifying the relationship between narrative and history? In this chapter, I argue that the survivors create their narratives and give testimonies of the traumatic incidents they underwent at the residential schools by the presence and encouragement of a listener. I will attempt to analyze the selected francophone novel, Sonia Perron’s *Billydéki* (2019), in light of Judith Herman’s concept of trauma and Dori Laub and Shoshana Felman’s concepts of testimony and witnessing.

Why Sonia Perron? Her first novel is dedicated to residential schools. Perron encountered one of the victims of the assimilation process, and she did four years of research to portray the brutal reality of residential school in Ontario in *Billydéki*, Billydéki and Le Petit, who disappear from their residential school in 1945.

Discussion

Billydéki is about the titular character and his disappearance from a residential school in Ontario. Roughly 15 residential schools functioned in Ontario. In 1945, in one of the residential schools in North Ontario, Billydéki and le Petit disappeared. Twenty-five years later, the Good Father, Father Larin, is traumatized by the incidents that he witnessed at the residential school, and he finally decides to confess what Father Herbert committed. He believes that it is time to pay his debt to Billydéki. He confesses to a young investigator, Vaughn, who is curious to resolve the mystery of the disappearance of these two Aboriginal students from the school. Various clues, such as speaking to survivors of residential schools and finding photos and archives, help him in his investigation. He finally succeeds in finding Billydéki alive. And they can arrest Father Herbert.

In her interview with Radio-Canada, with Julie Larouche, Sonia Perron mentioned that she wrote this novel when she encountered a survivor of the residential school who wanted his story to be told (Larouche 2019). *Billydéki* is narrated by different characters who put different pieces of information together to disclose how Father Herbert abused children sexually at the residential school. Besides, we have various timelines; 1941, 1944, 1945, and 1971. The 40s were the years that actual sexual abuse took place, and 1971 is the year that the investigator started to do research on how two students, Billydéki and Petit, disappeared and why no one heard about them for almost thirty years. The novel moves back and forth between the past and present to indicate how students felt at school and that Father Herbert is afraid of being disclosed. In *Le Vent en Parle Encore*, the lawyer encourages Marie to speak with attentive listening. At the same time, in *Billydéki* the investigator intends to find out the truth about the disappearance of two students from the residential school. Trauma, abuse, and the disappearance of students are the key terms in both novels.

As the novel starts, the reader understands how Billydéki lost his mother due to boredom while he was at residential school. “Par ennui! Impossible. Pas ma maman” (Perron 2019, 9). He cannot believe that anyone can die of boredom, especially his mom, but the fact he does not realize is that his mom died as her son was taken away from her by force, for she could not tolerate his absence in her life.

Herman notices that hysterical symptoms can be alleviated if the memories related to traumatic incidents are put into words (Herman 1992, 12), but Billydéki had no listener; therefore, he could not unload his painful memories. Therefore, trauma showed itself as the symptom of “mal au ventre” (Perron 2019, 9) whenever he thought of his mom’s death. It was a traumatic reaction to the news of his mom’s death, especially because he did not receive any reasonable information about it. Billydéki remembered when he was forced to leave his mom, “je crie, hurle, résiste,” he did all he could to avoid going with the

agent (Perron 2019, 10). The short sentences indicated how, out of being desperate, he showed various reactions to stop the agent, but nothing stopped him. Herman mentions the trauma victim speaks in fragmented components of frozen imagery (Herman 1992, 177); therefore, the listener would not be able to understand him fully since his sentences are mechanical.

Billydéki's mom was the one who encouraged him to go, and he still remembered her words as he tolerated the incidents with her words. "Sois le meilleur et arriver a ce jour, je serai là, je te le promets" (Perron 2019, 10). He lived by the promise, and now that his mom died, he could not tolerate the suffering at school anymore. The image of his mom as present and strong remained in his mind powerfully, but her death broke the image. He now feels unprotected since his soothing and protective guardian, his mother, died. Felman and Laub believe that creating the first witness while no one else remained to help the victim helps them to survive the situation (Felman & Laub 1991, 87). By remembering his mom's promise, he is creating an internal witness who substitutes the real witness that is lacking in real life. He survives the abuses at school as his mom's promise of waiting for him keeps him alive. From the time he was notified by his mother's death, he suffers from nightmares that indicate his disturbed psyche.

Les choses s' étaient très mal passées. Dans mon délire, c'est pire encore. Je regarde maman qui pleure de plus en plus fort près du chemin fer. Plus elle sanglot, plus tout s'efface autour d'elle pour ne laisser qu'une mer de larmes. Elle cri mon ancien nom. BILLYDÉKI. Je suis paralysé. Incapable de sortir du train, d'aller la serre dans mes bras, de la sauver. Tout mon corps lutte. Et ma maman se noie. (23)

The moment of separation sticks in his mind so firmly that he has nightmares about this moment. Since he was left with no other choice than to follow the agent, he always felt paralyzed and numb in his nightmare. The inability to stand against what happened to him, in reality, reflected itself in his nightmares.

When he arrived at school, he was so stressed that "la première nuit, j'ai fait pipi dans mon lit" (Perron 2019, 10). The whites intended to assimilate the Aboriginal children into Euro-Canadian culture. However, they ignored the fact that the clash of cultures and the force they put on the parents and the children caused many mental health problems in the community. The children lose their dreams and their path once they are away from their parents since parents are the source of encouragement and hope. Billydéki mentions "mais là, en cette première nuit loin d'elle, à la sortie de la gar, trop difficile d'être le meilleur. Personne n'est le meilleur" (Perron 2019, 12). Now that he is far from his mother, he believes that he would not be able to reach his dreams. He cannot focus on

being a better person as the principals are harsh and do not care about the students and their future. The novel continues with the subtitle of *The One With Whom Bad Things Happened*; the reader does not know the name of the person. The reader can go through his mind and his thoughts, but his identity is kept secret for over half of the novel, giving the impression that it can be generalized to all those Fathers who abused the children at residential schools. This Father is very biased, and he mentions that his mission is to eradicate the Aboriginal culture, but he is ignorant that Aboriginal culture is rich in itself. He calls the Aboriginal students savage.

Les parents ne savent pas les éduquer. Ce sont des sauvages, des dégénérés, et ils le resteront. Plus l'enfant sera éloigné de ses géniteur, plus grands seront les chances de le sauver. (18)

The real savagery takes place when the same Father punishes the Aboriginal students as he believes that with education, the Aboriginals will find the right path. Only by the help of the whites, they learned to cultivate the lands as based on his view “les Indiens sont paresseux et ne connaissent rien à l'agriculture” (Perron 2019, 19). Even before the arrival of the whites, the Aboriginals were cultivating the land, but he could not see the truth as prejudice blinded him. He is so sure of his own culture and civilization that time and again, he repeats that the Indians “seront imancipiés. Ils seront des Blancs et ils rendront grâce à Notre Seigneur de les avoir mis sur ma route” (Perron 2019, 19).

While the Father thinks about assimilating students, real trauma is happening to them mentally when Billydéki describes how unfortunate incidents happened in his life and how he is traumatized by the loss of his mother and the disappearance of his father before he was born. With all these incidents, he believes there is no chance for him to be adopted by a white family and escape the residential school. As he did not believe the reason for his mom's death, he suffers from nightmares and is unable to talk it over with his friends; the memories are repeated in his mind time and again. Herman notes that in the aftermath of trauma, the victim would show symptoms such as “insomnia, nausea, startle response, and nightmare” (Herman 1992, 31). “Au debut, je faisais des mauvais rêves. Des monstres qui mangent mama, ou moi dans son ventre qui s'étire comme un ballon jusqu'à en exploser. Mais le pire cauchemar me ramène à mes huit ans” (Perron 2019, 22–23). His repressed thoughts about his mom's death return to him at night and frighten him as those thoughts are not forgotten, but they are repressed in his unconscious.

In addition to the Father, *With Whom Bad Incidents Happen*, there is another Father, *Who Is Good*. Again, the general title indicates all the Fathers who intended to educate the students without prejudgments, who supported the students and encouraged them. Father Larin suffers from bad conscience because he thinks he could have saved the students, but he missed the chance. He suffers as he knew the truth about the abuse and did

nothing. Later he becomes an alcoholic to forget the incidents and calm his consciousness. Through his testimony, the reader perceives how terrifying the abuse was.

Father Larin confesses how Father Herbert expressed, “cette mère, comme les autres, n’a aucun droit sur son enfant” (Perron 2019, 35). Billydéki assimilated well into Euro-Canadian culture and so, Father Herbert did not allow him to visit his mother since he belonged to the school and not the parents. This incident later led to the death of Billydéki’s mother. He was told that she died of boredom as she was waiting for her son to arrive. The principals did not allow him to leave, and he suffered from bad conscience all his life.

Billydéki believes that no one would help him to get out of the residential school, which led him to consider it as a prison with no way out. He prays to escape school, but nothing works. He is losing hope. The situation never gets better. Now that he lost hope due to the loss of his mom, he also blamed himself for her death. “C’est moi qui l’ai fait mourir d’ennui. Je le sais maintenant. J’ai compris. Je n’en parle jamais. Même pas à confesse. Même pas au Petit. C’est comme un péché qui ne veut pas sortir. Une tache” (Perron 2019, 36). He feels guilty that he did not see his mom while she was alive. Herman maintains that “in the aftermath of traumatic events, as survivors review and judge their conduct, feelings of guilt and inferiority are practically universal” (Herman 1992, 53). The Fathers avoided contact with his mom, but he carries the burden since he feels he could have tried harder to convince them to visit his mother. Billydéki cannot talk about his traumatizing feelings, even with his close friend, as he is not courageous enough to confess the truth about his bad consciousness.

Not only do the students suffer from loneliness, but Father Herbert abuses them sexually at night. Billydéki describes his friends’ advice “si tu le vois s’approcher de ton lit la nuit, fais pipi. Il déteste. Il fâche, te draps souillés, mais surtout, il quitte le dortoir sans toucher à personne” (Perron 2019, 42). They need to pee their beds in order to prevent Father Herbert’s sexual abuse, but they then stay in a wet bed. In his narrative, Father Larin confesses how he observed Father Herbert’s sexual abuse of students but he kept silent. From 1945 until 1971, when he testifies to the incidents, he suffered from the traumatic incidents that he observed. “Je bois trop... cette fin d’après-midi ou, après avoir forcé la porte de son bureau, j’ai trouvé le directeur inerte, couché sur le sol, souante ouverte, son crucifix poiseaux dans une main, le sexe flasque, du sang sur les cuisses, la pièce sens dessous, la fenêtre grande ouverte. Toute ma vie cette image me poursuivra” (Perron 2019, 15). He had the chance to investigate incidents by asking for more information from Father Herbert, but Father Larin did not, and his ignorance has haunted him since. His blindness to reality and his deafness to the complaints of students led him to trauma. The only thing he could think of at the moment of sexual abuse was to save Father Her-

bert as he was hurt and he was bleeding. He confirms “j’ai vu” (Perron 2019, 42). He has his first-hand witnessing position. He saw the incident when Father Herbert was covered with blood and he was nude, but as a witness, he just did not take any action against the inhumanity he observed. Later, he also testifies that “ce cauchemar me hantera toute ma vie” (Perron 2019, 26). The nightmare of keeping silent when he needed to vocalize the danger the children were in at the hands of Father Herbert reveals itself in his nightmares, which he cannot escape.

From that day onwards, “le Petit avait disparu” (Perron 2019, 52) and no one cared to look for le Petit and find him. The reason of his disappearance also was never discussed among the principals. As he mentions in his testimony “pour la congrégation, Billydéki et le Petit ont été rapidement considéré comme morts. Une simple histoire de fugue qui aurait mal tourné” (Perron 2019, 53). Without any investigation, they just closed their records and did not concern themselves about runaways further. He declares that “Le Petit n’était plus là. Billydéki non plus. Ils ne sont jamais revenus. En cette fin de journée du 19 juin 1945, Billydéki et Le Petit ont disparu” (Perron 2019, 63). Once a student ran away from school, the principal would not look for them or notify the parents. Through Father Larin’s testimonies, so many vague moments become clear as he intends to break his silence now that he has the chance after twenty plus years. Investigator Vaughn becomes curious about the case of these two disappeared students since there is no evidence in any document about their death or their living status. “Pas de corps, pas d’indice. Y a-t-il eu enquête? Enquête civile ou religieuse? De la Gendarmerie royale? Existents- ils encore à l’état civil? Vivants? Morts?” (Perron 2019, 70). No one knows and no one appears to actually care. They just never mentioned the runaway students’ names anywhere and that became the end of their story. Father Larin tells investigators that during those school years a student, Jeanne Blacksmith died at a residential school as the result of sadness and his parents were notified two years later. The more he speaks, the more the investigator learns of the horror of residential school days.

Father Herbert sexually abused Petit in his room, and Petit hid it from the other students. The memories of being sexually abused come to Petit at night, and he has a nightmare. “C’est la nuit qu’il m’inquiète le plus. Il fait des cauchemars” (Perron 2019, 45). Billydéki notices that Petit is disappearing at night, and when he returns, his mood is often changed for the worse. While smiling, Billydéki knows Petit is not happy, and he is suffering from something, but he does not know why Petit does not speak about it. “Très tôt un matin. Il y a un peu plus d’un mois, je l’ai vu écrire à nouveau” (Perron 2019, 46). Petit was writing about the sexual abuse in his diary in secret, which serves to create his testimony. When Billydéki asked about the notebook, Petit responded that “qu’il écrivait les choses très graves que c’étaient des preuves, donc que ça pouvait devenir très

dangereux” (Perron 2019, 45). The written testimony of the incidents can testify and consider as proof for further actions against the abuses that Fathers imposed on students. Felman and Laub mentioned that diaries function as historical witnesses (Felman & Laub 1991, 84). If the trauma victim could not express the burden she underwent and testify what she has seen, her writing can testify the incident. Billydéki is witness to Petit’s secret writing. He intends to know the incidents which keep Petit on the verge of depression. Once Petit is out of his room, Billydéki reads the diary and learns the sexual abuse Petit experienced at the hands of Father Herbert. “Je ne sais plus quoi faire. Ce que j’ai lu fait peur. Même si je ne comprends pas tout. Il manqué des mots. Il y a des codes. Des dessins qui font mal au ventre” (Perron 2019, 46). Despite being informed of sexual abuse, Billydéki cannot do much since even if he reveals the truth, no one would believe his words. Billydéki also mentions that Petit could not invent the stories of abuse on his own as they were horrible. The full details of abuse left him speechless.

As Billydéki learns about sexual abuse, Father Herbert also mentions how his physical needs took control of his mind. He does not confess the abuse, but implicitly the reader knows that he refers to his sexual abuse of the children as he mentions how he failed, and demons controlled him. He knew that Petit was aware of sexual abuse the Father had committed and once he got furious at Petit for no reason and beat him very harshly and everyone was scared of the extent of his cruelty.

The reader already knows the reality of events, and Father Larin is preparing his testimony and necessary documents to submit to the investigator about Father Herbert. The article related to the period the two students disappeared and photos related to that time give some idea to the investigator about how the students looked. Not only people but also published articles are the witnesses of the disappearance of those students. “Un article de presse. Deux Indiens de treize et quatorze ans disparus dans le Nord en juin 1945” (Perron 2019, 65). As Vaughn investigates more, he finds out that there have been many cases of abuse; the students were really at risk at residential schools; therefore, he needs to be quicker in finding the results. He is well aware of the fact that “investiguer quand un religieux est impliqué, pas facile. Il y a toujours la loi du silence” (Perron 2019, 69). Religion is the reason why the silence continued, and nobody dared to tell the truth about the abuse. No one believed that a religious figure would be capable of sexual abuse; therefore, many assumed whatever is said would not be accepted by the court.

Throughout his investigation, Vaughn discovered that Father Herbert abused a couple of students sexually more than once. “Sur une période d’au moins six mois, soit de décembre 1944 à juin 1945” (Perron 2019, 69) he abused students. The two students who wanted to tell the truth about sexual abuse disappeared the same day, which makes Vaughn even more suspicious about the case.

Father Larin informed Vaughn that at 17:15, Father Herbert was found unconscious. He intends to find out what happened from 16:45 till 17:15 as Father Larin could hear a thunderous beating from Father Herbert's room before he could open the door. Vaughn needs to find out what happened during those thirty minutes. However, Father Herbert is too traumatized to discuss the incident. He knows his reputation is in danger, and despite his explanation, no one believes his words. "Du grand moi. Pleuré, Presque. Trop bouleversé pour raconter les événement. État de choc. Amnésie. Juste quelques flashes: les coups sur la tête pas le plus grand avec un objet lourd, la fenêtre du bureau béante, les rideaux blancs battus par de forts vents, les deux enfants dehors, au loin, courant vers le sentier qui menait au ravage" (Perron 2019, 73). His fragmented and short sentences indicate a confused state of mind. Father Herbert lost his focus, and he suffered from amnesia since those moments were repressed. Herman pinpoints that "the traumatized person may experience intense emotion but without clear memory of the event" (Herman 1992, 34). The repression of the thoughts let him forget what he did before; however, the emotional effect of rage against those students are still there. The moment investigator Vaughn knew about the beating and disappearance of students would destroy Father Herbert's reputation, Father Herbert repressed those memories and now remembering the forgotten moments are disturbing.

As the investigation continues, Vaughn is informed how the students suffered from a lack of sleep, money, course books, and food. Vaughn found Petit's notebook, in which he wrote how many students, younger than seven, were sexually abused by Father Herbert. Petit had written about the positions, the dates, the names, and the number of sexual encounters Father Herbert had with each student. That is the main reason why Petit and Billydéki were traumatized by the harsh reality. The Father, who was supposed to be their caretaker, broke their trust through sexual abuse, and the students had no shelter to escape to. Therefore, they just escaped the school after Petit was harshly beaten and sexually abused by Father Herbert. After the investigation, Vaughn found a reliable witness after going through documents, articles, photos, and Petit's diary.

Father Herbert is aware of the reliable witness through Sergeant Deschene, his friend. George Moar gives his testimony to Vaughn. "Ensuite, les caresses partout sur les corps. Et ce sexe presque mauve, trop gros, que je devais toucher, mettre dans ma bouche" (Perron 2019, 102). He explains in detail how Father Herbert abused him sexually at different times. He would never forget those moments.

Moreover, investigator Vaughn encounters another witness, Paul Michel, who also mentions the same physical, sexual, and mental abuses that Father Herbert imposed on the students. There is no space for denial now that there is more than one witness. Besides all those witnesses, "des photos, des films dans une maison en Ontario" (Perron

2019, 137) could help investigator Vaughn deeper into his research and find more details about the residential school. In his defense, Father Herbert claims that the Aboriginals are liars and lazy so he sometimes punished them severely, but he denies any form of sexual abuse despite the presence of witnesses. In the end, Vaughn found Billydéki as he had been acting in the movies. Billydéki explains the incidents in detail not only for himself but for the sake of Petit, who died a short while after they escaped the school.

Le Petit trouve le tour de me faire un clin d'œil. Pour me rassurer. Celui par qui le mal arrive ferme la porte sans me remarquer. J'espère qu'il ne lui causera pas plus de douleur qu'à l'habitude. Des minutes interminables. Un cri sourd. Des hurlements. La solide porte en bois empêche de bien entendre. Des bruits de course, de bagarre, d'objet qui tombent. D'autre hurlements. Pas normal. Pas capable d'ouvrir la porte. Il l'a barrée. J'ai peur qu'il le tue. (Perron 2019, 145)

Since Petit had witnessed Father Herbert abusing those students, the Father beats Petit very harshly, and then he abuses him so severely that blood ran from Petit's organs. "Mon ami pleurt, gémit. Il a mal. Il se débat de moins en moins. Je vois du sang. L'autre le maintient de force. Avec d'horribles mouvements de va-et-vient. Une abomination" (Perron 2019, 145). Paradoxically, the Father was performing a devilish action; however, he told Petit that he was trying to get the devil out of his body. Through a window, Billydéki entered Father Herbert's office to defend Petit. He hit the Father's head. "Le Petit ouvre les yeux, gesticule. Il a mal. Il est nu. Il tremble. Il faut que je m'occupe de lui. Je ne sais pas quoi faire. Sous le choc" (Perron 2019, 146). Short sentences indicate his shock at being a witness of sexual abuse and beating. His sentences break into fragments as he cannot focus very well, and he cannot decide how he can save his friend's life.

In addition to Father Larin, investigator Vaughn finds a new witness. When Petit and Billydéki went to school, he was a student, and Vaughn could find him based on the images he found from that school. Their photo was taken in 1937, and the photo is evidence of the existence of those students at the school. As photos are evidence, some of the churches even now avoid opening their archives to journalists and the public. They do not intend to reveal information that might indicate guilt nor accept their faults. "Ici encore, la disponibilité des archives pose problème, l'Église anglicane n'ayant conserve, selon l'archiviste nationale à Toronto, aucun dossier sur les pensionnants sous son autorité" (Goulet 2016, 11). Either the churches do not have archives, or they just do not let people access the records. Despite lack of an archive, when there is a witness, the research can go on since through one witness, evidence can be discovered. As Rick Picard introduces himself as a student at residential schools, he recognizes his brother in the

photo. “C’est son frère sur la photo, Simon” (Perron 2019, 81). One by one, the students’ identities can be discovered one photo at a time, and one witness can either find them alive or dead.

When the witnesses talk about their past, there are moments in which they cannot continue speaking as the depth of catastrophe cannot be mentioned in words. “Après sa desposition, Thomas a arrêté de parler. Ne restaeint que le regret, les remords, les contritions. Il était vidé, épuisé. Il a signé sa dépsposition. Il était muet, quelque part dans sa tête” (Perron 2019, 83). Thomas’ body language expresses the trauma he is going through.

With all the given testimonies, Father Herbert is in trouble; he asks all the other Fathers to help him. Among all the Christians, he can find Sergeant Deschênes. Still, he does not know how investigator Vaughn finds his trace, “Raymond-Marie Lacharité et son foutu carnet?” (Perron 2019, 85). Petit’s notebook is the best evidence of those historical moments as they provide evidence of unspoken moments. Father Herbert receives a new identity as Father Jean-Joseph Lalonde so he can hide from Vaughn. Vaughn sends Father Herbert’s photo everywhere in Canada, the United States, and Europe to locate him. They also asked Billydéki to narrate the history of those days, but he could not “encore tout dire” (Perron 2019, 148). Billydéki still struggles with his past since he has not dealt with his memories. He mentions that “pour l’instant, je contrôle l’histoire” (Perron 2019, 148). So far, the church and residential schools controlled the history by hiding evidence of the past, now Billydéki is in charge of history to reveal what remained silent. He confesses how he intended to erase the residential school days from his memory to save himself. However, Billydéki has a debt to Petit, and he should tell everyone how Petit suffered, could not survive the trauma, and died after running away from school. Petit painted all the sexual abuse scenes he observed, he provided testimony to incidents through his drawing, and now the survivors are in debt to him. They could finally find Father Herbert, and he would be punished as he deserves.

Through various witnesses, survivors of residential schools, or photos, journals, and magazines, investigator Vaughn is capable of shedding light on the mysterious disappearance of two residential school students. The traumatic moments that these students underwent could only be dealt with through the presence of the law. Through Vaughn’s help, Father Herbert is sentenced to prison for the abuse he imposed on students. The principals might have kept silent before and betrayed those students, but the next generations, thanks to investigator Vaughn, would always remember the history.

Conclusion

Billydéki deals with the disappearance of students from residential schools. Those who survived those years came forward and cleared the way for the investigators. Despite being traumatized and having fragmented language, the survivors can express themselves once the trust between them and their listener is established. The investigator helped survivors to reveal the historical moments which were left silent for a long while. The debt to the dead urges the survivors to go beyond silence and vocalize their pain. Through self-expression and testimony, the survivors gain healing, and they can join their community again.

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