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Ideological metaphor in the speeches of Josip Broz Tito

Summary

In the analysis of political rhetoric, metaphor is often associated with ideology, pragmatic aims and rhetorical persuasion. The choice of metaphors in combination with other linguistic devices in political speeches can be seen as part of a persuasive strategy. There is a range of approaches available when designing research into political metaphor, e.g., Charteris-Black (2018) proposes a critical metaphor analysis as a method for the analysis and interpretation of metaphor as a tool of ideology. This paper explores how systematic analysis of the Josip Broz Tito's New Year's speeches can help us understand how these communist discourse processes are driven by underlying metaphors. Nine speeches from Josip Broz Tito, a Yugoslav communist revolutionary and politician who served in various positions of national leadership from 1943 to 1980, were considered for the analysis. Metaphors were identified, interpreted and explained. The analysis has shown that metaphors are of various source and target domains, the most common domains are current values or danger and risk: truth (*our fight for the truth, voice for the victory of the truth*), unity (*unity is our strongest tool, let's be united*), struggle (*liberation from the occupier*), construction (*let's build socialism, build a new society*) and similar. With these recurrent patterns or conventional metaphors in communicating ideology Tito is creating enemy-images, he is escaping into myth, and he is also creating stereotypes.

Keywords: ideology, communist regime, political discourse, metaphor

1. INTRODUCTION

Critical discourse analysis of historical political speeches and texts can contribute to a better understanding of historical circumstances as well as the consequences they had in the development of a certain society. Metaphor, as an interesting and powerful

rhetorical tool that is often associated with ideology, pragmatic aims and rhetorical persuasion, is the topic of this research. This paper examines epideictic speeches, specifically, Tito's New Year's addresses, to show how communist discourse operates through underlying conceptual metaphors that shape its ideological and rhetorical structure. Presidential New Year's speeches can be understood primarily as epideictic or ceremonial rhetoric, a form of discourse concerned with praise, reflection, and the reaffirmation of communal values rather than with policy advocacy. Rooted in Aristotle's (*Rhetoric*, Book I) tripartite division of oratory into deliberative, forensic, and epideictic, these speeches function as ceremonial occasions through which leaders celebrate national identity and inspire collective optimism. Modern rhetorical scholars have expanded this understanding: Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) describe epideictic discourse as a means of reinforcing shared beliefs and maintaining social cohesion, while Hauser (2002) note that presidential rhetoric often blends genres, using ceremonial language to unify rather than to deliberate. Campbell and Jamieson (2008) similarly argue that presidential ceremonial addresses, including inaugural and holiday speeches, serve primarily epideictic functions by interpreting and reaffirming the values of the nation. This epideictic genre is characterized by amplification as its main rhetorical and argumentative strategy. Consequently, it is reasonable to expect a higher density of metaphorical language than in deliberative discourse. The present study analyses the political language of communism in the New Year's addresses of Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito. He was a significant historical and political figure of Croatian and Yugoslav history in the second half of the 20th century. Despite his humble origin, he was born in a large and poor peasant family, and he became the most prominent communist revolutionary and politician who served in various positions of national leadership from 1943 until his death in 1980. During World War II, he was the leader of the Yugoslav Partisans, often regarded as the most effective resistance movement in German-occupied Europe. He also served as the president of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1953 until his death in 1980. Ideologically, Tito's contributions to communist thought are known as Titoism. Some historians criticize Tito's presidency as authoritarian and view him as a dictator, whereas others characterize him as a benevolent dictator. However, we cannot dispute that he was a popular public figure both at Yugoslavia and abroad. Owing to his charisma, which served as motivation and inspiration for many citizens of that country, Tito led Yugoslavia for a very long time, independently and authoritatively¹.

¹ Information about Tito has been gathered from websites: <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/broz-josip-tito> (accessed on 15 October 2024) and <https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/broz-josip-tito> (accessed on 15 October 2024).

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY AND METAPHOR

Political discourse is focused primarily on persuading people to take specified political actions or to make crucial political decisions (Rozina & Karapetjana, 2009: 113). It can be represented as the site where politicians can expose and enact their ideologies and policies (van Dijk, 2003: 212, 214) and it fulfils many functions in the political process (van Dijk, 2008: 176). We can regard Tito's New Year's addresses as political speeches. In Fairclough's (2013) and van Dijk's (2003) terms, even the ceremonial discourse operates as an instrument of power reproduction, embedding political directives and ideological legitimation within the rhetoric of celebration and unity. Although Tito's New Year's addresses formally belong to the epideictic genre, within the ideological framework of a one-party socialist system they acquire a markedly deliberative function, as they serve the reproduction of ideology and power. They legitimize the existing order through a ceremonial form, whereby the ritual is rhetorically employed as a strategy of political consolidation. In that sense, they serve primarily as political speeches through which ideological messages and policy orientations are communicated to the public. Language has a significant role in political discourse because it is an instrument through which the manipulative intents of politicians become apparent. Language only gains power in the hands of the powerful; it is not powerful 'per se'. A specific language even symbolizes the group of persons in power (Wodak, 1989a: xv). Politicians themselves are very attentive to the importance of language. Through language politicians can view their ideas and ideologies (Rozina & Karapetjana, 2009: 3). Chilton (2004) believes that politics and language are fundamentally connected. Politics requires language because there is no political activity that exists without using language (Chilton, 2004) and because language can be used to steer people's beliefs and thoughts as well as to control the way those people think and believe. The way in which language is perceived depends on the type of language used. When one controls the discourse, one can control how others think (Jones & Peccei, 2004: 39). In addition to any other kind of discourse, political discourse is likely more ideological. In modern societies, as well as throughout in history, power is achieved and maintained through ideologies. Ideologies are closely linked to power because of the nature of the ideological assumptions embedded in particular conventions. Ideologies are closely linked to language because using language is the most common form of social behaviour and is the form of social behaviour in which we rely most on common sense assumptions (Fairclough, 2001: 2). Even within the political discourse

ideology as a term certainly does not have a single fixed meaning. The term has a number of meanings, but it is not infinitely variable in meaning, and the meanings it has tend to cluster together into a small number of main ‘families’ (Fairclough, 2001: 78). To be exact, Fairclough identifies two such families: one interpreted as any social policy that is in part or in whole derived from social theory in a conscious way, and the other interpreted as ideas that arise from a given set of material interests in the course of the struggle for power. The point to stress is that the variable meanings of ideology are not just randomly generated. It would require a comparison of the meaning system, not just word meanings. Therefore, in the first interpretation (post-war American sense), ideology is closely related to totalitarianism, and totalitarian and ideological are sometimes used as near synonyms. Furthermore, totalitarianism is a superordinate term that subsumes fascism, communism, Marxism, and so forth; the meaning system is structured to make ideology ‘a weapon against Marxism’. In the second interpretation (Marxist meaning) system, by contrast, totalitarianism does not figure at all, nor of course do we find communism/Marxism and fascism as co-homonyms of totalitarianism (Fairclough, 2001: 78). Charteris-Black (2018: 257) defined ideology as a coherent set of ideas and beliefs that provides an organized and systematic representation of the world about which the holders of the ideology could agree. A more detailed definition is the basis of the social representation shared by the members of the group. This means that ideology allows people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is in the case, good or bad, right or wrong, from them to act accordingly (van Dijk, 1989: 8). Furthermore, Wodak (1989b: 140) differentiates ideologies in totalitarian systems where ideologies create and propagate a secondary reality that one must believe and ideologies in democratic systems in which one may believe in. Ideologies are themselves closely related to cognitive and psychological processes and are expressed through language or originate in or are reinforced by it. The textual analysis approach enables us to critically elucidate the structures of ideas within an ideology, which stem from value judgments and attitudes that determine people’s actions (Schjerve, 1989: 9, 58), so ideology is a system of ideas based on value judgments and attitudes, which aid certain forces within a society in furthering their interests to stabilize their power. In the analysis of political rhetoric, metaphor is often associated with ideology, pragmatic aims and rhetorical persuasion (Šarić, 2014: 175). Many scholars emphasize that metaphors in political discourse do not merely have stylistic or rhetorical value, but also perform an argumentative and ideological function (Charteris-Black, 2004; Chilton, 2004; Musolff, 2016). According to Charteris-Black (2011: 50–51) metaphors are highly

persuasive precisely because they can activate “both conscious and unconscious resources to influence our rational, moral and emotional response, both directly — through describing and analysing political issues — and indirectly by influencing how we feel about things”. Charteris-Black (2011: 14) also claims that metaphor is a matter of expectations – on the basis of our previous experience of language. It is a relative rather than an absolute phenomenon because the meanings of words change at different rates for different individuals according to their differing experiences of language. The metaphor is central to critical discourse analysis (Charteris-Black, 2004: 28) since it is concerned with forming a coherent view of reality. Hodge and Kress (1993: 15) propose that ideology involves a systematically organized presentation of reality and that metaphor may reveal the underlying intentions of the text producer and therefore serve to identify the nature of particular ideologies. Metaphor can have a different political impact. First, it has the ability to frame the political debate. Second, using a particular metaphor can also reveal an underlying conception of a political reality. Metaphors may thus not only frame the debate, but also orient it towards particular political decisions. Another political impact of metaphors is to achieve certain political goals, such as (re-) producing legitimacy through the frequency of certain metaphorical mappings in political discourse (Perrez & Reuchamps, 2015: 167).

3. AIMS AND HYPOTHESIS

Several goals were established in this research. The first goal was to identify metaphorical linguistic expressions that are chosen in Tito’s speeches. The second goal was to interpret metaphors found in speeches by source domain and try to explain why these metaphors are chosen (with reference to interactions between the orator’s purposes and a specific set of speech circumstances). Moreover, beyond the conceptual level, the goal was an attempt to answer such metaphor use motivated by ideological factors and how metaphors are used systematically to create political myths and discourses of legitimization and delegitimization that give rise to ideologies and world views. Finally, the last goal was to determine the differences in the frequency and types of metaphors used in speeches from different decades. The research seeks to address the following research questions: RQ1: To what extent do Tito’s New Year’s addresses employ metaphorical expressions, and how does the frequency of metaphors compare to that of metonymies?; RQ2: What source domains are most commonly used in the metaphors found in these speeches?; RQ3: In what ways do metaphors in Tito’s

speeches construct arguments that persuade the audience and reinforce ideological claims?; RQ4: How do the frequency, type, and source domains of metaphors vary (or remain consistent) across different decades?

4. METHODOLOGY

The corpora are based on the speeches delivered by the president of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito on New Year's days during the four decades of his governance, from 1945 until his death in 1980. This paper aimed to provide an overview of Tito's entire governance through his New Year's speeches. The corpus consists of 35 speeches in total. For the purposes of this research, a subset of 9 speeches was analysed, with three speeches chosen from each decade. The selection of speeches was guided by the aim to capture how Tito's rhetoric responded to the major socio-political changes and challenges that Yugoslavia experienced from the 1940s to the end of the 1970s. By analysing three speeches from each of the three decades, the study aims to identify shifts and continuities in the metaphors used, highlighting how political priorities and ideological narratives evolved over time. Speeches from the 1970s were difficult to find, requiring searches through a large newspaper corpus or an entirely new set of books. New Year's speeches were selected for two reasons: first, because of their length and second, because of the audience to which they were addressed. In an evaluation of public speeches, some authors (e.g., Mio, 1997) found that speeches addressing the general public contained twice as many metaphors as those addressing more limited audiences. Speeches addressing a broad audience need to be more inclusive, or they need to have broader root metaphors and resonate with these root metaphors more to convince the audience of the correctness of the thesis of the speech (Mio, 1997: 128). Tito's speeches were broadcast on the national radio first, and when television started broadcasting in Yugoslavia in 1956, they were also broadcast on national television. Today, the majority of his speeches are available in numerous books about his life and activities. For the purpose of this research, the monograph *Tito: speeches and articles* (1956–1972) was used. Table 1 summarizes the composition of our data. The table shows that the speeches are approximately the same length, except for the two from the 1940s.

Table 1. General information about Tito's speeches

Speech	Year	Characters per speech	Source
1	1946	13,330	Book 2
2	1947	15,180	Book 3
3	1949	9,000	Book 4
4	1953	4,920	Book 8
5	1956	6,000	Book 10
6	1959	5,520	Book 14
7	1962	8,700	Book 17
8	1963	6,640	Book 18
9	1965	6,240	Book 20

Therefore, we used these 9 political speeches as a source of data and then established a set of methods that provide a framework for metaphor analysis. The analysis is based on an approach to CDA originally outlined by Fairclough in 1989 and revised in 1995 (Sabir & Kanwal, 2018: 89). Fairclough's model consists of a three-step process of analysis: identification and description, interpretation and explanation of the data (Fairclough, 2013). In designing research into the political metaphor Charteris-Black (2018) deepens this model and proposes critical metaphor analysis (CMA) as a method for the analysis and interpretation of metaphor as a tool of ideology. Our research is based on this method because CMA aims to identify which metaphors are chosen in persuasive genres such as political speeches (as in this research), party political manifestos or press reports. It also attempts to explain why these metaphors are chosen, with reference to the interaction between the orator's purposes and a specific set of speech circumstances. In addition to general pragmatic motives for the use of metaphor, such as gaining attention and facilitating understanding and framing issues to encourage acceptance of the speaker's point of view in a political context this explanation involves demonstrating how metaphors are used systematically to create political myths and discourses of legitimization and delegitimization that give rise to ideologies and worldviews. Figure 1 provides a brief overview of the four principal stages of the CMA (Charteris-Black, 2018: 218).

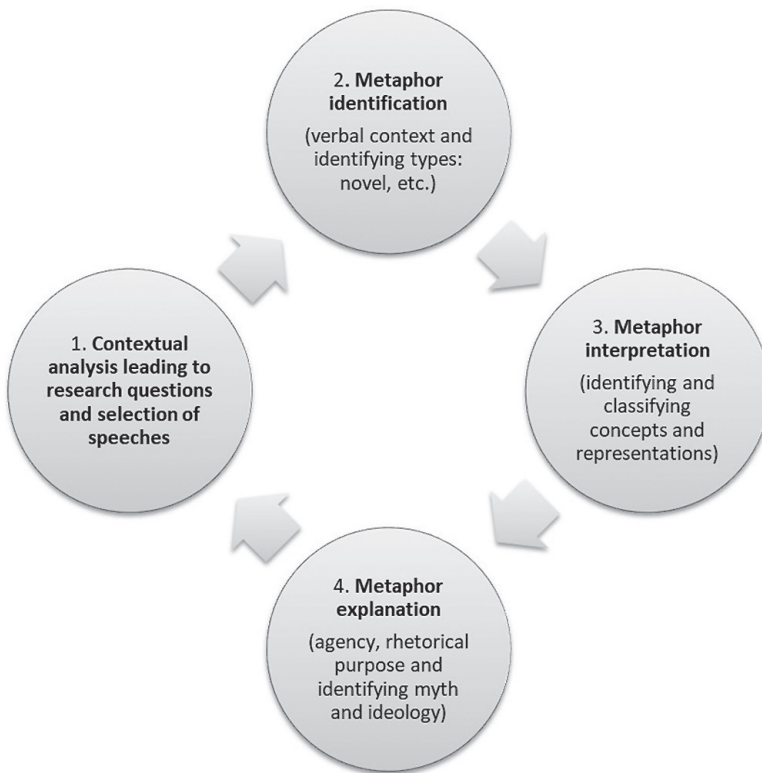


Figure 1. Principle stages of critical metaphor analysis

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results and discussion will be presented according to the model of CMA mentioned in the methodology and therefore according to metaphor identification, interpretation and explanation.

5.1 Metaphor identification

Identification of metaphor entails deciding through analysis of words and phrases what to count as a metaphor in the contrast of speech. Because metaphors arise from transferred meanings, whatever sense a word or phrase originally had, a metaphor is formed when this word or phrase is used in a new context with a different sense (Charteris-Black, 2018: 220; Škarić, 2000: 119).

Data for metaphor analysis were collected via a discursive approach, in a related text. In this paper we examined metaphors in a collection of political speeches from a

particular genre – New Year’s addresses. Metaphors in political rhetoric typically occur in phrases or collocations, rather than as separate words, and for that reason we prefer to single out the metaphorical phrase. Potentially metaphorical expressions are separated.

Table 2. Metaphorical expressions in Tito’s speeches corpus

Speech / Year	Characters per speech	Metaphorical expressions per speech
1/1946	13,380	92
2/1947	15,180	86
3/1949	9,000	64
4/1953	4,920	40
5/1956	6,000	28
6/1959	5,520	21
7/1962	8,700	28
8/1963	6,640	34
9/1965	6,240	19
TOTAL	75,580	412

As shown in Table 2, there are a total of 412 potential metaphorical expressions. The frequency of metaphorical expressions is greater in older speeches, in speeches before 1953. Older speeches are also longer than newer ones. The newer speeches have a very simple structure that actually repeats itself. In fact, this is the case with the political texts of all totalitarian regimes. The political speeches of totalitarian regimes (communism as well) were used in the service of conscious propaganda. Despite somewhat different medial-communicative conditions under which these texts originated, there is almost no noticeable difference with regard to their performance. They show substantially the same text-typological and text-constitutive features as Schjerve (1989) also notes in his analysis of political speeches of Futurism and its relationship to Italian Fascism. However, that could be a whole new topic for another study. At the identification stage, metaphorical phrases can be grouped into different categories. We perform a simple classification, naming these categories metaphor and metonymy, in which metaphor establishes a similarity between two different semantic domains. In addition, metonymy can be interpreted within one semantic field, not as a shift in similarity but by any other experiential connection (relation): spatial, temporal, causal, consequential, or symbolic.

Table 3. Frequency of metaphors and metonymies

Speech	Number of metaphorical expressions	Metaphor	Metonymy
1	92	53	39
2	86	54	32
3	64	36	28
4	40	22	18
5	28	19	9
6	21	14	7
7	28	18	10
8	34	22	12
9	19	8	11
TOTAL	412	246	166

As expected, more metaphors were found in the corpus, because metaphor is the most common trope. Table 3 shows that there are more metaphors in each individual speech and the overall results show that metaphors are approximately 1.5 times more common than metonymies. Of course, some metaphors involve other rhetorical tropes, such as personification, synecdoche, periphrasis, or antonomasia, and while they may serve an ornamental purpose, they can simultaneously function as arguments guiding reasoning and persuasion. Here are some examples of metaphors: *we were on the brink of war disaster* (8²); *this time common sense won* (8); *the victory of socialism is most certain in peaceful competition between nations with different political systems* (8); *they branded some drastic phenomena of a subjective character* (8); *to divert the course of our development from the line determined by our revolution in another direction* (8); *so that our working man can enjoy the fruits of his labour* (9); *voices in the West about the need for disarmament are getting quieter* (9); *the results indicate the path we must take* (7); *that cold war game on the edge of the abyss* (7); *new neuralgic points and dangerous war zones are created* (7); *we enter the year with deep faith in our own strength* (6); *that the ideas of peace and peaceful cooperation will finally prevail* (5); *on its flag are inscribed the bright principles of equal and proper relations between nations* (5); *rays of light appear on the horizon* (4); *rays break through the dark clouds that hover humanity* (4); *Europe groaned in fascist darkness* (3); *our Popular Front represents a huge*

²The number in parentheses refers to the number of Tito's speech (see Table 1).

reservoir of volunteer labour (3). There are also many metonymies. One of the most common metonymies is that of naming a cause for an effect, e.g., *removing poverty as soon as possible* (1) – meaning not poverty as a concept but the consequences of poverty; *railway transport was destroyed by the war* (1) – meaning not by the war but by the consequences of war; *the drought has caused significant damage to our economy* (4) – not the drought itself but the consequences it has on agriculture or health. Metonymy also very often denotes space for an institution or its inhabitants, e.g., *The state provided transportation* (1); *The state serves the people* (8), or abstract for concrete, e.g., *Industry supplies our population* (1); *the Communist Party must preserve its hard-won unity* (2); *the UN played a key role in everything* (6); *Today's government will take care of* (8); *Power is in the hands of working people* (2); *Armies fought battles* (2); *The army is the guardian of our independence* (2). An interesting metonymy is one in which a symbol appears for what it symbolizes, e.g., *To create a roof over your head* (2) – the roof is a symbol of a house; *Every patriot should fight against this evil* (1) – where evil symbolizes the war and the enemy. On the other hand, in the process of identification both metaphors and metonymies can be categorized in another manner. For example, Charteris-Black (2018: 222) offers categorization on the basis of the following psycholinguistic criteria: 1. Novel metaphors (processed by comparison); 2. Entrenched metaphors (processed by categorization), and 3. Conventional metaphors (processing shifts between comparison and categorization, depending on context). In political speeches, the majority of metaphors are conventional or entrenched, and only a few are likely to be novel. Novel metaphors are likely to be identified as such by the majority of informants, many of their first analysis, and conventional metaphors over which there will be variation. Conventional metaphors are those that are readily identifiable as metaphors, and entrenched metaphors – those with the majority of an audience are unlikely to be recognized as metaphors because they are processed entirely by categorization (Charteris-Black, 2018: 226). Therefore, invisible entrenched metaphors can reveal the ideology behind the framing of issues in a certain way. However, novel metaphors can evoke empathetic responses and contribute to powerful, heroic narratives (Charteris-Black, 2018: 224). For the purpose of this paper, Charteris-Black's (2018) categorization has been slightly adjusted; metaphors have been identified and categorized on the basis of psycholinguistic criteria in two categories: novel (meaning novel and conventional) and conventional (meaning entrenched). Table 4 shows some of the examples found in the corpus.

Table 4. Psycholinguistic analysis of metaphor in Tito's speeches

NOVEL	CONVENTIONAL
<i>we were left with a rusty legacy</i> (1)	<i>the constitution is the foundation of our statehood</i> (1)
<i>the wounds inflicted on us by the occupier</i> (1)	<i>the draft of the new act</i> (1)
<i>the country is torn apart by the occupation</i> (1)	<i>make hard choices</i> (1)
<i>the people could devote themselves to the treatment of severe wounds</i> (1)	<i>the state is badly weekend</i> (1)
<i>bring the vermin to justice</i> (1)	<i>we must lay a solid foundation</i> (1)
<i>evil must be eradicated</i> (1)	<i>we are trying our best (with all our forces)</i> (1)
<i>distrust towards today's authorities is being sown</i> (1)	<i>many tasks are ahead of us</i> (1)
<i>they are enriched and built by experience</i> (2)	<i>difficulties that stand in our way</i> (1)
<i>Yugoslavia is the child of common struggle and suffering</i> (2)	<i>needs were not taken into account</i> (2)
<i>a program written in blood of hundreds of thousands of our sons</i> (2)	<i>young nation</i> (2)
<i>difficult and thorny path of our socialist construction</i> (2)	<i>that idea is maturing</i> (3)
<i>Europe groaned in fascist darkness</i> (2)	<i>we are with you in our thoughts</i> (6)
<i>all the storms that blew through our country</i> (3)	<i>play a key role</i> (6)
<i>rays of light appear on the horizon</i> (5)	<i>we want to strengthen ties and cooperation</i> (6)

As we can see, ideologically interesting metaphors are those that have often become conventional collocations through recurrent use: *difficulties that stand in our way* (1); *the constitution is the foundation of our statehood* (1); *the difficult path of our socialist development* (3). Many of them are probably relatively invisible as a metaphor because of the very high frequency of metaphors that represent the nation or the state as a person in political rhetoric, e.g., *the state is severely weakened* (1); *the old Yugoslavia fell apart* (1); *great trials for our party* (3).

5.2 Metaphor interpretation

In this phase, metaphors can be interpreted on the basis of conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). This involves identifying source and target domains followed by interpreting systematic correspondences by proposing conceptual metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 166) emphasize that metaphor is the main means of understanding reality in which a relatively familiar, experience-based source domain is mapped onto a more abstract, less familiar target domain. The classification of metaphors on the

basis of the literal meaning of words is known as organizing by the source domain, whereas the classification on the basis of metaphors referred to in the context is called organizing by the target domain (Charteris-Black, 2018: 218). In this paper, only the first stage of applying conceptual metaphor theory is shown; that is, identifying semantic fields that include groups of semantically related metaphor vehicles; these are known as source domains. The metaphors with reference to their source domains have been classified, because this early phase of metaphor interpretation delays making more debatable decisions about target domains (to what metaphor refers). This is because source domains are evident at the surface level of the text, whereas targets are present in the understanding of the speaker and the audience. Some of the domains stood out in the analysis and the metaphors were grouped by semantic fields of building, construction, health, disease, family, journey, weather etc.

Table 5. Analysis of metaphor source domains in Tito's speeches

SOURCE DOMAIN	EXAMPLES
Building/construction	<i>on the ruins of Yugoslavia</i> (1); <i>it was built from the blood</i> (1); <i>contribute to the reconstruction of a devastated country</i> (1); <i>we must lay a solid foundation in the new year</i> (1); <i>to work on rebuilding of the country</i> (1)
Health/disease	<i>the people could devote themselves to the treatment of severe wounds</i> (1); <i>the wounds inflicted on us by the occupier</i> (1); <i>you need to know the disease if you want to treat it successfully</i> (1)
Weather	<i>but we know where that wind is coming from</i> (2); <i>all the storms that blew through our country</i> (3); <i>unity could withstand the greatest storm of the history</i> (3)
Family	<i>it was built from the blood and bones of our best sons</i> (1); <i>the best sons and daughters were imbued with heroism</i> (1); <i>our sons died for freedom</i> (1); <i>Yugoslavia is the child of common struggle and suffering</i> (2); <i>a program written in blood of hundreds of thousands of our sons</i> (2); <i>it is necessary to return to the patriarchal way of the economy</i>
Path	<i>difficulties that stand in our way</i> (1); <i>difficult and thorny path of our socialist construction</i> (2); <i>we must go the way we came</i> (2); <i>means overcoming the most difficult part of the road</i> (3)
Animal	<i>traitors committed atrocities</i> (1); <i>bring the vermin to justice</i> (1)
Body	<i>organ of the people's government</i> (1); <i>it was built from the blood and bones of the best sons</i> (1); <i>we would dishonour the blood we gave for victory</i> (3); <i>a program written in blood of hundreds of thousands of our sons</i> (2)
Agriculture	<i>bring the vermin to justice</i> (1); <i>evil must be eradicated</i> (1); <i>sows distrust towards today's authorities</i> (1); <i>the truth will clear its way</i> (3); <i>they smear us</i> (3); <i>we will thwart their plans at the root</i> (3)
Truth/ethics	<i>truth and justice will win</i> (3); <i>love for truth and justice is that strength</i> (3); <i>nations have shown moral strength</i> (3)
Sport	<i>broad national competition</i> (2); <i>develop a working match</i> (2)

We can interpret these examples. For example, the source domain of weather allows us to propose conceptual metaphor *circumstances are weather*, which accounts for the group of weather metaphors, particularly one speech: *but we know where that wind is coming from* (2) – wind means some difficulties, unfavourable circumstances at that particular moment (e.g., danger of the new war); *all the storms that blew through our country* (3); *unity could withstand the greatest storm of history* (3) – a similar interpretation can be given in these examples. Furthermore, *building* metaphors portray the country's past history and achievements as cornerstones, e.g., *The country was built from the blood* (1). *Reconstruction* metaphors, on the other hand, also boil down to ideological differences, which are parallel to the motivation of retrospective *building* metaphors. The crucial difference between *reconstruction* metaphors and the other forward-looking *building* metaphors is the presupposition of the country as a damaged building, which conceptually triggers the metaphorical mappings of *the enemies (fascist, ustasas) are destroyers*. Very similarly, is in the *health* source domain, *all our wounds are made by the occupier*. This type of distribution implies that there was an underlying rhetorical purpose in the use of metaphors from this particular source domain. But, metaphors in Tito's New Year's addresses function not only as rhetorical ornaments but also as integral components of argumentation. Following the view that metaphors frame reasoning and structure ideological meaning (Charteris-Black, 2004; Musolff, 2016), their role in Tito's discourse extends beyond stylistic embellishment. By conceptualizing socialism as a *path* or *journey*, Tito's speeches construct an argument of progress and historical inevitability, positioning the Yugoslav people as active participants in a collective movement toward a predetermined goal. Similarly, the recurring *struggle* metaphor legitimizes perseverance and unity, framing economic or political challenges as necessary stages in a moral and ideological battle. Through such metaphorical reasoning, Tito's rhetoric reinforces the legitimacy of the communist project and naturalizes its ideological assumptions, demonstrating that metaphors in political discourse are not merely expressive, but function as arguments that sustain and reproduce power.

However, once we start to consider purpose – or the rhetorical plan behind the use of metaphor – we are moving on to the explanation of metaphor (Charteris-Black, 2018: 238).

5.3 Metaphor explanation

The metaphor explanation involves going back to the broader social and political context to determine the purposes that speakers had in using these metaphors. Explanation requires judging whether and how metaphors influence an audience; how

they interact with other features and their persuasive role in forming, consolidating changing opinions, ideas and beliefs (Charteris-Black, 2018: 219). In this way, metaphors also perform an argumentative role, guiding reasoning and implicitly supporting particular claims, in addition to their persuasive and rhetorical effects. They not only evoke emotional responses but also implicitly justify the communist project, contrast the regime with its adversaries, and guide the audience's reasoning about loyalty, duty, and collective effort. Here, we can speak about ideological metaphors, metaphors that legitimize the worldview of social groups, which are jointly constructed by speakers and listeners. Tito's speeches show, as a communist ideology in general, coherent representations of a storytelling and both colourful and typical metaphors for communicating ideology. Tito's metaphors found in the analysed corpus, whether novel or conventional, serve multiple purposes in communicating communist ideology. A central theme of communist propaganda is creating enemy-images. This focus is understandable, given that Tito was president from the moment Yugoslavia entered the war. The enemies are usually identifiable: *fascist invaders and collaborators, occupiers, domestic traitors and imperialist profiteers*. Yet these enemies are often portrayed as invisible or imaginary: *enemies of the people, enemies of our country, hostile elements*, or simply *evil*. They are depicted as *dark, dangerous, and relentless*. These metaphors also have an argumentative role – they portray opponents not merely as individuals but as inherently negative forces, implicitly justifying resistance against them by framing them as morally wrong and a threat to the community. To undermine the political goals of these opponents, propaganda highlights only their negative attributes, often presenting them in contrast with the positive qualities of the communist regime. For instance, *the traitors commit atrocities* (1); *they hinder the progress of our country* (1); *their aim is to obstruct us on the path of our development* (4); *the enemies are trying to create confusion among the peasants* (1); *they seek to divide our national unity* (2). Conversely, Yugoslavs are portrayed as *preserving the legacy of the liberation struggle* (1); *millions of patriots contribute to the reconstruction of their devastated country* (1); *destroyed factories are put back into operation* (2); *cities and villages are rebuilt* (2); *inner unity is maintained* (3); *citizens demonstrate creative enthusiasm in building socialism* (4) etc. We also emphasize the argumentative role of these examples. For instance, the metaphor *path of development* transforms political and economic processes into a metaphorical journey, framing opponents as obstacles to something collectively valuable, and thereby legitimizing the actions taken by the regime against them. Similarly, the metaphors *building socialism* and *rebuilding* connect citizens' efforts to tangible results and progress. These metaphors implicitly

argue that collective action is morally right, beneficial, and that the communist project produces concrete achievements and prosperity. Because the language of communists often excludes rationality, they must resort to myths and irrationalism. Only then could it strengthen its claim that its ideology was true and gain credibility for itself. To emphasize the importance of their war and struggle communism needs heroes, a type of man was created that drew his abilities from his blood and the blood of his sons, e.g., *The country was built from the blood and bones of hundreds of thousands of the best sons of Yugoslavia* (1); *to achieve what hundreds of thousands of the best sons of our country died for* (1); *This program was achieved by the people themselves with streams of their precious blood* (2); *This heroic man reached his “maximum development” in his new, independent, native country: comrades are heroes of labour* (1); *the creative enthusiasm of the workers reached an unprecedented height* (2); *a broad national competition was expressed in all parts of the country* (2); *facts that speak about the work heroism of our people* (3); *millions of working people are the bearers of socialist progress* (9). The metaphors in these examples serve an argumentative function by legitimizing and glorifying the communist project. References to blood, sacrifice, and heroic labour frame the citizens' efforts as morally significant and historically necessary, implying that socialism and national progress are the rightful outcomes of immense personal and collective sacrifice. These metaphors construct a moral and causal argument: because the people have sacrificed so much, their achievements are justified, admirable, and inevitable. They also create a model of the *heroic citizen* whose actions exemplify loyalty, dedication, and creative enthusiasm, thereby persuading the audience to value and participate in the collective socialist effort. In order to communicate the ideology of communism more effectively, one needed not only certain arguments that could be legitimized scientifically but also those that could also be applied discursively in a way that was easily intelligible and that guaranteed the widest possible approval by people who received the speech. One strategy to ensure this objective was to charge language emotionally by creating stereotypes and using slogans. Widely known meaning-references were inserted into new contexts, where they aroused unconscious connotations and emotions. The repeated use of linguistic elements used in specific contexts to appeal concepts that are highly charged emotionally and associated with specific value judgments or prejudices, encourage the creation of stereotypes and make reflection on the communicated content more difficult (Schjerve, 1989: 67). Stereotypical in Tito's speeches are claims or concepts that everything old, everything from the past is bad, dark and rotten, e.g., *sabotage is a remnant of the old order* (1); *problems in administration are a legacy of the old regime* (1). On the other hand,

everything new is good and bright. For example: *we are building the brighter future* (1); *the future is something to look forward to* (1); *just in unity we can go forward to a brighter future* (3); *we also have to preserve the legacy of the war* (4). Emphasizing the sacrifice made in the war was intended to justify all the post-war decisions that often contradict the propagated ideology of unity and equality of all nations. In these examples, metaphors and emotionally charged language also serve an argumentative function by legitimizing the communist ideology and post-war policies. By framing the past as bad, dark, and rotten (e.g., *sabotage is a remnant of the old order*) and the future as bright and desirable (e.g., *we are building the brighter future*), the speeches construct a moral and causal argument: the failures of the old order justify the sacrifices and policies of the present, while collective unity and effort are morally right and necessary. Stereotypes, slogans, and repeated emotionally loaded concepts reinforce these claims, making them intuitively persuasive and limiting critical reflection, thus guiding the audience to accept the ideological message as valid and necessary. Similar to stereotypes, the use of slogans and catchwords that appeal to emotions (e.g., *legacy of the people's revolution, victory over the occupier, national liberation struggle, brotherhood and unity, workers and proletarians*) functions argumentatively by embedding the audience in a shared ideological framework. These expressions implicitly assert that participation in the socialist project is morally justified and historically necessary, reinforcing the identification of Tito's political discourse as communist and socialist. By linking emotionally charged language with ideological concepts, metaphors and slogans guide reasoning, shape value judgments, and limit critical reflection, thereby persuading the audience to accept and internalize the intended political message.

6. CONCLUSION

This analysis of metaphors in a collection of political speeches from Tito's New Year's addresses shows that metaphors are interesting and powerful rhetorical tools in the political discourse associated with ideology. We can conclude that these political speeches were used in the service of conscious communist propaganda. Despite somewhat different communicative conditions under which these texts originated, there is almost no noticeable difference with regard to their performance. They substantially show the same text-typological and text-constitutive features, that is, metaphors. It can be concluded that in the analysed corpus, there are many metaphorical expressions. The frequency of metaphorical expressions is greater in older speeches, in speeches before 1953. As expected, more metaphors (e.g., *we were on the*

brink of war disaster) than metonymies (e.g., *removing the poverty as soon as possible*) were used. Additionally, the majority of metaphors are conventional and novel, and ideologically interesting metaphors are those that have often become conventional collocations through recurrent use: *difficulties that stand in our way*; *the constitution is the foundation of our statehood* etc. The most common source domains that stood out in the analysis are those of building, weather and family. With these recurrent patterns or conventional metaphors in communicating ideology Tito is creating enemy-images, and those enemies are often invisible and imaginary; thus, they are dark and dangerous. He escapes into the myth – Yugoslavia needs its heroes. Therefore, a type of man was created that drew his abilities from *his blood and the blood of his sons*. Tito is also creating stereotypes – everything old is bad, and everything new is good. Emphasizing the sacrifice made in the war was intended to justify all the post-war decisions that often contradict propagated ideology of *unity and equality of all nations*. These metaphors not only have rhetorical impact but also function as arguments that guide reasoning and persuasion. In communist discourse, metaphors structure ideological narratives by framing political reality in ways that legitimize specific policies and actions. For example, the recurring metaphor of the *struggle* constructs a moral argument for perseverance and unity, while the metaphor of *building socialism* implies progress, collective effort, and the teleological inevitability of the communist project. This research can inspire further studies, such as comparing Tito's metaphors with those of other (communist) leaders or examining their long-term impact on Yugoslav society. It is important to understand how metaphors can reveal underlying ideological biases, and how they contribute to shaping, communicating, and reinforcing political relations and structures of power. Metaphors are powerful tools in political discourse, framing complex social and ideological realities in accessible terms while shaping how audiences understand, evaluate, and respond to political ideas and authority.

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