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# **CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION**

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### ***Abstract***

*Conceptual metaphors are considered as effective linguistic formulas for achieving the persuasive language function. This paper approaches the subject of conceptual metaphor and political argumentation through the prism of synergies of the political topic, affirmative or negative communication of main ideas related to the topic, the use of conceptual metaphor as a persuasive rhetorical strategy and the type of argumentative claim. Research was conducted on the sample of 13.338 words from two political interviews with Ivo Josipović in a weekly talk show Nedjeljom u dva (Sundays at two) broadcast on Croatian Radio Television Channel 1 (HTV 1) in 2009 and 2012. The research results show that the most frequently used conceptual metaphors in analysed corpora are the linguistic realizations of metaphors from the source domains of personification, reification and journey. These linguistic metaphors are mostly identified in the claims of value. The analysis also indicates that these claims are predominantly affirmative.*

***Key words: political language, political metaphor, conceptual metaphor***

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Politics is power and one of the basic instruments with which politicians express power is precisely the language they use and the way language supports their views. Today, the majority of public administrations have special consultants and media and PR specialists with the primary task to write speeches. Metaphors are present in almost every speech given by the highest officials (Charteris-Black, 2005; Cox, 2012; Koller and Semino, 2009; Lakoff, 1991, 2002, 2004, 2008). Obviously not just because the public speakers are fond of them, but also because at a specific moment they were advised that conceptual metaphors can help them to be easier to understand and “closer” to the public.

According to recent literature (Ahrens, 2009; Borčić, 2010, 2012; Budaev, 2006, 2007; Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005; Chilton, 2004; Cox, 2012; Lakoff, 1991, 2002, 2004, 2008; Lesz, 2011; Mio, 1996; Musolff, 2004; Sušac, 2007, etc.) conceptual metaphors are considered as effective linguistic formulas because they are linked to the conceptual frames such as war, disease, sport, journey and others. Through these conceptual frames recipients perceive many abstract and complicated social, economic and political events, activities and phenomena. In this way political messages become more persuasive because they evoke things that are already known or at least familiar (Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005; Chilton, 2004; Cox, 2012; Lakoff, 1991, 2002, 2004, 2008; Lesz, 2011; Mio, 1996; Musolff, 2004; Sušac, 2007, Westen, 2007, etc.).

The paper consists of four sections. Introduction covers the aim of the research and the methodology. The theoretical part of the paper includes the explanation of basic terms related to the language policy, persuasion, argumentation and the thematic area of conceptual metaphors within the initial cognitive linguistic theory. The central part of the paper describes the empirical research, ranging from detailed methodological explanations to the presentation of research results and the discussion of the results. The final section, the conclusion, presents a generalized view of the theory and results and the guidelines for further research.

### 1.1. The aim of the research and hypotheses

The aim of the study is to analyse the conceptual metaphor through the prism of a synergic effect of the topic of the statement, the affirmative and negative approach to the topic in the political argumentation and the type of claim used to express the main idea. The purpose of this research is to examine any differences that might appear in the conceptualization of political ideas before and after gaining one of the highest political positions in the Republic of Croatia. The examined sample consists of transcripts of two interviews with Ivo Josipović in a show of Croatian Radio Television „*Nedjeljom u dva*“ - *Sundays at two* from 2009<sup>1</sup> and 2012<sup>2</sup>, consisting of 13,338 words altogether, without the interviewer's questions. This sample examines whether the realization of the conceptual metaphors differs in an interview before

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<sup>1</sup> Sundays at two, February 22, 2009., HRT 1, [http://www.hrt.hr/enz/nedjeljom-u-dva/\(12.06.2015\)](http://www.hrt.hr/enz/nedjeljom-u-dva/(12.06.2015))

<sup>2</sup> Sundays at two, March 18, 2012., HRT 1, [http://www.hrt.hr/enz/nedjeljom-u-dva/\(12.06.2015\)](http://www.hrt.hr/enz/nedjeljom-u-dva/(12.06.2015))

and after his presidential inauguration. Based on the conceptual metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2004) in *Metaphors We Live By* our research is aimed at examining the frequency of the use of the specified conceptual metaphor in relation to the topic of the speech, an affirmative or a negative approach to the topic and the thematic area of argumentation, for the purpose of testing its persuasion.

Prior to the sample analysis implementation, the following research questions have been set:

1. Which topics (political, social or economic) are followed with most conceptual metaphors?
2. Is the analysed political discourse dominated by value judgements in the theses in which the conceptual metaphors are realized as well?
3. Are the realized metaphors more common in the theses which speak affirmatively about the topic or in those that state disagreement?

The research will show what the topics before and during his presidential term are.

The hypotheses to start from are as follows:

H1: The linguistic realization of conceptual metaphors (personification, reification and movement) is more common in the general political issues to which the speaker has an assertive attitude.

H2: The linguistic realization of conceptual metaphors (personification, reification and movement) is the most common in value judgments.

## **1.2. The model of the synergetic matrix**

This paper approaches the topic of conceptual metaphors and thematic areas of argumentation through the prism of political synergies of topic statements, affirmative or negative argument claims, the use of conceptual metaphors of movement as well as a linguistic vehicle for achieving persuasion and the thematic areas of argumentation. The model of the synergy matrix (Borčić, 2012) provides the methodological basis, as shown in Figure 1.

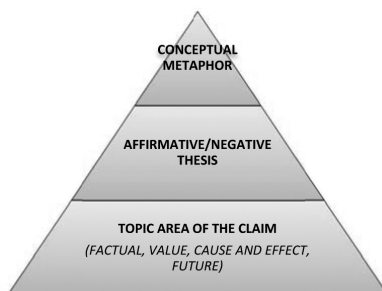


Figure1 Model of the synergy matrix

The model is presented here as a two-dimensional image of the pyramid / triangle that shows the principle of bottom-up hierarchical sequence of variables in the research approach. The assumption is that the theme of the statement directs the speaker to a special selection mode argument (factual assertion, causal argument, or a value judgment, i.e. the focus of the argument is to explain the consequences for the future). At the same time, the subject states affirmative (positive), negative or vague personal attitude towards the topic. The realization of conceptual metaphor is at the top of the model because the use of certain metaphors is generally not directly related to the topic of the statement.

A quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the political interviews was performed. The research unit is a statement of a politician or the answer to the question. The analysis of the sample according to the model of synergy matrix was carried out by using the analytical matrix (see Appendix), which consists of a series of sub-variables/indicators relating to the three main variables of the model shown in Figure 1.

The first part of the analytical matrix, variables 1-3, refers to the general information about the interview. The second part of the matrix, variables 4 to 21, refers to the analysis of the indicators of identification of linguistic metaphors in the text. This is followed by the identification of conceptual metaphors and the classification of the central thoughts / claims according to the thematic area of argumentation. Finally, the statements are analysed regarding whether a politician speaks affirmatively or negatively about the topic.

The results related to the linguistic metaphor, the source domain of the conceptual metaphors, expressing a value judgment, the use of emotion or subjectivity of expression, and the identification of positive, negative or neutral thematic concept in the evaluated statement of the speaker are all explained according to Synergistic matrix model.

## **2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

### **2.1. Political communication and political interview**

The essence of politics is communication (Lakoff, 1991, 2002, 2004, 2008). Even though political communication has its roots in the earliest classical studies of Aristotle and Plato, political communication today can be seen as a cross-disciplinary field of study, drawing on concepts from communication, political science, journalism, sociology, psychology, history, rhetoric, linguistics and other fields (Kaid, 2004, xiii).

According to Nimmo and Sanders (1981, 12) at the beginning the term political communication described an intervening process by which “political institutions and citizens interact with each other and political influences are mobilized and transmitted (Kaid, 2004, 69). “Political communication today is a

broad term, it has been used to describe the communication involved in elections, governing a state, reporting on politicians' activity, gathering and determining public opinion (Trent and Friedensberg, 2000, 15). Political communication can be verbal or nonverbal, formal or informal but it is always persuasive, forcing other persons to interpret, to evaluate and to act (Trent and Friedensberg, 2000; Kopperschmidt, 1986; Perloff, 2003; Luntz, 2007).

The framework of this paper consists of the analysis of political communication that is carried out using political interviews. Political communication, expressed through the mass media, aims at gaining support of (potential) voters (Balabanić and Mustapić, 2008, 662). Grbeša argues that 'the television imposed new rules of coverage and forged a new presentation style that favoured visible personalities over abstract and complex issues, so the public discourse became more personalized'. (Grbeša, 2004, 57; Swanson and Mancini, 1996, 252).

At the same time it is difficult to imagine political communication without political interviews. They are a hierarchically structured sequence of speech acts (Borčić, 2010, 2012; Girth, 2002). Giving interviews and statements to the mass media is an important means of action for politicians and since the mass media make political statements available to the masses, the language of politicians is more influential. Politicians speak from political positions but do so with a help of a private language, which then 'personalizes' the discourse" (Grbeša, 2005, 58).

These are actually the main reasons why our sample consists of the interviews of former Croatian President Ivo Josipović. The analysis includes his interview as a presidential candidate and later on as the elected president. The reason for choosing this specific politician is mainly that during his entire presidential campaign and presidential term, various surveys and opinion polls showed high popularity<sup>3</sup>. By using certain words presidents shape and present the way in which they see themselves and the world around them (Smith, 1994, 26). Nevertheless, the language is not only a vehicle for expressing ideas. "Within all types of political system, from the autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic, leaders have relied on the spoken word to convince others of the benefits that arise from their leadership. The more democratic societies become, the greater the onus on leaders to convince potential followers that they and their policies can be trusted" (Charteris-Black, 2005, 1). Therefore, the basic language function fulfilled in the political communication is an informative and persuasive language function (Girth, 2002; Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005; Budaev, 2006, 2007; Kopperschmidt, 1986; Chilton, 2004; Goatly, 2007; Koller and Semino, 2009; Borčić, 2010, 2012). Politicians give us information, but at the same time, they want to gain our support for their policies, so they could be (re)elected.

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<sup>3</sup> More about the methodology and research results at [http://www.promocija-plus.com/javno\\_mnjenje/index\\_javno\\_mnjenje.htm](http://www.promocija-plus.com/javno_mnjenje/index_javno_mnjenje.htm) (12.06.2016)

## 2.2. Political argumentation

Political communication is based primarily on the argument attitudes of the politician, program policy and general worldview. Talking about specific topics politicians argue more or less convincingly their positions, thus expressing their arguments. Škarić (2011, 9-13; Škarić, 2003) describes an argument or an explanation as a process of recovery based on rational reasoning or evidence and an argument is defined as an evidence or reasoning, which is based on facts to prove or disprove a certain claim. Furthermore, Škarić (2011, 46) states that the argument is textual, be it a written or a spoken text, where the text is created in order to solicit someone to give an opinion.

The argumentation is developed around central claims. A claim is an opinion that should be presented or explained to become reasonably acceptable and belongs to a wider range of central thoughts (Škarić, 2011, 23, Fahnestock and Secor, 2004). In democratic political argumentation an argumentative and informative claim that is at the same time persuasive has to be a debatable thesis, about which other people could have differing opinions. Depending on how somebody wants to present a topic, he or she speaks focusing on one particular aspect of the topic.

Within the empirical research of this paper, the types of claims are also analysed because according to the studies of political communication, value judgments are dominant - the judgments to which our politicians 'lure' us, invoking in their attitudes values close to target voters (Lakoff 2004, 2008). Škarić (2011; Fahnestock and Secor, 2004.) divides claims into four types: claims of fact or definition, claims of cause and effect, claims about value, and claims about consequences for the future. Fahnestock and Secor (2004, 267) call claims about consequences for the future political claims consisting of three parts (more in Ibid.).

In this paper individual responses are classified as factual, value, causal or claim relating solely to the consequences for the future. A claim of fact or a definition answers the question of what something is, the nature of the thematic concept is argued (Škarić, 2011, 54-58). A claim about value expresses how things, people, events and processes are judged and looked at according to our set of values (Škarić, 2011, 66), and anything that somebody looks at or thinks of is always done in relation to himself/herself (Ibid. 65). Moreover, the claim that may answer the question of why something is can be additionally argued and that argument points to the cause, particularly what leads to what. This statement is called the claim of cause and effect and answers the question of why something is (Škarić, 2011, 59-65). Furthermore, Škarić (Ibid. 71) highlights the fourth type of claim, the claim about consequences for the future that is based on the argument proposed solutions for the future and / or analysis of the possible consequences in the future (Škarić, 2011, 71).

A politically persuasive statement can be made in an affirmative or negative way. Therefore, this paper includes this aspect in the analysis of the political

communication persuasiveness as well. In line with research (Ito et. al., 1998, 887), negative information tends to influence evaluations more strongly than comparably extreme positive information. Pratto and John (1991) argue that humans possess a mechanism which effortlessly directs attention to negative stimuli, according to Ito et. al., (1998, 898). Therefore, a political statement is mainly focused on speaking positively about the personal or partisan attitudes and the criticism of political opponents, which is understandable since politicians speak primarily to their target voters. If this is applied to political communication, a conclusion can be made that the public will memorize negative information better and by talking negatively about their opponents the politicians reinforce the positive impression of themselves.

### 2.3. Political metaphors

Ever since the ancient times metaphor has been a point of interest for many linguists, writers and philosophers. Since the conceptual metaphor is the topic of this paper, the theoretical framework of the paper included only the theory concerning conceptual metaphors in cognitive linguistics. In doing so, only the part of theory the research is based on is explained. The conceptual metaphor has been researched by cognitive linguistics since 1980. It was then that the original model of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson came into existence, and their book *Metaphors We Live by* (1980/2004) is seen as its starting point. The research in this paper is based on this original theory of the conceptual metaphor within cognitive linguistics developed in the 1980s.

Lakoff and Johnson (Lakoff and Johnson, 2004, 11) introduced the knowledge of how daily life is interwoven with metaphorical expressions and that metaphorisation is actually fundamental for the understanding of a language. According to them, conceptual metaphors are pervasive in everyday life, not just in language, but in thoughts and actions (Lakoff and Johnson, 2004, 11). In the last 20 years (conceptual) metaphors have become both a trend and a challenge for speechwriters. In recent political discourse politicians throughout the world use metaphors in order to enrich their discourse but also to send their messages to the public and/or voters (Mio, 1996, Ahrens et al., 2009,). The political argument is primarily focused on getting the recipient's partiality in relation to the statement of the issuer. Successful politicians have to be informative but at the same time persuasive. Their language has to be influential because they probably want their messages to be remembered. Lakoff (1991, 2002, 2004, 2008) believes that politicians, using metaphors in political issues, set the framework in which voters then think about certain issues.

The scope of this paper does not permit a detailed presentation of the theory and divisions related to the conceptual metaphor. The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing or phenomenon in terms of another (Lakoff and Johnson, 2004, 3-5; Kövecses, 2002, 4-6; Lakoff and Johnson, 2004, 7-14; Stanojević, 2009, 341; Kövecses, 2002, 4). By using



metaphorical expressions drawn from the source domain, the target domain is understood better and the correspondence between these two domains is referred to as mapping (Stanojević, 2013, 37-82; Kövecses, 2002). Metaphors within these theories are based on the physical experience, perceptions and schemes. At the level of language use, metaphorical expressions drawn from the source domain are called linguistic metaphors.

Lakoff and Johnson (2004, 15-46) divide conceptual metaphors according to their cognitive role into three main groups: structural, ontological and orientational. In structural metaphors, one concept is realized with the help of the other, and the examples of such metaphors are LIFE IS A JOURNEY or TIME IS MONEY. In orientational metaphors, the entire system of terms is organised in relation to the other, such as in the examples HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP, DISEASE AND DEATH ARE DOWN. Orientational metaphors are based on our physical and cultural experience. Experiences with concrete physical objects, and especially the body, lay a foundation to create an ontological metaphor, which is the third type of metaphors. Ontological metaphors are created either by reification or personification (Charteris-Black, 2005, 15). By using the reification, or the concretization of the abstract event, the actions and emotions become shaped entities or physical objects. Lakoff and Johnson (2004, 36-38) mention THE INFLATION IS THE ENTITY or THE SOUL IS A FRAGILE OBJECT as examples of an ontological metaphor based on reification. Personification is further considered to be the most common ontological metaphor. Appearances, associations, social movements etc. are explained with the help of categories common to people, based on our motivation, goals, activities and characteristics (Lakoff and Johnson, 2004, 44-45; Čulić, 2003, 81-92; Kanižaj, 2010) Personification is an ontological metaphor, which, according to Kövecses (2002, 35) “uses for the source domain one of the best, ourselves”. This metaphor is common in the political discourse. It is used to give human characteristics to political parties, institutions or certain events, which influences the development of positive or negative associations in recipients.

The conscious use of certain conceptual metaphors can affect people’s view on what is being talked about (Stanojević, 2013, 122). According to recent literature on political metaphors (Lakoff, 2002, 2004, 2008; Charteris-Black, 2004; Santa Anna, 2002; Budaev, 2006, 2007; Chilton, 2004; Goatly, 2007; Koller and Semino, 2009; Westen, 2007; Kanižaj, 2010) most frequent underlying conceptual metaphors in political discourse are POLITICAL TOPIC IS REIFICATION, POLITICS/ POLITICAL TOPIC IS PERSON AND POLITICAL TOPIC IS JOURNEY / DESTINATION. The preliminary interview analysis performed on the interviews in this paper shows that the above mentioned metaphors are dominant.



### **3. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

The sample consists of interviews of former Croatian President Ivo Josipović<sup>4</sup>. He was elected at the presidential elections in 2010, after the end of the second term of former Croatian President Stjepan Mesić. Ivo Josipović holds a doctorate degree in law and is a university professor, a composer and a politician. He also served as a representative in the sixth convocation of the Croatian Parliament. In 2003 he became a representative of SDP in the Croatian Parliament. He was elected a presidential candidate at the SDP convention in July 2009 and after that he started his presidential campaign. According to Grbeša (2012, 94) ‘his media image preceding the election was unpretentious but favourable: he was widely esteemed for his legal expertise and his public reputation was overall positive’.

#### **3.2. The identification of data**

In this paper the Pragglejaz metaphor identification process was used (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, 1-39) which was created within Pragglejaz project. Steen (1999, 27) argues that the establishment of the framework of the procedure of metaphor identification makes it easier for researchers to identify linguistic metaphor: «MIP [metaphor identification process.], as a reliable procedure for identifying linguistic metaphor, prevents the researcher from seeing concrete manifestations of conceptual metaphors everywhere. “So identified linguistic metaphors allow the analysis of the mapping between the domains: An advantage of the bottom-up analysis of MIP is that refraining from presuming conceptual metaphors, as suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) reduces bias towards finding precisely those linguistic expressions that match the preconceived mapping” (Crisp, 2002, 7).

The theme of each statement is determined by using the analytical matrix. On the basis of the semantic-grammatical analysis of the main claim according to the variables 8-12, the central assertion is classified according to the thematic area of argumentation as a factual claim, cause-and-effect, a value argument<sup>5</sup> or an assertion about the consequences in the future, as stated by Škarić (2011, 51-77).

An affirmative or a negative approach to the topic as a modality is understood here as a relationship between politics and the way in which politicians perceive and present a topic (Borčić, 2012). Variables 13-21 from the matrix analysis are used as indicators in determining and quantifying the implicit or explicit value judgments, positively or negatively evaluated topic, and lexical peculiarities related to subjectivity and objectivity in the presentation. The same indicators helped in the identification of thematic areas of claims (fact, value, cause and effect, consequences for the future).

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.predsjednik.hr/Zivotopis> (12.06.2014)

<sup>5</sup> The term argument is used within the rhetorical notion of a central thought or claims (Škarić 2011, 13)

### 3.3. Data analysis

Content analysis of the interview relates to the identification of topics in each response in the interview, the identification of linguistic metaphors in the text, the identification of conceptual metaphors, the classification of types of claims, and the identification of whether a politician speaks affirmatively or negatively on a particular topic.

The analysis connects the use of a source domain to a target domain. Target domains are then categorized into political issues, social issues, and economic issues. The representation of all themes in the statements was made in order to determine which topics are dominant. Based on the results, shown in table 1, it is evident that in the show where Ivo Josipović made his guest appearance as a presidential candidate political themes were dominant in 62% of the statements, immediately followed by private topics (23%). The reason for this is that at that time Josipović needed to present himself to the public since the majority of the public was not too familiar with his life and work. In the show, broadcast in 2012, Ivo Josipović speaks mostly about social issues (52% of statements) and political issues (37% of statements), in accordance with the authority of the president of the Republic. Table 1 makes it clear that there is a significant difference in the results between 2009 and 2012. The reasons that led to such differences are not explained in this study, but metaphors are dealt with within different topics.

Table 1

The representation of topics in the statements

<b>SAMPLE: SUNDAYS AT TWO, IVO JOSIPOVIĆ</b>	SUM OF STATEMENTS/ ANSWERS ABOUT POLITICAL TOPICS	SUM OF STATEMENTS / ANSWERS ABOUT ECONOMIC TOPICS	SUM OF STATEMENTS / ANSWERS ABOUT SOCIAL ISSUES	SUM OF STATEMENTS / ANSWERS ABOUT PRIVATE TOPICS
<b>2009</b>				
SUM OF RESPONSES / STATEMENTS: 122	75/122 (62%)	14/122 (11%)	5/122 (4%)	28/122 (23%)
<b>2012</b>				
SUM OF RESPONSES / STATEMENTS:81	30/81 (37%)	5/81 (6%)	42/81 (52%)	4/81 (5%)

As already stated, according to the preliminary analysis of the sample, the dominant source domains are movement / travel, personification and reification. Therefore, the presentation of the results of the survey is based precisely on the presentation of these domains.

The following text displays the analysis of the results for the theses in which the source domain of the personification, reification and / or movement / journey was identified. The analysis at the same time does not cover central theses

of answers about private issues since what is analysed here is the persuasion of the conceptual metaphors related to topics that are primary in the public political discourse, rather than issues related to personal and private life of the speaker. It is important to stress that presented results and conclusions are symptomatic and are only valid for the analysed sample.

### 3.3.1. Ontological metaphors: personification

Personification as a kind of ontological metaphor is extremely common in political discourse (Chilton, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2005; Lakoff 1991, 2004, 2008). The characteristics of people, conditions people encounter in everyday life or political topics are attached to political issues. People have certain values, lifestyles, go through experience of diseases, are strong or weak. All of these traits, attitudes, values, activities, etc. could cause positive or negative associations in everyone because they are an integral part of everyday life. The positive or negative aspects of human life are copied by using the personification of political issues. In this way, a politician, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, determines the value of something and / or someone, and then transfers to the recipient his evaluation or belief. Mio (1996, 127) declared that the function of metaphors is also seen in the intention of politicians to characterize their political opponents.

The source domain of personification was identified in total of 41 claims with the target domains, i.e. political, social and economic issues in 2009, tied to a specific target domain in a political, social or economic topic. In the statements in which Ivo Josipović speaks as a presidential candidate, personification is the most dominant in political themes. In 60% of central theses in which he argues some of his political positions he speaks positively about the subject, and in 40% of the statements he criticises implicitly or explicitly. Speaking, for example, affirmatively about the political topic of SDP as in (1) by using the conceptual metaphor A PARTY IS A PERSON, he expresses his opinion through an affirmative value judgment. This was at that time expected, since as a member of SDP he wanted to point out the advantages of this party and its leaders.

- (1) **HR** *Predsjednik Milanović je apsolutno mlad, talentiran, sposoban političar, uostalom SDP je pod njim, pod njegovim vodstvom ostvario najbolji izborni rezultat.*

**ENG** *President Milanovic is absolutely a young, talented, capable politician, after all, under his leadership SDP achieved the best election result. (IJ, Nedjeljom u dva/ Sundays at two, 22.02.2009)*

In an interview from 2012 39 central theses were identified in which linguistic metaphors from the source domain personifications were realized. The largest number of them is with social issues (59%), followed by the target domain related to political topics. As in 2009, personification is mostly associated with the topics Ivo Josipović speaks about affirmatively, 59% of them. Likewise, the

value judgment is dominant as a way of presenting arguments, as for example when he speaks affirmatively about the government as in (2).

- (2) **HR** *Kao prvo, ono što sam i u slučaju prošle Vlade govorio, Vlada je meni partner poslovni pa prema tome, radimo na zajedničkom zadatku, to je danas najvažniji zadatak je gospodarski oporavak, Vlada je u ovih stotinjak dana po mom sudu postavila jedan dobar temelj, smanjila je proračun, otvorila je neke procese reorganizacije u samoj Vladi, otvorila je prostor za pomake.*

**ENG** *Firstly, as I used to say for the previous government, the government is my business partner and we are working on a common task, and today's most important task is the economic recovery. In my opinion the government has, in these last hundred days, laid a good foundation, reduced the budget, opened some reorganization processes of the Government itself and has made room for improvements. (IJ, Nedjeljom u dva / Sundays at two, 18.03.2012)*

To conclude the use of personification, it can be stated that Ivo Josipović often values positively and negatively the work of a party as a presidential candidate as in (1) while as the president the topics he relates to are of the state or government bodies, as in (2). He commonly assigns characteristics inherent in a man to more or less abstract themes in the statements of a “presidential candidate,” as well as in the statements of the “president”.

### 3.3.2. Ontological metaphors: reification

The experiences of a man with concrete physical objects and his own body create a basis for the formation of ontological metaphors with reification, or the realization of the abstract (Lakoff, 2004, 35-43). Ivo Josipović as a presidential candidate in the interview given in 2009 uses reification in a total of 24 theses as the original domain. In relation to the target domain, the reification is dominant in responses to political issues (58% of the analysed theses), as well as in responses to economic issues (33% of the analysed theses) and social issues (9% of the analysed theses). He speaks more often negatively (58% of the analysed theses) than positively (42%), but still dominantly presenting value judgments (79% of the analysed theses). For example in (3) Josipović expresses negatively his value judgment about the consequences of transformation and privatization in Croatia.

- (3) **HR** *Pa sasvim sigurno, pretvorba i privatizacija jesu namjerno krenule, one su na kraju krajeva i bile potrebne hrvatskom društvu, samo osobno, ne na ovaj način, nisam siguran da li je mogao i da li je znao i da li je predviđao sve posljedice svega toga, ali rezultati nisu dobri.*

**ENG** *Well certainly, the transformation and privatization were deliberately started, they were ultimately what Croatian society needed,*

*but personally, not in this way, I'm not sure if he could, and if he knew or foresaw all the consequences but the results are not good. (IJ, Nedjeljom u dva / Sundays at two, 22.02.2009)*

Ivo Josipović as the president of the Republic uses reification in 12 theses, dominantly with political and social issues. The emphasis is on the argumentation of affirmative attitude related to the topic, and the attitude is stated in the dominant number of statements through the value judgment. The example (4) shows that as the president he uses the reification in more general subjects, indicating in this case the harmfulness for the Croatian society.

- (4) **HR** *To je optimistično, ali i inače, ajde idemo malo o optimizmu, mislim da je to vrlo važno, nema društva koje napreduje, a da nema optimizam u sebi, da nema određenu dozu samopouzdanja, nažalost, kroz jedno dulje vrijeme mislim da mi **tonemo u jednu depresiju koja nije dobra, nije dobra.***

**ENG** *It is optimistic, but as usual, let's talk a little bit about optimism, I think this is very important, there is no society that is progressing without having optimism in itself, without having a certain amount of confidence. Unfortunately I think **we have been sinking into depression** for some time and that is not good, not good. (IJ, Nedjeljom u dva / Sundays at two, 18.03.2012)*

To conclude it can be said that the dominant themes (the target domains) in 2009 are concrete actions, praised or criticized, associated with a particular party. Positive attitude is mainly related to SDP (Social Democratic Party) and negative to HDZ (Croatian Democratic Union) and the HDZ government at the time, as in (3) when the transformation and the privatization process is associated with HDZ and Franjo Tuđman. In 2012, when Ivo Josipović speaks as the president, the prevailing themes are various political activities of the president because he then speaks from a perspective of the party-wise neutral person. Consequently, in his public appearances he consciously or unconsciously emphasizes the statements that “invoke” more or less positive or negative associations in citizens (whose support he wants), and are related to the issues of the state and governmental bodies as in (4). This is to confirm further the theoretical assumptions of persuasion conceptual metaphor (Lakoff 1991, 2004, 2005, 2008, Charteris-Black, 2004, 2005, et. al.) since the analysed people speak more subjectively and emotionally, especially about the issues with which they exercise directly their political activities.

### 3.3.3. Metaphor of movement / journey

The metaphor of MOVEMENT /JORNEY is common in a political discourse because journey is a domain which most people are familiar with. According to a survey conducted by Charteris-Black (2005, 200) the linguistic realization of these metaphors is most common in the discourse of the leading

Anglo-American politicians (Churchill, Thatcher, Blair, King, Clinton, Bush, the father and son). According to a survey by Lesz (2011, 55-77; Cox, 2012) metaphors of movement are the second most commonly used in the discourse of President Barack Obama. The researches of Musolf (2004) and Semino and Masci (1996) show how common these metaphors are in the discourse of Chinese, German and Italian politicians. The metaphor of movement is a link between more or less abstract theme and man's experiences of movement. By using it politicians can focus the attention of the recipient on the content part of the theme, depending on their own intent.

The metaphors of movement enhance persuasion because they conceptualize any political activity so that it is referred to as a journey with positively evaluated destination (Koller and Semino, 2009: 12). The attitude argumentation through affirmative discussion about the topic is dominant in both interviews, while at the same time expressing his attitude towards value judgement, as in the example (5). This is particularly persuasive if one takes into account that according to Charteris-Black (2005, 76) those metaphors are associated with patience, perseverance and caution over hasty decisions and short-term successes.

- (5) **HR** *Ali ako dozvolite, vratio bih se na ono što sam obećao u kampanji, drugo važno obećanje je na neki način vezano za sigurnost, to je pitanje pravednosti, mislim da je napravljen **jedan važan korak** koji sam ja forsirao još iz vremena dok sam bio zastupnik, .....mislim da je to **ogromni korak, važan korak za ovu ideju pravednosti.***

**ENG** *But if I may, I'd like to return to what I promised in the campaign, the second most important promise which is somehow related to security; it is an issue of fairness, I think an important **step was made** which I pushed ahead in the times when I was a representative, .... I think **that's a huge step, important step** for this idea of justice. (IJ, Nedjeljom u dva / Sundays at two, 18.03.2012)*

Metaphors MOVEMENT/TRAVEL suggest to recipients that politicians are aware of where the party, the state or they themselves really want to go. Recipients are also aware that it is sometimes necessary to exercise patience and overcome obstacles which come in their way. So it is not surprising that this source domain is frequent in political discourse (Charteris Black, 2005; Lesz, 2011, et. al.).

#### 4. CONCLUSION

This paper approaches the topic of conceptual metaphor and political communication from a textual-linguistic, semantic, cognitive-linguistic and argumentative perspective. The manner of implementation of conceptual metaphors in the analysed sample is in direct relationship to the text form of a

political interview. The basic language, or textual function of a political interview is the informative-persuasive function. Political communication presents a form of interaction, i.e. public communication which develops through available linguistic knowledge in the area of political activity. The persuasive effect of political interviews builds on the original feature of rhetoric as the power of persuasion in truthfulness and correctness of what is being said.

Issuers, i.e. politicians want to challenge the recipients' own interpretation through the offered conceptual statements. Scientists who deal with language policy and conceptual metaphors in a language find the subtle expression of emotions through the use of metaphor one of the essential characteristics of a successful persuasive political communication. Conceptual metaphors in that way shape the themes of a certain society and also affect social reality by emphasizing certain parts of the theme or approach to the theme. Use of conceptual metaphors makes it possible to point out that part of the target domain to which one wants to direct the attention of the recipient. Leading politicians should know how the nation "breathes" and the language should match the powers that they have and their positions.

This paper analyses the linguistic use of conceptual metaphors of movement, personification and reification in conjunction with an affirmative and negative way of speaking about the topic and the topic area of argumentation through which a particular thesis is expressed. The research on the basis of the model of synergy matrix presented in this paper shows that the original domains of personifications, reification and movement dominate in the analysed sample. They are more common in political and social issues than economic ones, as was to be expected in accordance with the authority of the president. As the presidential candidate Josipović's affirmative and negative public speaking primarily concerns the thematic concepts associated with the party which he was a member of and the opposing party and their activities and viewpoints. As the president his affirmative and negative way of speaking in the interviews primarily relates to the statements concerning political activities in the country, regardless of the party, and the activities of certain government bodies, but also for example the media as an important pillar of a democratic society.

Prior to the research it was assumed and the research would confirm that the discourse is dominated by value judgments as a way of expressing attitude. This is dominant in the political communication because it is precisely by displaying or criticizing certain segments of a topic that the support of (potential) voters is encouraged or lost. In conclusion, it can be said that the purpose of this study was primarily to show the model analysis of language within which the sentence features and elements that contribute to the persuasion of political discourse are analysed. The results on which the conclusions are drawn are only symptomatic of this sample, but may serve as an incentive for further research.



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## Appendix: ANALYTICAL MATRIX

### PART A: GENERAL INFORMATION

**Variable 1:** Interview, date of broadcast:

**Variable 2:** The length of the interview (no. of questions asked by journalists) in words 0000

.....

**Variable 3:** Identification number of statement / response (00):

### PART B: ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES IN THE INTERVIEW

**Variable 4:** The identified linguistic metaphors in the interview refer to the source domain of MOVEMENT/JOURNEY, PERSONIFICATION, REIFICATION OR OTHERS

1. YES
2. NO
3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**Variable 5:** If answer 4 is YES, how many linguistic metaphors are there: 00

**Variable 6:** If answer 4 is YES, specify linguistic metaphors:

**Variable 7:** If answer 4 is YES, specify source domain:

**Variable 8:** If answer 4 is YES, this sentence has been identified as a central idea/claim of the answer:

1. YES
2. NO
3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**Variable 9:** The central idea/claim has been identified as a statement of the facts of things

1. YES
2. NO
3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**Variable 10:** The central idea/claim has been identified as a value judgment

1. YES
2. NO
3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**Variable 11:** The central idea/claim has been identified as claim of cause and effect

1. YES
2. NO
3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**Variable 12:** The central idea/claim has been identified as a statement that talks about future consequences

1. YES

2. NO

3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**VARIABLE 13:** Person talks affirmatively about a topic

1. YES

2. NO

3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**VARIABLE 14:** If 13 is YES, specify sentence and highlight how it is communicated:

**Variable 15:** Person talks negatively about a topic

1. YES

2. NO

3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**VARIABLE 16:** If 15 is YES, specify sentence and highlight how it is communicated:

**Variable 17:** Person uses a modal verb to emphasize subjective (affirmative or negative) / “value” talking about a topic

1. YES

2. NO

3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**VARIABLE 18:** Person uses conditional structures to emphasize subjective (affirmative or negative) / “value” talking about a topic

1. YES

2. NO

3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**VARIABLE 19:** Person uses modal particles to emphasize subjective (affirmative or negative) / “value” talking about a topic

1. YES

2. NO

3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**VARIABLE 20:** Person uses adjectives to emphasize subjective (affirmative or negative) / “value” talking about a topic

1. YES

2. NO

3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

**VARIABLE 21:** Person uses adverbs of manner to emphasize subjective (affirmative or non-affirmative) / “value” talking about a topic

1. YES

2. NO

3. CANNOT BE DETERMINED

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## KONCEPTUALNA METAFORA U POLITIČKOM GOVORU

### *Sažetak*

*Konceptualne metafore smatraju se učinkovitim lingvističkim oblicima kojima se postiže uvjerljivost u upotrebi jezika. U ovom radu konceptualna metafora i politička argumentacija promatraju se kroz prizmu sinergije političke teme, afirmativne ili negativne komunikacije glavnih ideja povezanih s temom, upotrebu konceptualne metafore kao uvjerljive retoričke strategije i vrstu postavljenog argumenta. Istraživanje je provedeno na uzorku od 13 338 riječi iz dva politička intervjua s gosp. Ivom Josipovićem, 2009. i 2012. godine, u emisiji Nedjeljom u dva, koja se emitira jednom tjedno na prvom programu Hrvatske radiotelevizije (HTV 1). Rezultati istraživanja pokazuju da su konceptualne metafore kojima se u istraženom uzorku najčešće koriste lingvističke realizacije metafora iz domenâ personifikacije, reifikacije i putovanja. Ove lingvističke metafore većinom se upotrebljavaju kad se govori o vrijednostima. Istraživanje također pokazuje da su te metafore većinom afirmativne.*

***Ključne riječi: politički jezik, politička metafora, konceptualna metafora.***

***JEL klasifikacija: D72***