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Metaphor-Related Prepositions in the Inaugural Addresses of American Presidents: A Diachronic Corpus Analysis

Mokhtar Ounis

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ED 509 Sociétés Méditerranéennes et Sciences Humaines

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MOKHTAR OUNIS

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Spécialité: Linguistique anglaise

Metaphor-Related Prepositions in the Inaugural Addresses of American Presidents: A Diachronic Corpus Analysis

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APPROVAL PAGE

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PROF. Richard Trim

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my father whose light never dims. He was consistently an example of commitment, plain hard work, and perseverance. I so very much wish you could be here to celebrate.

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Abstract

The overall image that emerges from the literature is that prepositions are polysemous, content-free, and too complex. This thesis aims to demonstrate that prepositions are systematically used in linguistic metaphors like any other part of speech. As an exploratory and corpus-based study, the data are drawn from an electronic corpus extracted from all the American inaugural addresses. In terms of their frequency, the analysis reveals an uneven distribution, a prevalence of the preposition *of*, and a gradual decline in using all the prepositions. As for their metaphor patterns, prepositions do not merely name relationships, but they create, structure, and evaluate them. They structure analogical projections between conceptual domains through their intrinsic and schematic relationships. These projections carry a built-in axiological value, and they blend metonymy and metaphors through systematic schematic integrations. In their semantic fields, these metaphors highlight an inter-system mapping based on the inherent properties of various systems. As prepositions' relational profile is central in their metaphors, these relationships are to be included in conceptual metaphors and shorthand notations (A Prep B instead of A is B). The thesis also suggests a tentative cognitive model in which prepositions determine the conceptual identity and space of the abstract political concepts and entities. As for their diachronic variations, these metaphors oscillate between stability and change. The stable mapping patterns are shaped by the need to preserve national unity and perpetuate the inaugurals' generic properties. The factors of change include creative mappings generated by context and the president's passion for distinction. With the decrease in the use of prepositions, future inaugurals may reveal new trends in presidential rhetoric.

Keywords: preposition, metaphor, metonymy, political discourse analysis, inaugural address, cognitive grammar

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Table of Abbreviations

BNC:	British National Corpus
CDA:	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIT:	Conceptual Integration Theory
CMT:	Contemporary Metaphor Theory
FLOB:	Freiburg Lancaster- Oslo/Bergen Corpus
ICM:	Idealized cognitive model
KWIC:	keyword in context
LOB:	Lancaster- Oslo/Bergen Corpus
MIP:	Metaphor Identification Procedure
MIPVU:	Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit
MRW:	Metaphor-related word
PDA:	Rhetorical Political Analysis
PWE:	Pakistani Written English
RPA:	Rhetorical Political Analysis

Chapter One: General Introduction

In a 40, 000-word corpus, Nacey (2010, p. 271) found out that “an average of 75% of the total numbers of prepositions are metaphorically related words”. This high percentage is interesting. This score, however, becomes even more interesting when we know that Nacey’s corpus comprises argumentative English texts written by students. Then we might wonder about the percentage of metaphor-related prepositions in authentic and larger corpora. This is what the current thesis seeks to achieve by examining the metaphoricity of prepositions in the American inaugural addresses (henceforth the inaugurals) and the diachronic factors affecting their metaphoricity. These presidential texts, which constitute the corpus of the thesis, are essential to both the presidents and the public. Campbell & Jamieson (1990, p. 28) argue that “the language of great inaugurals captures complex, resonant ideas in memorable phrases”. The inaugural ceremonies, in which these addresses are delivered, are occasions to refresh the “covenant between the executive and the nation” (Campbell & Jamieson, 1985, p. 410). This covenant is partially encoded and enacted through words, or more precisely, through a competent mastery of words or “memorable phrases” in such a way that it “entails forging a relationship between speaker and audience so as to shape the latter’s judgment around an issue and not merely to convey information” (Martin, 2015, p. 28). In this regard, the inaugurals constitute a rich area for researching the distributional frequency of English prepositions, their metaphorical usages, their persuasive functions, and their diachronic evolution within their sociocultural contexts. By covering these research areas, the present thesis incorporates both the conceptual and the discourse approaches to political metaphors with an emphasis on the metaphorical usages of English prepositions, their conceptual basis, and their diachronic variations.

Before exploring these research areas, it is essential to clarify seven key parameters that shape the thesis's vision and methodology. First, the thesis involves all prepositions. Hence, it will not be limited to spatial prepositions. Second, prepositions are not studied in isolation. Instead, the current thesis assumes that prepositions are context-dependent and must be analyzed in terms of their interactions with their immediate context. The latter consists of three entities: a preposition, an entity that precedes a preposition, and another entity that follows it. In more specific terms, these three interconnected entities are represented holistically in the following pattern: TRAJECTOR *prep* LANDMARK. Third, within this highly abstract representation, prepositions will be treated as “relators” (Merle, 2017, p. 12) whose primary function is “to name relationships between entities” (Jamrozik & Gentner, 2015). The fourth parameter is based on the third and assumes that these three entities are “conceptually dependent” (Turewicz, 2004, p. 7). This methodology is supported by Lindstromberg (2010, p. 6). It is also endorsed by Langacker (1987, p. 215), who wrote: “one cannot conceptualize interconnections without also conceptualizing the entities that they interconnect”. According to this parameter, the present thesis will study the meaning of the individual entities as well as the emerging meaning generated by their interconnections. The fifth parameter strictly limits the scope of the thesis to cases where the relationship between these entities has a metaphorical rather than literal meaning. In such cases, prepositions are to be marked as metaphor-related prepositions using the technical terms of the Pragglez Group¹. Metaphoricity arises when two incompatible entities, connected by a preposition, cease to be incongruent. The relationship between these two entities becomes meaningful because it is interpreted as a metaphor, and the connecting preposition is

¹ A group of 10 researchers who developed the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) in 2007. The term Pragglez is an acronym composed from the first name initials of these researchers.

conceptualized in abstract and non-spatial terms. The metaphorical meaning is inferred from the context and encompasses the three components of the relationship (trajectors, prepositions, and landmarks). The sixth parameter specifies that prepositions do not name metaphorical relationships per se, but for the sake of constructing a meaning related to the purposes of thought and action. These relationships do not refer directly to the real world. Instead, they are the outcome and, at the same time, the reflection of a creative mind that seeks to communicate successfully and purposefully. The seventh and last parameter grounds metaphorical situations in their original sociocultural contexts. These situations are understood via metaphor-related prepositions, which act as “inferential triggers”² (Hernández, 2012). As an instance of figurative language, a metaphor-related preposition has a high potential for triggering inferences through its conceptual and experiential components. These metaphors are so rooted in their broader contexts that they activate coherent frames capable of structuring conceptual models, cultural specificities, and diachronic variations. In short, the current thesis will study all prepositions in a framework that emphasizes the lexical and syntactic contexts in which each preposition acts as a “relator” combining two interconnected entities. The metaphorical meaning of these interconnected entities highlights certain pragmatic functions, reflects the impact of the environment, and reveals the traces of diachronic variations.

Returning briefly to the subject of terminology, it is essential to note that the entire prepositional phrase is metaphorical and not the preposition in isolation. Like other parts of speech, prepositions are metaphorical only when they appear in metaphorical prepositional phrases. More specifically, it is the context that evokes their metaphorical meanings. In her study

² The term was originally coined and called by Hernández (2012) as “déclencheur d’inférences”.

on metaphor in grammar, Sullivan (2007, pp. 118–133) referred to them as “metaphoric preposition phrase constructions”, while Nacey (2010) used the term “metaphorical preposition” in her thesis and later in her book. Following the literature referring to metaphors that contain nouns as metaphorical nouns (or nominal metaphors), metaphors that have verbs as metaphorical verbs (or predicate metaphors), and metaphors that are based on adjectives as metaphorical adjectives (or attributive metaphors), this thesis suggests the terms “metaphorical prepositions”, “relational metaphors”, or “prepositional metaphors”. However, these terms are still not common in the literature. For the sake of clarity, the term “metaphor-related prepositions” will be used.

As the scope of this thesis is primarily the metaphor-related prepositions used in naturally-occurring language, the focus on prepositions would exclude all the metaphors expressed through other parts of speech. In practical terms, the current thesis focuses on the linguistic metaphors expressed by prepositions and formulated according to the *TRAJECTOR prep LANDMARK* pattern. The choice of these three components (trajectors, prepositions, and landmarks) evokes the president’s construal of a conceptualized situation. It is neither a “neutral way of apprehending a situation” (Langacker, 2010a, p. 34) or a syntactic or semantic constraint by any of the pattern’s components. Metaphor-related prepositions, like other metaphors, “are not a requirement of the semantic system but are matters of speaker choice” (Charteris-Black, 2004a, p. 10). Thus, the present thesis will examine how the metaphor-related prepositions in the inaugurals, resulting from free choice, are conceptually structured, linguistically expressed, and diachronically evolving.

In conjunction with their conceptual mappings, metaphor-related prepositions have their diachronic dimension. The choice of one preposition in a prepositional phrase over another is subject to the historical context in which each inaugural address was written. Metaphors vary

because “conceptual mapping, in conjunction with language, evolves through time” (Trim, 2011, p. 4). The diachronic perspective or the “diachronic hypothesis” assumes that “changes in culture and society through time” have an immediate impact on the choice of metaphors and metonymy (Zhang et al., 2015, p. 291). In its diachronic section, the thesis will attempt to identify these changes and examines their impact on preposition-based metaphors extracted from the inaugurals.

Metaphor-related prepositions also have a pragmatic dimension. Thanks to their high frequency of use, as well as their polysemous and schematically rich nature, the metaphorical usages of prepositions will not escape the attention of the meticulous speechwriters and the experienced strategists for one primary reason. Prepositions can generate subliminal metaphors thanks to their relational character, and more precisely, their “relational configurations” (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007b, p. 128). In other words, a metaphor-related preposition does not name any pre-existing or inherent relationship between two entities. Instead, it creates a relationship that reflects a new construal of the world. One of the most memorable quotations from the inaugurals derives its rhetorical power from the skillful use of prepositions in a conceptual mapping between a State and a person.

- (1). “And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country” (Kennedy, 1961).

In this example, the preposition *for* is crucial to both the metaphorical meaning and the rhetorical effect of the message. *For* is used to define and then redefine the relationship between the people and their country. More precisely, it establishes new roles for both entities in which the people are the benefactors and no longer the beneficiaries. President Kennedy’s words show that the existing relationships can be modified, and new relationships can be created by virtue of

metaphor-related prepositions. “New metaphors have the power to create a new reality” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 145) or, in Rorty’s words, such new metaphors are instances of “the art of redescription” as a condition to transform ourselves and our communities (Rorty, 1995) or when “inference projection creates new knowledge in the target”, as Gentner et al. (2001, p. 208) wrote. Thanks to the prepositions’ relational profile, speechwriters are likely to recognize how metaphor-related prepositions can enhance the inaugurals’ persuasive potential, transform people’s lives, and ultimately create new realities.

Metaphor-related prepositions are likely to have a rhetorical power because they are part of the presidents’ words. As prepositions are context-dependent and language and politics are inseparable in several aspects, these metaphor-related prepositions will be analyzed within a broader and more authentic context: the inaugural addresses of American presidents. The choice of these specific texts is based on three fundamental assumptions. Firstly, the inaugurals are “the most visible component of president power” that takes place in the most solemn event of each president’s life (Collier, 2014, p. 3). Similarly, Fields (1996, p. 114) affirms that each address “is the most carefully written and elaborately rehearsed speech of any president’s career”. The second assumption is that American presidents are likely to know that “presidential power is the power to persuade” (Neustadt, 1991, p. 11). The third and last assumption is a combination of the first two. It postulates that persuasive language is vital for building a binding covenant and, therefore, for establishing and maintaining presidential power. In practical terms, Eshbaugh-Soha (2010, p. 3) argues that the use of metaphors enables presidents to “win reelection and, perhaps, achieve a sense of historical significance”. These three assumptions may explain the considerable effort and time invested in each inaugural address. They also support the choice of the inaugurals as the main corpus of the current thesis.

In addition to their quality and importance, the inaugurals have a unique impact, more significant than any other political speaking event. In these addresses, the incoming presidents “justify their political agenda to maintain or alter the direction of a whole nation, and in the case of the U.S. leaders, the entire world” (Reyes, 2011, p. 783). Every rhetorical device must be employed to ensure that a political text makes “the world conform to its words” (T. Oakley, 2005, p. 446). Metaphors and metonymies stand out as the most common of these rhetorical devices used in presidential texts and political discourse in general.

Charteris-Black (2004b, p. 87) maintains that one of the American inaugurals’ distinctive features is the “advance preparation in which the speaker is often aided by the use of some form of written script”. In the process of preparing the inaugurals, the speechwriters (or the ghostwriters as they are often called) have plenty of time to thoroughly explore all available alternatives and select the most suitable ones for their communication objectives. They also have enough expertise to select the parts of speech that best express the linguistic metaphors they want to communicate to the public. This thesis is built on the assumption that these preparations include the ghostwriters’ consideration of prepositions and their metaphorical usages.

1.1. Background of the study

Some metaphors are enactive by default (Gallagher & Lindgren, 2015), allowing us to put our metaphorical words into action. In politics, metaphors are vital to any persuasive political discourse, as described by Thompson (1996). His article’s title, *politics without metaphors is like a fish without water*, sums it up perfectly. Metaphorical words, for example, could kill (Lakoff, 1991b, p. 1) or heal. Others can win elections. If you wonder how Donald Trump managed to become a president, part of the answer lies in his rhetoric, especially in his metaphors. Wilson (1990, p. 10) maintained that “since classical times it has been accepted that language plays a

role in the creation of political reality”. The relationship between metaphor and politics goes back to Aristotle and his study of rhetoric and persuasive appeals, and since then, its importance has never ceased. For contemporary politicians, metaphor, along with other rhetorical devices, has become an essential tool for “presidential popular leadership” (Broughton, 2009, p. 268) and a crucial factor in constructing a persuasive argument. Politicians “persuade their followers through their command of rhetoric and their skill in using metaphor” (Charteris-Black, 2011, p. 1), and American presidents are no exception.

The power of metaphor explains the significant amount of linguistic metaphors in presidential discourse and the importance of persuasion. Campbell & Jamieson (1990, p. 8) observe that presidents “have the opportunity to persuade us to conceive of ourselves in ways compatible with their views of government and the world,” and that “presidents invite us to see them, the presidency, and the country’s role in specific ways”. Metaphor-related prepositions are expected to convey the presidents’ views and draw our attention to what they find important. At the end of the 1970s, Campbell & Jamieson (1978) identified core “inaugural elements” that distinguish the presidential addresses from other political texts. They also wondered whether an inaugural address could be considered a genre. This argument was resolved in their subsequent study in 1985 when they coined the term “presidential discourse” to differentiate it from the broader term “political discourse” (Campbell & Jamieson, 1985). Presidential discourse is different from other political texts in terms of its audience. Unlike other politicians, presidents have more opportunities to communicate with the public. In the inaugurals, each new president announces his “philosophy of politics and the outline of his policy” (Liu, 2012, p. 2409).

Not only do presidents talk to the entire population, but they can also raise an unlimited number of issues. By doing so, they can highlight some issues and downplay others. Entman

(1993) affirmed that “political elites control the framing of issues. These frames can determine just what “public opinion” is”. A mastery of rhetorical tools is a must for an effective framing and, eventually, a far-reaching impact on public opinion.

This thesis shares this interest in the inaugurals’ impact on public opinion and adds to the wealth of literature that provides empirical insights into conceptual metaphors in the presidential discourse. Conceptual metaphors have been widely investigated in the inaugurals, either in individual addresses or in all the inaugurals collectively. More empirical insights are expected from the study of the metaphorical usages of the prepositions throughout the history of the inaugurals from 1789 to 2017. In general, the study of the presidents’ metaphors has often been associated with the emergence of a “rhetorical presidency” (Ceaser et al., 1981; Tulis, 1987). According to this communication theory, presidents started to appeal directly to the public to seek support for their policies. The use of rhetorical strategies in these appeals has attracted rhetoricians and a broad spectrum of researchers in political science, history, and journalism (Windt, 1986, p. 102).

The ubiquity of preposition-related metaphors is no longer a contested issue. Sullivan (2009, p. 19) concluded that “there is no question that preposition phrase constructions’ metaphorical uses are highly regular”. Similarly, in his study on prepositions, Boers (1994, p. 6) contended that their “figurative extensions can systematically be motivated”. Evans & Tyler (2005, p. 15) also supported this view arguing that “prepositional meanings are extended from the spatial to abstract domains in ways that are regular and constrained”. Similarly, Jamrozik & Gentner (2015, p. 1904) maintained that “there appears to be a subtle but pervasive mapping from concrete spatial uses to these abstract uses”. In their study on metaphors in fiction, news,

academic, and conversation, Steen et al. (2010, p. 214) asserted that “prepositions display a relative bias towards metaphorical use that adds up to almost 40% across all four registers”.

In recent years, metaphor-related prepositions have been explored in a variety of discourses such as academic discourse (Herrmann, 2013), conversation (Kaal, 2012), news discourse (Krennmayr, 2011), learner discourse (Nacey, 2010), and Dutch news discourse (Pasma, 2011). They have also been studied in various subjects such as emotions (Rull, 2000) and time (Radden, 2005; Rice et al., 1999). Other researchers have explored metaphor-related prepositions within comparative studies of conceptual metaphors in English and other languages such as Chinese (Lan, 2000), Mandarin (Wang, 2014), Shona (Machakanja, 2006), and Italian (Luporini, 2013). Nevertheless, metaphor-related prepositions have not been examined in any comparable depth in political discourse. In a pilot study, Cienki et al. (2010) investigated spatial prepositions and their metaphors in political texts through the lens of the Discourse Space Theory. They recommended further investigation of metaphor-related prepositions.

Studies on metaphor-related prepositions faced methodological challenges. According to Cameron (2007), prepositions are not easily identified as metaphors by metaphor identification methods. Identification-related issues may be among the reasons why prepositions have always been avoided in favor of content words, mainly nouns and verbs.

It is assumed that metaphor-related prepositions are a perfect example of “covertly persuasive metaphors” (Trim, 2011, p. 176). Prepositions can be seen as one of the “familiar” items that usually appear between noun phrases, and, in many cases, they may escape our attention. In Trim’s words, “they have become naturalized in language and, even, *if they are quite strong* [emphasis added], do not necessarily stand out from other words in the sentence” (Trim, 2011, p. 176). This thesis builds on Trim’s definition of this sort of “covertly persuasive

metaphors” and suggests that metaphor-related prepositions are indeed strong, and they constitute proper vehicles of persuasive metaphors.

As it investigates the conceptual basis of these metaphors, this thesis will be guided by the insights of Cognitive Grammar (Langacker, 1986, 1987) and Conceptual Integration Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 1996) in conjunction with the insights of Contemporary Metaphor Theory (henceforth CMT). Within the framework of CMT, metaphor-related prepositions have been studied under different names. They were first labeled as “orientational metaphors” by Lakoff & Johnson (1980). Later, with more studies focusing on space and its metaphorical extensions, they have been referred to as “spatial metaphors” in 1995 by Tovey (1995). Cognitive Grammar treats prepositions as the entities that profile non-processual relationships (Langacker, 2010a, p. 46), whereas Conceptual Integration Theory (henceforth CIT) treats each metaphor as a cognitive operation by which mental spaces are integrated. By combining these two theories, the present thesis treats any preposition-based metaphor as an emerging blended structure that evokes a metaphorical relationship profiled by a preposition.

To my knowledge, no sustained efforts have been made to study the metaphorical usages of prepositions in the inaugurals or their diachronic variations. This thesis is therefore intended to address this empirical gap.

1.2. Statement of the problem

“The semantics of grammar and metaphor and their power in framing political issues is understudied” (Matlock, 2012, p. 483). This situation applies precisely to prepositions. They are the word class whose metaphors have not received proper consideration. To address this research gap, the current thesis combines prepositions with metaphor and their usages in political discourse from a diachronic perspective. Despite the numerous relevant studies examining

metaphors in the inaugurals, there are no studies devoted to the metaphor-related prepositions and their diachronic variations. Most of the previous research examines the metaphors used by a specific president or a few presidents from rhetorical, pragmatics, or stylistic perspectives. However, as valuable as these studies are, they did not include any analysis of the metaphor-related prepositions in the inaugurals nor their diachronic evolution over history.

The analysis of the metaphor-related prepositions provides insight into the choice of their source, target domains, and the underlying conceptual metaphors. Additionally, the evolving and dynamic conceptual mappings will be examined from a diachronic perspective to detect possible commonalities. The findings of this thesis should help to clarify how presidents employ these metaphors to frame critical issues related to their leadership, policies, and the lives of the American people.

1.3. Purpose of the study

This study is based on the assumption that we employ every single language tool in natural contexts to produce a “conceptual content” (Talmy, 2000b, p. 178). These linguistic tools include, in addition to the wide range of lexical items, grammatical elements, and other closed-class items such as prepositions. It is expected that prepositions are highly needed because they can profile novel relationships based on metaphorical conceptualizations. Therefore, this study’s main objective is to characterize the general properties of the metaphor-related prepositions, determine their linguistic and cognitive properties, and trace their diachronic “networks and paths” (Trim, 2011, p. 73). This objective is addressed in the following ways. First, to identify the prepositions used in the inaugurals and then to classify them in terms of their use frequency. Secondly, to determine the underlying conceptual mappings of the metaphor-related prepositions. Thirdly, to examine how metaphor-related prepositions interact with each other and

with other metaphors and how well they mix. Fourthly, to study what these metaphor-related prepositions reveal about political cognition, and finally, to explore whether there are any discernible patterns of evolution throughout the history of these inaugurals.

This thesis is, by default, interdisciplinary as it deals with metaphors whose nature requires “recognition of the complex ways that metaphor arises from the interaction of brains, bodies, languages, and culture” (Gibbs, 2008, p. 4). In this regard, the thesis combines four broad topics of study, namely metaphors, prepositions, inaugurals, and the diachronic variations of metaphors, each with a plethora of avenues to pursue. Therefore, analytic tools are drawn from various disciplines, including Cognitive Linguistics (Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Conceptual Integration Theory, Cognitive Grammar), Corpus Linguistics, and Historical Linguistics.

Evidence-based findings must support the thesis’ theoretical arguments. The corpus-based approach is necessary to address “the complexities associated with making general claims about the structure and function of metaphors in language and thought” (Gibbs, 2008, p. 3). Some of the complexities stem from the fact that “metaphor does not always appear in nice, neat packages that can be easily plucked out from some context for analysis” (Gibbs, 2008, p. 4).

Metaphor-related prepositions will be extracted from a machine-readable corpus that includes all the inaugurals delivered by all the American presidents in their original contexts and status. The 58 addresses, which cover more than 228 years, represent an adequate time, as well as a sufficient size for conducting such research. In this way, metaphors will be extracted from a computerized and naturally-occurring corpus away from intuition and introspection. The data will be collected from the various presidential addresses and then analyzed electronically and manually using a methodology that combines quantitative and qualitative tools. The qualitative tools will be used to examine “the discourse dynamics” (L. Cameron et al., 2009) and investigate

the conceptual mappings and the diachronic perspective of this study. Quantitative tools will be employed for measuring the use frequency of all the prepositions to detect any recurring patterns that may arise. The mixed-method approach is adopted because of the credibility of the postulated findings, as well as the suitability for the thesis' research questions.

1.4. Research questions

In view of its purpose as outlined above, this thesis seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. How frequent are prepositions, and how evenly are they distributed across the Inaugural Corpus?
2. How are prepositions used metaphorically? Which conceptual domains are activated? What are the underlying conceptual metaphors and their experiential bases?
3. How well do metaphor-related prepositions mix one another and with other types of metaphors in the inaugurals?
4. What do metaphor-related prepositions reveal about cognitive models and means of representation?
5. How do metaphor-related prepositions vary over time? Are there any patterns that could create an evolutionary path?

1.5. Significance of the study

With the increasing focus on metaphors based on verbs and nouns at the expense of other parts of speech, especially prepositions, there is a need for research that can offer adequate attention to metaphor-related prepositions backed by empirical and corpus-based evidence. To this end, this thesis adds to the understanding of metaphor in political discourse by focusing on a specific word class (prepositions) and by exploring how they are metaphorically used in a

specific genre of political discourse (the inaugurals). Moreover, this thesis contributes to the ongoing research on metaphor analysis by applying an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates corpus analysis tools, metaphor-led discourse analysis (L. Cameron et al., 2009), and a diachronic evolutionary outlook (Trim, 2011). In particular, the results of this thesis may clarify the recurrent patterns of conceptual mapping and how they relate to the key features of our political cognition. For example, the analysis of metaphor-related prepositions in President Trump's inaugural address reveals some new features of political rhetoric that are closer to populist ideology but antagonistic to the pluralistic principles of liberal democracy. Like any other text, the inaugurals are "open work," and their "judges are not contemporaries, but, as Hegel said, history itself" (Ricoeur, 1973, p. 103). These political texts will continue to offer fresh representations of reality, as well as to receive fresh interpretations.

1.6. Outline of the study

This section presents an outline of the thesis and provides a brief account of each chapter's content. The thesis proceeds in the following way: Chapter two summarizes the literature relevant to the research questions and provides a solid framework for the linguistic analysis of the Inaugural Corpus. The chapter is divided into four sections corresponding to the study's four main topics: metaphor, political discourse, prepositions, and diachronic linguistics. In the metaphor section, a brief review of the different views on metaphor is presented. The second section reviews the different discourse analysis approaches before proceeding to political discourse analysis and then to presidential communication and the inaugurals as a genre. This section also provides a brief review of American political history and the fundamental tenets of political culture. In the third section, the different approaches to prepositions are reviewed before the discussion narrows to Cognitive Grammar which sets out the theoretical framework within

which prepositions are understood and analyzed. The last section of the second chapter is devoted to diachronic linguistics and, more precisely, to metaphor variations and conceptual evolution. Different views are presented before the discussion focuses on Trim's model as an explanatory framework. Chapter three focuses on the research methodology. It begins with a summary of the different research paradigms to justify the methodology of the present thesis. This chapter also provides a review of corpus linguistics as well as a detailed description of the corpus. It also includes a description of the raw data and methods of data collection and analysis. The main procedures of data analysis are described in this chapter. These procedures include the process of metaphor identification and categorization by which metaphorical usages of prepositions are extracted from the corpus and then classified in terms of their source and target domains. Chapter four presents the findings of the research in a manner that answers the research questions. It begins with a descriptive account of all the prepositions found in the inaugurals. This account includes the frequency rates of each preposition and its distribution throughout the history of the inaugurals. This chapter goes on to describe the conceptual basis of the extracted metaphor-related prepositions in terms of their conceptual mappings. The final part of this chapter focuses on the diachronic variations of each preposition.

Chapter five discusses the findings in an attempt to provide explanations for the frequency scores, the conceptual metaphors expressed by prepositions, and the patterns of diachronic variations. It also includes a microanalysis of five inaugural addresses with an emphasis on pragmatic functions and persuasive appeals of the extracted prepositions.

Finally, chapter six draws conclusions from the findings presented by the preceding chapter. In addition to the limitations and implications, this chapter also puts forward potential recommendations for future research.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The dictionary contains no metaphors; they exist only in discourse. (Ricœur, 1975)

This chapter seeks to review the literature needed to study metaphor-related prepositions used by American presidents in their inaugurals. The thesis will be conducted within the framework of an interdisciplinary interface of its four themes. First, the linguistic metaphors and their underlying conceptual basis. Second, prepositions as the grammatical vehicles of these metaphors. Third, the inaugural addresses as the immediate discourse in which these metaphors have been used. Fourth, the diachronic patterns that these metaphors may reveal. To put it succinctly, this thesis explores metaphors expressed by prepositions in the inaugurals with an emphasis on diachronic variations. To adequately cover these four components, the present chapter reviews four areas to which these components belong. The first area, which is the first section of this chapter, focuses on the concept of metaphor. It begins with a historical survey of metaphor studies and proceeds to the recent cognitive view. The remainder of this section reviews the literature relevant to this study, mainly the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and two other complementary theories, namely Conceptual Integration Theory and Cognitive Grammar. The second section of this chapter is devoted to political discourse. It begins with a review of the key concepts of this broad field and ends with the presidential discourse. This section also focuses on the use of metaphor, among other rhetorical devices, in political discourse and, more specifically, in the inaugurals.

Prepositions are the subject of the third section of this chapter. It begins with an overview of the cognitive and semantic accounts of the English prepositions with a focus on the approach of Cognitive Grammar. This overview serves as the basis for further discussion of metaphor-related prepositions and their occurrences in the inaugurals. This chapter concludes with a separate section devoted to the diachronic approach to metaphor. It begins with an overview of the broad field of historical linguistics and then focuses on a body of literature concerned with metaphors from a diachronic perspective. This section provides a relevant foundation for researching and interpreting the historical evolution of the metaphor-related prepositions under study.

2.1. Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics

Metaphor is an exceptionally complex subject, as evidenced by the history of its various and frequently conflicting schools. A growing body of literature has examined metaphor and its related fields by different scholars such as philosophers, linguists, rhetoricians, poets, and writers in general. All these studies have contributed to the body of knowledge on metaphor that has accumulated over the years. This section divides the history of metaphor into two phases to adequately cover this vast body of knowledge. The first phase focuses on classical metaphor theories, while the second phase focuses on cognitive approaches.

2.1.1. Classical views on metaphor

Not only the word *metaphor* goes back to Greek, but also the debate on this subject. In the beginning, it was a quarrel, and the quarrel was between truth and metaphor. In Plato's words, it is "an old quarrel between philosophy and poetry" (Republic 607b5–6), as cited in (Steinitz, 2015, p. 33). In his quest for truth, Plato warned that metaphor might be misused to deviate people from reality (Aldokhayel, 2008, p. 24). His warning was primarily against poets

accused of distorting reality and truth by imitating the Form (Jannotta, 2010, p. 157). Plato also contended that metaphor-rich poetry not only distorts reality but also lacks knowledge. Cohen (1978, p. 7) maintained that Plato's concern for knowledge justifies his criticism of poetry and metaphor.

This debate between truth and metaphor was not confined to poetry. Political discourse also came under this binary logic. It is only with Aristotle's views on metaphor, as explained in his work *Poetics*, that a balance between truth and metaphor in political discourse was ultimately maintained. The balance consists of the search for knowledge that combines Platonic transparency with the Aristotelian definition of metaphor.

Aristotle (384–322 BCE) argued that “the greatest thing by far is to be a master of metaphor”. He also emphasized that proficiency in metaphor is “a sign of genius”. These two statements, among others, highlight the importance of metaphor not only for Aristotle but also for contemporary scholars. One of the most frequently cited definitions of metaphor is what Aristotle wrote in his work *Poetics* (1457b 6-9):

Metaphor (*metaphora*) consists in giving (*epiphora*) the thing a name (*onomatos*) that belongs to something else, the transference being either from genus to species (*apo tov genous epi eidos*), or from species to genus, or from species to species, or on grounds of analogy. (cited in Derrida & Moore (1974, p. 31))

For Aristotle, the essence of metaphor is “transference”, which is an accurate translation to the original Greek word “*epiphora*”. The prefix “*meta*” conveys the meaning of “carrying across” from one location to another (J. Kirby, 1997, p. 532). This transference occurs in the four types of metaphor, as outlined in the definition: genus for genus, genus for species, species for

genus, and analogy. In the first three types, transference takes the form of a substitution by which a thing is given a name that initially belongs to something else.

The Aristotelian definition has been subject to various interpretations. First, the term “*onoma*” was interpreted in a variety of ways. One of the interpretations is built on translating the original term “*onoma*” into “noun”. Accordingly, metaphor is understood as something that happens only to nouns and not to other parts of speech. However, other interpretations consider that other parts of speech may be included in metaphor. For example, Adamson (2015, p. 191) explained that the “Greek word *onoma* can mean both “name” and “noun””. Notwithstanding the different interpretations, the structure of metaphor, for Aristotle, is based on three principles. First, metaphor occurs at the level of words. Second, transference assumes that a word has an original (literal) meaning and another deviant one, which is metaphorical (Deibler, 1989, p. 18). Aristotle described metaphor as “the application of an alien name by transference” (cited in Imre (2010, p. 71)). The use of “alien” as a translation to “*allogrios*” means that the novel words are neither ordinary nor common. They are rather foreign and, most of the time, elevated. The third principle is the similarity norm by which transference cannot happen without an analogy between words. The last principle is the skill of the “observation of likeness” (J. Kirby, 1997, p. 537). A master of metaphor must demonstrate their ability to see similarities between seemingly unrelated nouns.

The nature and process of observation were not explained in the original texts of Aristotle. The lack of explanation and precision has led to the belief that observation implies a cognitive process (Driscoll, 2012, p. 28) and that transference is only the visible and external part of the metaphor. According to Travaglini (2015, p. 61), “what matters therefore is the underpinning process, not the extrinsic process of substitution.” For others, Aristotle did not

make any hints to any cognitive processes, and, according to his understanding, metaphor is nothing more than a trope or a figure of speech used for stylistic purposes. The new meaning created by metaphor becomes “impressive and pleasing” (Wood, 2015, p. 135). The focus on the stylistic effects of metaphor confirms its ornamental nature and demonstrates the lack of awareness of its cognitive nature.

The Aristotelian view of metaphor generally reveals the dual position and purpose of metaphor. It is at the crossroads of two disciplines: poetry and rhetoric. Aristotle’s second work, *Rhetoric*, devotes itself to the rhetorical uses of metaphor. In addition to his discussion of style and arrangement of the figures of speeches, Aristotle points out that metaphor must be used “to elevate one’s style, and lend an appearance of dignity (*semnos*) to the discourse” (1404b9), as cited in (Moran, 1996, p. 380).

Aristotle’s seminal theory has served as a solid foundation for Western schools of thought, whether in his definition of metaphor or his defense of its rhetorical effectiveness. The notion of substitution, for example, was later developed into a theory that explained metaphor using Aristotle’s concepts (Garcia, 2008, p. 11). Above all, Aristotle was the first to define metaphor and conduct “extensive philosophical treatment that allowed researchers’ interest in a metaphor to survive through the centuries” (Deibler, 1989, p. 12).

In the Roman era, Aristotle’s theories of metaphor were widely adopted in teaching the art of public speaking. Roman thinkers, particularly Cicero and Quintilian, urged public orators to learn and use metaphor to deliver aesthetically pleasing speeches. The beauty of speech relies on metaphor as an ornate outfit, as advocated by Cicero (*De Oratore*, III, 37):

Au début, on imagina les vêtements pour se préserver du froid, puis on les mit pour donner au corps une parure pleine de noblesse ; de même la métaphore (*verbi translatio*),

filles de la pauvreté (*inopia*), se développa pour le plaisir (*delectatio*). (Cited in Digonnet (2014, p. 47))

Metaphor was judged by its effect on the hearer in the way that clothes impress the viewer. The effect of the former is the pleasure of the orator's eloquence is the same as the pleasure of the noble's elegance by virtue of his or her clothes. (Cited in Digonnet (2014, p. 47))

In the medieval ages, the ornamental approach to metaphor was widely adopted. Accordingly, metaphor was kept as a stylistic device within the scholarship of rhetoric. In addition to public speaking, *The Scriptures* offered metaphor an original field of study as well as a new discourse. Saint Augustine, the famous medieval theologian, preached "in favor of teaching rhetoric in Christian education" (Moreno, 2008, p. 31). Consequently, sermon deliverers were encouraged to use metaphors to describe the nature of God and highlight His truths. St. Thomas Aquinas emphasized the distinction between religious metaphors and secular ones. Later scholars had adopted his ideas until the Age of the Enlightenment.

During the medieval ages, metaphor went through a phase of confusion that oscillated between the God-view as in *The Scriptures* and the Man-view as in poetry. From the theologians' perspective, their metaphors were divine because they were about His absolute truths, while the poetic metaphors were considered far from these truths. Arab poets glorified metaphor as outstanding talent during the 11th and 12th centuries. This trend was supported by the famous guidebook *Kitab alBadi'* (*The Book of Ornate Style*) by Ibn al-Mu'tazz, written in 908. The title of the book says it all. During the same period, Abd alQāhir al-Jurjānī wrote another foundational book entitled *Asrār al-Balāghah*. Al-Jurjānī (1991, p. 30) defined metaphor in the following way:

Metaphor, in a sentence, occurs when a word has a basic meaning in the linguistic system, evidenced by testimonies that this meaning is specific to this particular word.

Then, a poet, or any person who is not a poet, uses this particular word in its sense that contrasts with its basic meaning, and thus they transfer that word to the new meaning, but in a non-engaging way. Thus, that particular word looks like a loan in the new context.

(Translated by the author)

In this same book, al-Jurjānī emphasized the “poetic thrill” induced by well-crafted metaphors that “summoned the existence of talent and skill” (Al-Jurjānī, 1991, p. 113). He also specified the differences between metaphor and simile, and he concluded that metaphor is much more mental because we need to understand the source domain even though signal words do not explicitly express it. In general, al-Jurjānī’s approach was original, and it provides a framework for the “identification, classification, and analysis of simile and metaphor” (Geraghy, 2013, p. 3).

Although it represents a reference book for modern Arab literary criticism, Al-Jurjānī’s work is still within the realm of the beauty of poetic imagery and the secrets of eloquence (as its title says). In the same vein, Ibn Ezra, in his famous book *Kitab al-Muhadara wa al-Mudhakara*, combined the Arab rhetoric techniques with the ancient Hebrew and Greek legacies and applied them to *The Hebrew Scriptures*. As cited in M. Cohen (2000, p. 4), Ibn Ezra defined metaphor as “The meaning of *istiara* (lit. Borrowing) is borrowing a word for something not known using something already known.” (*Kitab, 120 a*).

Whether it is transference, as in the Aristotelian view, or borrowing, as in the medieval approaches, metaphor was still restricted to the level of words and devoted to enhancing the beauty of an impressive eloquence. This status persisted until the beginning of the Age of the Enlightenment.

In their quest for truth, philosophers of the Enlightenment discussed the role of language as a conduit for knowledge. Following this line of thought, a dichotomy of reason “*ratio*” versus eloquence “*oratio*” was created and then endorsed by two conflicting approaches to empirical reality. The general tendency was that literal words were favored over metaphors. Literal words were praised for their precision, while metaphors were avoided because of their ambiguity. According to Hobbes, scientific truths have to be communicated through only literal words because metaphors are as worthless as any “senseless and ambiguous words” (Hobbes, 1994, p. 26) as cited in Petrica (2011, p. 33). This same philosopher included metaphors among “the seven causes of absurdity” (Hobbes, 1960, p. 28), as cited in (Lambourn, 2001, p. 38).

Hobbes’ opposition to metaphor stems from the influence of the empiricism of science and the glorification of reason. Although he was a proponent of a metaphor-free discourse, Hobbes used various metaphors, especially the STATE IS A BODY metaphor, in his justifications of the political system during his time (T. Cohen, 1978; Mouton, 2009; Musolff, 2003).

Like Hobbes, Locke clearly expressed his mistrust of metaphors. In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, he devoted a whole chapter to warning against them. In this chapter, entitled *Of the Abuse of Words*, he called metaphors “perfect cheats”, and they are likely to be used in “discourses that pretend to inform or instruct”, as cited in (T. Cohen, 1978, p. 4). This mistrust of metaphor and the preference for literal language partly reflects Locke’s primary concern for scientific precision and clarity.

The anti-metaphor trend of the Enlightenment Age was halted by the 19th-century philosophers. Although they continued the ongoing reflections on the relationships between language, thought, and reality, they viewed metaphor from a different perspective. Kant, for

example, valued the purity of language as part of pure reason. His main contribution to metaphor was the concept of “schema”. He introduced the notion of “schema” to link a concept to its referent and to “bridge the gap between the formal and the material aspects of cognition”, as cited in (Hampe & Grady, 2005, p. 17). Simply put, the notion of “schema”, according to Kant, is conceived as “a way of relating percepts to concepts” (T. Oakley, 2010, p. 215). In his definition of “schema”, Kant explained that the schema of a triangle is “rule of synthesis of the imagination, in respect to pure figures in space” (Kant 1968: A141/B180), as cited in (Hampe & Grady, 2005, p. 17).

Kant’s notion of “schema” freed language from the ornate style and introduced imagination instead of the mechanical substitution of words. In general, Kant’s contribution is still valued for its “recognition of imagination as the locus of human meaning, thought, and judgment” (Hampe & Grady, 2005, p. 17). Furthermore, his “schema” has been considered a significant contribution to the cognitive approach to language. Jäkel (1999) devoted an entire article to give credit to Kant’s “forgotten” contributions to the theory of cognitive metaphor.

Kant was not the only contributor to this field. Other philosophers, including Giambattista Vico, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and Jean-Paul, studied language away from literal and metaphorical dichotomy. Their new approach liberated language from the binary conflict between truth and lie. Their work was extended by Gustav Gerber, Alfred Biese, and Friedrich Nietzsche (Nerlich & Clark, 2001). The extensive interest in metaphor during the 19th century was a reaction against the rigid version of objectivism and the ornate perspectives of metaphor (Nerlich & Clark, 2001). In his book *Truth and Lie in an Extra-Moral Sense*, Nietzsche was profoundly critical of the literal versus the metaphorical duality. For him, knowledge is neither static nor self-evident (Hinman, 1982). It is rather dynamic as it emerges from an

interaction between different drives and perspectives. As cited in Lambourn (2001, p. 69), Nietzsche defined truth as:

A movable host of metaphors, metonymies, and anthropomorphisms: in short, a sum of human relations which have been poetically and rhetorically intensified, transferred, and embellished, and which, after long usage, seem to a people to be fixed, canonical, and binding. (Nietzsche 1979: 84)

As for metaphor, Nietzsche argued that knowledge acquisition is metaphorical because it happens across different spheres. As cited in Lambourn (2001, p. 68), the process of metaphor happens in this way: “To begin with, a nerve stimulus is transferred into an image: first metaphor. The image, in turn, is imitated in a sound: second metaphor” (Nietzsche, 1979, p. 82). There is a transfer in every sphere, whether from a sensory stimulus to a mental image, a mental image to a sound (of a word), or from a word to a concept (Luporini, 2013, p. 19). Thus, our knowledge and the truths we live by are built on metaphors rather than literal facts. For Nietzsche, the drive for truth is one of the main motives for humans. However, he warned against the danger of truths because:

Truths are illusions which we have forgotten are illusions; they are metaphors that have become worn out and have been drained of sensuous force, coins which have lost their embossing and are now considered as metal and no longer as coins. (Nietzsche, 1979, p. 84)

Nietzsche’s statement about truth seems perplexing. It is more an oxymoron than a fact. However, it can be considered an excellent forecast of the discourses associated with post-truth politics and its lies and falsehoods. In this regard, this statement stands out as an exemplary illustration of a manipulative discourse.

This philosophical debate about the nature of metaphor and its relationship to truth came to an end during the first half of the 20th century. In 1936, Richards published his book *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, in which he laid the foundations for the interaction theory of metaphor (Deibler, 1989). This seminal book also marked the end of the positivist approach to metaphor. Richards' approach to metaphor relies on a semantic study that seeks to answer questions like "how do words work?" and "how does a thought go on?" In his investigation of these questions, Richards concluded that "we all live, and speak, only through our eye for resemblances" (Richards, 1936, p. 92), as cited in (Travaglini, 2015, p. 63). In general, Richards' approach moved metaphor from the limited realm of ornate style to the larger sphere of language. He also challenged the substitution theory by explaining metaphor as "a borrowing between and intercourse of *thoughts*, a transaction between contexts" (Richards, 1936, p. 94), as cited in (Luporini, 2013, p. 22). Richards explained metaphor in terms of interaction. As cited in Goodblatt & Glicksohn (2017, p. 5), Richards found out that "when we use a metaphor we have two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word, or phrase, whose meaning is a resultant of their *interaction* [emphasis added]" (Richards, 1936, p. 93).

Richards has also made major contributions to the body of literature with his new terminology. He coined the terms "tenor" and "vehicle" to explain the different components of a metaphor in the following passage, as cited in Lambourn (2001, p. 83):

We need the word "metaphor" for the whole double unit, and to use it sometimes for one of the two components in separation from the other is as injudicious as that other trick by which we use 'the meaning' here sometimes for the work that the whole double unit does and sometime for the other component, the tenor, as I am calling it, the underlying idea or principal subject which the vehicle or figure means. (Richards, 1936, pp. 96-97)

“Interaction”, “tenor”, and “vehicle” are the most frequent terms used by subsequent theorists of metaphor. For example, Richards’ notion of “interaction” was developed by Max Black in the 1960s. The latter explicitly described his analysis of metaphor as “an *interactive* view of metaphor” (Black, 1955, p. 285). From the outset, Black was aware of the classical theories of metaphor, and he clarified that his approach to metaphor is “free from the main defects of substitution and comparison views and to offer some important insight into the uses and limitations of metaphor” (Black, 1955, p. 285). He summarized his theory in the following seven principles:

1. A metaphorical statement has two distinct subjects; a “principal” subject and a “subsidiary” one.
2. These subjects are often best considered “systems of things” rather than “things”.
3. The metaphor works by applying to the principal subject a system of “associated implications” characteristic of the subsidiary subject.
4. These implications usually consist of “commonplaces” about the subsidiary subject but may, in suitable cases, consist of deviant implications established ad hoc by the writer.
5. The metaphor selects, emphasizes, suppresses, and organizes features of the principal subject by implying statements about it that normally apply to the subsidiary subject.
6. This involves shifts in the meaning of words belonging to the same family or system as the metaphorical expression, and some of these shifts, though not all, may be metaphorical transfers. However, the subordinate metaphors are to be read less “emphatically” (Black, 1955, p. 291).

7. There is, in general, no simple “ground” for the necessary shifts of meaning, no blanket reason why some metaphors work, and others fail (Black, 1955, p. 291).

In his well-known example “*Man is a wolf*”, Black explains his view of metaphor as follows: The two subjects in this statement are “Man”, as the principal subject, and wolf, as the subsidiary one (principle 1). To understand this statement as a metaphor, you must first understand the word “wolf” and its related meanings and implications. Black calls them a “system of associated commonplaces” that defines the subsidiary subject (principle 4). Metaphor happens by applying the implications of the subsidiary subject on the principal one (principle 3). In Black’s words, to call a man a wolf metaphorically is “to evoke the wolf-system of related commonplaces” (Black, 1955, p. 288).

Like Plato, Aristotle and Hobbes, Black used metaphors to explain his approach to metaphor. To explain the two central mechanisms of metaphors “seen through” and “projected upon”, Black used two metaphors. Firstly, to look at a night sky through certain clear lines of heavy smoked glass and secondly to describe a (physical) battle in chess vocabulary. Thus, the principal subject is seen through the “associated commonplaces” of the subsidiary one, and metaphor allows only specific implications to be seen and suppresses others (principle 5).

In terms of his contribution to the history of metaphor studies, Black’s views on metaphor reflected the contemporary debate on the differences between metaphor and (elliptical) simile and analogy and the dichotomy between the literary (poetic) and philological assumptions of metaphors (Deibler, 1989, p. 25). Black was the first to argue that metaphor is now a part of semantics and pragmatics rather than an ornate style or quest for knowledge and its truths. Black’s assumption of the intellectual nature of metaphor was challenging and inspiring at the same time. “This use of a “subsidiary” subject to foster insight into a “principal subject” is a

distinctive *intellectual* operation” (Black, 1955, p. 293). It is of interest that the emphasis in this quote is in the original. Black emphasized the significance of two aspects of metaphor. First, its intellectual nature, and secondly, the insight in understanding drawn from metaphor. Along these lines, Black affirmed that a literal paraphrasing of a metaphor causes “a loss in *cognitive* content” (Black, 1955, p. 293). Again, the word “cognitive” is emphasized in the original text. Despite these recurrent references to cognitive aspects of metaphor, Black could not earn any recognition from modern cognitive linguists. For some critics, Black’s theory of metaphor is about “the process of metaphor comprehension” (Goodblatt & Glicksohn, 2017, p. 3) rather than the nature of metaphor. When asked about the work of Black, Lakoff (1998, p. 89) answered: “I had read Black and I had no interest in what Black was doing”.

Black’s significant but unnoticed contribution is his assertion that “metaphor creates the similarity than to say that it formulates some similarity antecedently existing” (Black, 1955, p. 285). Notwithstanding its limitations, this remark has far-reaching impacts. According to Deibler (1989, p. 31), “this claim clearly foreshadows the later similar but more elaborate view of Lakoff and Johnson that metaphors actually create similarities”.

In addition to Black’s contribution, Ricœur’s views have been very significant. In contrast to Aristotelian theory, Ricœur (1978, p. 145) contended that metaphor belongs to semantics and, as such, must be studied at the sentence level rather than the word level.

Le point de vue sémantique et le point de vue rhétorique ne commencent à se différencier que lorsque la métaphore est replacée dans le cadre de la phrase et traitée comme un cas non plus de *dénomination déviante*, mais de *prédication impertinente*. (Ricœur, 1975, p. 8)

(The semantic point of view and the rhetorical point of view begin to differentiate only when the metaphor is placed in the context of the sentence and treated as a case no longer of a deviant denomination but impertinent predication.)

Within this new framework, metaphor is “an act of predication rather than of denomination” (Ricœur, 1978, p. 145). By the same token, the notion of “predication” is linked to metaphor’s vitality, as maintained by Müller (2009, p. 3). No doubt Ricœur’s famous work *La Métaphore Vive* highlighted the principle of vitality. To explain how metaphor works, Ricœur criticized deviance theory and suggested a new theory based on semantic relevance.

In Ricœur’s own words, metaphor’s main feature is “the semantic innovation, thanks to which a new pertinence, a new congruence, is established in such a way that the utterance “makes sense” as a whole” (Ricœur, 1978, p. 146).

At the terminology level, Ricœur admits that he had borrowed the term “semantic impertinence” from Jean Cohen, the author of *Structure du langage poétique*. He later coined a set of technical terms such as “semantic innovation”, “semantic tension”, “semantic twist”, “new congruence”, and “new semantic pertinence”. These terms emphasize that metaphor is not a deviant transference of words but a creation of a new and semantically congruent statement out of semantically incongruent concepts.

Ricœur explained semantic congruence in terms of “semantic proximity”. In this light, literal and metaphorical meanings, which are initially remote from each other, undergo a “move or shift in the logical distance, from the far to the near” (Ricœur, 1978, p. 147). In another explanation, Ricœur argued that a metaphorical process comes under “psychology of imagination”, which creates a “predicative assimilation” between the incongruent and yet the compatible components of a metaphor. He also maintained that imagination has three roles.

Firstly, it resolves the semantic “tension” and allows us “to see the *like* is to see the same in spite of, and through, the different” (Ricœur, 1978, p. 148). The second role of imagination lies in its “iconic presentation” and “pictorial” aspects. This role is possible because imagination and images coalesce in Ricœur’s theory. Metaphor is understood through images that depict the parts of metaphor in their remote and close status. “Imaging or imagining, thus, is the concrete milieu in which and through which we see similarities” (Ricœur, 1978, p. 150). The third and final role of imagination deals with the metaphorical meaning and its reference. Ricœur (1978, p. 154) affirmed that imagination “contributes concretely to the epochè of ordinary reference and to the projection of new possibilities of re-describing the world”. Ricœur (1978, p. 153) explained metaphor as a “split reference” that is reminiscent of the Majorca storytellers’ expression; “*it was and it was not*”.

In addition to imagination and image, Ricœur added feeling to the metaphorical process. Feelings “accompany and complete imagination in its function of schematization of the new predicative congruence” (Ricœur, 1978, p. 156). Their function is to “make the schematized thought ours” in such a way that “we feel *like* what we see *like*”, as Ricœur (1978, p. 156) put it.

Ricœur is still cited for the concept of “living metaphors” that he coined in his book (Ricœur, 1975). This concept has been the basis for extensive research on novel versus dead metaphors and their underlying conceptual nature (Trim, 2018a, p. 1). At the heart of the “living metaphors” lies a conflict between “competent discourses” (Cazeaux, 2011, p. 18) and “textual interpretations of conflictual meanings of complex expressions” (Prandi, 2012, p. 1).

In various parts of his 1978 article, Ricœur refers to the cognitive aspect of metaphor. The term “cognition” is part of his article’s title, and the term “cognitive” is used 10 times throughout the 18-page article. However, his ideas of the “cognitive import”, “cognitive

structure” or “cognitive process” are not fully developed, and they fall within his explanation of “the impertinent predication” and the role of metaphor as “the prompt to think more” (Cazeaux, 2011, p. 3).

Only one year after Ricœur’s article, the first edition of Ortony’s *Metaphor and Thought* was published in 1979. In this book, Michael Reddy wrote his famous chapter entitled *The Conduit Metaphor*. The following year witnessed the publication of *Metaphors We Live By*. This seminal book launched a series of further publications on metaphor from a cognitive perspective that contrasts sharply with the traditional accounts of metaphor.

Having reviewed the approaches to metaphor from Plato to Reddy, the following section moves on to review the cognitive approaches.

2.1.2. Cognitive view on metaphor

As a broad definition, Cognitive Linguistics is usually introduced as the cognitive study of language. Geeraerts & Cuyckens (2007a, p. 5) defined Cognitive Linguistics as “the study of language in its cognitive function”. The definition is built on the premise that language is an integral part of the human cognitive system and, therefore, linguistic structures reflect conceptual structures. Language is not independent of general cognition, but rather it “uses general cognitive mechanisms” (Lakoff, 1982, p. 4). Cognitive Linguistics is, therefore, committed to studying these “mechanisms” in order to understand the “mental structures and processes connected with language knowledge” (Bednáriková, 2013, p. 15). Accordingly, language is seen as “an instrument for organizing, processing, and conveying information”, to quote the Editorial Statement of the first issue of the *Journal Cognitive Linguistics* (1990) as cited in (Geeraerts et al., 2006).

Cognitive Linguistics emerged during the early 1970s thanks to the linguists who criticized and eventually rejected the dominant Chomskyian generative grammar (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 3; Gibbs, 2006, p. 42). The generative approach was criticized for being too formal and, therefore, incapable of accounting for meaning (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007a, pp. 10–13). Instead, Cognitive Linguistics embraces “the belief that linguistic knowledge involves not just knowledge of the language, but knowledge of the world as mediated by the language” (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007a, p. 7). Cognitive Linguistics’ tone has been critical of previous schools and skeptical of their paradigms. Lakoff & Johnson (1999, p. 24) asserted that “a serious appreciation of cognitive science requires us to rethink philosophy from the beginning, in a way that would put it more in touch with the reality of how we think”.

Lakoff & Johnson (1980, 1999; 1970, 2006) constantly recognized the influence of cognitive science. Cognitive Linguistics examines the various aspects of language based on the discoveries of cognitive science on the nature of mind and brain. Cognitive Linguistics was founded on the works of modern cognitive science during the 1960s and 1970s, particularly those dealing with human categorization and those working within Gestalt psychology. Among the pioneering works on categorization are Rosch and Mervis in psychology, Berlin, Kay, McDaniel, and Kempton in anthropology, Zadeh and Winograd in artificial intelligence, Wittgenstein and Putnam in philosophy and Lakoff, Ross, Fillmore, Labov, Langacker, Lindner, Brugman, Sweetser, and Jaeger in linguistics (Lakoff, 1982, p. 9).

In 1980, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson published their seminal book *Metaphors We Live By*, in which they initiated a new track of inquiry into the nature of metaphor. This inquiry gave birth to their Contemporary Metaphor Theory. Its main principle is that “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary

conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3). Contrary to the traditional theories that view metaphor as typically a linguistic phenomenon Lakoff & Johnson (1999, p. 118) affirmed that metaphor is basically “conceptual and everyday thought is largely metaphorical”. The cognitive view implies that linguistic metaphors must be understood and explained not by linguistic tools but rather by conceptual principles. In other words, metaphors that we use every day are merely the linguistic realizations of an underlying conceptual system of metaphor, and, more precisely, they are the “manifestations of the conceptual metaphors” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 7). This argument is built on what Lakoff (1993b, p. 1) concisely described as “the locus of metaphor is not in language at all, but in the way, we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another”. Metaphoricity emerges out of the discrepancy between the factive and the fictive to borrow Talmy’s words. More specifically, Talmy (2000a, p. 168) maintained that:

the speaker or the hearer has somewhere within his cognition a belief about the target domain contrary to his cognitive representation of what is being stated about it and has somewhere in his cognition an understanding of the discrepancy between these two representations.

This discrepancy is consistent with Michele Prandi’s concept of “conceptual conflict”. In these metaphors, “single words each keep their meaning but are combined in such a way as to trigger a conceptual conflict” (Prandi, 2012, p. 149). In subsequent research, he called these instances “conflictual metaphors” (Prandi, 2016, p. 80).

Discrepancy, conflict, tension, or incongruity are the most common terms used to describe the relationship between the two conceptual domains in the literature. Metaphor is primarily a conceptual operation described as “cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system”

(Lakoff, 1993b, p. 2). Conceptual mapping, according to Wolff & Gentner (2011, p. 1456), represents the essence and origin of metaphor as “carry[ing] something over”. Radden & Dirven (2007, p. 12) defined conceptual mapping as “the projection of one set of conceptual entities onto another set of conceptual entities”. To use Kövecses’ words, “metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 4). In this way, a conceptual metaphor relies primarily on correspondence or mapping between a source domain and a target domain. Various expressions are coined to describe this mapping, such as “cross-domain mapping”, “two-domain mapping”, “structure-mapping”, “analogical mapping”, and “conceptual projection” (Geeraerts, 1997; Gentner et al., 2001; Lakoff, 1988; Radden & Dirven, 2007). In general, a conceptual mapping implies that a source domain is the source of knowledge “carried across” to a target domain (Gentner, 1983, p. 158).

It is essential to pay special attention to structure-mapping theory, advocated by Gentner (1983), because it best fits the relational character of prepositions and offers a comprehensive approach to study a conceptual mapping in terms of analogies and draw relevant interpretations based on projected inferences. The structure-mapping theory adopts an analogical mapping, defined as “a process of establishing a structural alignment between two represented situations and then projecting inferences” (Gentner et al., 2001, p. 200). Within this theory, metaphor comprehension consists of both “highlighting commonalities and projecting inferences” (Wolff & Gentner, 2011, p. 1459). Accordingly, mapping is not random, and it does not happen without constraints. Among these constraints, “structural consistency” and “systematicity principle” govern the process of alignment between objects’ attributes, objects’ relations, and higher-order relations between relations.

Conceptual mapping is based on concepts like concreteness and abstractness. However, these concepts are not as evident as we think they are. Grady (2005), for example, established three conditions for distinguishing between concrete and abstract concepts. The primary condition is sensory vs. non-sensory, by which a concrete concept “refers to a basic dimension of sensory experience” while an abstract concept “is associated with an equally fundamental element of mental experience” (J. Grady, 2005, pp. 1605–1606). However, Szwedek (2014) criticized Grady and other researchers for lack of precision. For example, in the famous metaphor LOVE AS A JOURNEY, Szwedek claimed that a journey is not entirely a concrete entity and that love is not entirely abstract. Lovers, for example, are concrete. He maintained that domains must be analyzed in terms of their degree of concreteness and abstractness (Szwedek, 2010). In general, the concepts of concreteness and abstractness have been frequently revisited to the extent that cautious terms such as “more concrete” and “less abstract” have earned ground. In their definition of the two domains, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Perez Hernandez (2011, p. 2) explained that “[t]he source is less abstract (i.e., more accessible to sense perception) than the target”.

Notwithstanding the theoretical debate on the nature of the conceptual domains, the two principles that define correspondences between the two domains are unidirectionality and invariance. For the first principle, the direction of this correspondence matters. The “natural direction”, according to Kövecses (2010, p. 329), begins from the concrete and finishes at the abstract and not vice versa. This itinerary is often referred to as the principle of “unidirectionality of conceptual metaphor” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 329). This principle is justified by the fact that “target domains tend to be more vague and incomplete than source domains” (Gibbs, 1996, p. 311). Along the same lines, Kövecses (2010, p. 7) explained that our “experiences with the

physical world serve as a natural and logical foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains”.

In conjunction with unidirectionality, the correspondence between the two domains is governed by the Invariance Hypothesis. It aims to ensure that a conceptual mapping does not distort the inherent image-schematic structure and features of the target domain. Turner (1990, p. 252) affirmed that “we are constrained not to violate whatever image-schematic structure may be possessed by non-image components of the target”.

Despite its plain rationality and coherence, the Invariance Hypothesis has suffered from a lack of consensus. Some researchers have wondered whether a target domain has such inherent properties in the first place. Brugman (1990) discussed the differences between the “inherited” and the “construed” image-schematic structure of a target domain. For Barcelona (2003, p. 45), a metaphorical mapping cannot happen without a minimum degree of “structural correlation” between the two domains. This correlation is “either discovered or created on the basis of experience” (Barcelona, 2003, p. 45).

In broad terms, mapping is defined as “a fixed pattern of conceptual correspondences across conceptual domains” (Lakoff, 1993a, p. 9). The mapping pattern explains why conceptual metaphors are usually expressed by the formula: “CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 4). According to this formula, a target domain A is understood in terms of a source domain B. In the case of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the source domain of “journey” is mapped onto the target domain of “life”. This mapping makes us perceive life in terms of a journey that motivate us to say and understand common expressions such as “*I’m at a crossroads in my life*”, “*We’ll just have to go our separate ways*”, and “*We can’t turn back now*” (Lakoff, 1993b, p. 4).

The LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor is not restricted to informal situations. Instead, it is found in the American inaugural addresses, as in the following quotes:

(2). “It has not been the path for the faint-hearted - for those who prefer leisure over work or seek only the pleasures of riches and fame” (Obama, 2009).

(3). “But there are many mountains yet to climb. We will not rest until every American enjoys the fullness of freedom, dignity, and opportunity as our birthright” (Reagan, 1985).

(4). “We have come to a turning point, a moment for hard decisions” (Bush, 1989).

To cite another example of conceptual metaphors, Lakoff (1995, p. 202) used the NATION IS A FAMILY metaphor to analyze the political views of the main parties in the United States. Lakoff’s main premise is that each political view is structured in terms of a family model. While the Nurturant Parent model metaphorically represents the progressive worldview, the Strict Father model stands for the conservatives. In these representations, the source domain of the family is mapped onto the target domain of the nation. The president, as head of the nation, is perceived metaphorically as the father of the family. This conceptual mapping has become conventional. “Every third grader knows that George Washington was the Father of his Country” (Lakoff, 2008, p. 76).

Such metaphors are so commonplace, unquestionable, natural, and unconsciously understood and used. They are often described as conventional and become “part of larger systematic metaphors which also have very noticeable ‘live’ metaphorical extensions” (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007b, p. 32). Metaphors become conventional or entrenched when, through repeated use, they become familiar, and they may lose (some of) their metaphorical meaning. We often use conventionalized metaphors “without apparently noticing their metaphorical basis”

(Gentner et al., 2001, p. 211). The impact of conventionalization may reach a state where the once metaphorical meaning is understood as literal and included in one of the entries in a dictionary (Holyoak & Stamenkovic, 2018) or where “metaphorical interpretation would simply be an alternate word sense”, as Gentner et al. (2001, p. 216) put it.

Conventionalization is not limited to metaphorical expressions. Their underlying conceptual metaphors can become “entrenched ways of thinking about or understanding abstract domains” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 34). In this way, entrenchment is understood as a loss of both vitality and metaphoricity in cases of dead metaphors. Additionally, entrenchment renders such metaphors automatic, effortless, and well-established as a mode of thought among members of a linguistic community (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). Accordingly, metaphors tend to move from a state when they are novel toward a state when they gradually become conventional and eventually dead. This evolution pattern has been described in various technical terms ranging from specific adjectives describing each stage of this evolution to a general and an inclusive theory such as “the career of metaphor” devised by Gentner et al. (2001). What is more important than these technical descriptions is that conventional metaphors become “conventionalized systems of reasoning”, as Gentner et al. (2001, p. 241) wrote.

Seen from another perspective, metaphors are classified along a continuum of sleeping/waking distinction, as Müller (2009) put it. Müller’s dynamic view puts forward an alternative dichotomy of waking/sleeping metaphors based on “different degrees of metaphor activation” (Müller & Tag, 2010, p. 85) by which the waking metaphors are highly activated while the sleeping metaphors imply a lower activation. This dynamic view of metaphor, advocated as an alternative to the static duality of novel vs. dead metaphors, emphasizes that metaphoricity operates at the level of use and not at the linguistic level. In other words,

metaphors are the outcome of a dynamic cognitive activation and salience that are influenced by the context and the dynamics of discourse. This view is relevant to the current thesis because prepositions can be considered metaphorical only when they are used in context. It is only in use that we can judge their metaphoricity. According to the dynamic view, metaphors can be activated at any time and by any language user, and they cannot be either dead or alive, as the traditional dichotomy suggests.

In addition to these diverse types of metaphors, the debate on the coherence of the metaphors in authentic discourses is still unresolved. Shen & Balaban (1999) argued that metaphor coherence depends on whether the discourse is planned or unplanned. They asserted that “special planning seems to be required to make discourse metaphorically coherent” (Shen & Balaban, 1999, p. 151) and that metaphors in unplanned discourse appear “more like free, uncontrolled “navigation” between a large number of root metaphors than a consistent elaboration of any unifying root metaphors” (Shen & Balaban, 1999, p. 151). In the same vein, Kimmel (2010) examined metaphor coherence in a corpus extracted from the British newspapers, *Sun* and *Guardian*, and he concluded that “journalists combine metaphors into complex, yet well-formed arguments on a regular basis” (Kimmel, 2010, p. 97).

In addition to metaphor, metonymy is “is a ubiquitous feature of everyday speech” (Gibbs, 1994, p. 12), and they both “constitute basic schemes by which people conceptualize their experience and the external world” (Gibbs, 1994, p. 1). However, metaphor and metonymy differ in mapping. “While metaphor involves mapping between domains, metonymy is an intra-domain phenomenon”, Deignan (2005, p. 73) wrote. In Lakoff’s words, metonymy is “a part (a subcategory or member or sub-model) that stands for the whole category” (Lakoff, 1987, p. 79). These differences are not emphasized by other scholars such as Kövecses, Radden, and

Barcelona, to name just a few. According to their views, metonymy, like metaphor, has a cognitive structure and involves the same mapping type. More specifically, Kövecses (2010, p. 173) defined metonymy as “a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain or idealized cognitive model (ICM)”. Along the same lines, metonymy is defined by Barcelona (2003, pp. 32–33) as “the conceptual mapping of a cognitive domain onto another domain, both domains being included in the same domain, or ICM so that the source provides mental access to the target”. Steen et al. (2010) defined metaphor and metonymy in terms of a contrast between the basic meaning and the contextual meaning. Metonymy arises “where two senses may be contrasted but where the contrast is bridged by contiguity instead of similarity”. This comparison between metonymy and metaphor entails understanding an abstract concept *via* a concrete concept in a metonymy, while metaphor consists of understanding an abstract concept *as* a concrete concept. Though the relationships between these two domains are controversial, these domains are “experientially related”, according to Barcelona (2003).

There are various kinds of metonymic models such as A PART FOR THE WHOLE, A PRODUCT FOR THE PRODUCER, A PLACE FOR THE INSTITUTION, AN INSTITUTION FOR THE PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE and AN OBJECT USED FOR THE USER. Metonymy can be used to comprehend, imagine and reason about an ICM in which one of its subcategories has “a socially recognized status as standing for the category as a whole” (Lakoff, 1987, p. 79). More specifically, these subcategories, labeled “social stereotypes” and “typical examples” (Lakoff, 1987), serve to make judgments and draw inferences.

One of the most crucial principles of CMT is the “embodiment principle” that explains why a specific source domain is selected for a specific target domain. Regardless of its concrete

ratio, the source domain offers the experiential basis of metaphors. This basis is often introduced under different labels such as “embodied mind” (Gibbs Jr & Macedo, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999), “embodied intelligence” (e.g., Brooks, 1991), “embodied action” (e.g., Varela et al., 1991), “embodied cognition” (e.g., Clark, 1997) and “embodied cognitive science” (e.g., Clark, 1999; Pfeifer & Scheier, 1999).

As with labels, different explanations are given for the same phenomenon. According to the embodiment principle, conceptual metaphors are the outcome of an embodied mind whose operations are grounded in the human body and experience (M. Johnson & Lakoff, 2002; Lakoff, 1982). Embodiment is enacted thanks to a set of supporting factors such as; (1) correlations in experience; (2) perceived structural similarity; (3) perceived structural similarity induced by basis metaphor; and (4) source as the root of the target (Kövecses, 2010, pp. 79–86). Viewed from another perspective, human beings are “embodied cognizers”, as Ziemke (2003, p. 1305) affirmed. Moreover, he identified six different notions of embodiment, namely (1) structural coupling between agent and environment; (2) historical embodiment; (3) physical embodiment; (4) ‘organismoid’ embodiment; (5) organismic embodiment; and (6) social embodiment. All these factors manifest the various aspects of the experiential basis of metaphor. For example, the MORE IS UP metaphor is based on the day-to-day experience of seeing the level of a fluid as it rises in a container. This shared experience has a clear structure: a systematic increase in quantity corresponds to an increase in verticality. The essence of this metaphor is to map the structure of this concrete experience of verticality onto the abstract concepts of well-being and high status. In Lakoff’s words, “these correspondences in real experience form the basis for the correspondences in the metaphorical cases” (Lakoff, 1993b, p. 37).

The embodiment principle also postulates that the source-to-target mapping is “grounded in physical and cultural experience” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 197). According to this view, embodiment is not restricted to the physical body, but it encompasses “the body in space, the body as interacts with the physical and social environment” (Rohrer, 2007, p. 344). Our bodies affect our minds through both our physical interactions and social and cultural involvement. According to Rohrer (2007, p. 374), studying the embodied mind means understanding and explaining how “our physiological, neurophysiological, interactional and sociocultural embodiment impinges on how we think”.

Equally, Johnson & Rohrer (2007, p. 18) studied embodiment from a pragmatic perspective. In this respect, three of its five features are highly relevant. First, “embodied cognition is the result of the evolutionary processes of variation, change, and selection”. Second, it “is situated within a dynamic ongoing organism-environment relationship”. Finally, it “is often social and carried out cooperatively by more than one individual organism”. It is worth noting that Johnson and Rohrer’s research is primarily diachronic with an emphasis on evolution and variation. Thus, diachronic notions like “historical embodiment”, “evolutionary processes of variation, change, and selection” are relevant and explanatory to this thesis. In the fourth section of this chapter, these notions will be analyzed in greater detail.

For Lakoff (1988, pp. 121–122), the experiential basis of metaphors is possible only because we are “embodied cognizers” endowed with “experientialist cognition”. This cognition comes from two sources: “(1) the structured nature of bodily and social experience; and (2) our innate capacity to imaginatively project from certain well-structured aspects of bodily and interactional experience to abstract conceptual structures” (Lakoff, 1988, p. 121). The references to experience in the two quotes mentioned above are consistent with the fact that metaphor is

defined in terms of experiences. For example, (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 178) maintained that metaphor “involves structuring one *experience* [emphasis added] in terms of another”.

Embodiment is also central to approaches that adopt an ecological perspective on cognition and metaphor. Jensen & Greve (2019, p. 7) contended that “any type of phenomenon or activity is always constrained -restricted and enabled- by the material as well as socio-cultural aspects of its immediate and extended environment”. In other words, our ecological cognition arises from our interaction with our environment, and this interaction encompasses the relationships that integrate our brains, bodies, and environment. The latter offers “affordances”, or what the environment “offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes, either for good or ill” (Gibson, 1979, p. 127). Accordingly, a “landscape of affordances in flux” is what we directly perceive in our environment (L. Van Dijk & Rietveld, 2017, p. 6). This landscape leads to a state where “we understand entities in the world in terms of what we can do with them; we perceive them in and through their action potential”, as Jensen & Greve (2019, p. 13) put it. Within a “dynamical view of metaphor”, Machielsen (2019) coined the concept “metaphordances” to explain metaphor as an affordance generated by the interaction between brain, body, and environment.

To resolve the apparent paradox of the human mind, which is at once embodied and yet capable of abstract thinking and reasoning, Johnson (1987) explained that the embodied mind instigates abstract image schemas within our conceptual system. “When we understand something as having an abstract structure, we understand that structure in terms of image schemas” (Lakoff, 1987, p. 283). An image schema is defined by Johnson (1987, p. xiv) as “a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience”. Oakley (2010, p. 214) defined an image schema as

“a condensed redescription of perceptual experience for the purpose of mapping spatial structure onto conceptual structure”. Typical examples of image schemas have been compiled by Hampe (2005a, p. 2), and they are included in Table 1. They are grouped randomly without any a priori criteria.

Table 1

*The Main Image Schemas*³

Containment	Path/source-path-goal	Link	Part-whole	Center-periphery	Balance
Enablement	Blockage	Counterforce	Attraction	Compulsion	Restraint
Removal	Diversion	Contact	Scale	Near-far	Surface
Full-empty	Process	Cycle	Iteration	Merging	Matching
Splitting	Object	Collection	Mass-count	Superimposition	Up-down
Front-back	Inanimate motion	Animate motion	Self-motion	Caused motion	Locomotion

These image schemas and their relationship with the prepositions’ meanings and functions will be studied in greater detail in this chapter’s third section.

³ Reprinted from (Hampe, 2005a, p. 2). © Copyright 2005 by Walter de Gruyter.

Conceptual Blending, also known as Conceptual Integration Theory, is another metaphorical mapping theory in addition to CMT. It was originally proposed by Fauconnier and Turner and further developed by Coulson and Oakley. Metaphors, according to both CMT and CIT, are conceptual rather than linguistic or literary embellishment. These two theories also agree that metaphor relies on mapping across domains. Mapping for CIT, however, entails more than just a single source domain. It takes place in two or more domains known as “input Spaces”. The result of this mapping is a metaphorical space, called a “blend” or a “blended space”. A blend is defined as “a type of data where, very visibly, two or more inputs are partially mapped onto each other and selectively projected to a new mental space in which novel structure can emerge” (Fauconnier, 2009, p. 147).

Conceptual blending is an on-line, dynamical cognitive operation that connects and integrates four mental spaces. The integration network includes two “input spaces”, a “generic space”, and a “blended space”. These four “mental spaces” are defined as “small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action” (Fauconnier & Turner, 1996, p. 113). The two input spaces are two mental spaces that are activated because they happen to hold counterparts and matching elements. A cross-space mapping between these input spaces connects these counterparts and matching elements to each other. It can take various forms such as “connections between frames and roles in frames; connections of identity or transformation or representation; metaphorical connections, etc”, Fauconnier & Turner (1998, p. 14) explained. This mapping generates the other two spaces: the generic and blend. The generic space is about what the two input spaces have in common. The two input spaces are projected into a new space, called the blend, where integration happens. The projection from the input spaces to the blend is described as “selective and partial”, and the novel

space, the blend, has an “emergent dynamic structure” (Fauconnier & Turner, 2003, p. 82). Typically, a blend is not a duplicate of the two input spaces but rather an emerging, new space constructed via three operations: composition, completion, and elaboration (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, p. 148). In other words, a blend may fuse, complete a missing part, or elaborate on the counterparts of the input spaces. Fauconnier & Turner (1998, p. 145) illustrated the general schema for the conceptual integration network in a diagram, as shown in Figure 1.

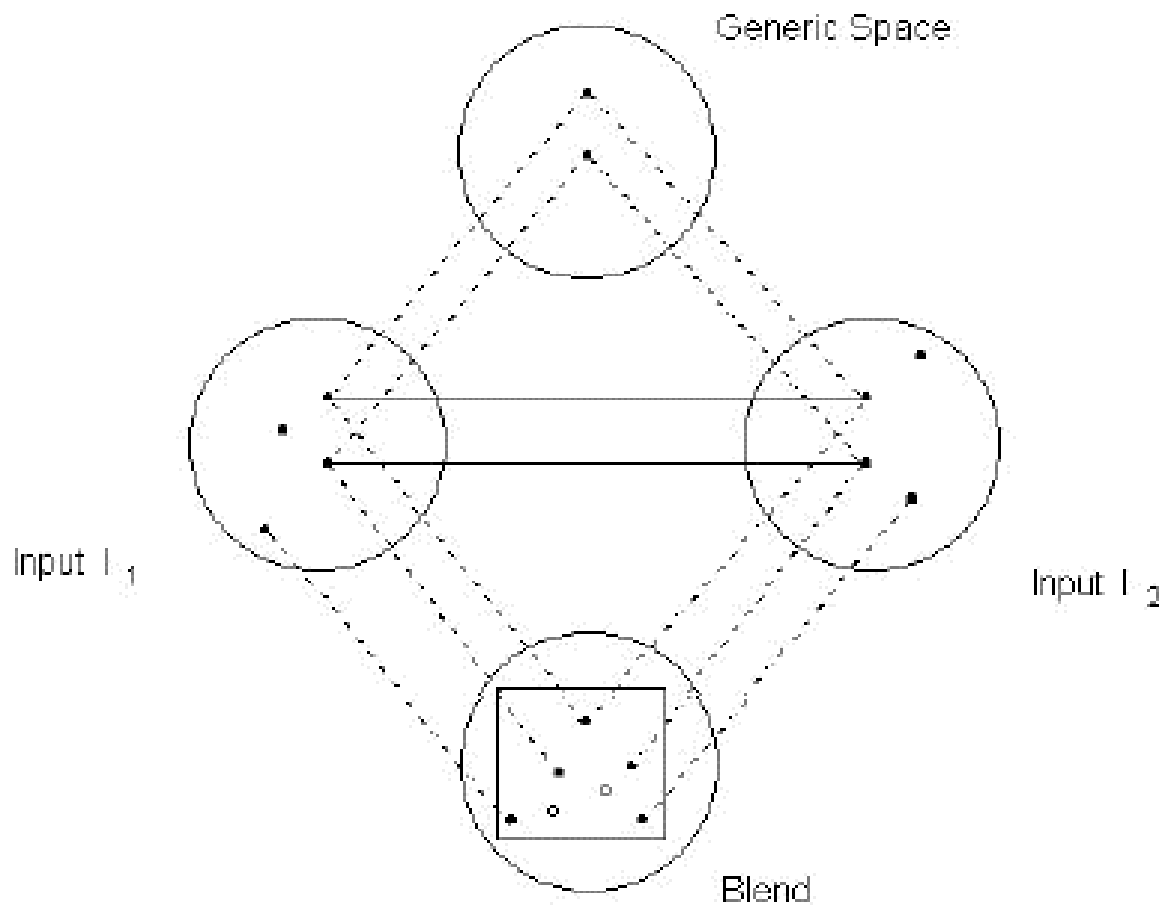


Figure 1. Conceptual integration network⁴

⁴ Reprinted from (Fauconnier & Turner, 1998, p. 145). © Copyright 1998 by Wiley Online Library.

The integration network has the following features: (1) cross-space mapping; (2) selective projection to the blend; and (3) a generic space that applies to both inputs. For each mental space, there is at least a frame that organizes it. Fauconnier & Turner (1998, pp. 41–48) argued that conceptual integration networks can be manifested in four types: Simplex, Mirror, Single-Scope, and Double-Scope. In a Simplex network, one input space has an *organizing frame* while the other input space has specific elements without any organizing frame. Conceptual integration happens when the first input is applied to the second input. In other words, the situation and the elements of the second input are framed through the organizing frame of the first input. In a Mirror network, all the spaces share the same organizing frame, such as the frame of hiking a mountain along a path in the famous monk riddle. All the spaces involved in the network (input, generic, and blend) share the organization that governs the monk's movement. The third type of conceptual integration network is called the Single-Scope network and consists of two different organizing frames in its input spaces, while the blend contains only one of these frames. The Double-Scope network, the fourth and last type, has the same input spaces as the Single-Scope network, but its blend contains structures and elements from both frames.

De Mendoza & Peña (2008, p. 277) revised Turner and Fauconnier's theory and replaced the blend with a "projection space". They also claimed that the interaction between metaphor and metonymy is much more complex because it includes "cognitive mechanisms such as domain expansion and domain reduction" (de Mendoza & Peña, 2008, p. 276).

Before applying these theories to this thesis's corpus, it is necessary to understand the discourse in which metaphor-related prepositions have appeared. Thus, the next section describes

the principal foundations of political discourse analysis. It also reviews the literature on the presidential discourse with a particular focus on the American inaugural addresses.

2.2. Political discourse

From the perspective of its data, the present thesis falls within the scope of political discourse analysis. Political speeches and the language of politics, in general, have been an object of study since classical times. It has been studied within different frameworks and, therefore, from different perspectives. Before proceeding to review the literature of the previous studies, it is crucial to examine the definitions of the basic concepts of the field.

2.2.1. Political language

Seen from its object of study, the definition of political discourse may depend, in the first place, on how politics is defined. Gronbeck (2004, p. 147) defined politics as “the institutionalized and noninstitutionalized *arenas of power relations* wherein collectivities *negotiate* the distribution and redistribution of material and symbolic resources”. In their day-to-day activities, members of governmental and non-governmental institutions fight, via language, for their interests and compete for power. This conflict of interest is typically expressed and resolved through negotiation, which necessitates the use of language. “The idea of politics as involving the recognition and conciliation of conflicting interests is now widely accepted”, Scruton (1982, p. 535) argued.

For Fairclough & Fairclough (2012, p. 1), politics is more than negotiation. It is “most fundamentally about making choices about how to act in response to circumstances and goals, it is about choosing *policies*”. Making a decision necessitates deliberating over a wide range of alternatives, which is typically accomplished through the use of language. In other words,

“deliberation is the primary genre of political discourse” and “political discourse is, therefore, deliberative” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 27).

In addition to negotiation and deliberation, other studies have offered a wide range of definitions. (Scruton, 1982, p. 535) grouped them as follows: the conciliatory type (‘the art of the possible’-Bismarck), through the cynical type (‘the art of governing mankind through deceiving them’- Isaac D’Israeli), to the willfully assertive type (‘the art of carrying out the life struggle of a nation for its earthly existence’-Hitler).

What these definitions have in common is the centrality of language in politics and, more precisely, the “linguistic, discursive and communicative dimension” (Chilton, 2004, p. 4). Using language in politics is usually referred to as “the language of politics” or “the political language”, and it is often studied as part of (and sometimes interchangeably with) political communication. The latter sounds more comprehensive and inclusive. According to Gronbeck (2004, p. 151), “the idea of “political communication”, in general, is an extension of a centuries-long effort to understand relationships between “rhetoric” and “politics””. Another competing term is “political linguistics”. It may be a less famous label of a scholarship than the other labels. There were few scientific activities under this heading. For example, the Linguistic Society of Belgium held a conference on political linguistics in 1995, and the 11th volume of the Belgian Journal of Linguistics was a special edition devoted totally to political linguistics.

From another perspective, political discourse can also be defined in terms of politicians, labeled as “authors” or “actors” (T. A. Van Dijk, 1997, p. 12). The discourse of politicians, whether individuals or groups, is too diversified to form one consistent and coherent discourse. For Bayley (2005, p. 3), “a wide and diverse set of discourses, or genres, or registers that can be classified as forms of political language”. These various “forms of political language”, either

written or spoken, are produced by various institutions such as the government, parliament, political parties or pressure and interest groups, mass media, or other administrative bodies. In this way, it may be more accurate to describe the language of politics as multiple political discourses rather than to oversimplify it under the rubric of a single discourse.

Added to these terms, there are other labels such as “political discourse”, “political text”, and (political) “rhetoric”. These overlapping labels and differences in their definitions and features are beyond the scope of the present study. However, language is their common denominator, and persuasion is their shared goal.

Political language is not only related to individual politicians. It is also closely related to the national language of each country, and “any instance of political discourse is but a part of a much wider network of intertextual relations” (Bayley, 2005, p. 3). In other words, political language is neither autonomous nor impartial. Instead, “it is an institutionalized structure of meanings that channels political thought and action in certain directions” (Connolly, 1993, p. 1).

Wodak (1989, p. 578) argues that politics cannot happen “without strategies or tactics, always depending on the interests of the respective political party”. Politicians necessarily use a wide range of discursive tools that serve their partisan and/or personal interests. In various situations, such as election campaigns, parliamentary sessions, inaugural addresses, and TV debates, effective communication is central. However, it becomes demanding not just because politicians communicate directly with their audiences, but also each situation necessarily has its own agenda and requires its own set of discursive tools. Jucker (1997, p. 123) affirmed that “politicians use language not only to persuade but also to inform, to entertain, and perhaps also to deceive or cover up”. In some cases, the language of politics is usually associated with manipulation and even propaganda. The misuse of language happens when discursive practices

are reinforced to render the established social order irreversible and even unquestionable or to manufacture “political consent” (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Ringmar, 2007). These tendencies have always been associated with political language since antiquities. The next section retraces the history of political discourse from Ancient Greece.

2.2.2. Rhetoric

The roots of the study of political language can be traced back to Ancient Greece scholars. They studied political discourse within the field of rhetoric for the sake of decent politics. However, decent politics meant different things to different philosophers and in different historical periods. In Greek mythology, Peitho was the goddess of persuasion, seduction, and charming speech. In one way, this persona reinforces the association between (political) persuasion and seduction -i.e., between rhetoric and its (magic) devices. For Plato, political language must be appropriately used to ensure “antirhetorical, truth-oriented politics” (Gronbeck, 2004, p. 137). In other words, political values are grounded on reason-based truths (episteme) rather than on emotions and popular discourses. This dichotomy is reminiscent of the contemporary conflict between the populist (emotional) and the mainstream (rational) discourse.

Unlike Plato, the sophists were interested in philosophy and rhetoric in their quest for effective persuasion. They wrote the manual of Corax of Syracuse as a treatise on rhetorical persuasion. This treatise was also meant to teach moral virtues and excellence to young political leaders (Moreno, 2008, p. 28). The opposition between a Platonian dialectician and a Sophist rhetorician was about using language in politics and, more precisely, about these questions: Should language be based on philosophical or rhetorical truth? Should language appeal to reason or emotion? Who could lead a country? Again, this is reminiscent of the modern debates between

the mainstream politics that promotes facts and reason and the post-truth culture that focuses on emotions and ignores factual truths.

Aristotle resolved the conflict between Plato and the Sophists. He argued that rhetoric could be used as long as it complements reason and the accepted values and convictions of the public. Aristotle defined rhetoric as “an ability, in each [particular] case, to see the available means of persuasion”, as quoted by Jamar (2001, p. 62). He also defined it as “the art and practice of coming to sound judgment”. These two definitions emphasize that rhetoric is not a matter of persuading but of discovering the means of persuasion. This view is tied to Aristotle’s pursuit of truth and the well-being of the citizens.

Regardless of its objective, rhetoric is part of the language faculty of humans, according to Aristotle’s famous extract cited in (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 18).

But obviously man is a political animal, in a sense in which a bee is not, or any other gregarious animal..... Speech, on the other hand, serves to indicate what is useful and what is harmful, and so also what is just and what is unjust. The real difference between man and other animals is that humans alone have the perception of good and evil, just and unjust, etc. It is the sharing of a common view in these matters that makes a household and a state. (*The Politics*, 1253a 1–18)

Aristotle’s view of language reveals that politics depends on two basic principles: language and the shared values. First, it all depends on how politicians use language to make their arguments either “useful”, “harmful”, “just”, or “unjust”. Second, these arguments are judged against a set of values shared by the community. To be convincing, arguments must appeal to the audience in three different ways, referred to as modes of persuasion. They consist of three appeals: *Logos*, *Ethos*, and *Pathos*. The persuasive strength of these appeals derives

from their influence on the listener. A good rhetorician knows how to activate the right appeal at the right time and with the right audience.

The first appeal, Logos, is concerned with logical reasoning. It “implies setting up a line of reasoning with constellations of claims and supporting arguments” (Hornikx, 2005, p. 9). Aristotle recognized that people generally accept and trust logical arguments, especially when they are based on their shared knowledge. Persuasive arguments rely on the two types of logical reasoning: induction and deduction. Malmkjær (2010, p. 457) explained these terms as follows: “the enthymeme, which is the rhetorical form of deduction, and the example, which is the rhetorical form of induction”. Unlike a logical syllogism, an enthymeme does not have to state all the premises for a deduction. That is why it is often referred to as “truncated syllogism”, “relaxed syllogism of logic”, or “rhetorical syllogism” (Malmkjær, 2010, p. 457). One of the premises in an enthymeme is frequently left unstated by the speaker, and it is up to the audience to assume it (Bruce, 2009, p. 13). The shared knowledge of the speaker and the audience makes it possible to understand an enthymeme. Moreover, an enthymeme’s arguments are often based on probabilities, and “truth-like” propositions rather than absolute truths and facts, making an enthymeme’s conclusion quasi-logical.

In addition to Logos, Ethos is an appeal to the speaker’s character in a way that enhances the trust of the audience. It is what confers reliability on the speech’s content and credibility on the speaker’s character. Put simply, Ethos is the speaker’s character as it appears to the audience. Aristotle broke Ethos down into three components, as cited by Jamar (2001, p. 69):

There are three reasons why speakers themselves are persuasive; for there are three things we trust other than a logical demonstration. These are practical wisdom [*phronesis*] and virtue [*arete*] and goodwill [*eunoia*].

Ethos extends the scope of rhetoric to include other attributes than knowledge of the subject matter. The degree of trust elicited by the speaker's knowledge, personality, and moral substance is critical in connecting the speaker with the audience. All the attributes are related to the speaker's good sense, good moral character, and goodwill. Good politicians usually create a positive image of themselves and then sell it to their audience. They carefully choose the right words and style to sound like experts in their subject matter. When certain politicians lack the proper expertise, their credibility is called into question, and their Ethos is seriously undermined.

The last appeal, Pathos, persuades through emotions. Accordingly, an audience is convinced by placing them in the right emotional frame. It is often described as an emotional persuasion. In Aristotle's words, people are "led to feel emotion [*Pathos*] by the speech; for we do not give the same judgment when grieved and rejoicing or when being friendly and hostile", as cited in Jamar (2001, p. 71).

While explaining Pathos, Aristotle put forward "the earliest known methodical explication of human emotions" (Ogren, 2004, p. 1). For an orator, the knowledge of these emotions is necessary to evoke the right feeling(s) in the audience. (Jamar, 2001, p. 72) affirmed that a perfect orator must know not only how emotions originate but also how they can be induced and diffused. In contemporary terms, this skill may be called "empathy or emotional intelligence" (Demirdögen, 2010, p. 192). However, as with any skill, it can be abused to dominate reason and become a tool of manipulation and deception. As Leighton (1982, p. 149) put it, "emotions may alter our judgments". Populist discourse is criticized for its emotive language, which has influenced major political decisions such as Brexit.

Aristotle's work on rhetoric has been both influential and inspiring. His modes of persuasion have been the basis for contemporary studies in different disciplines. Schoor (2015, p.

98), for example, classified political metaphors into three categories: emotion-based, reason-based, and strategy-based purposeful metaphors. She argued that “this triad is directly linked with Aristotle’s Pathos, Logos, and Ethos, which offers the advantage of a coherent combination of modern and classical metaphor theory”.

Returning to the history of political communication, Cicero (106-43 BC), the Roman political leader, orator, lawyer, and philosopher, planned to combine eloquence and wisdom (Ballacci, 2018, p. 184). Thus, he recommended an eclectic approach to rhetoric that encompasses philosophy, logic, poetry, law, tragedy, and acting. For him, a perfect orator must acquire “the subtlety of a logician, the thoughts of the philosopher, a diction almost poetic, a lawyer’s memory, a tragedian’s voice, and the bearing of the most consummate actor” (Cicero, 1976 b, xxviii, quoted by Gronbeck (2004, p. 139)).

Another significant contribution to rhetoric and oratory came from Machiavelli, who wrote his famous treatise on how to rule. In his pursuit of power, a Machiavellian wise prince is urged to use all the rhetorical tools for one purpose; “control of public perceptions: public opinions, collective beliefs, shared feelings and emotional views of rulers themselves” (Gronbeck, 2004, p. 140). Machiavelli’s treatise is a typical illustration of misuse of rhetoric, and the adjective “Machiavellian”, in Modern English, is often “bestowed on anyone who, indifferent to questions of morality, devotes himself to the pursuit of power” (Scruton, 1982, p. 411).

Throughout the 19th century, political discourse has become both widespread and influential. Representative governments started to take shape, and people started to organize themselves into political parties and lobbying groups. In addition to the formal institutions, public spheres appeared during this century. Ongoing dialogues on public issues inside these public spheres would eventually form public opinion.

In the 20th century, the use of language in politics intensified thanks to two factors. First, radio and then television became the new means of political communication. Second, the electorate increased in number. Politicians, therefore, took advantage of the radio and television to reach a broad segment of the population, which made political communication faster, more frequent, and rewarding. Similarly, the vision and the content of politics have changed, but not in the right direction. To borrow Orwell's words, "Newspeak", substituting the traditional language and rhetoric, turned into propaganda. The atrocities of the two World Wars and the Cold War led political scientists to reflect on the manipulative effects of political language and the various propaganda strategies.

There was widespread mistrust after the First World War. People thought that governments disseminated false information to alleviate and even hide the atrocities of the war. Political scientists were concerned that manipulation would jeopardize the principles of liberal democracy. In his seminal work on public opinion, Lippmann (1997, p. 162) argued that "the immediate struggle of politics will continue to require an amount of native wit, force, and unprovable faith, that reason can neither provide nor control". The Institute for Propaganda Analysis was established in the United States in 1937 due to the growing fears of the mounting amount of propaganda. It tried to teach people how to think critically and to understand that "the mass is constantly exposed to suggestion. It reads not the news, but the news with an aura of suggestion about it, indicating the line of action to be taken" (Lippmann, 1997, p. 96).

Under the influence of the Second World War and the Cold War era, Orwell wrote two novels, *Animal Farm* and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, dealing with the intricate links between language, politics, and propaganda. "By using stale metaphors, similes and idioms, you save much mental effort, at the cost of leaving your meaning vague, not only for your reader but for

yourself” (Orwell, 1968). In the same way, McGinniss (1969) revealed how people were manipulated through language and television in collaboration with advertisers. The title of his book, *The Selling of a President*, makes a long story short. McGinniss contended that voting and selling have become almost identical and that political campaigns have been transformed into commercial transactions. These transformations have been re-described in refined terms such as ““strategic communication,” “political marketing,” “advertising,” “public diplomacy,” and “psychological operations”” (Robinson, 2019, p. 10). Regardless of its name, language abuse is still a key feature, and manipulation is still the ultimate aim. By the end of this process, “the citizen did not so much vote for a candidate as make a psychological purchase of him” (McGinniss, 1969, p. 1).

Propaganda is not only about language abuse. It is also related to culture. Lasswell (1927, p. 627) affirmed that “the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols”. A propagandist can manipulate public opinion by representing an issue or a person as a threat to or defender of shared cultural values. In his analysis of propaganda strategies, Lasswell (1927, p. 629) maintained that propaganda consists of “the presentation of *an object* in a culture in such a manner that certain cultural attitudes will be organized toward it”. New propaganda patterns based on cognitive and cultural models have been created by putting culture at the core of persuasion. Contemporary propaganda research has expanded beyond exposing deception tactics to exposing the network of propaganda producers. For example, Organisation for Propaganda Studies set its main objective as “alerting us to the wide range of actors involved in propaganda production and dissemination” (Robinson, 2019, p. 1).

Rhetoric has been reintroduced into political discourse analysis as a result of renewed interest in manipulation, strategy, ideology, and political language (Price-Thomas & Turnbull,

2018, p. 210). This active research led to the emergence of Rhetorical Political Analysis (RPA) thanks to Finlayson, Martin, and Atkins in the United Kingdom and other researchers in the United States and Europe. (Price-Thomas & Turnbull, 2018, p. 210). RPA relies mainly on the premise of situatedness theory by which rhetoric interacts with its situational context.

“Rhetorical analysis underscores the *situated* nature of ideas, that is, their presence in speech and argument delivered at, and in response to, specific times and places” (Emphasis in original) (Martin, 2015, p. 25). The same concept is emphasized by Turnbull (2017), who asserted that “rhetoric is situated in context and varies according to the conditions in which it is practised”. As the thesis investigates metaphor-related prepositions in political contexts, the forthcoming section reviews the fundamental principles of Critical Discourse Analysis, including the discourse pertaining to politics.

2.2.3. Political discourse analysis

Moving on now to consider the literature of discourse analysis, Political Discourse Analysis (henceforth PDA) is the research field that critically studies political language within a broader discipline of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA). The critical approach to political discourse analysis is based on Halliday’s view, which integrates language and social order and considers language a “social fact”. For example, social prejudices or ideological biases are always manifest in language. CDA arose from the work of a team of linguists at the University of East Anglia in the late 1970s, which became known as critical linguistics. This new field was “a contribution to the unveiling of linguistic practices which are instruments in social inequality and the concealment of truth” (Fowler *et al.*, 1979), as cited in Davidson (2012, p. 62).

In their most recent study, Fairclough & Fairclough (2018) defined CDA as “a form of critical social analysis which focuses upon relations between discourse and other aspects of

social life”. Most CDA schools agree that their main objective is “to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, legitimized, and so on, by language use (or in discourse)”, (Wodak, 2011, p. 53). These linguistic practices are often considered instances of manipulation or “manipulative application of the language” (Rozina & Karapetjana, 2009, p. 113). Manipulation is defined as any argumentation which is not “legitimate persuasion” (T. A. Van Dijk, 2006). To borrow Fairclough’s words, manipulation is “always intentional and always covert and that the arguer is violating the sincerity (responsibility) condition of the speech act of argumentation” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 95).

Despite these shared principles, there is no single theory that accommodates all the different schools of CDA. Instead, they are “multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies” (Wodak, 2011, p. 50). CDA schools vary in their focus and procedures, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2

*The Main Approaches to CDA and their Common Features*⁵

Approach	Main scholars	Common Features
Dialectical–Relational	Fairclough	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They are problem/issue-oriented approaches. • They are interdisciplinary and eclectic. • They aim at demystifying ideologies and power relations. • Discourse both reflects and reproduces social relations ideologies and power relations. • Discourse has an important historical dimension. • Discourse is a form of social practice and action.
Discourse-Historical	Reisigl & Wodak	
Dispositive Analysis	Jäger & Maier	
Social Actors	Theo van Leeuwen	
Corpus Linguistics	Mautner	
Socio-cognitive	van Dijk	

Nevertheless, CDA has not escaped criticism. Its researchers are often accused of being too critical. They often assume the role of critics rather than impartial analysts because they “see their roots in (post-)Marxist “critical theory”” (Chilton et al., 2010, p. 491). Aside from ideological affiliations, CDA researchers are frequently influenced by prejudices. They often start with the presupposition that the text in question reproduces the existing power relations and reinforces dominance and inequalities. Such biases frequently place these researchers “in danger of confirming what they already believed from the start” (J. Wilson, 2015, p. 781). In the end, they may be more concerned with their political commitments than with linguistic analysis, and they may produce a political text rather than a scientific study. Wilson (2015, p. 781) expressed

⁵ Adapted from (Waugh et al., 2015, pp. 75–88).

his concerns by affirming that “it is also possible that the political critique of political discourse for political purposes becomes a form of political discourse itself”. Wilson’s concerns were shared by Chilton (2004, p. 205), who argued that CDA researchers are “political animals.....treating critical discourse analysis as a mode of political action in itself”. CDA has always been a delicate enterprise that requires an uneasy compromise between the demands of social theories and those of linguistic theories.

Like other critical approaches, PDA focuses on issues related to ideology, power, and hegemony. According to T. A. Van Dijk (1997, p. 11), a typical PDA researcher “deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse”. Other areas of interest often include social issues such as racism, anti-Semitism, anti-immigration, and anti-minorities.

From a Cognitive Linguistics perspective, political discourse analysis focuses on “the relationship between language and politics from a cognitive and evolutionary perspective” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 20). This theoretical framework can be an optimal structure for the current thesis. Within this same framework, Chilton (2004, pp. 201–205) proposed an exhaustive list of 12 features of political discourse. They are summarized in the following list:

1. Political discourse operates indexically.
2. Political discourse operates as an interaction.
3. Interaction functions to negotiate representations.
4. Recursive properties of language subserve political interaction.
5. Modal properties of language subserve political interaction.
6. Binary conceptualisations are frequent in political discourse.
7. Political representations are sets of role-players and their relations.

8. Political discourse draws on spatial cognition.
9. Political discourse involves metaphorical reasoning.
10. Spatial metaphors make concepts of the group and identity available.
11. Political discourse has specific connections to the emotional centers of the brain.
12. Political discourse is anchored in multi-dimensional deixis.

Three of these 12 concepts are relevant to this thesis, namely representation (3), metaphor (9), and space (8). In general, representation is not only part of our conceptual system, but it is also vital for our survival. Evans & Green (2006, p. 48) affirmed that “the very purpose of our perceptual and cognitive mechanisms is to provide a representation of this reality, and thus to facilitate our survival as a species”. More specifically, the first concept, representation, refers to the relationship between language and reality. Johnson & Lakoff (2002, pp. 249–250) argued that “a representation is a flexible pattern of organism-environment interactions”. Meaning is not static and embedded but rather construed by language and, more precisely, by linguistic representation. The use of language to impose a particular representation of reality is at the heart of politics. In the context of American political life, multiple and different representations are competing in the political arena during the election campaign. The inaugural address is the representation written by the victor. This thesis treats the inaugural discourse as empirical evidence of the presidents’ representations of their respective realities. In Chilton’s terms, these representations are often called cognitive frames and shared presumptions (Chilton, 2004). In the same vein, Wilson (2015, p. 776) asserted that political discourse analysis is centered around “the question of how the world is presented to the public through particular forms of linguistic representation”. Similarly, the Discourse-Historical Approach makes representation central to its approach. Reisigl & Wodak (2009) reserved two of the five discursive strategies to elaborate on

how representation works in any discourse. These two strategies, “nomination” and “predication”, evoke these questions respectively:

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes, and actions named and referred to linguistically?

2. What characteristics, qualities, and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events, and processes?

Metaphor-related prepositions are expected to be able to answer these two questions. Thanks to their relational character, these prepositions can be used to name these entities and attribute the right features to them.

In conjunction with representation, metaphor is the second concept that is relevant to the current thesis. In political discourse, metaphor is used as a “mode of reasoning” (Chilton, 2004, p. 203), implying that politicians use metaphors in their logical arguments to legitimize or de-legitimize their representations (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 89).

The third and last concept from Chilton’s features deals with space. It is one of the fundamental source domains for political metaphors. These metaphors are often referred to as “spatial metaphors” (Chilton, 2004, p. 204), as explained in Section 2.1.1. In this regard, some of Lefebvre’s ideas about spatialization might be a relevant background for studying prepositions in political discourse. One of his foundational ideas is that since the state is “born in and with a space”, it (re)produces space on three levels: national territory, social and mental (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 224). Space is used as a conceptual domain in producing abstract concepts like social and mental spaces by the state. Lefebvre (2009, p. 245) maintained that “social hierarchy thus presents itself, more evident today than ever, as a spatial hierarchy”. The relevance of Lefebvre’s ideas to this thesis lies in the fact that the inaugurals reveal the presidents’ construal of social

hierarchy. In this light, prepositions are likely to be the perfect grammatical tools to (re)produce space. It would be simplistic to suppose that a statement like *Jill is in poverty* merely describes a social state in terms of a location.

In conjunction with its governing function, the state tends at once to homogenize, hierarchize, and fragment social spaces (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 219). By locating Jill in a social space called poverty, the speaker hierarchizes Jill per Lefebvre's equation: social hierarchy is a spatial hierarchy. More specifically, poverty is metaphorically structured as a concrete location, and the image-schematic structure of *in* define this fictive landmark, poverty. The projection of a physical space onto a social state with the modification incurred by a preposition creates a new metaphor. It is based on a blended conception of somebody not only located, contained, and enclosed in a location but also confined by that location. As a blend, *in poverty* is a "hybrid mental construction" (Langacker, 2008a, p. 36) that merges features of both the source and target domains into a location-like situation. Seen from a president's perspective, this location-like situation implies that social hierarchies are being produced and restructured (Lefebvre, 2009). Along the same lines, Hernández (2012) argues that a location usually evokes "a social routine" associated with that location and triggered by a network of inferences. The interaction of a trajector and its location generally echoes a prototypical relationship that has been conventionalized in both social and discursive practices.

To conclude this section, Chilton's three features of political discourse (representation, metaphorical reasoning, and spatial cognition) are in constant interaction. A politician offers a coherent representation of the world localized in space, either as a physical location or metaphorical conceptualization, and is supported by rhetorical devices such as metaphorical

reasoning. The next subsection is devoted to exploring how metaphorical reasoning in political discourse works.

2.2.4. Conceptual metaphors in political discourse

This section attempts to explain how political concepts and issues are usually conceptualized by means of metaphors. In this way, political metaphors are essentially metaphors with a political flavor and not merely the metaphors extracted from a political text. In other words, the metaphors used by politicians are, by default, “used with a political goal, that is creating political expectations and/or realizing political objectives and actions” (Reuchamps et al., 2019, p. 5). These actions range from military participation to the implementation of social policies. In all these situations and for all purposes, metaphors, among other linguistic and rhetorical tools, have been used. In general, reasoning on political issues, decision-making, and acting are all based on a set of metaphors (Lakoff, 1995).

As early as 1974, Murry Edelman, an American political scientist, was aware of the impact of metaphors’ cognitive and pragmatic potential. He pointed out that “it is through metaphor, metonymy, and syntax that linguistic references evoke mythic cognitive structures in people’s minds” (M. J. Edelman, 1974, p. 9). In fact, Edelman’s ideas were influenced by his aversion to the use of metaphor in politics. However, cognitive linguists are less judgmental because they are more concerned with scientific accounts than value judgments. As politicians have become more aware of the importance of metaphors for their careers, they make conscious choices of the suitable metaphors that best serve their purposes. For example, Kövecses (2010, p. 68) contended that “politics in general is rife with conceptual metaphors”. Besides, in their study of metaphors in foreign policy, Chilton & Lakoff (1989) argued that metaphors are “necessary tools for understanding the nature of world politics and for formulating policy”. Metaphors, in

general, impose their structures on our political understanding and action. For example, we use metaphors to define our country's enemies and determine how we will deal with them. Lakoff (1991b) maintained that "metaphors backed up by bombs can kill". Literal wars have indeed been justified by metaphors, but metaphorical wars have never ceased. The latter include wars on poverty, crime, drugs, obesity, and bureaucracy, for example. It is only through metaphors that you can turn social problems into enemies. In reality, social policies typically require peaceful measures rather than physical violence. Politicians, according to Billig & MacMillan (2005, p. 478), are "part of a commercialized culture that requires *inflated* rhetoric". In this respect, Mey (2011, p. 62) asked an interesting question: "How felicitous is a particular metaphor in a particular context (e.g., solving a problem, obtaining consensus, elucidating difficult subject matter, and so on)"? Zinken et al. (2008, p. 244) argued that metaphors "can have social costs and social benefits".

In his attempt to classify political metaphors, Chilton (2006; 2010) argued that they are mainly structured by these five image schemata; (1) front-back; (2) up-down; (3) path; (4) container, and (5) center-periphery. The first image schema accounts for metaphors that organize people and ideas in terms of importance and priority. These metaphors are often encoded in words like *after*, *before*, *front*, *back*, *ahead*, and so forth. The up-down image schema structures most of the concepts of social hierarchy. It is often used in metaphors describing people, groups, or situations as powerful, good, and strong, as well as their opposites. All good qualities are structured by the UP-image schema and vice versa. Politicians often use this image schema to make positive representations of themselves and negative representations of their opponents (Chilton, 2006, pp. 64–65). These representations are based on conceptual metaphors such as CONTROL IS UP, STATUS IS UP, ALIVE IS UP, and their opposites.

The path schema is usually related to the metaphors of (lack of) progress through expressions such as *moving forward* or *backward*, *looking towards the future*, and *taking forward steps*. The container schema imposes its boundaries (inside/outside) on situations involving political concepts, actors, and institutions. It is often used to conceptualize a country as a container-like entity, with locals as insiders and immigrants as outsiders. The center-periphery image schema is used in metaphors about the “central authority”, capital cities, and people at the center in contrast to the “peripheral regions” and their inhabitants (Chilton, 2006, p. 65).

In addition to these five image schemata, Chilton (2006, p. 65) added four source domains that recurrently map structural and cultural knowledge onto politics. They are body, ships, machines, and buildings. Musolff (2004b, p. 69) identified another set of four source domains, namely “FAMILY, JOURNEY, LIFE-HEALTH-BODY, and ARCHITECTURE-HOUSE-BUILDING”.

What is common about the metaphors based on these image schemata is that they revolve around space. Lakoff & Johnson (1980, p. 17) supported this fact and affirmed that “most of our fundamental concepts are organized in terms of one or more spatialization metaphors”. Through these metaphors, abstract concepts gain spatial orientation, and they are often encoded through “orientation metaphors”. These metaphors have an internal coherence as they give rise to a set of consistent metaphorical expressions. They often use spatial prepositions (*up*, *down*, *over*, *in*, *on*, and so forth) and another lexis that conveys space, such as *rise*, *decline*, and similar terms.

These spatial metaphors are expected to appear in the inaugurals next to metaphors expressed by other parts of speech. The next section reviews the second type of metaphor, with an emphasis on the significance of the inaugurals as a genre.

2.2.5. The inaugural addresses and their metaphors

American presidents usually deliver six public speeches, namely an acceptance speech, an inaugural address, and four State of the Union speeches. Though these speeches receive nearly equal attention from scholars, the scope of this study is limited to the inaugurals. An inaugural address is delivered on the inauguration day by the American president-elect. It is the first address to be communicated to the public at the beginning of a new presidential term. In these addresses, presidents “provide information, state their philosophy and attempt to motivate the nation to follow their vision” (Greiner, 2002, p. 3).

The study of the American inaugurals falls within the presidential rhetoric scholarship. This field started in the 1980s thanks to Ceaser et al. (1981) and later Tulis (1987). Following these pioneering works, more reviews came from scholars such as Roderick Hart (1987) and Campbell & Jamieson (1985; 1984). Around the early 1990s, small-scale research and case studies began to emerge thanks to the works of Aune & Medhurst, (2008), Dorsey (2002), Medhurst (1996), and Stuckey & Antczak (1998). Within the presidential rhetoric scholarship, presidential power is defined as the ability to persuade, and the concept of the “president as a persuader” (Windt, 1986, p. 102) has gained acceptance. Windt (1986, p. 103) defined presidential rhetoric as a discipline “concerned with the study of presidential public persuasion”. From the various definitions of “the rhetorical presidency”, persuasion is at the heart of the presidential discourse. This thesis is built on the assumption that presidents use metaphor-related prepositions as part of their persuasion schemes.

In the beginning, the concept of “rhetorical presidency” was coined to describe a controversial situation in which “presidential communication has changed the presidency and the political system in which it is embedded” (Stuckey, 2010, p. 40). The change was mainly in how

presidents communicate. The constitutional presidency used to communicate with Congress, while the rhetorical presidency started to appeal to the people directly. More specifically, the transformation describes President Wilson and President Roosevelt's new communication style, which diverged from a traditional model of presidential leadership into a public-speaking model (Broughton, 2009; Saldin, 2011; Teten, 2003). These two presidents were criticized for going "over the heads" of Congress and "going public" in order to promote themselves directly to the people (Stuckey, 2010, p. 40). The popular appeal and the concern for public opinion are the essences of "the rhetorical presidency", as Tulis (1987) argued.

The inaugurals have been continuously studied by linguists mainly because language has become the medium of power, to borrow Tulis' words, and the words of the President are much more important than his deeds. Furthermore, Campbell & Jamieson (1990) contended that a president presides through his words and that his words shape his image, establish his leadership, and determine his success. The inaugurals are one of the occasions where presidents use such words, whether literal and metaphorical. They are "characterized by an elaborated and conventionally scripted orality *rich in metaphors* [emphasis added]" (Reisigl, 2008, p. 252).

In terms of their source domains, Kövecses (2010, p. 68) identified five source domains: war, business, family, person, and race. These domains form the basis of the following metaphors: "POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS BUSINESS, SOCIETY IS A FAMILY, SOCIETY IS A PERSON, and THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IS A RACE". Charteris-Black (2004a) studied the most frequent metaphors in the inaugurals, and he identified seven source domains. Table 3 shows these domains and their conceptual metaphors.

Table 3

Summary of Conceptual Metaphors in the American Inaugural Corpus⁶

Source Domain	Conceptual metaphors
Conflict	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • POLITICS IS CONFLICT • POLITICS IS S STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL • SOCIETY IS A PERSON
Journey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION • LIFE IS A JOURNEY
Building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • WORTHWHILE ACTIVITY IS BUILDING • GOOD IS UP • SOCIETY IS A BUILDING
Light and fire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UNDERSTANDING/ KNOWING IS SEEING • HOPE IS LIGHT • PURIFICATION IS FIRE
Physical environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CIRCUMSTANCES ARE WEATHER • SOCIAL CONDITION IS A WEATHER CONDITION • SOCIAL CONDITION IS A FEATURE IN A LANDSCAPE • MENTAL STATES ARE LOCATIONS
Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ POLITICS IS RELIGION
Body	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ACTION IS A BODY PART

The first domain refers to the “military metaphors” or “war metaphors”. They conceptualize political action in terms of a military operation in which politicians fight for good social goals and against bad social ills. As for journeys, they are often projected onto objectives

⁶ Reprinted from Charteris-Black (2004a). © Copyright 2004 by Palgrave MacMillan.

to be attained. Like journeys, the domain of buildings is used to emphasize the achievement of valuable acts such as peace, democracy, and progress. Light and fire have been traditionally linked to understanding and emotion, respectively. While light is necessary to see and thus understand, darkness is mapped onto “ignorance, failure to understand and evil” (Charteris-Black, 2004a, p. 101). The contrast between light and darkness motivates metaphors that deal with “moral notions of goodness and evil” (Charteris-Black, 2004a, p. 102). As a source of light, fire was first used by President Washington in 1789 in the metaphorical expression “fire of liberty” (Washington, 1789). The metaphors of the physical environment are categorized into two domains: weather and geography. The former is used to convey metaphors of change, either positive or negative. One of the recurrent weather notions is the wind. The second domain of the physical environment, geography, is related to metaphors dealing with social situations of people, countries, or individuals. Examples of landmarks include mountains, valleys, deserts, and horizons. These landmarks’ vertical or horizontal features are highlighted to convey concepts of effort and distance, respectively. Religion is the sixth source domain in Charteris-Black’s list that accounts for the metaphors of the inaugurals. It is mapped onto politics in a way that “links the president with a commitment to Christian religious belief” (Charteris-Black, 2004a, pp. 103–104). The Seventh and last source domain deals with body parts that account for diverse metaphors and metonymies. Different body parts correspond with different actions such as feeling, thinking, and so forth.

Looking at the figures that support Charteris-Black’s results, conflict represents 36% of the total resonance. This significant percentage sets a confrontational and aggressive tone for the inaugurals. However, this tone may not be appropriate for the nature of the inaugurals. It is of interest to note that the inaugurals are delivered after the elections and are therefore meant to

unify the nation rather than invoke conflict and division. Another interesting note is that the second domain, journeys, stands for only 16%, which is less than half of the conflict domain. This comparison applies to the third and fourth source domains. They represent 14% and 13%, respectively. When combined, journeys, buildings, light, and fire account for 43% of all metaphors. These frequencies demonstrate the predominance of conflict metaphors in the inaugurals, according to Charteris-Black (2004a).

Though these figures are significant, they do not contextualize metaphors in their wider historical settings. Thus, the next section reviews the historical contexts in which the inaugurals were delivered.

2.3. The historical context

This section reviews the historical contexts in which the inaugurals have been delivered. It consists of four sections. It starts with a broad review of the major historical events throughout American history, and then, in the second section, it narrows down to focus on the main tenets of the American political culture. The third section is devoted to the inaugurals' recurrent themes, while the last section accounts for the main evolution trends of inaugurals throughout their history.

2.3.1. Major historical eras

The inaugurals cover 228 years within which numerous events took place. "Collectively, these addresses chronicle the course of the country from its earliest days to the present" (Ford, 1989, p. iii). For the sake of studying diachronic variations, the "course of the country" will be reviewed in terms of eras and periods. The presidential corpus will be studied as a single corpus, as well as divided into sub-corpora according to these eras and periods. Accordingly, political history can be divided according to various criteria, such as political parties, regions, science,

economy, eras, and periods. For example, Korzi (2004) used the inaugurals to draw a three-stage history of American political thought. These stages are “constitutional”, “party”, and “plebiscitary”, and they describe the evolution of political thought depending on the relationship between presidents, the Constitution, and the people. Diachronically speaking, the first stage lasted from 1789 till 1825, while the second stage went from 1829 to 1897, and the third stage lasted from 1905 till 2001, the last date covered by Korzi (2004).

From a different perspective, Frost & Sikkenga (2003) divided the history of American political thought into five periods: (1) “from colony to nation”; (2) “the new republic”; (3) “a divided nation”; (4) “growth of an empire”; and (5) “new challenges at home and abroad”. Although their division is accurate, the periods are too long and too eventful to be combined in one slot. Instead, the thesis adopts a 16-era timeline, as summarized in Figure 2, followed by a brief narration of the main events of each era.

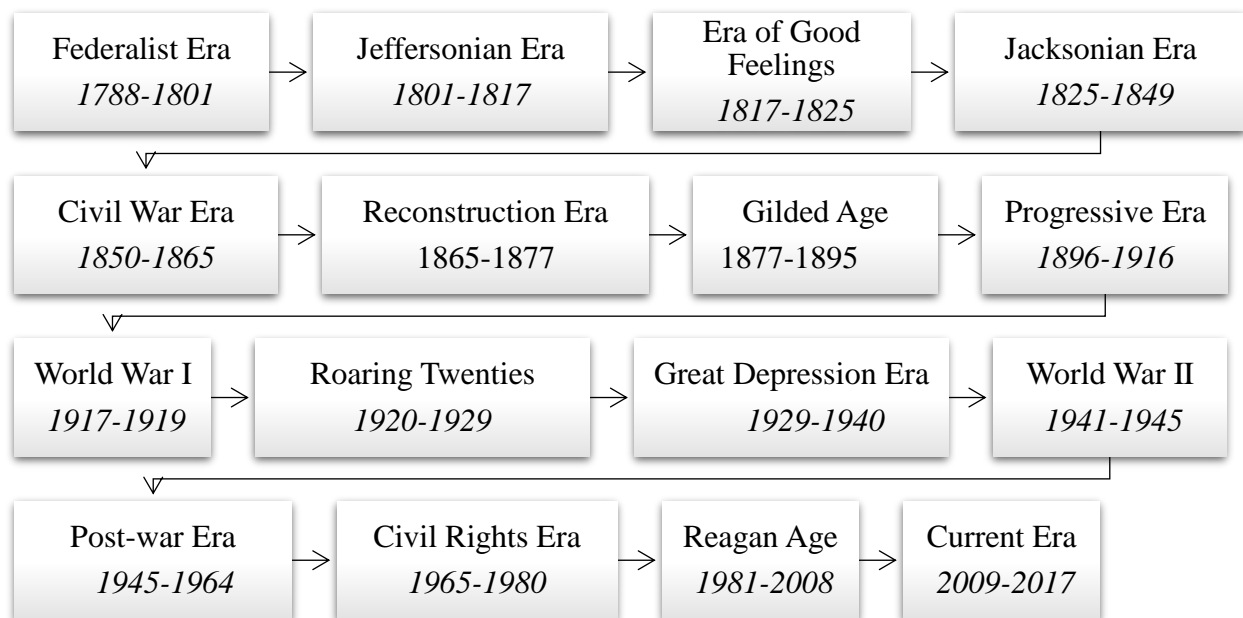


Figure 2. A timeline of American history

Due to the limited scope of this section, only major events will be included in the review. Both appendices C and D contain additional information about these eras.

The first era comprises the first three inaugurals delivered by President Washington and President Adams. This era's main political debate was between the Federalists and Anti-Federalists on how powerful a federal government should be. The Constitution was ratified within a framework of "a strong central government in the face of fears in the several states that central power meant tyranny" (Elkins & McKittrick, 1993, p. 84). While the Federalists defended the government's legitimacy, the Anti-Federalist expressed their concern about personal liberties and the absence of the Bill of Rights from the Constitution.

The second era began with the 1800 election. The Jeffersonian Era or Jeffersonian Democracy is the name given to this period. President Jefferson called this era "the revolution of 1800" (Onuf et al., 2002). He defended republicanism as the doctrine that fosters citizens' civic duty and distrusts powerful governments. He did not hide his sympathies with the revolutionary cause in France. Jeffersonian Democracy bears the imprints of French Republicanism and its ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. John Locke, a 17th-century English political philosopher, had a significant influence on Jefferson's preference for a limited government. Jeffersonian politicians advocated similar concepts such as individual freedom and self-government. They all share their opposition to a strong central government and their advocacy of the states' rights, and they also fought for the ratification of the Bill of Rights.

The third era relied on the victory in the 1812 War to fill the nation with determination to save its unity and rebuild its economy. President Monroe was an iconic symbol of these years of good feelings thanks to his efforts to reconcile political parties in order to reduce hostilities and prevent new political factions from forming. This era enjoyed political peace reinforced by the

rising status of the U.S. as a new world power. At the international level, the American foreign policy started to take shape with the Monroe Doctrine, first enunciated by President Monroe in front of Congress in 1823. Heiss (2002, p. 519) affirmed that “the Monroe Doctrine marks an important new direction in the U.S. thinking and a turning point in the nation’s self-conception and identity”. Despite President Monroe’s reconciliatory efforts, this era ended with rivalries and tensions between political factions. Disagreements between the federal government and the states, as well as the animosities between the free states and the slave states, had a damaging impact on the political consensus of this era and the subsequent periods.

In terms of the presidency's relationship with the people, presidents of the first three eras acted as “constitutional officers” (Korzi, 2004, p. 47). Therefore, this stage is known as the “constitutional presidency” (Korzi, 2004), in which presidents saw themselves as being more accountable to the Constitution than to the people.

The Era of Good Feelings was followed by the Jacksonian Era, known for its nationalistic trends and territorial expansion. It is also known as the Jacksonian Democracy because it extended voting rights to white men over the age of 21. The new age means that local parties had to work harder to pull out the “common man” to the polls. President Jackson believed that he was the direct representative of the common man. He implemented his political reforms, such as extending the popular vote and opposing banks, with the support of his Democratic Party and extensive use of the presidential veto. This era’s doctrines encouraged geographical expansion, known as manifest destiny, laissez-faire policies, and a strong federal government.

The Civil War followed the Jacksonian Era. Slavery was a direct cause of the Civil War that raged between the Union (Northern states) and the Confederacy (Southern states) from 1861 to 1865. The differences between an industrialized and urbanized North and plantation

agriculture with a slave labor economy in the South were at the root of the tensions. The Southern States fought to preserve the institution of slavery and its associated lifestyle, assuming they had the right to secede from the Union. The Northern states considered the country's union to be eternal, and secession was not permitted. The two opposing interpretations of the Constitution were unable to reach a compromise. For Southerners, the federal government was supposed to safeguard their rights, property, economy, and lifestyle, including slavery. It permeated every single detail of the life of the Confederacy. The Northerners' interpretation of the Constitution can be summarized by the famous slogan "free soil, free labor, free men" (Tulloch, 2006). President Lincoln made several pleas in his inaugural address in 1861 to restore the union and uphold the treaty that unified the two parts of the same country. His pleas, however, were ineffective in halting either the growing Southern nationalism or the Northern reactions. Tensions between the slave states and the free ones escalated into a war between the brothers. "Slavery and secular republican beliefs conflicted" (Fernée & others, 2015, p. 83), resulting in two contradictory mindsets within the same society with no room for compromise.

The North's victory emancipated the slaves and put an end to the South's wealth. While President Lincoln managed to preserve the unity of his country, the Confederate States failed to preserve slavery. The Civil War was the event that gave birth to the Emancipation Proclamation, which Congress later endorsed through the 13th Amendment in 1864. The victory also strengthened the political system and its republican principles and revived the values of the Enlightenment. President Lincoln's "capacity for eloquence and for plain talk when either was needed" (Fehrenbacher & Tudor, 1987, p. 10) was significantly vital during these critical years.

The Reconstruction Era started with the second term of President Lincoln himself. Five of the presidents of this era were Civil War veterans, and most of them had to deal with the

repercussions of the war they had won. The debate between the North and the South on the same old issues continued in the post-Civil War era, but with different terms and a different balance of power. In general, this era was highly active at the legal and constitutional levels but highly fragile on the ground. The Radical Republicans insisted on implementing the Reconstruction plan and rejected President Johnson's tolerant approach. Controversies were mainly between those who want to save the union of the country and those who want to permanently abolish slavery and prevent the ex-rebels from regaining any political powers. As a result of the Radical Republicans' intolerance, former slaves and white activists were subjected to increased violence. However, there were some accomplishments during this era. The most important of these is the right to vote granted to freed slaves. The punitive policies against the South led to significant changes in the Southerners' lifestyle and the balance of power in Congress. In addition to the 13th Amendment, which abolished slavery, the 14th Amendment granted citizenship and federal civil rights to any person born or naturalized in the U.S. The 15th Amendment went further to specify that the "right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude". The enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, granting people the right to public facilities regardless of color, marked the beginning of the civil rights movement.

The election of President Hayes came with the Compromise of 1877 that ended the Reconstruction Era. Not only did the federal troops leave the South, but also a large number of African Americans fled to the North as part of the Exodus Movement, also known as the Exodus of 1879. They headed toward the North and the West in search of new opportunities for economic growth in the new era, the Gilded Age. The rapid industrialization, the increase in the number of freed slaves and women working in the industry, and the arrival of millions of

European immigrants all contributed to a social environment marked by poverty, inequality, and racial segregation. The Gilded Age was “a façade of wealth and prosperity that masked the corruption and decay of American political life” (ushistory.org, 2019). Bribery, corruption, and patronage were the dominant characteristics of the political scene. Labor unions and wealthy elites started to emerge and, therefore, to raise issues of labor rights and tariffs. The American economy expanded thanks to huge investments in railroads, factories, and coal mining. The fast railroad tracks transformed the West and the distant regions and linked the production centers to the marketplaces. This age was also marked by the invention of electricity, the telephone, and the telegraph, all of which contributed to the increasing growth of economic and communication exchange. The wealthy elites who profited from these technologies were also behind most of the political scandals of that period. At the same time, this age had the highest voter turnout in the history of the American elections. In general, it was the time of inventors, investors, entrepreneurs, and promoters of social justice, but not of great presidents. It marked a period of “party presidency” in which presidents started to express “fidelity to the parties” (Korzi, 2004, p. 40). Most presidents of the Gilded Age are often called “the forgettable presidents” (ushistory.org, 2019).

The subsequent period was mainly about correcting the outcomes of the Gilded Age. The Progressive Era was named after the Progressive Movement, also known as the Efficiency Movement, which sought to modernize and reform various areas such as politics, economy, religion, education, and society by making them more efficient and scientific. The reformers also advocated women’s suffrage and direct democracy. These efforts were fostered by the increasing circulation of magazines, as well as the active role of the reform-minded journalists known as muckrakers. At the political levels, the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th amendments, which imposed the

income tax, were the outcome of the Progressive Movement. President Roosevelt is remembered as an arbiter between the opposing forces of labor and capital. The Progressive Era is remembered as the time when senators were first directly elected, alcoholic beverages were prohibited, and women were granted the right to vote.

During World War I, President Wilson declared war on Germany, putting the progressive movement to the test. Disappointment and disillusionment were caused not only by the strong sentiment of neutrality but also by reformers who had high expectations of their ideals of reform and democracy. Along these same progressive lines, President Wilson replied that the war would “make the world safe for democracy”. Amid the division in public opinion, the word “propaganda” came to the fore by creating the Committee on Public Information in 1917. “We did not call it propaganda, for that word, in German hands, had come to be associated with deceit and corruption”, explained the chairman of the Committee (as cited in (Howard, 2014, p. 1)). Instead, the information disseminated by the government was intended to enhance patriotism while silencing pro-neutrality voices. This era established the “presidential office that is quite closely tied to the people and the public will” (Korzi, 2004, p. 47). This new rhetorical presidency style was strengthened by the 17th Amendment, which allowed the direct election of U.S. senators by popular vote.

In the Post-War Era, President Harding went back to the normalcy policy, and the U.S. resumed its economic growth. A new lifestyle and culture, known as the Roaring Twenties or the Jazz Age, emerged during this period. It was the decade of the “lost generation” with its literary, artistic, and musical creativity. It was also the decade of prosperity, leisure, and consumer goods. Political campaigns took advantage of the technical innovations and the new culture of the time,

such as press coverage, radio programs, and Hollywood and Broadway celebrities. President Coolidge had the first presidential inauguration broadcast on the radio in 1925.

The roaring decade was followed by a decade of economic recession, known as the Great Depression, in which deflation, poverty, and high unemployment hit most countries. The effects of the depression were much too severe and widespread for President Hoover to repair. His successor, President Roosevelt, came to power with an economic recovery plan known as the New Deal in 1933. Soon after his inauguration, the Second World War broke out.

The Second World War was a significant opportunity for the American economy to recover thanks to the Lend-Lease Act, which provided military supplies, oil, and food to France, the United Kingdom, China, and later the Soviet Union. From 1941 onwards, the U.S. was implicated in the war despite the general mood of isolation and nonintervention among the Americans.

The Post-War Era was marked by the Civil Rights Movement at home and the Cold War abroad. President Truman developed and implemented his Containment Doctrine in response to the expansion of communism and Soviet influence. This era was highly eventful, starting with the economic boom, the expansion of the consumer market and civil rights, and ending with the shocking assassination of President Kennedy in 1963. The events of this era had their repercussions in the subsequent era.

The Civil Rights Era is named after the social activism which characterized the sixties and seventies. Dedicated activists managed to influence public opinion and the policy through relentless protest campaigns and massive press coverages. This activism applies to the Civil Rights Movement, the Women's Liberation Movement, and the Anti-War Movement. During this era, social and economic justice was endorsed by the Great Society plan, which covered the

extension of civil rights, the end of segregation, the expansion of medical care, and the payment of state education subsidies. This plan was similar to President Roosevelt's New Deal, but in a different context and under a different name. The government had to demonstrate that social and economic justice could be achieved within the framework of liberalism, without radicalism, and especially without any references to communism. However, this plan was heavily criticized for failing to address the rising rate of crimes, riots, and drugs, especially in the inner cities.

The Age of Reagan, which started with the first term of President Reagan and continued until the second term of President W. Bush in 2008, was marked by a conservative approach to domestic and foreign policy. Conservatism revived as a backlash against the excessive liberalism of the previous decade. Furthermore, the conservative reforms reflected the public disillusionment with the failure of the Great Society plan, the defeat in Vietnam, the Watergate scandal, the growing power of the Soviet Union, the energy crisis, and the humiliating Iran hostage crisis. President Reagan's vision advocated an optimistic and forward-looking alternative and promised to put an end to the widespread malaise. His vision was built on the premise that economic growth was threatened by "big government" and the spread of communism. This period witnessed significant events such as the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the end of the Cold War in 1991. Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush proclaimed the "new world order" and promised "a modicum of hope for a post-conflictual state of global affairs" (Elias & Moraru, 2015, p. xiv). The new order marked the beginning of globalization guided by neoliberal institutions and aided by Internet-based communication and networked media. In the post-Cold War period, the Reaganite policies were still implemented at home, but with a different international scene and new friends and foes. The New World Order has been an

umbrella term used to describe the new power balance in which the U.S. is the world's single military superpower.

The election of Barack Obama as the first African American president is considered a sign of a new era, sometimes called "post-racial". Events on the ground were utterly contradictory and even shocking. The killings of unarmed African Americans by police officers sparked nationwide condemnations such as the "Black Lives Matter" movement and white nationalists' rallies.

To conclude this section, these 16 eras cover only the period of the history of the inaugurals and not the earlier periods such as the colonial period, the American Revolution, and the confederation era. The events that influenced the country's transformation from a colony to an independent nation occurred during these earlier periods. It was during these times that the foundations of American political thought were laid. The Declaration of Independence, drafted by the Founding Fathers in 1776, has been one of the most important documents that put these ideas into words. It was not only about declaring that they were no longer a colony of the British Empire but also about establishing the main natural, essential, and unalienable rights of American citizens and determining the role, purpose, and limits of the newborn government. The Preamble describes these values in these words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed". (The Declaration of Independence)

Presidents John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were among the Founding Fathers who drafted the Declaration of Independence. Their inaugural addresses would most likely reflect the ideas expressed in the Declaration of Independence.

2.3.2. American political culture

The inaugurals are significant in terms of their implications for both the features of American political culture and the evolution of these features throughout history. “Presidents have used inaugural addresses to articulate their hopes and dreams for a nation”, according to a Congressional Committee (Ceremonies, 1989). These hopes and dreams reflect the people's shared values and feelings, making the inaugurals “reflective, to a significant degree, of American political culture across time” (Korzi, 2004, p. 21). Accordingly, this section reviews the body of research that studied the inaugurals anchored in their political culture.

In 1937, John McDiarmid studied the inaugurals and described them, in a metonymic fashion, as the “official vocabulary” (as cited in (Beck, 2004, p. 9)). According to this view, the inaugurals’ official lexicon rehearses the shared themes of the whole nation. This view is in line with T. A. Van Dijk (2002, p. 203), who affirmed that “a study of political discourse is theoretically and empirically relevant only when discourse structures can be related to properties of political structures and processes”.

2.3.2.1. Major features of the American Political Culture

Like any other country, the U.S. has its own political culture that consists of the shared values, norms, beliefs, and sentiments that define the relationships between the people and their government and the people to one another. From the perspective of the politics of a group, political culture defines political power and determines how it should be distributed and

exercised (Swedlow, 2013, p. 624). Thus, it is essential to review the American political culture to understand the conceptual metaphors and how they are related to political culture.

The roots of the American political culture can be traced back to the colonial period. The “unconstrained diversity of the American past” has resulted in a diverse culture or, more accurately, different political cultures. (Ellis, 1993, p. 7). This multiplicity started with the early settlers and their diverse historical and cultural backgrounds. They can be categorized into three groups. First, the settlers around New England, influenced by their puritanism, emphasized civic virtues and promoted community as a lifestyle. This first group stood for the egalitarian values (Ellis, 1993) and the moralistic political culture (Elazar, 1994). The second group of settlers is located in the Mid-Atlantic region. They are committed to a constitutional government that promotes the interests of each individual and secures the coexistence of diverse cultures. According to Ellis (1993), these settlers stood for a culture of individualism and promoted an individualistic political culture (Elazar, 1994). The third and last source of the American political culture originates in the American South. The early settlers of this part of America put high prominence on family values and social order. Their political culture is described as “traditionalistic” by (Elazar, 1994) and it stands for hierarchy (Ellis, 1993).

In addition to these types of culture, American political thought was partly shaped by European political thoughts. For example, Locke’s *Treatise on government* has been very influential in both the Constitution’s original principles and the amendments. Two of his ideas, liberty, and equality, have long-term implications on the American political culture.

Core principles, such as liberty, equality, and democracy, were inscribed in the foundational documents, including the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. They have influenced the culture as well as the culture and the institutions of the

American democratic system. Among the memorable quotes that established the core values of the American political culture are “Men are created equal”, “unalienable rights [to] life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”, and “deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed”. Furthermore, the Constitution stands for a political system built on core principles such as separation of powers, republicanism, checks and balances, federalism, and bicameralism. These principles share the same purpose of preventing tyranny or any form of monopolizing power in one government branch. The American version of liberalism is distinguished by its inherent distrust of power and, more specifically, its caution of a strong government. At the social level, individuals’ rights and equality have shaped the spirit of equal opportunities and the possibility of social and economic upward mobility.

These same principles are endowed with a high degree of applicability that turns them into worldwide universals. “When, we Americans, speak seriously about politics, we mean that our principles of freedom and equality and the rights based on them are rational and everywhere applicable” (Bloom, 1987, p. 153). This mindset explains why Americans think they are exceptional and why their country has a unique self-image. As a student of American political culture and institutions, Alexis de Tocqueville was among the first to recognize the exceptional nature of American political thought. American exceptionalism consists of the concept that the U.S. is “an exceptional nation founded on a universal principle, on what Lincoln called “an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times” (Kristol & Brooks, 1997, p. 3).

2.3.3. Intellectual history

The inaugurals, like other texts, reflect their epochal mindset, and the presidents, the textual heroes, serve as the voices of their generations. Presidents’ words are likely to be consistent with the dominant patterns of their periods as in critical theory, culture, philosophy,

and ethics. The inaugurals are representations of reality that are usually affected by the then-dominant patterns of thought. Dobuzinskis (1992, p. 368) affirmed that political reality is “constructed and regenerated in the very process of its being analyzed and argued about”. This view applies to the current thesis in which metaphor-related prepositions can be studied against the main thought paradigms, namely modernism, postmodernism, and post-postmodernism. The current section will use these heuristic labels throughout this review, which will focus on their key features and the aspects related to language and political discourse.

These trends took a very long time to develop in terms of their historical timeline. Modernism will be used in its sense of modernity, which describes the intellectual movement whose ideas are related to the Enlightenment and Neoclassical thoughts. Modernism covers the main intellectual values and viewpoints in Western thought from the 17th to the 19th centuries. Postmodernism will be used in the sense of postmodernity that describes the 20th-century reactions against modernist assumptions. These reactions augmented after the Second World War and reflected the prevailing pessimism and disillusionment caused by the war. In politics, the postmodernist turn took shape during the 1960s, when social movements were active in Europe and the U.S. The postmodernist impact on culture and humanities started to be questioned during the 1990s, and voices calling for the end of the postmodern era made many scholars suggest names for the new paradigm. Various descriptors have been suggested to describe the post-postmodernist era, such as hypermodernity, introduced by the French social theorist Gilles Lipovetsky or digimodernism, suggested by A. Kirby (2006), or metamodernism, devised by Vermeulen & Van den Akker (2010).

In more detail, modernism emerged in a period marked by the expansion of industrialism, the growth of a market-oriented capitalist economy, and the spread of liberal democracy. It was a

reaction against the intellectual, political, and social system related to religious dogmatism. As an alternative, a humanistic approach, inspired by the principles of the Enlightenment, stressed the following assumptions:

- The rational human self. This self is also conscious, autonomous, coherent, stable, knowable, and universal.
- Objective, universal, and eternal truth. The rational human self acquires knowledge through reason or rationality. This knowledge is considered science, and it, therefore, represents truth.
- Knowledge discovered by reason must be applied to human institutions and practices to produce scientific knowledge. These applications also cover social fields because the rational human self will always follow the laws of reason.
- The rational human self always produces knowledge that leads to moral, social, and ethical progress and perfection.
- What is true is also right, good, legal, ethical, and beautiful. There is no conflict between these concepts because they are based on reason.
- The rational human self always uses rational language to generate and disseminate knowledge. The rational language is transparent, objective, and precise.

In political thought, rationality and rationalization are usually related to the concept of order. Thus, disorder, or chaos, is usually disdained, while order is praised through rational arguments. Although modernity emphasized reason as the source of knowledge, the locus of truth, the producer of social and political order, and the creator of progress and justice, the

realities on the ground were completely different, and severe misapplications and contradictions marked the modernist era.

When applied to metaphor studies, modernity had an impact on the choice of metaphors, as Dobuzinskis (1992) put it. The modernist model or the “cybernetic model” will be compared with the postmodernist model in the section that follows the review of postmodernism.

Postmodernism is often described as a “catchphrase for a multiplicity of contradictory tendencies” (Vermeulen & Van den Akker, 2010, p. 4). In the literature, this term refers to the philosophies that came into existence in the post-World War II period and in the middle of the Cold War. Postmodernism arose from a skeptical school of thought (E. Thompson, 2003, p. 195). It began with the growing skepticism of modernity expressed by Jean-François Lyotard, Jacques Derrida, Martin Heidegger, Richard Rorty, and Michel Foucault. These scholars agreed that the Enlightenment's modernist tradition was in crisis due to the disappointing effects of wars and dictatorships. Although Jurgen Habermas declared that the modernist project had not yet been completed, his postmodernist adversaries argued that instead of leading to progress and perfection, modernity had produced exploitation, alienation, and totalitarianism. In his seminal work in 1979, Lyotard declared the end of modernity and the birth of postmodernism, which he defined as “incredulity toward metanarratives” (Lyotard, 1984, p. xxiv). In this light, postmodernists consider modernity a set of metanarratives or coherent theories that seek to legitimize social and political order by appealing to universal, objective, and eternal knowledge. They advocate diversity and plurality of human experience that require micronarratives or localized and, at the same time, modest narratives and not an all-encompassing metanarrative.

In general, postmodernism expressed its dissatisfaction with modernity and criticized the three main assumptions of modernity, namely metanarratives, representational knowledge, and

communality. The first assumption is about the comprehensive account of the world based on the universalist claims of the Enlightenment. It is also called a grand narrative and master narrative and includes universal reason, religious doctrines, Marxism, liberal democracy, positivism, or any theory or institution based on universal truths and values. According to Lyotard (1984), this broad and inclusive scheme is incompatible with a wide diversity of cultural trends. The modernist metanarratives were not only unrealistic but also “inherently totalitarian and symbolically terroristic” (Beyer & Liston, 1992, p. 374). These metanarratives “traditionally have authorized the dominant institutions of modern Western culture” (B. C. Taylor, 2005, p. 117). On the ground, the growth of nation-states with their unequal military forces and power imbalances has resulted in imperialist policies and their outcomes, such as colonization, ever-increasing poverty, and ruthless practices of exclusion and control. All these miserable and cruel conditions could not be legitimized by the modernist reason, which has gradually led to the demise of modernity itself.

With the advances in mass communication, modes of transportation, and modern technologies, small narratives started to emerge and gain ground. New narratives were needed to cater to secular modes of thinking, individualistic ways of life, cultural diversity, and ethnic minorities. In addition, these new narratives were not totalitarian, and they were not imposing any single vision on human thought or any single course of history. Instead, they reflect and represent “local, situated, and temporary experience ... produced by marginalized cultural members and challenge hegemonic values” (B. C. Taylor, 2005, p. 118). By rejecting absolute truths and universal values, postmodernism suggested that truths and values are socially constructed, and that multiculturalism is and should be the default state of any society. It is not

surprising that most social movements, which challenged the values of modern culture, have based their arguments and their rhetorical power on postmodernist views and methods.

Along with the metanarratives, reason was also rejected as being unable to claim universal truths. Accordingly, reason “can only provide partial, locally determinate, isolated claims” (Beyer & Liston, 1992, p. 374). Judged by its outcomes, reason turned into its opposite, and the progress it promised turned into irrational wars and misery. The postmodernist epoch witnessed the transition from the dominance of single-minded and universal Enlightenment reason to social constructivism by which truth is a social construct.

In addition to rejecting metanarratives, postmodernism also rejected the claim that sciences can represent an objective natural and cultural reality. Accordingly, theories of knowledge are nothing more than metanarratives. In postmodernism, language came under severe scrutiny by post-structuralists such as Lévi-Strauss, Foucault, Althusser, Lacan, Derrida, Kristeva, Deleuze and Baudrillard (Posner, 2011, p. 17). In this light, language is not as transparent, and signifiers (sound-image) do not point to any signified (concept) in the extralinguistic world. Instead, language is seen as “a system of signification where the only reality it has is its relation to other signifieds and signifiers” (Beyer & Liston, 1992, p. 377). Thus, there are only signifiers without any signifieds. There is no signified beyond language, which means that language is a self-referential system in which a signifier has no relationship with any actual referent in reality. According to Jean Baudrillard’s notion of simulacra, this poststructuralist view coincides with the postmodernist view that originality and authenticity are no longer possible. The latter advocates that reality is gradually replaced by hyperreality or a reality affected by the media-created virtuality.

By rejecting the naïve realism that considers reality objective and directly given, postmodernism adopts a textualist approach by which meaning resides in the text and not elsewhere. “Discourse itself became the final source of meaning, and codes were only involved when they too existed in the form of texts”, as Posner (2011, p. 18) put it.

In addition to rejecting metanarratives and systematic knowledge, postmodernism was skeptical of communality. Foucault argued that consensus usually hides marginalization, forcible homogenization, and devaluation. Community building often obscures the efforts of the powerful groups “to assimilate differences among people and to homogenize alternative perceptions, ideas, and feelings in a manner that protects their power and interests” (Beyer & Liston, 1992, p. 380). These powerful groups define themselves along the dichotomy of Self Vs. Other and employ discourse to impose a binary logic by which the Self carries positive connotations while the Other carries negative ones. Under the influence of the principle of identity and the non-contradiction law, Western thought encompasses many dichotomies such as male/female, human/animal, white/black, and similar categories of self-identity against the identity of the Other. From the postmodernist perspectives, these categories have been reinforced by the universalist claims of the modernist metanarratives, especially science and religion. The principle of universal progress, for example, served to classify people and societies along a hierarchical scale ranging from primitive up to civilized. This same logic was used to justify colonization as missions of spreading religion, civilization, and progress. Inside the same society, the same binary logic is behind the in-group/out-group distinction and hierarchy. According to this logic, the in-group usually enforces a pro-community discourse to sustain its interests and perpetuate its existing hegemonic practices. In this way, it neglects and even denies plurality and differences.

In terms of metaphors, each paradigm imposed its principles on the choice of source domains. The modernist model of metaphor is inspired by cybernetics and systems theory. Cybernetics is defined as “the scientific study of control and communication in the animal and the machine” by Wiener (1948). Etymologically, cybernetics comes from the Greek word meaning “governance”, but it has been used to emphasize and praise control. System theory was also an influential experience and outlook for the choice of source domains in the modernist model of metaphor. The system theory aims to extract the common principles and concepts and then apply them to other systems.

The concept of control is central to the modernist model of metaphor. The importance of control lies in its various connotations. One of them is “the notion of guidance or steering for the purpose of achieving intended conditions or reaching a desired goal” (Dobuzinskis, 1992, p. 357). In this regard, prepositions like *to*, *towards*, and *toward* evoke these connotations through their primary senses. This model also praises a policy planner who can deal with the increasing complexities and the frequent instabilities of the situations at hand in a rational and efficient manner. This approach is built on three assumptions. First, the natural and social environment can and must be controlled. Second, the knowledge gained from systems theory and other positivist theories is the only solution. The third and last assumption is that the benefit of the human controller is the only criterion for determining the scope and means of control. In short, the modernist model of metaphor promotes rational thinking and scientific knowledge, and this view complies with the definitional function of metaphor. Lakoff & Johnson (1980, p. 160) argued that metaphors can be enriched with cultural connotations in order “to define what we consider to be true, absolutely and objectively true”.

Despite its rational and scientific foundations, the modernist model of metaphor came under severe criticism from critical theory researchers and market-oriented approaches, especially during the Reagan Period (Dobuzinskis, 1992, p. 360).

The postmodernist approach considers political discourses to be “systems of knowledge and ideology” (Kranert & Horan, 2018, p. 2). With the postmodernist paradigm, liberal democracy is neither permanent nor beyond criticism. Instead, it must be seen as a stage in a cumulative, pluralistic, and developmental history. Table 4 summarizes the main differences between the modernist model and that of that postmodernist.

Table 4

The Differences Between the Modernist and the Postmodernist Models⁷

Modern model	Postmodern model
Linear	Non-linear
Order	Chaos
Equilibrium	Disequilibrium
Control	Spontaneous self-organization
Stability	Chaotic fluctuation
Deterministic universe	Non-deterministic universe
Positivist certainties	Social construction
Corrective feedback	Evolutionary dynamics
Rational planning	Spontaneous adjustments

⁷ Adapted from (Dobuzinskis, 1992, pp. 355–359).

The metaphors of the postmodernist model derive from Chaos theory, according to which political reality can no longer be oversimplified as a natural system (Dobuzinskis, 1992).

Accordingly, control is no longer in the hands of a single omnipresent rational and efficient controller, but it is in various actors' hands. Situations on the ground are no longer ruled by the rigid laws of nature. Instead, they are governed according to an inherent "self-organizing logic", as Dobuzinskis (1992, p. 355) put it.

The post-postmodernist era was waning amidst the wide-reaching digital information, or "the digitization of the text", as A. Kirby (2015, p. 71) described. Various theories emerged in response to the "exhaustion of postmodern strategies" (Eshelman, 2015) since the turn of the 21st century. Various labels were suggested to name these theories, but they all agree that a new theory is needed to replace the postmodernist paradigm. In terms of their names, these post-postmodernist theories were coined with prefixes to modernism, such as *meta-*, *digi-*, *auto-*, *trans-*, *alter-*, *hyper*, *pseudo* and *cosmo-*. Performatism is one of the few theories with a distinct name suggesting a paradigm that departs from modernism. The limited scope of this thesis does not allow for a detailed description of all these theories. However, a concise summary of some of them will be presented with an emphasis on their shared principles.

Digimodernism is the new age descriptor that Allan Kirby suggests. It is defined as "a new form of textuality characterized in its purest instances by onwardness, haphazardness, evanescence, and anonymous, social and multiple authorship" (A. Kirby, 2009, p. 273). A digimodernist text has become discernible from the traditional by its new forms of authoring, reading, listening, and publishing. More specifically, the new text is "made up to a varying degree by the reader or viewer or textual consumer", as A. Kirby (2009, p. 276) put it. In this

respect, both digimodernism and automodernism agree that the individual is the new author. For Samuels (2008, p. 233), “every user also becomes a producer of media”.

In digimodernism, the author has a special status. It combines viewing and using in such a way that the digimodernist author is called a “viewer” (A. Kirby, 2009, p. 293). Besides, the digimodernist text oscillates between the local and the planetary in a spiral turning. The planetary emerges to overcome the local, but it cannot inhabit the planetary. The author, therefore, reintroduces the local to be overcome by the planetary again before returning to square one (A. Kirby, 2015, p. 78).

As a post-postmodernist trend, hypermodernism is influenced by a cult of excess in individualism and consumerism. Lipovetsky & Charles (2005, p. 159) explained the paradigmatic shift “as if we had moved from the ‘post’ era to the ‘hyper’ era”. For example, progress is regulated by constant motion or “hyperchange”, as Lipovetsky & Charles (2005, p. 160) put it. This hyperchange differs from both the scientific and rationalized laws of evolution and the radical and abrupt changes of revolution. In general, hypermodernity is characterized by “[t]he dissolution of the unquestioned bases of knowledge, the primacy of pragmatism and the reign of money, the sense of the equal worth of all opinions and all cultures” (Lipovetsky & Charles, 2005, p. 169). This view is similar to the concept of oscillation upon which metamodernism is built (Vermeulen & Van den Akker, 2010).

Metamodernism is associated with the shift from late capitalism to global capitalism (Vermeulen & Van den Akker, 2015, p. 56). This shift focuses on digital technologies and climate change, financial crises, and terror attacks. Metamodernism recognizes digital technologies' role in this shift, but it does not highlight them as digimodernism does. The other events are what contemporary politicians want to change by preaching hope instead of

exaggerating despair. The yes-we-can-plan of President Obama is a typical example of this discourse. Briefly, metamodernism is a discourse that oscillates between “a typically modern commitment and a markedly postmodern detachment” (Vermeulen & Van den Akker, 2010, p. 1). This oscillation is reinforced by the dynamic character of metamodernism and its metaxis. The latter is described “as being simultaneously here, there, and nowhere” (Vermeulen & Van den Akker, 2010, p. 12). More specifically, notions of space and temporality are central to metamodernism. Vermeulen & Van den Akker (2010, p. 12) maintained that “if the modern suggests a temporal ordering and the postmodern implies a spatial disordering, then the metamodern should be understood as a spacetime that is both neither ordered and disordered”.

In conjunction with metamodernism, Samuels (2008) proposed automodernity or automodernism as a paradigm that can replace postmodernism. Its guiding principle is the paradoxical combination of autonomy and automation. Contrary to the mechanical machines (typically the mechanized assembly line) that trigger alienation, computers contribute to the growth of individual autonomy. Technology is shaping humans in their bodies, attitudes, and behaviors owing to the “transplantation revolution”, as Paul Virilio put it.

These paradigmatic patterns of thought make the broad intellectual framework within which the inaugurals have been written and interpreted. However, they have not affected some stable themes that American presidents kept rehearsing throughout the 228-year period.

2.3.4. Recurrent themes

The main feature of the inaugurals is that they are delivered in a mood that combines continuity with change. “The inaugural must ensure continuity, but must also promise change” (Hinckley, 1990, p. 24). This view was also central to Campbell & Jamieson (1985, p. 406), who affirmed that “the great inaugurals dramatically illustrate the processes of change within a

continuous tradition”. While continuity presupposes shared and permanent political themes, change assumes innovative concepts in response to temporary circumstances. From the perspective of presidents, each new president has to prove his willingness to promote political continuity while he has to set his own tone for the new administration. Campbell & Jamieson (1985) argued that shared values are repeatedly emphasized and rehearsed in order to promote continuity. Rehearing these values is not performed for its own sake, but for a good reason. “The explicit references to such values serve as a means of reaffirming them, thus providing society with a sense of societal coherence and consensus” (Sauer, 1996, p. 247). At the same time, the innovative and personalized tone re-establishes the configurations of the political scene. The new configurations entail more than the investiture of the newly elected president. These configurations include a set of new identities and relationships. Brown (1985, pp. 128-129) argued that the inaugurals “create and define the President’s new identity by defining the identity of the people, their relationship with the President, and their joint purpose”. Metaphor-related prepositions are one of the linguistic tools that enable presidents to create these new configurations thanks to their “reparamétrage” potential (Lapaire, 2017, p. 14).

Another significant aspect of continuity and change is the nature of rhetorical situations in question. In one way, the inaugurals have been delivered in nearly the same “communication situation” (Schaffner, 1997, p. 3) since their inception. Theoretically, they take place within the same ceremonial setting (the inauguration ceremony), delivered by the same public figure (a president), and talking to the same addresses (the people) and, more or less, for the same purpose(s). These recurrent components are more likely to dictate the same rhetoric for the sake of rehearsing timeless values, as Campbell & Jamieson (1985) put it.

Rehearsing common values does not mean that all presidents will neither ignore the hot topics of their time nor underestimate the concerns of their audiences. When new or temporary situations arise, the rhetorical responses vary greatly. In his analysis of commemorative speeches, Sauer (1996, p. 249) concluded that “old and new rhetorical forms and possibilities interact”. In other words, inaugurals blend “relatively stable cognitive frames” and new ones (Martin, 2015, p. 27). These two types of frames are referred to as “the bounds of the accepted discourse” (Entman, 1993, p. 55). Blending may vary over a continuum of interaction, starting from the mere coexistence of these frames to their full integration. In the coexistence phase, the two frames are kept intact, especially the stable ones. They are, at least theoretically, kept unchallenged. However, these two frames can be combined for a good purpose. In general, politicians combine “continuity with provocation, endorsing established ideas while simultaneously advancing new ones” (Martin, 2015, p. 28).

In addition to continuity and change, American presidents, like other politicians in pluralist democracies, are caught between “the passion for distinction” to borrow President Adams’ words and “the necessity of agreement and compromise” (Ballacci, 2018, p. 171). These constraints may explain the dependence of political speeches on persuasion, which serves to disclose the politician’s “individual personality in the *agon* of the public sphere”, as Ballacci (2018, p. 172) explained. In addition to these constraints, epideictic discourse tends to emphasize consensus and shared values. Meyer (2010, p. 415) argues that these values are usually “inserted within consensual rhetorical discourse”. However, Campbell & Jamieson (1985) argued that the inaugurals vary, even if these variations are predictable. According to these same scholars, the factors that lead to variations include “the political philosophy” of the party, the new addresses of the incumbent presidents, which “tend to be extensions, not replications, of earlier inaugurals”

(Campbell & Jamieson, 1985, p. 407) and the effect of exceptional circumstances surrounding the inaugurals such as wartime events.

As the inaugurals are one of the discourse events that necessitate consensus and replication of common themes, they tend to share these five characteristics; (1) “Reconstituting the People”; (2) “Rehearsing traditional values”; (3) “Enunciating political principles”; (4) “Enacting the presidency”; and (5) “Fulfilling Epideictic Requirements” (Campbell & Jamieson, 1985). According to this view, the inaugurals maintain a well-established tradition because “presidents recognize, capitalize on, and are constrained by the inaugurals of their predecessors” (Campbell & Jamieson, 1985, p. 406). The epideictic and investiture aspects of the inaugurals affect not only their rituals but also their themes. These rituals and recurrent themes imply strong tendencies towards long-term trends with an underlying continuity. In the same vein, Ericson (1997) conducted a content analysis of 52 inaugural addresses to identify the common features of the American political culture. He assertively concluded that “the same general themes are voiced again and again; the same verbal formulas are repeated over and over” (Ericson, 1997, p. 728). These themes are summarized in Figure 3.

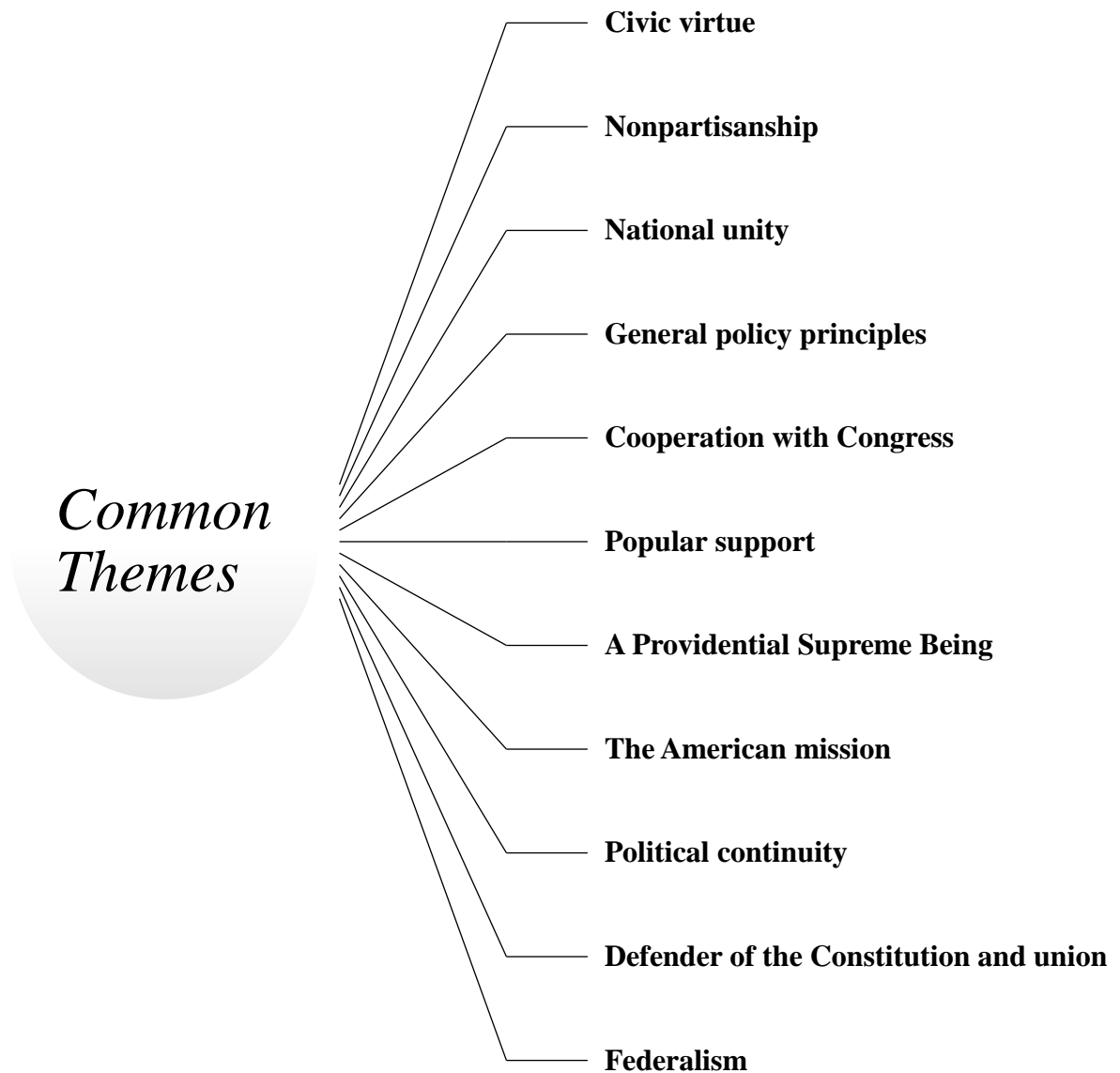


Figure 3. The 11 common themes in the inaugurals⁸

These themes are shared and invoked because they are part of the American political culture. According to this view, an inaugural address can be defined as a discursive practice

⁸ Adapted from (Ericson, 1997, pp. 728–729).

whose mission is to maintain the American ideals, defend the Constitution, the union, and federalism at home, and lead by example abroad. Within this discursive practice, presidents remind the broad public that this mission cannot succeed without two conditions. First, virtuous, nonpartisan, and unified citizens, and the second condition is the assistance of Congress, God, and the people.

These recurring themes do not exclude the impact of diachrony. During the 19th century, presidents used to ask Congress, the people, and God to bless and support their efforts. These appeals stem from the tradition of “presidential humility” (Ericson, 1997). However, with the rise of the rhetorical presidency beginning with President Wilson, this political culture experienced a radical transformation. Presidents began to bypass Congress to court the people in the new culture. Their political career became less and less reliant on Congress and more and more on popular support.

In a quantitative analysis of 57 inaugurals, Kubát & Cech (2016) found out that the inaugurals “comply with officially declared principles of USA” and that the most frequent thematic words are related to “the state and its citizens” (Kubát & Cech, 2016, p. 23). Along similar lines, Liu (2012) examined the inaugurals as a genre, and he suggested that a typical inaugural address has eight essential components based on their communication purposes. Figure 4 summarizes these components.



Figure 4. The generic structure of an inaugural address⁹

When combined, the findings of Liu (2012) and Ericson (1997) are complementary. For example, themes of civic virtue, anti-partisanship, and national unity can fit into the fifth

⁹ Adapted from (Liu, 2012, pp. 2409–2411).

component. Similarly, appeals to a providential Supreme Being correspond to the eighth and the last component of the inaugural address.

In addition to its features and purposes, the inaugurals, as a genre, have their distinctive properties. In some ways, they can be classified as epideictic and deliberative to use Aristotle's words. Therefore, they are occasional and ceremonial, and they are a part of "a rite of investiture" (Campbell & Jamieson, 1985, p. 349). Their deliberative nature stems from how presidents understand the current issues and the variety of persuasive strategies they employ in their addresses. The deliberative nature is reinforced by the fact that the inaugurals are addressed not only to the nation but also to the entire world. The target public includes various audiences ranging from Congress, the media, and the general public (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2010, p. 2). Presidents are aware that their addresses are broadcast alive, disseminated through different media, and watched by millions of viewers worldwide.

2.3.5. The evolution trends of the inaugurals

In his computer-assisted content analysis of the transformations in presidential rhetoric, Lim (2002, p. 346) identified five trends in the modern presidential rhetoric. According to these trends, the inaugurals have become (1) "anti-intellectual; (2) more abstract; (3) more assertive; (4) more democratic, and (5) more conversational". As for the first trend, late 20th-century presidents tend to avoid "references to cognitive and evaluative processes and states" (Lim, 2002, p. 333). In terms of word choices, they started to use "colloquial" words more than "formal" ones. To demonstrate the shift towards an anti-intellectual style, Lim (2002, p. 334) compared two descriptions of the concept of liberty. For President Harrison, liberty is "the sovereign balm for every injury which our institutions may receive", while for President Bush, it is "like a beautiful kite that can go higher and higher with the breeze". In general, the anti-

intellectual rhetoric is characterized by its “reverence of the opinion, judgment, and rhetoric of the common man” (Lim, 2002, p. 333).

In conjunction with its anti-intellectual trend, modern presidential rhetoric grew more abstract. Three main types of abstract concepts have been widely used, namely “religious, poetic and idealistic”. The presence of these “lofty” concepts in anti-intellectual rhetoric is considered “awkward” by Lim (2002). The overall effect is rhetoric with vacuous ideas that require “pontification without explanation” (Lim, 2002, p. 334). Indeed, this type of rhetoric that relies heavily on such high principles and concepts is often called the “rhetoric of assent” (Booth, 1974). Consider, for example, President Bush’s words: “America has never been united by blood or birth or soil. We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests and teach us what it means to be citizens” (G. W. Bush, 2001). These inflated terms and their vacuous meanings render the President’s words “utterly unassailable” (Lim, 2002, p. 335), and, ultimately, induce the audience to manifest their assent.

As for the assertive tone of the modern presidential rhetoric, Lim (2002, p. 337) observed that it has become “activist, realist and confident”. The rhetorical assertiveness is exemplified through words related to “active orientation”, “strength”, “power”, “influence”, “commencement”, “renewal”, “reform”, and “hope”. At the same time, Lim (2002, p. 337) observed a steady decline in references to “passivity”, “submission”, “uncertainty”, “vagueness”, “providence”, and “fate”.

The rhetoric of modern presidents promotes democratic ideals. It is more “people-oriented” according to which presidents are portrayed as “protectors and defenders of the people” (Lim, 2002, p. 339). These presidents started to refer more to the people, previous presidents, themselves, and less to other government branches and even the Constitution. Words

that refer to concepts such as “leader”, “people”, and “democracy” have become more frequent. In addition to democracy-related concepts, the modern presidential rhetoric has become more “compassionate, inclusive and emotive” (Lim, 2002, p. 341). This democratic trend, as well as its emotive appeals, stem from the fact that politicians cannot rule successfully without constant and effective persuasion. According to Kane & Patapan (2010, p. 371), democratic rhetoric aims to “convey and persuade, not command and overawe”. Consequently, the relationship between presidents and the public has changed from “authority to comradeship” (Lim, 2002, p. 341). Modern presidents have become more concerned about the less fortunate sections of society. In consequence, references to “poverty” and “help” have increased drastically.

The fifth and last trend in the presidential rhetoric is towards the “conversational” communication style by which presidents aim to convince the audience of their “trustworthiness” (Lim, 2002, p. 346). The Ethos appeal, in Aristotle’s words, is supported by the increasing use of self-references and anecdotes in conversational communication to win the trust of the audience.

These five trends do not hide the fact that presidents have adjusted their rhetorical strategies with the mindsets of their times. As rhetoric is often considered as “crafted talk” and therefore feared by the public, politicians “are forced to avoid fine oratory in favor of a rhetorical style that sounds un-rhetorical, seeming to be plain factually-informative speech” (Kane & Patapan, 2010, p. 371). Preposition-based metaphors, which can be considered “covertly persuasive metaphors” (Trim, 2011, p. 176), fit into this un-rhetorical rhetoric. The next section is devoted to the literature of English prepositions, including their metaphorical usages.

2.4. Prepositions

As this thesis examines the metaphorical usages of prepositions, this section reviews a relevant body of knowledge about prepositions, especially the literature related to the cognitive

aspects of prepositions. Within this framework, “grammar is not only an integral part of cognition but also a key to understanding it”, as Langacker (2008a, p. 4) put it. This section examines prepositions from a variety of perspectives, ranging from syntactic to cognitive and pragmatic, and it is, therefore, divided into six parts to account for each perspective. The first part examines the various definitions of a preposition to identify their common features. Langacker’s theory, Cognitive Grammar, will be reviewed in the second part of this section. Another relevant theory is the image schemas which will be revisited in the third part. The fourth part deals with the various cognitive operations in which prepositions are involved. Context is central to these cognitive operations. Thus, the context approach will be reviewed in the fifth part. The sixth and final part focuses on the evaluative function of prepositions and reviews axiology-related topics.

2.4.1. Defining prepositions

This section reviews the various definitions of a preposition starting from dictionary entries, grammar textbooks, and other theories.

The following definitions were drawn from five online dictionaries. The words in italics are emphasized to show a distinctive feature of a preposition. The definitions are as follows:

“A word or phrase placed typically before a substantive and indicating the *relation* of that substantive to a verb, an adjective, or another substantive” (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2019).

“A word that comes before a noun, pronoun, or the ‘-ing’ form of a verb, and shows its *relation* to another part of the sentence” (Macmillan Dictionary Online, 2019).

“A word that is used before a noun, a noun phrase, or a pronoun, *connecting* it to another word” (Cambridge Dictionary Online, 2019).

“A function word that typically *combines* with a noun phrase to form a phrase which usually expresses a modification or predication” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online, 2019).

“A word governing, and usually preceding, a noun or pronoun and expressing a *relation* to another word or element in the clause” (Oxford Dictionaries Online, 2019).

The main point to note is that the term "before" appears in all of the definitions listed above. This term recalls the etymological origin of the word preposition in the Latin term *praeponere*, by which *prae* means “before” and *ponere* means “to place” (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2019). Much more important than the etymology of the word *preposition*, these definitions emphasize the relational character of a preposition. This character is expressed explicitly by the term “relation” or by verbs such as “combine” and “connect”. The relational character of a preposition is also supported by Cognitive Grammar, the theoretical framework within which this thesis is situated.

It is necessary to note that the relational character of prepositions is not exclusive to Cognitive Grammar. Even the so-called traditional approaches to prepositions were aware of the relational function. For example, the Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English, a classical grammar reference, defines a preposition as “mortar which binds [the main building blocks of] texts together” (D. Biber et al., 1999, p. 55). The relational character of prepositions is also supported by other grammar references. Quirk et al. (1985, p. 657) wrote that “a preposition expresses a relation between two entities, one being that represented by the prepositional complement, the other by another part of the sentence”. This quote is not so frequent in the literature on prepositions because it appears in the chapter’s introduction rather than in the section entitled *definition*, in which the authors define the “central preposition” by what is not.

Moreover, the authors acknowledge that “it is difficult to describe prepositional meanings systematically in terms of such labels” (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 673).

The meaning of a preposition is difficult to determine because it is not clear whether a preposition has its own independent meaning, or its meaning is dependent on its collocations, or it is a combination of both. As for the first option, a preposition has a primary meaning with a network of related meanings. The second view assumes that prepositions generate meanings through their semantic relations and that these meanings can be disambiguated and predicted through computational tools (Srikumar & Roth, 2013). The third view reconciles the different approaches to the semantics of prepositions and combines them in a coherent theory, known as “the principled polysemy model” (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 228). This model aims to examine “the nature of semantic polysemy networks” (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 237). Its main tenets can be summarized as follows:

First, each preposition has a primary sense and evokes a proto-scene which “refers to what is represented in the human conceptual system” (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 230). This scene takes advantage of both the geometry and functions of prepositions. Tyler & Evans (2003) affirmed that the semantic representation of prepositions involves both geometric and functional components. This view is in line with Garrod et al. (1999, p. 167), who argued that prepositional relationships are “best represented in terms of an inherently dynamic functional geometry”. Similarly, Langacker (2010b, p. 2) argued that “the meaning of a preposition cannot be captured by a single semantic specification pertaining to either function or configuration”. Instead, the “spatial and interactive considerations are closely bound up with one another, even to the point being indissociable” (Langacker, 2010b, p. 14). The current thesis adopts this combination and applies it to the metaphorical usages of prepositions.

Second, this proto-scene is not entirely objective. Instead, it does not describe the physical scene in a neutral and objective manner. The selection of one preposition over another indicates that we have chosen to conceive a scene from a specific perspective. As a result, the scene's meaning varies according to the various dimensions of construal, as elaborated by Langacker's theory.

Third, some of the metaphorical relationships established by prepositions are motivated by “experiential correlation” and “conceptual binding”, as advocated by J. E. Grady (1997). Consequently, a recurrent association between two experiences gives rise to a conventional correlation between them, which, in turn, gives rise to a conceptual metaphor. In other words, primary scenes give rise to primary metaphors (J. E. Grady, 1997, p. 26). This correlation has a long-term effect on the meaning of concrete concepts and prepositions. In general, the association between the source domain and the target domain in conventional metaphors becomes more entrenched, and the semantic incongruity between the two concepts becomes less noticeable. In this way, a concept ends up by adding a metaphorical meaning to its original literal meaning. “At this point in its evolution, the base term is polysemous, having both a domain-specific meaning and a related domain-general meaning” (Gentner et al., 2001).

The fourth and the last tenet of “the principled polysemy model” (Tyler & Evans, 2003) deals with inferencing. In addition to their content, these scenes are filled with inferencing components. The “inferencing strategies” (Tyler & Evans, 2003) are necessary for encoding, transferring, and decoding messages during the communication process. Prepositions can be used to create an infinite number of spatial and non-spatial relationships. Nonetheless, we choose certain relationships according to at least three inferencing strategies. They include “best fit”, “knowledge of real-world force dynamics”, and “topological extension”. As for the first strategy,

we tend to choose the preposition that provides “the best fit between the conceptual spatial relation and the speaker’s communicative needs” (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 57). This strategy is based on Sperber and Wilson's relevance theory, which holds that in order to understand a communicator's meaning, a message must be encoded with "optimal relevance" (D. Wilson & Sperber, 2017, p. 2) and that “human cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance” (Sperber & Wilson, 1996, p. 260). The second strategy is about the real-world knowledge that we activate either in producing or understanding prepositional relationships. The third and the last strategy accounts for the extensible nature of the prepositional relationships. Thanks to this extensibility, these relationships can cover abstract realms without violating their geometric attributes and functions. This view is in line with the concept of “dynamic patterns” of image schemas, as advocated by Johnson (1987) and with Talmy’s conclusion that there is “a cognitive bias toward dynamism” (Talmy, 2000a, p. 171).

This thesis adopts the methodology and framework proposed by Tyler & Evans (2003), which not only endorses the relational character of prepositions but also emphasizes the interpretative potential of the relationship. Furthermore, their approach does not consider metaphorical uses as deviant, but rather as “new senses” which “derive from the conventionalization of implicatures through routinization and the entrenchment of usage patterns” (Tyler & Evans, 2003, p. 60). Since the current thesis assumes that prepositions have metaphorical senses, it will not discuss whether or not these senses are novel. Additionally, the relational character of prepositions will be emphasized following the approach of Merle (2011, p. 10). This approach defines prepositions by their “diastematic function”, by which a preposition occupies an interval that separates between two entities. In that interval, the preposition relates the entities’ meanings. In this way, the two entities are juxtaposed with their meanings are kept

separate, but they engage in a relationship via a preposition. This relationship involves a stage of juxtaposition in which the meanings of the two entities are distinct and separate because they belong to two different semantic fields. The juxtaposition creates a semantic diastema, which calls for gap filling tools. When the relationship is metaphorical, the semantic gap between the two entities grows wider, and their incompatibility becomes more apparent. In the second stage, a preposition imposes its image-schematic structure on both the propositional entities in a way that enhances their compatibility. For example, two entities, connected by the preposition *in*, tend to acquire new attributes of containment from the image schema of *in*. The emergent blend combines some of the original propositional features of the two entities and some of the abstract image-schematic structures of the preposition. In this way, the overall meaning is complex, revealing the interdependence of the two entities and the preposition (Merle, 2008, p. 54). From the perspective of CIT, it “involves coordinating various conceptual domains in a blend, a hybrid model that consists of structure from multiple conceptual domains” (Gibbs, 2008, p. 181). The emergent structure or the conceptual metaphor that underlies the metaphor-related preposition constructions is understood within a framework combining mental space theory (discussed in Section 2.1.2.) and Cognitive Grammar. Langacker (2010a, p. 6) argued that “grammar and lexicon are not two discrete types of meaning, but rather the extreme ends of a spectrum of meaning” and that prepositions “carry both lexical and grammatical semantic freight”. The next section reviews the main tenets of Cognitive Grammar and, in particular, its approach to prepositions and their fictive meanings.

2.4.2. Prepositions and Cognitive Grammar

Cognitive Grammar is based on the centrality of meaning. Accordingly, we make sense of what we experience in our day-to-day life while we express our understanding via language.

In other words, meaning “resides in conceptualizing activity, whereby we engage the world at many levels: physical, mental, social, cultural, emotional, and imaginative” (Langacker, 2008b, p. 10) and, at the same time, all linguistic tools are “driven by the need to express meaning” (Langacker, 2010a, p. 6).

Grammatical categories are semantically characterized via prototype and image schema. At the prototype level, nouns are characterized by physical objects and schematically as entities endowed with “conceptual grouping and reification” (Langacker, 2010b, p. 4). Prepositions, adverbs, and verbs are characterized by “an agent-patient interaction” as a prototype and as “primary and secondary focal elements in a relationship” as a schema (Langacker, 2010b, p. 4). Schematization can reach a higher level via metaphor and its conceptual mapping. The latter consists of projecting the image-schematic structure of the source domain onto the target domain.

Going back to the basics, human experience manifests itself in two realms; the active and the circumstantial. In the first realm, (human) participants act on the world and affect the circumstances in the present and the future. The second realm “is that of settings, locations, and static situations, where objects with stable properties are arranged in particular ways” (Langacker, 2010b, p. 8) and, in one way or another, constrains the potential of (human) action. Prepositions are the grammatical categories that “canonically used for describing stable situations in the circumstantial realm” (Langacker, 2010b). However, prepositions characterize not only the spatial relationships in the circumstantial realm but also the (human) actions and their effects on this realm.

In their schematic relationships, these two realms are not equal in status. This disparity explains why a trajector is the primary focal element while a landmark is the secondary focal element. In terms of trajectors and landmarks, “each spatial preposition specifies a region in

space, characterized in relation to the landmark object, within which the trajector can be found” (Langacker, 2010b, p. 12). The following example will be used to explain the principles of Cognitive Grammar in the remaining parts of this section.

(5). Jill is *in* the garage.

The preposition *in* specifies the relationship between an active realm, represented by an active agent Jill, and a circumstantial realm represented by a location, the garage. *In* describes the stable situation of Jill in the circumstantial realm. From a schematic perspective, Jill and the garage, are referred to as a trajector and a landmark, respectively. The trajector landmark alignment is inherently asymmetric in which the trajector is the primary focal point while the landmark is secondary. Landmarks are usually locational as their function is to specify the location of trajectors. Though Jill does not exert any sort of action, change or force on the garage, he is still conceived as an active agent and a representative of the “active realm”. Jill’s status illustrates an “extreme case of attenuation” in which Jill passively occupies the location, and his movement is in a “degenerate” status. Vandeloise (2017b) explained the status of attenuation and its implications using “the principle of anticipation,” which states that the prospective location of the trajector can be predicted even when it is in a static location. Trajectors are attenuated and temporarily inactive, but their next move and thus location can be predicted using Vandeloise's principle.

In cases where an agent performs an action, it is expressed by “intransitive clauses containing a movement verb and a complement describing the path of motion” (Langacker, 2010b, p. 11). This complement is usually a preposition, as illustrated by the following sentence:

(6). Jill walked *along* the river.

Back to Jill's static location in the garage, it is worth noting how and why we specify Jill's location. The answer lies in the function of the landmark. It is "invoked, not as a location in and of itself, but rather as a point of reference for defining one" (Langacker, 2010b, p. 12). More precisely, it is the preposition that defines the location relative to the landmark.

(7). Jill is *in* the garage.

(8). Jill is *on* the garage.

(9). Jill is *near* the garage.

The following three examples share the same landmark, *the garage*, but different prepositions specify different locations in relation to the garage: the interior in (7), the surface in (8), and the neighborhood in (9).

In general, a preposition not only defines the area in the landmark but also uses the landmark to locate the trajector. The landmark is turned into a "reference point" within which the trajector can be located and then found. Using different terms related to the concepts of searching and finding, a trajector is seen as a "target of search", a landmark as a "reference point", and a preposition as an indicator of a "search domain". In Vandeloise's words, a landmark functions as "a reference point localizing the target" (Vandeloise, 2017, p. 3). These concepts refer to a mental map by which a "conceptualizer traces the same mental path (from a reference point to search domain to target) by way of apprehending the locative relationship" (Langacker, 2010b, p. 12). While reading (7), you are likely to process two mental operations; First, to find Jill (target), you need to find the garage (reference point) and then to look for Jill inside the garage (search domain). Second, to understand Jill's current position, you mentally scan along the path that Jill had followed until he got into the garage and occupied a location in it.

To use Langacker’s terms, the meaning of a preposition involves “both conceptual content and the construal imposed on that content” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 44). In other words, prepositions are studied not only in terms of the content they evoke but also, and more importantly, in the way their content is construed. Langacker (2008a, p. 43) defined construal as “our manifest ability to conceive and portray the same situation in alternate ways”. This thesis assumes that a president’s construal determines his choice of prepositions, metaphorical usages, and conceptual basis. Construal can be classified into four classes, as shown in Figure 5.

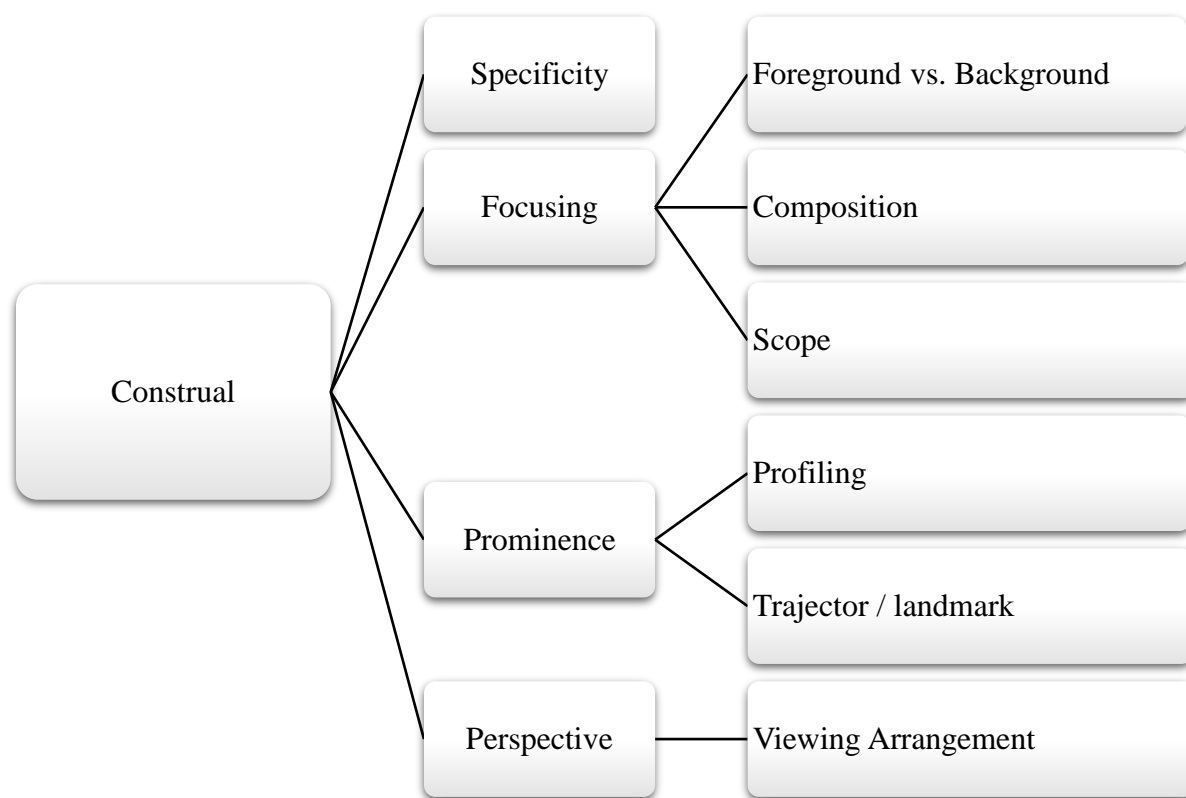


Figure 5. The four classes of construal¹⁰

¹⁰ Adapted from Langacker (2008a, pp. 55–89).

The first type of construal is specificity, which refers to how much precision and detail we bring into our characterization of a situation. The second class of construal deals with focusing. It is about choosing certain aspects of the situation so that they become central while the remaining aspects become peripheral. Focusing can take three forms, namely foreground vs. background, composition, and scope. The first form involves previous knowledge “taken for granted as pre-established” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 58). This background acts as the basis for understanding the foregrounded target. In general, the concepts of foreground and background are helpful to understand the ideological import of metaphor. Langacker (2008a, p. 58) affirmed that “the source domain provides a conceptual background in terms of which the target domain is viewed and understood”. In the Conceptual Blending theory, “the source and target domains jointly constitute the background from which the blended conception emerges” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 58). In the manifestations of preposition-based metaphors, it is interesting to examine which features of the source domain are activated. In *Jill is in poverty*, the background knowledge involves multiple domains such as the concept of physical space, the configuration of being in a bounded location as opposed to being out of it, and the experience of poverty. In addition to the matrix of background, these concepts are likely to vary across historical contexts, as in this thesis. This variation depends on the “current discourse space” in which “a mental space comprising everything presumed to be shared by the speaker and hearer as the basis for discourse at a given moment” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 59). The second form of focusing, composition, describes the inherent meanings of individual components of “composite symbolic structure” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 60). For example, *Jill is in poverty* is a composite structure compared to *Jill is poor*. The former has the preposition *in* as an extra component. *In* relates Jill with poverty and affects both entities whereas *poor* is unanalyzable and directly invokes a

financial situation. The third and last form of focusing is about the scope, or the “general region of viewing attention” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 63). A linguistic expression evokes a domain, and the scope is the selected component of that domain.

The third class of construal is prominence. It also means salience and refers to a special focus on a particular substructure within the immediate scope. It is “the referent within the content evoked” (Langacker, 2008a). A profile can be either a thing or a relationship, but the trajector/landmark alignment profiles a relationship properly. These two “relational referents” acquire different degrees of prominence. The trajector, defined as “the entity construed as being located, evaluated, or described”, gets the “primary focus” while the landmark gets the “secondary focus” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 70). The fourth and last form of construal is perspective or “the vantage point we assume” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 76). It is defined as a “viewing arrangement”, and it is usually taken for granted (Langacker, 2008a, p. 73). The same notion was introduced by Talmy (2000b, p. 217). It is usually invisible, yet it “supports an expression’s meaning and shapes its form” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 74) and in Talmy’s words, “the point within a scene at which one conceptually places one’s “mental eyes” to look out over the rest of the scene (Talmy, 2000b, p. 217)”. The concept of perspective is also supported by the findings of neurocognitive theories, especially “frames of reference”. They are defined as “coordinate systems used to compute and specify the location of objects with respect to other objects” (Majid et al., 2004, p. 108).

Within the same framework of Cognitive Grammar, prepositions are primarily understood via their function of “qualification by means of relations” (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 157). By relating one entity to another, prepositions qualify both entities through two types of relations: intrinsic and schematic. The intrinsic relations “involve a whole and a part and are

expressed by means of the preposition *of*” (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 158). They are often referred to as *of*- constructions or *of*-genitive. The schematic relations are encoded by prepositions other than *of*.

In the intrinsic relations, the “integrative function” (Lindstromberg, 2010, pp. 205–208) of the preposition *of* emphasizes that one part is an integral part of a whole. Langacker (2008a, p. 345) affirmed that “the trajector is an intrinsic subpart of the landmark”. In this case, the trajector is understood as a unit of a mass. The existence of this unit is realized through “the unitization of a mass” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 342) by which a specific unit is selected.

As for the schematic relations, the meaning of a preposition is related to a specific image schema. It structures the semantic content of the two entities linked by that preposition. The forthcoming section will review the relationship between prepositions and image schemas in more detail.

2.4.3. Prepositions and image schemas

This section is about prepositions as the linguistic clues that explicitly evoke image schemas (Tseng, 2007, pp. 138–139). The overall meaning of a TRAJECTOR prep LANDMARK construction is the sum of the interaction between the schematic meaning of a preposition and the semantic content of both entities. Radden & Dirven (2007, p. 160) argued that “the schematic relation is determined by the choice of the preposition”. The preposition *in*, for example, evokes the CONTAINER schema, binds *Jill* to *a garage*, and assigns a role to each entity according to this image schema. Lakoff (1987, pp. 283–285) put forward “the Spatialization of Form” hypothesis by which spatial metaphors are understood in terms of image schemas. Table 5 summarizes the six major abstract concepts and their respective image schemas.

Table 5

*Concepts and their Image Schemas*¹¹

Concept	Image schemas
Categories	CONTAINER
Hierarchical structure	PART-WHOLE & UP-DOWN
Relational structure	LINK
Radial structure	CENTER- PERIPHERY
Foreground-background structure	FRONT- BACK
Linear quantity scales	UP-DOWN & LINEAR ORDER

One of the relevant studies that examined the nature of these schemas in depth is that of Mandler & Cánovas (2014) within the field of cognitive development. They proposed a schematization process consisting of three structures: “spatial primitives”, “image schemas”, and “schematic integrations”. As for the “primitives”, they “structure the conceptual representations that describe events” (Mandler & Cánovas, 2014, p. 519), and they comprise three simple events: (1) objects in motion; (2) occlusion and containment; and (3) goal paths. In conjunction with “primitives”, the second level consists of “image schemas” and happens when infants use the aforementioned primitives to form simple image schemas such as THING INTO CONTAINER, MOVE INTO, and PATH TO THING. These simple image schemas are generated by combining primitives to describe simple spatial events such as how objects around infants move in and out. The third and last level of our conceptual structure is “schematic integrations”, defined as

¹¹ Adapted from (Lakoff, 1987, p. 283).

“structures that include internal feelings of force, as well as emotion and other sensory information” (Mandler & Cánovas, 2014, p. 528). These structures are built on blending non-spatial elements such as time, force, and emotions with a spatial event. Metaphor-related prepositions fit within these schematic integrations as they blend concrete entities with abstract ones so that particular image schemas are integrated. According to this view, metaphor-related prepositions cannot be explained either through static image schemas or reference to a single (spatial) domain. “Absolute space is nonsense, and it is necessary for us to begin by referring space to a system of axes invariably bound to the body” (Poincaré, 1946) as cited in (Levinson, 1996, p. 357).

Furthermore, Cognitive Grammar, Conceptual Integration Theory, and Schematic integrations of Mandler & Cánovas (2014) agree on two things: (1) the centrality of blending; and (2) the dynamic nature of image schemas. Langacker (2010b, p. 13) affirmed that “even the most stable relationships are conceived as having a dynamic character rather than being purely static”. Schematic integrations are similar to the process of creating a Simplex network in Conceptual Integration Theory. These concepts render conceptual mapping rich and dynamic as it involves different semantic inputs and different image schemas. These dynamic schematic integrations cannot happen without a particular interaction between language and culture. Thanks to this interaction, we continue to incorporate other non-spatial concepts to understand and create metaphors in different contexts, including the political ones. The use of metaphor-related prepositions in political discourse is likely to reveal aspects of these dynamic schematic integrations. To properly understand these metaphor-related prepositions, it is essential to review how metaphorical uses of prepositions have been examined and which cognitive operations are

involved. The next section will briefly comment on the main findings and outline the relationships between prepositions and figurative language.

2.4.4. Prepositions and cognitive operations

Prepositions, whether metaphorical or not, are notoriously difficult to categorize. When they are metaphor-related, they “might simply be processed as instances of multiple word senses (as polysemous word entries)” (Gentner et al., 2001, p. 203). Polysemy partly explains why prepositions are often avoided in metaphor studies, which, in turn, explains the shortage of literature on this topic. For example, A. H. Deignan (1997, pp. 329–330) found out that prepositions are extremely frequent in her corpus, but she categorized them as “delexical”, and she eventually decided to exclude them from her research. Nevertheless, Sullivan (2007) included the preposition phrase construction in the list of the five types of grammatical constructions used to communicate metaphor. More specifically, the same researcher recognizes the special status of prepositions. As they stand alone, prepositions are limited in their metaphorical uses due to their “simple spatial, force-dynamic and image- schematic meanings” (Sullivan, 2007, p. 130). Due to these constraints, prepositions are unable to evoke abstract domains outside of their image schemas. In other words, prepositions are restricted to a limited number of image-schematic concepts such as “verticality, horizontality, place, region, inclusion, contact, support, gravity, attachment, dimensionality (point, line, plane or volume), distance, movement, and path” (Bowerman, 1996, p. 422). As a result, they cannot activate concepts like emotions, arguments, or even concrete concepts like building (Sullivan, 2007, p. 131). These concepts are activated by the entities related by a preposition rather than by the preposition itself. When a preposition is used metaphorically, its image-schematic structure must be compatible with both the source and target domains. The compatibility is easier to achieve than, let us say,

verbs because prepositions have fewer semantic constraints. Thus, they “may be used metaphorically in almost any context” (Sullivan, 2007, p. 74). Two factors can explain the flexible metaphoricity of prepositions. First, the high degree of abstractness of prepositions makes them fit in any context without any recourse to semantic valence. The preposition *in*, for example, can relate to a wide range of entities as long as one entity can function as a container and the other entity as a containee. “For Containment, a minimum of two objects is required: a container and a containee”, as Hedblom (2019, p. 111) wrote.

In her corpus-based and cross-register study, Herrmann (2013, p. 146) found out that “one-third of all prepositions are related to metaphor in each register” (academic, news, conversations, and fiction). She also found out that prepositions “have the highest proportion of metaphor of all word classes in each of the four registers” (Herrmann, 2013, p. 182). According to the same researcher, the lexico-syntactic function of prepositions as postmodifiers contributes to the high frequency of their metaphorical uses. In addition to their lexico-syntactic function, prepositions are appropriate for successful “information packaging” (D. Biber et al., 1999) in writings that must adhere to space limitations, such as press articles and public speeches. In general, it is rather the sequence of NOUN + PREPOSITION + NOUN that makes the “information packaging” denser and more complex in terms of their referential information. Each noun evokes its own referential realm, and then a new referential realm emerges shaped by the schematic structure of the linking preposition in the same way mental spaces are activated, and the blend is generated according to the Conceptual Integration Theory. In metaphorical uses, the referential realm activated by the two nouns, which differ in their conceptual nature and overall meaning, is an example of “information packaging”. Though this packaging is useful for the organization of information in a way that best fit the communicative purposes of the speaker,

the dense information conveyed by metaphor-related prepositions may lead to “an extreme reliance on implicit meaning, requiring addressees to infer the intended logical relationship” (D. Biber et al., 1999, p. 590). The metaphorical relationships evoked by prepositions may not sound logical, but they are undoubtedly meaningful in their contexts. Herrmann (2013, p. 185) goes as far as to claim that metaphor-related prepositions transcend their textual functions as relators to “perform an ideational function, indicating abstract relations between referents”. The theoretical background of these conclusions can be linked to the Systematic Functional Grammar and, more precisely, to its three main metafunctions, ideational, interpersonal, and textual.

In terms of individual prepositions and their metaphoricity, Herrmann (2013, p. 189) summarized her findings in a table with the 10 highest prepositions in the four registers (academic prose, news, fiction, conversations). They are *in*, *to*, *with*, *on*, *from*, *at*, *about*, *into*, *between*, and *through*. The researcher was mainly interested in variation across registers, but these remarks can be drawn from the perspective of individual prepositions. The first remark is about the use frequency. *In* is observed at the top rank of prepositions, but its high scores are no more than the raw frequencies. A better reading of the scores will lead to different interpretations when we convert them into percentages and, thus, normalize them. The metaphorical uses of the preposition *in* make up 84, 2% of the total occurrences in academic prose, 67, 8% in news, 53, 7% in fiction, and 35, 5% in conversation. These scores do not make the preposition *in* the highest preposition with metaphorical uses. Instead, the preposition *about* occupies the first rank. It is somewhat surprising that *about* occurred 84 times in the academic prose, 83 of them are metaphor related, while only one occurrence is non-related. In percentages, *about* stands for 98, 8% in academic prose, 98, 2% in news, 98, 8% in fiction and 100% in conversation. The second highest preposition is *between*, followed by *on* and then *in* and *with*. Another remark concerning

variation across registers is that the raw frequencies are again misleading. Academic prose and news indeed have higher percentages of metaphorical uses, with 86, 5%, and 70, 5%, respectively. However, the other registers, fiction, and conversation are quite similar, contrary to Herrmann (2013, p. 190). These two registers have 54, 9%, and 50% of metaphor-related prepositions, respectively. Conversation indeed has lower tokens, but, in terms of percentage, its scores are remarkably close to that of the fiction register. The details of these variations do not fall within the present thesis's scope, but they provide empirical evidence that metaphor-related prepositions are quite common in these registers. Political discourse will not be an exception, and the scores provided by Herrmann (2013) are very indicative. Discourses with many abstract nouns and dense referential information are more likely to employ metaphor-related prepositions as postmodifiers and relators (Herrmann, 2013, p. 191).

In addition to metaphorical uses, prepositions are partially connected to analogical reasoning. This assumption does not imply that metaphor can be reduced to analogy in the Aristotelian way. It does, however, imply that both a preposition and an analogy have a relational character and that preposition-based metaphors bear a strong resemblance to analogies. Analogical reasoning is defined as “the ability to find and exploit similarities based on *relations* (Emphasis in original) among entities, rather than solely on the entities themselves” (Holyoak & Stamenkovic, 2018, p. 645). Exploiting similarities means establishing or drawing inferences based on the shared knowledge of the entities. In general, analogies follow proportional reasoning across two conceptual domains in the form of (A: B): (C: X). The (A: B) set stands for the source domain, while the (C: X) represents the target domain. The relationship established between A and B is to be applied to C and X. Holyoak & Stamenkovic (2018, p. 644) explained this relation via the well-known example of “religion is the opium of the people”, which can be

rewritten in the form of (religion: people):: (opium: addicts), and interpreted as a religion to people is what opium to the people. In such cases, the metaphors evoked by this kind of analogy are often called proportional metaphors or “relational metaphors” (Gentner et al., 2001, p. 200). Accordingly, we comprehend metaphors in terms of the relationships that hold between constituents of each conceptual domain rather than in terms of the attributes of these constituents. These metaphors rely on predictive analogy to understand a new target domain through not only the structure of a source domain but also its propositions and explanations. Gentner et al. (2001, p. 199) went even further into formulating an analogy approach to metaphor that “unifies metaphor with processes of analogy and similarity”, also known as structure-mapping theory. Similarly, Hernández (2017) conducted an exploratory study about cars as cultural objects in which she analyzed conceptual mapping in terms of analogical projections coupled with conceptual integration (from the CIT) and frame analysis (from Filmore’s Frame Theory). It is assumed that as metaphor-related prepositions are equipped with both an inherent relational profile and a cross-domain mapping, they can be “processed as analogical mappings between domains” (Gentner et al., 2001, p. 201).

As with metaphors, metonymies are evoked by prepositions in three different ways. In the first and the second ways, a trajector and a landmark, respectively, stand for something else. The third way is when a preposition’s image schema has a metonymic structure, such as with the preposition *of*. In her study on the French preposition *à* followed by an object, Hernández (2012) found out that objects, when acting as landmarks, usually act as an object that stands for an activity (at the piano), an object that stands for production (at the pizza) and an object that stands for a stage in evolution process (at the shredded carrots). These types of metonymies are

triggered by inferential cues from their contexts. Likewise, metaphor-related prepositions are dependent on their immediate contexts and, thus, the next section reviews this subject matter.

2.4.5. Prepositions and context

Szwedek (2008), within his objectivation theory, argued that prepositions cannot be metaphorized because they do not have basic literal senses and, therefore, they cannot be described as either metaphorical or non-metaphorical. The metaphorical senses of a preposition, according to Szwedek (2008, p. 176), are “part of the context”.

Understanding metaphor-related prepositions in political discourse necessitates a close examination of their socio-cultural contexts. This view is in line with the premise that “words gain a local meaning” (Elimam & Chilton, 2018, p. 30). Thus, a preposition acquires different meanings in discourse as its context varies. For example, if somebody is in poverty, the context allows us to determine if they are enclosed, contained, confined, covered, or just located. Similarly, contextual cues convey moral and cultural evaluations, whether positive or negative.

In general, a context has been classified into various classes that are labeled differently. There are four of them: linguistic context, physical context, social context, and stored knowledge (Croft & Cruse, 2004, pp. 102–103). When it is considered as cognitive context, it is defined as “how language users *dynamically* define the communicative situation and as such also experience it as real” (T. A. Van Dijk, 2015, p. 4). In this way, context becomes central to pragmatics, and it may turn into “a general scientific approach” (T. A. Van Dijk, 2015, p. 1) or a “contextualization-cue approach”, as labeled by J. Wilson (2015, p. 85).

A typical preposition usually appears in a complex and dynamic situation involving at least two entities related by a preposition and reported from the perspective of a speaker. The choice of trajector and landmark and their arrangement are rather deliberate and justifiable

within their original context. Each instance of a preposition involves the dynamic interaction of these components, and each interaction involves a reconfiguration or a “reparamétrage,” as Lapaire (2017, p. 14) put it. Like other metaphors, prepositions are studied following the “encyclopedic nature of linguistic meaning” in order to gain a broad understanding of their senses (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007b, p. 5).

The context-dependent approach deals with prepositions from a pragmatic perspective. “Pragmatic interpretation involves the resolution of such linguistic indeterminacies on the basis of contextual information” (Sperber & Wilson, 2002, p. 4). In the same vein, new contexts often enact “pragmatic strengthening” (Traugott, 1988, p. 413) by which lexical items acquire specific inferences via metaphor and metonymy. In terms of their “inferential power”, (Hernández, 2012), prepositions are no exception. Their inferential potential is remarkably high due to their interconnections with their surrounding entities and their contexts. Such relationships activate a frame consisting of a network of inferences based on the shared knowledge of the interlocutors. To borrow Lakoff’s words, figurative language is used to frame and reframe everyday situations (Lakoff, 2006). This frame is linked to the interaction between the trajector and its landmark, rooted in its culture and affected by diachronic saliency.

Furthermore, the meanings evoked by such a relationship cannot be static and permanent. Instead, they are context dependent. Contextual cues can be efficient enough to put the “rampant polysemy under control” (Lu & others, 2017, p. 263). The impact of these contextual cues is more significant on the prepositions’ value judgments, which is the topic of the forthcoming section.

2.4.6. Prepositions and value judgments

Metaphors are famous for their “evaluative function” (Geeraerts & Cuyckens, 2007b). This view is endorsed by axiological semantics, according to which concepts are judged against a systematic and consistent scale of norms and values. As metaphors evoke frames, they convey these norms and values, as well as evaluations based on these frames. Entman (1993, p. 52) argued that “[T]o frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described”. In particular, politicians usually take advantage of the evaluative potential of metaphors for the sake of their agendas and more specifically to (re)produce a discourse “in the interest of the dominant group and against the best interests of the dominated group” (T. A. Van Dijk, 2006, p. 374). All aspects of language, including metaphors, are in the service of power and ideology. These ideological metaphors “are not limited to the conceptual. They also have emotional force, which makes them value-laden and “ideologically attitudinal”, as noted by Goatly (2006, p. 16).

Metaphor-related prepositions are assumed to structure a set of morality-related metaphors. The various labels such as “orientational metaphors”, “metaphorical orientations”, “spatial orientations”, and “spatial metaphors” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) reveal a normative value. Such metaphors carry an “axiological load” (Krzyszowski, 1993) or “a built-in value judgment” (Barcelona, 2003). As some prepositions convey spaces and spatial orientations, they are axiologically loaded, and they “indicate an area/point on the scale of values” (Szwedek, 2014, p. 368). In this way, metaphor-related prepositions take advantage of their inherent spatial locations, orientations, and directions to map either positive or negative moral values onto target

domains. Szwedek (2014, p. 368) affirmed that “orientation is only a medium representing value” and that it is the value that is mapped and not the orientation. Every location in the space, whether high or low, is translated into the corresponding axiological value, which is then mapped onto the target domain. Like the “Invariance Principle” that structures conceptual mapping, the “Axiological Invariance Principle”, proposed by Krzeszowski (1993), constrains axiological evaluation. While the first invariance is general, the second is specific to norms and values. According to Felices-Lago (2014, p. 27), Krzeszowski affirmed that axiology is “a key parameter in modern linguistics” and urged other researchers to include the “PLUS-MINUS axiological parameter” in the analysis of orientational metaphors (Hampe, 2005b; Popek-Bernat, 2017). Along the same lines, Rastier (1999, pp. 109–115) introduced the concept of “qualitative inequalities”, according to which “languages do not articulate descriptions (as the objectivist tradition would like it to do) but evaluations”.

The current thesis is based on the assumption that metaphor-related prepositions articulate evaluations. This assumption holds for all prepositions, not just spatial ones. It is worth noting that these evaluations are not static because they vary according to historical circumstances. Therefore, they have a historical timeline, such as when it first appeared, how it varied, and the factors that caused the variations. These historical facts are usually labeled as diachronic evolution. The next subsection will review the main foundations of diachronic linguistics and especially those related to metaphor variations.

2.5. Metaphor variation and diachronic approach

Diachronic studies of metaphor variations rely on Cognitive Linguistics and Historical Linguistics. These two fields are often combined to form an emerging field known as Historical Cognitive Linguistics. Studying metaphor variation falls within the “history of ideas” or

“directional paths of semantic change” (Sweetser, 1987, p. 446), and it has appeared under various labels such as “conceptual history” of metaphors (Musolff, 2004a, p. 55) and “historical approach on metaphor” (Zhang et al., 2015, p. 291). It is of interest to note that the two terms “historical” and “diachronic” are used interchangeably. “Evolutionary” is another term used in the literature, but it is less common. These different labels may support the fact that this field is “still relatively unexplored” (Trim, 2011, p. xi) and it “has not or not yet shown any visible theoretic or practical progress” (Rastier, 1999, p. 110). In Sweetser’s words, “meaning-change remains perhaps the least understood area of linguistic change” (Sweetser, 1987, p. 447).

In general, metaphor variation studies rest on the assumption that “all synchronic states are the result of a long chain of diachronic developments” (Bybee, 2007). Kövecses (2006, pp. 1–5) explained that the ANGER IS HEAT metaphor changed considerably from Old English to the Middle English period. He also demonstrated the evolution of the MIND AS BODY metaphor from the Chariot Allegory in the ancient times of Plato to the computer, as a source domain, in modern times.

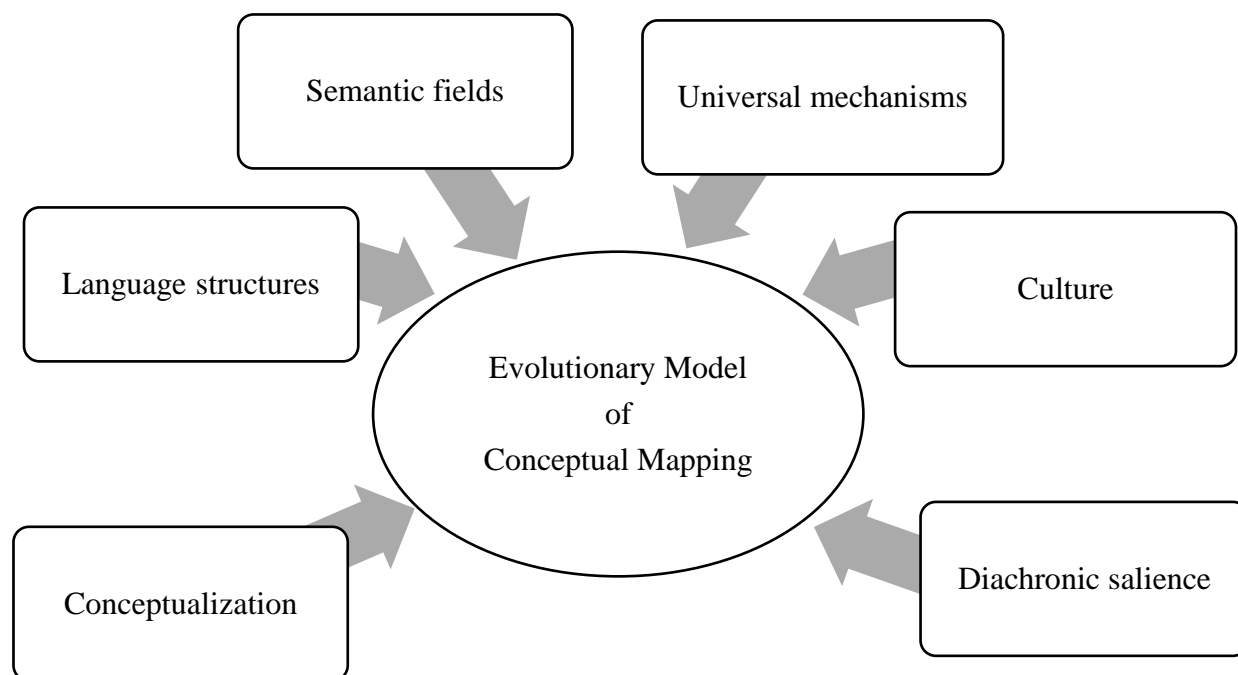
These diachronic developments, however, seem to be at odds with the stability of universal metaphors. In other words, the main question is whether universal conceptual metaphors are diachronically constant or not. The answer is not straightforward as long as the dichotomy between the basis of metaphor and the context of metaphor is unresolved. On the one hand, the embodiment principle renders metaphors invariable. Basic cognitive domains such as space and time are “cognitively irreducible, neither derivable from nor analyzable into other conceptions” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 44), and they tend to stabilize metaphors and obstruct their evolution. On the other hand, the embodiment principle also includes social and historical fluctuations that render metaphors susceptible to variations. The present thesis is aware of these

conflicting tendencies and it, therefore, assumes that metaphor-related prepositions can manifest a compromise between these tendencies thanks to the prepositions' constant image-schematic structure, as well as the variable semantic fields evoked by the trajectors and landmarks.

In order to explain how metaphors vary, Kövecses (2006, p. 3) coined the term “differential experiential focus”. Accordingly, variation occurs when different components receive various degrees of focus in different periods in history. Trim (2007b, p. xiii) expanded this concept to include “the nature of saliency at a given point in time” and, more precisely, the concept of “diachronic salience”. The choice of one component over another “depends on a variety of factors in the surrounding cultural context” (Kövecses, 2006, p. 5). These factors make metaphors open to “culturally-based interpretations” (Trim, 2011, p. 11).

Diachronically speaking, norms of evaluation, expressed by metaphors and metonymies, also vary according to complex interactions between historical, social, and cultural factors. These factors are dynamic because they are relative to “one’s own position in the world, on one’s own relationship with the other members who populate the public sphere” (Ballacci, 2018, p. 160). As a result, these norms continue to evolve along “evolutionary paths” (Rastier, 1999; Trim, 2007b). However, these factors are not usually easily discernable. They may appear to be so common and unchallenged, especially when understood and used as components of a prevailing doxa.

This thesis assumes that “many of our basic conceptual metaphors, together with their various linguistic derivations, do have specific models of evolution” (Trim, 2007b, p. xiii). This assumption is, in its turn, built on Trim’s extensive investigation into the evolution of conceptual mapping throughout European history. Trim (2011, p. 189) retraced and explained this evolution according to an “Evolutionary Model of Conceptual Mapping”. Trim’s model functions according to six parameters, as illustrated in Figure 6.



*Figure 6. Trim's Evolutionary Model*¹²

¹² Adapted from (Trim, 2011, p. 189).

According to Trim's model, a concept is traced back to its source, either sensory perception and/or embodiment (parameter 1), then to the lexical variants that express the concept in question (parameter 2), then to the semantic field(s) in which these lexical variants are used (parameter 3), then to the long-term conceptual metaphors (parameter 4), then to the impact of cultural factors (parameter 5) and finally to the diachronic salience (parameter 6).

The metaphor-related prepositions found in the corpus can be analyzed in terms of these six parameters mentioned above. The perceptual sources are expected to vary as well as their lexical manifestations. Presidents are expected to base their mapping on different semantic fields constrained by certain universals, on the one hand, and by certain cultural factors, on the other hand. Trim's model can be supplemented with an additional parameter that consists of the constraints of the genre. As a genre, the inaugurals' generic properties, recurring themes, and discursive norms can be considered among the variation factors.

In closing, this chapter has attempted to provide a concise summary of the literature pertaining to the four major components of this thesis. They include metaphor, political discourse, prepositions, and diachronic evolution. Although they were reviewed in separate sections, they are related, and they account for the different facets of the topic at hand. While this chapter deals with these four areas that constitute the relevant literature review, the next chapter focuses on the relevant methodology endorsed by this thesis.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Absolute truth, which would be the same for all men and therefore unrelated, independent of each man's existence, cannot exist for mortals.

(Arendt, 1990, pp. 48–49)

The present thesis explores the use of metaphor-related prepositions in the American inaugurals over the past 228 years. To achieve this aim, it is necessary to adopt and follow a relevant methodology. Marczyk et al. (2005, p. 1) affirmed that methodology is the cornerstone of any scientific research because reliable findings rely, by necessity, on a consistent and relevant methodology. Thus, a whole chapter is devoted to reviewing the different research methodologies related to the present thesis. This chapter seeks to answer two specific questions. First, which methodology is best suited to this study? Second, how can it be justified?

In order to decide on the most valid and relevant methodology that can answer the research questions of this study, it is essential to go beyond the research tools and discover the philosophical assumptions of what constitutes truth and human knowledge. According to Crotty (1998, p. 17), “such assumptions shape for us the meaning of research questions, the purposiveness of research methodologies, and the interpretability of research findings”.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part includes a comprehensive review of the different research paradigms in social sciences ranging from positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, constructivism, and embodied realism. It will also review the different research approaches, strategies, and choices. This part concludes with a review of

research methods in Cognitive Linguistics with an emphasis on corpus linguistics and corpus-based approaches. This review of the available methodologies serves as background knowledge and rationale for the research design of this thesis.

The second part describes the methodology adopted by this thesis. In its first section, the corpus will be presented along with the data collection procedures. The second section moves on to describe the stages of data analysis, which includes metaphor identification procedures, conceptual metaphor formulation, and diachronic variation. This section will also include a discussion of the analytical tools used to analyze the data.

3.1. Research paradigms

Prior to deciding on the most appropriate paradigm for studying metaphor-related prepositions in the inaugurals, it is necessary to identify and discuss the various paradigms in terms of their assumptions and characteristics. This step is important because it justifies the choice of a relevant and efficient research strategy, as explained by the well-known “research onion” (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 108). Figure 7 illustrates the different layers of a research design.

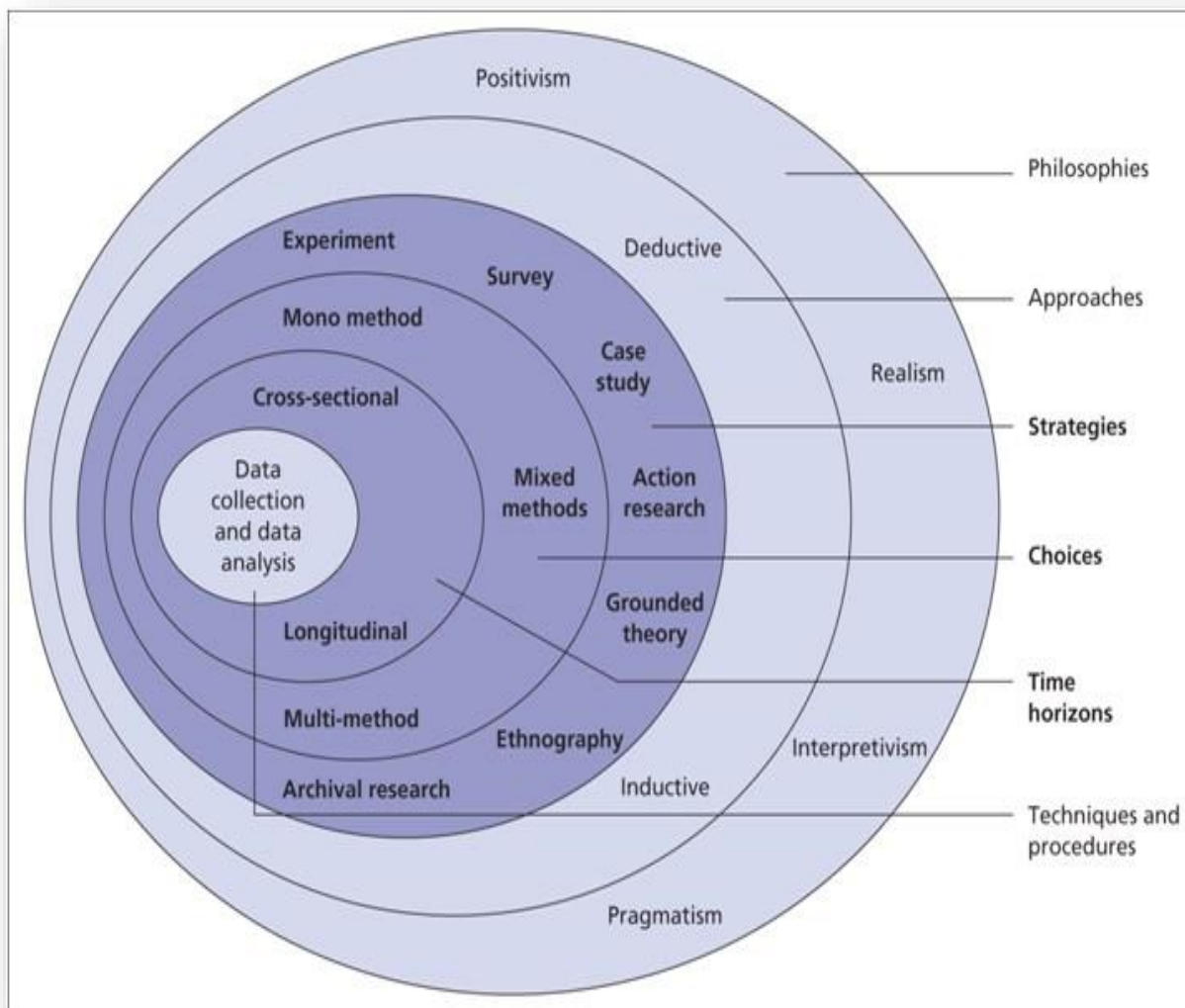


Figure 7. The research onion¹³

The remaining subsections will cover the various stages of a research design. As shown in the diagram, a design is conceptualized as peeling the layers of an onion starting from the

¹³ Reprinted from (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 108). © Copyright 2009 by Pearson Education.

outer to the inner. Each layer corresponds to a specific stage, ranging from the general philosophy to specific techniques and procedures.

3.1.1. Research philosophies

A research philosophy refers to the concept of a paradigm. It is also known as “world view” or “philosophy”. It originated from the Greek term *paradeigma*, which means pattern. It is defined by Guba et al. (1994, p. 107) as follows:

a set of basic beliefs (or metaphysics) that deals with ‘ultimates’ or first principles. It represents a worldview that defines, for its holder, the nature of the "world," the individual’s place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts. (Guba et al., 1994, p. 107)

The main function of a paradigm is to establish the appropriate criteria for reliable research. It serves to shape, guide, and regulate all aspects of a scientific inquiry. When a paradigm becomes widely accepted and frequently used in a research community, it usually shapes the researcher’s beliefs, methodologies, and findings. It acts as an established model “from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research” (Kuhn, 2012, p. 10). Once endorsed, a paradigm will guide the researcher in four main dimensions of his or her research. First, the “ultimates” of the paradigm will shape the ontological assumptions of the research. Ontology deals with “the nature of existence, with the structure of reality as such” (Crotty, 1998, p. 10). The second dimension is epistemology. It deals with the nature and forms of knowledge. It answers the question formulated by Guba et al. (1994, p. 108) “what is the nature of the relationship between the knower or the would-be knower and what can be known?” In their endeavor to investigate and communicate knowledge, researchers can take one of two sides in this relation: either the independent (objective) side or the connected (subjective) stance.

The third and last dimension is methodology. A paradigm usually offers an established view that describes, explains, and justifies its pre-established methodology (Kaplan, 2006). Once researchers adhere to a specific paradigm, they become committed to its predetermined methodology.

In conjunction with the three dimensions (ontology, epistemology, and methodology) proposed by Guba et al. (1994), axiology is the fourth domain. It is the set of shared value judgments that not only makes researchers aware of the use of these values in all aspects of their research but also encourages them to be honest in order to avoid any ethical conflicts that may arise between them and other parties involved in their research. (Saunders et al., 2009, pp. 106–128). Each paradigm advocates a specific axiological position that meshes with the other three dimensions.

Before proceeding to the reviews, it is necessary to discuss the proliferation of paradigms and their relationships. “Competing paradigms” (Guba et al., 1994) and “paradigm wars” (Denzin, 2010; A. Oakley, 1999) are the common terms in the literature that describe the quest of each paradigm for distinction and even dominance. Guba et al. (1994) cautioned that there is no such thing as a perfect and flawless paradigm simply because all paradigms are “inventions of the human mind and hence subject to human error”.

Having explained how a paradigm affects research in its four dimensions, the forthcoming section reviews the major paradigms in separate subsections: positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, constructivism, and embodied realism.

3.1.1.1. Positivism

As a term, positivism was coined by Auguste Comte during the Enlightenment in order to apply a rigorous empirical approach to social sciences (L. Cohen et al., 2007, p. 9).

Positivism's general features can be deduced from its different labels: "logical positivism", "naïve realism", "received view", "absolute empiricism", and "scientific paradigm" (Shah & Al-Bargi, 2013, p. 254).

From an ontological perspective, an "apprehendable reality is assumed to exist" (Guba et al., 1994, p. 108). Positivism also advocates dualism, which separates the mind from matter. According to Lakoff (1987, p. 162), this paradigm regards language as "a representation of reality, a mirror of nature". As a result, reality is made up of objects and facts determined by unchangeable cause-and-effect laws. Hence, determinism is one of the major foundations of positivism.

At the epistemological level, reality is objective. The researcher and the research are, therefore, independent of each other. Crotty (1998, p. 5) asserted that "things exist as meaningful entities *independently* of consciousness and experience, that they have truth and meaning residing in them as objects". In view of this, words are thought to have their fixed meanings, and they refer to "things that are objectively, absolutely and unconditionally true and false" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 187).

The positivist methodology requires the use of observation and reason away rather than speculation and metaphysics (L. Cohen et al., 2007, p. 30). It takes for granted that reality is governed by the same "immutable natural laws and mechanisms" (Guba et al., 1994, p. 109). Methods have to be strictly experimental to discover these rules and, therefore, to generate "replicable and objective laws which can lead to generalizations" (Hussain et al., 2013, p. 2377). The outcome knowledge is supposed to be factual, certain, and accurate. In their quest for facticity, positivist researchers are supposed to implement empirical methods by which measurable and verifiable proofs are rigorously collected and examined (Scotland, 2012, p. 10).

In terms of axiology, impartiality is the rule. Because they take an impartial stance on value-free knowledge, positivist researchers are referred to as “resources' researchers” by Saunders et al. (2009, p. 112). In general, they act as unbiased and detached observers of social reality “without influencing it or being influenced by it” (Guba et al., 1994).

As for methods, positivist researchers are supposed to use quantitative and experimental methods to verify their hypotheses. Measurement and empirical tests are their favorite means of validation and precision (Scotland, 2012, p. 10).

Positivism has been criticized for its “mechanistic and reductionist view of nature” (L. Cohen et al., 2007, p. 17), particularly when applied to social sciences. Social reality, therefore, is investigated via fixed methods regardless of its complexity, human beings are reduced to natural objects, and human behavior is viewed as predetermined and primarily. Furthermore, excessive data control has frequently made the research procedure appear artificial and false rather than real (Bryman, 2012, p. 27).

3.1.1.2. Postpositivism

The postpositivist paradigm is often described as a modified version of positivism. However, Adam (2014, p. 5) argued that postpositivism is “neither antipositivism nor a continuation of positivism by other means”. In this way, the postpositivist paradigm did not discard positivism, but it has attempted to reform it to meet its critiques. Hence, it is often called “critical realism” and “postempiricism” (Guba et al., 1994, p. 110).

The ontological stance of postpositivism revolves around the idea that reality exists, but it can never be attained perfectly. In other words, reality is there, but it is imperfect and probabilistic. Consequently, it has to be critically investigated to be understood as close as possible (Guba et al., 1994, p. 111). Absolute truth cannot be reached, but it remains an

“aspiration”, as Fox (2008, p. 665) put it. Objectivity is considered a regulatory ideal, and the postpositivist researcher still holds an objectivist stance, assuming that “it is possible to approximate (but never fully know) reality” (Guba et al., 1994, p. 111).

Postpositivism is inspired by Weber’s concept of understanding as “a hermeneutic technique by which knowledge of the social world is to be gleaned” (Fox, 2008, p. 662). The postpositivist researcher’s main objective is to understand rather than explain reality. Postpositivism emphasizes falsification rather than verification of hypotheses. Researchers “seek to understand and establish causal relationships by designing experimentation and correlational studies” (Shah & Al-Bargi, 2013, p. 255). Thus, they rely on quantitative methods, but they assume that qualitative research offers “rigorous methods and systematic forms of inquiry” (Creswell & Miller, 2000).

In terms of axiology, postpositivism admits that research can never be fully value-free and that bias is inevitable. However, the researcher’s task is to minimize the impact of their values and beliefs on the conducted research.

3.1.1.3. Critical theory

This paradigm refers to several German philosophers and social theorists in the Western European Marxist tradition known as the Frankfurt School. It encompasses several theories such as neo-Marxism, feminism, materialism, and participatory inquiry (Guba et al., 1994, p. 112).

Critical theory is based on the ontology of historical realism by which reality has been crystallized and reified once various antecedents (social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender) were accumulated over time (Guba et al., 1994, p. 112). Reality is not as stable and immutable as it looks. Instead, it is a set of historically mediated structures, institutions, ideologies, and discourses. By adopting this paradigm, such reality can be and has to be

reconstructed by challenging and critically investigating its underlying foundations. To put it another way, critical theory is concerned with improving social reality through criticism.

Research and researchers are fully linked in this paradigm. Researchers adopt a subjectivist and transactional stance, and they, therefore, investigate the topics of the research through their ideological perspective (Guba et al., 1994, p. 112). As they assume an emancipatory role, they always support the participants in the research (Scotland, 2012, pp. 13–14). Research is taken as a mission in which a researcher defends a cause and, more precisely, an action that leads to social change. The mission consists of emancipating the underprivileged people from all forms of injustice by breaking down the oppressive ideologies that produce inequalities and injustice. Creswell & Miller (2000, p. 126) maintained that “researchers should uncover the hidden assumptions about how narrative accounts are constructed, read, and interpreted”. In addition, these researchers address the question of whose interests are served by such reality (L. Cohen et al., 2007). The nature of the relationship between the researcher and the research requires a “dialogic and dialectical” methodology (Guba et al., 1994, p. 112).

In terms of this paradigm’s axiology, facts and values can never be separated, and research cannot be value-free. Equally, critical theory researchers cannot be neutral. Instead, they are close to the participants of the research in such a way that the former is intellectually and emotionally involved with the latter. This close relationship between researchers and participants explains why the findings of the research are “value mediated” and “value-dependent” (Guba et al., 1994).

This paradigm’s methods include “open-ended interviews, focus groups, open-ended observations, open-ended questionnaires, and journals” (Shah & Al-Bargi, 2013, p. 261).

Researchers usually mix quantitative and qualitative approaches in their research as long as they effectively question, challenge, and change social reality.

Critical theory is often criticized for the lack of impartiality of its researchers. The latter may violate conventional objectivity to advance their political agenda. L. Cohen et al. (2007) challenged the assumption that critical theory can achieve emancipation. They even went on to suggest that “the link between ideology critique and emancipation is neither clear nor a logical necessity” (L. Cohen et al., 2007, p. 30).

3.1.1.4. Constructivism

It is an umbrella name under which various constructivist approaches operate. Riegler (2012, p. 236) discussed various versions of constructivism, including social constructivism and radical constructivism. These constructivist approaches agree on an ontology in which “meaning is not discovered, but constructed” (Crotty, 1998, p. 9) and that reality does not objectively exist, as positivists assume. In other words, reality is neither objective nor absolute. It is rather contextualized, and its meaning is constructed and interpreted. In addition, Schwandt (1998, p. 233) asserted that reality is expressed in multiple linguistic and extralinguistic symbols. The constructivist perspective is “pluralistic, interpretive, open-ended, and contextualized” (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 128).

At the epistemological level, constructivist researchers can never separate themselves from their research and the participants. They strictly hold a subjectivist position and believe that knowledge is “created as the investigation proceeds” (Guba et al., 1994, p. 111). Consequently, constructivism requires “prolonged engagement in the field” (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 127). In this sense, the essence of constructivism lies in the knowledge that people construct through both experience and reflection on that experience. “Understanding is deepened through engaging

with a context or group long enough to understand its authentic depth and complexity” (Guido et al., 2010, p. 15).

In their methodology, constructivist researchers rely on “interaction between and among investigator and respondents” (Guba et al., 1994, p. 112). This interaction aims to reconstruct the previous versions of the constructed realities and generate “credible and justifiable accounts” (Scotland, 2012, p. 12). Some of the main methods employed are case studies, phenomenology, hermeneutics, ethnography, and other inductive approaches (Scotland, 2012, p. 12).

Constructivism is not value-free. Researchers, by default, participate in the experience and construct meaning based on their values and beliefs.

3.1.1.5. Embodied realism

This term first appeared in Lakoff and Johnson’s article entitled *Why Cognitive Linguistics Requires Embodied Realism* published in 2002. However, they dealt with the same concept under different names, such as “experientialism” and “experiential realism” in their early publications. As an “empirically responsible philosophy”, embodied realism is capable of addressing “legitimate philosophical concerns about the nature of truth, meaning, understanding, mind, concepts, reason, causation, events, time, and even morality” (M. Johnson & Lakoff, 2002, p. 262).

Compared to other competing paradigms, Johnson & Lakoff (2002) advocated embodied realism as an alternative account of research philosophy, placing it between objectivism and subjectivism. Johnson & Lakoff (2002, p. 248) asserted that “meaning comes, not just from “internal” structures of the organism (the “subject”), nor solely from “external” inputs (the “objects”)”. These two paradigms are inadequate to deal with meaning and truth while experientialism agrees with both “myths”, but “without either the objectivist obsession with

absolute truth or the subjectivist insistence that imagination is totally unrestricted” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 228).

The main objective of experientialism is to explain “why the human conceptual system is as it is” (Lakoff, 1987, p. 344). Ontologically speaking, experientialism is built on the concept of embodied cognition, which is defined as follows:

meaning is grounded in our sensorimotor experience and that this embodied meaning was extended, via imaginative mechanisms such as conceptual metaphor, metonymy, radial categories, and various forms of conceptual blending, to shape abstract conceptualization and reasoning. (M. Johnson & Lakoff, 2002, p. 245)

According to this definition, embodied cognition is often considered radical because it deviates from the classical dichotomies such as mind vs. body, subject vs. object, and reason vs. emotion. Embodied cognition stipulates that our bodies shape our cognition in these three ways: (1) the mind is inherently embodied; (2) thought is mostly unconscious, and (3) abstract concepts are largely metaphorical (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999).

According to this paradigm, a researcher is guided by two fundamental commitments: The Generalization and the Cognitive. The latter requires the researcher’s commitment “to characterize the general principles governing all aspects of human language” (Lakoff, 1991a, p. 53). This commitment may sound like a version of the general principle of science by which generalizations are to be produced. However, it is innovative because it ends with the tradition of studying language as separate components and neglecting conceptual aspects of language such as meaning, cognition, and communication. Lakoff (1991a) also maintained that Cognitive Linguistics should adopt an empirical methodology by which generalizations about syntax, semantics, and pragmatics are taken as “an empirical matter” (Lakoff, 1991a, p. 53).

As for the Cognitive Commitment, researchers are dedicated to establishing their “account of human language accord with what is generally known about the mind and brain from disciplines other than linguistics” (Lakoff, 1991a, p. 55). Other disciplines include, mainly but not only psychology, cognitive anthropology, and neurobiology. It follows from the Cognitive Commitment that Cognitive Linguistics is, by nature, both cognitive and interdisciplinary. First, it is cognitive in the sense that it is founded on the general principles of the human cognitive system and not only the cognitive features of language (Evans & Green, 2006, p. 41). Second, it is interdisciplinary as it integrates knowledge and methods from different disciplines.

Both the Generalization and the Cognitive Commitments stress the importance of empirical knowledge and scientific methods. Lakoff (1993b, p. 43) urged researchers to take “experimental evidence seriously”. Consequently, within the embodied realism paradigm, a researcher is supposed to embrace an empirical methodology, and Cognitive Linguistics has evolved into an empirical study of the human mind.

Talmy (2005) identified several methods that are appropriate for this paradigm. They include the following: introspection, audio- and video-graphic analysis, corpus analysis, and experimental techniques. They all “permit the examination of naturalistic speech” (Talmy, 2005, p. 11). In general, the “analytic thought” of the researchers is vital. These researchers treat the collected data through “systematic manipulation of ideas, abstraction, comparison, and reasoning” (Talmy, 2005, p. 1). Some of these methods are subjective, while others are objective. However, both of them are capable of eliciting linguistic data rich enough to explain how the human cognitive functions. Talmy defended these methods by claiming they can “probe the system of linguistic cognition” (Talmy, 2005, p. 11).

Some of these methods were nevertheless heavily criticized for being far from empirical. Introspection has received most of the criticism. It has been described as “traditional” and redundant (Stefanowitsch, 2006, p. 70). The corpus-based approach has gained credibility and recognition among metaphor analysts as an alternative method. Before proceeding to review corpus linguistics, it is crucial to understand the differences between the research approaches.

3.2. Research approaches

Research approaches cannot be discussed without reference to their underlying paradigmatic foundations. The previous section has outlined the differences between the paradigms which account for the various research approaches. The differences between the different approaches and their implications for this thesis will be examined in the next subsections.

3.2.1. Deductive vs. inductive reasoning

Research approaches can be categorized into deductive and inductive types. Before explaining and discussing the differences between these two types, it is worth noting that these two approaches share one objective; the search for truth through a rational process that leads to logical and valid conclusions. This process is supposed to be rational, and hence these two approaches are often named deductive or inductive reasoning. These two models of reasoning compete to construct well-grounded arguments and, therefore, reach a well-proven truth.

In its base form, deductive reasoning is a three-step syllogism by which a logical and true inference is deducted from two true propositions: a major premise and a minor premise. In the wider scope of research, deductive reasoning starts with theory and then applies it to data. The outcome is a valid conclusion about an observed phenomenon based on a true and valid pre-existing theory. In this way, a conclusion can be either valid or invalid. While testing a

hypothesis, deductive reasoning aims to “explain causal relationships between variables” (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 125). The conclusion either proves or disproves an a priori hypothesis, thereby confirming (or not) the theory.

In contrast to deductive reasoning, inductive reasoning starts with data and then moves to theory. Hence, it is informally called a “bottom-up” approach because it moves from the specific to the general. In this way, a “theory would follow data rather than vice versa as with deduction” (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 126). In other words, it starts with a thorough observation of data in order to detect any patterns and then proceeds to the explanations of these patterns. Comprehensive statements are formulated, and broader assumptions are inferred from these explanations. Out of these tentative generalizations, a theory may be eventually created (Litosseliti, 2017, p. 95). The main objective is not to reach valid conclusions but rather to offer the most plausible explanations of the observed data.

The differences between these two models of reasoning are illustrated in Table 6 below, as originally designed by Saunders et al. (2009, p. 127).

Table 6

Major Differences Between Deductive and Inductive Approaches to Research¹⁴

Deduction emphasises	Induction emphasises
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • scientific principles • moving from theory to data • the need to explain causal relationships between variables • the collection of quantitative data • the application of controls to ensure validity of data • the operationalisation of concepts to ensure clarity of definition • a highly structured approach • researcher independence of what is being researched • the necessity to select samples of sufficient size in order to generalise conclusions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gaining an understanding of the meanings humans attach to events • a close understanding of the research context • the collection of qualitative data • a more flexible structure to permit changes of research emphasis as the research progresses • a realisation that the researcher is part of the research process • less concern with the need to generalise

In general, the association between inductive reasoning and qualitative methods is widely perceived. Litosseliti (2017) affirmed that “qualitative studies are, by their very nature, inductive”. This same association applies to deductive reasoning and quantitative method. However, there are no set rules as both models can use either method or both.

¹⁴ Reprinted from (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 127). © Copyright 2009 by Pearson Education.

3.3. Research strategies and choices

Research strategies and research choices are the main components of any research design Saunders et al. (2009). In terms of research strategies, they are determined by the purpose of the study. The purpose is, in its turn, defined by the research questions of the study. Different research questions, therefore, require different purposes. The *what* questions usually require descriptive research, while the *why* questions necessitate explanatory research. Purposes can be exploratory, predictive, descriptive, or explanatory in nature (Marczyk et al., 2005; Saunders et al., 2009). It is possible to combine these purposes in one single research. The descripto-explanatory style is the most frequent, in which description is used as a means to attain explanation (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 140).

Descriptive research “refers to the process of defining, classifying, or categorizing” (Marczyk et al., 2005, p. 16). It usually tends to be “confirmatory” as it tests a priori hypotheses drawn from a specific theory or previous studies. In this way, the research is theory-driven, and it is usually conducted according to a fixed design. One type of descriptive research is “correlational research”, which describes the relationship between at least two variables (Marczyk et al., 2005).

On the other hand, explanatory research aims to “establish causal relationships between variables” (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 140). It is generally agreed that causation is more than a mere correlation. While descriptive research observes a correlation, explanatory research infers a cause. In other words, observing the correlation between two variables is not enough to understand why these variables are related. It does not also mean that one variable caused the other, and a correlation is just one of the prerequisites of causality between two variables (Marczyk et al., 2005).

In addition to descriptive and explanatory strategies, exploratory research is conducted to learn about and explore a new topic. It usually deals with unknown yet complex issues and seeks “new insights into phenomena” (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 592). Its efficiency lies in the discovery of new territories. Hence, its utmost objective is exploration, as its name implies. Tukey (1980, p. 24) asserted that “finding the question is often more important than finding the answer”. In this way, exploratory research does not test any hypotheses. Instead, it generates them and challenges the “paradigm of a straight line from question to answer” (Tukey, 1980, p. 25).

In addition to the research strategies, researchers have to be aware of the research options, such as quantitative versus qualitative. The research options cover decisions about data collection and data analysis. Researchers have to explicitly express whether they have chosen a quantitative or qualitative approach and justify their decision.

Differences between these two approaches have been controversial. They are often considered incompatible and mutually exclusive. This vagueness is partly due to the competition between paradigms, especially during the 1960s and 1980s (Guba et al., 1994). The ontological and epistemological differences were overstated, which led to an uncompromising juxtaposition between the two approaches.

These paradigmatic wars are not interesting for pragmatic researchers who advocate compatibility between research approaches (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003) and who “argue against a false dichotomy” between them (R. Cameron et al., 2007, p. 2). Hence, mixed-method research became popular for integrating them in a single research. The next three subsections will discuss quantitative, qualitative, and mixed-method approaches, respectively.

As its name implies, a quantitative approach is about quantities, and more precisely, measuring quantities. Saunders et al. (2009, p. 151) defined it as the approach that “generates or

uses numerical data”. Historically, this approach has been associated with hard sciences such as mathematics, physics, and chemistry in which “a priori hypotheses, most usefully stated as mathematical (quantitative) propositions or propositions that can be easily converted into precise mathematical formulas expressing functional relationships” (Guba et al., 1994, p. 112). Thus, the use of quantification makes this approach primarily explanatory, intending to achieve precise, universal, and generalizable laws. Questionnaires may be taken as a typical example of quantitative data collection, and statistics may stand as a typical example of a quantitative data analysis procedure (Marczyk et al., 2005, p. 23). Though the quantitative approach is often admired as a sign of “scientific maturity”, it has been heavily criticized mainly for being decontextualized, excluding non-quantifiable variables, and eliminating meaning and purpose (Guba et al., 1994, p. 114).

As for the qualitative approach, it is often defined by what it is not. It is the research that is not based on any sort of quantification. It is essentially exploratory and relies on an in-depth description of the phenomena under study. It is also associated with a social inquiry covering all sorts of textual analysis (R. L. Jackson et al., 2007, p. 23). The common method for data generation is interviewing. Data are generated from individuals and/or groups through diverse types of interviews. In addition, focus groups, ethnography, observation, and case studies are other modes of qualitative data collection (R. L. Jackson et al., 2007, p. 25). A “thick description” of the context or “rich data” is generated from thorough and focused responses from participants for the sake of the validity of qualitative research (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003, p. 21). Data analysis includes various processes such as summarizing, categorizing, and narrative structuring (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 497).

The third method is called mixed-method research. As its name says, it combines both qualitative and quantitative methods for the sake of a better understanding of the conducted research. It emerged as a response to the “call for a new paradigm dialog” (Denzin, 2010, p. 420). It aims to avoid the rigid dichotomy between the quantitative and qualitative approaches and, above all, to give voice and space to all researchers regardless of their paradigmatic affiliations. It also rejects “the one-to-one linkage of methods with paradigms” (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2012). This approach encourages researchers to use multiple methods in order to demonstrate that “there are no ironclad criteria regulating the production of knowledge or the validation of inquiry findings” (Denzin, 2010, p. 424). One of the controversial issues in combining quantitative and qualitative approaches is the research design and, more precisely, the sequence and emphasis of the approaches. It is not clear whether they are ordered concurrently, sequentially, or both, and which approach has the priority. The next section moves to the methodology followed by Cognitive Linguistics with an emphasis on corpus-based approaches.

3.4. Research methods in Cognitive Linguistics

Geeraerts (2010, p. 64) explained that Cognitive Linguistics has made a “transition to a quantitative methodology”, and he concluded that this transition is “a gradual step, a continuation rather than a rupture”. In other terms, Cognitive Linguistics has adopted an empirical approach, and it has made a “quantitative turn”, as the title of Janda’s book (2013) says. Since it has endorsed empirical methods, Cognitive Linguistics “has matured considerably” (Dabrowska, 2016, p. 480). Consequently, the term “Cognitive Corpus Linguistics” has been coined to describe the new field (Arppe et al., 2010). The shift towards empirical methods has “led to a flowering of corpus methods within Cognitive Linguistics” (Dabrowska, 2016, p. 484).

Three major factors have contributed to the acceptance of the new Cognitive Linguistics methodology. First, traditional Cognitive Linguistics methods such as introspection and intuition were heavily criticized. Geeraerts (2010, p. 68) asserted that “the intuitive method is not sufficient”. These methods are regarded as “speculative” by Stefanowitsch (2010, p. 357) and thus incapable of generating generalizations about human cognition. Second, the impact of the Cognitive Commitment on the field has been observed. Under the conditions of this commitment, it has become difficult to accept findings unless they are empirically validated. As a result, cognitive linguists are encouraged to rely on empirically minded disciplines.

The third and last factor contributing to the adoption of empirical methods is the large volume of research conducted within the field using the new methods. Previous doubts have been dispelled when an increasing number of studies in Cognitive Linguistics have relied on empirical methods. (Geeraerts, 2010, p. 63) demonstrated how empirical methods could be used to conduct a systematic study of language, backed by the theoretical assumptions that meaning and grammar emerge from usage. His evaluation of the new empirical methods of cognitive semantics is a response to the doubts that this field is incompatible with quantitative methodology.

When combined, these three factors have led cognitive linguists to see their field as a usage-based theory (Langacker, 1987; Semino, 2017; Tomasello, 2000) and, therefore, “compatible with” corpus-linguistic methods (Gries, 2009, p. 1226). In its “quantitative turn”, Cognitive Linguistics is “brimming with new corpus-based methods and statistical tools”, Gries (2014, p. 280) wrote. The next two sections will review the main tenets of corpus linguistics and how metaphor has been studied using corpus-based methods.

3.4.1. Corpus linguistics

Corpus Linguistics is a methodology that analyzes language based on a corpus, defined as a body of texts. It is “firmly rooted in empirical, inductive forms of analysis, relying on real-world instances of language use in order to derive rules or explore trends about the ways in which people actually produce language” (Litosseliti, 2017, p. 94). In the same vein, Hilpert & Gries (2016, p. 36) defined quantitative corpus linguistics as “a research tradition in which research questions are formulated in such a way that frequency counts from corpora may provide answers”. This definition reflects the central position of a corpus in the field. It is in line with Teubert (2005, p. 1), the editor of the *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, who asserted that “the corpus is considered the default resource for almost anyone working in linguistics”. This view is reiterated by Newman (2011, p. 521) who affirmed that “corpora are a natural source of data for cognitive linguists”.

Though it is formally defined by its use of corpora, corpus Linguistics technically relies on computers to process especially large corpora and conduct complex analysis. Digitalization has become one of the features of an ideal corpus. Hence, corpora have become computer-readable (Lindquist, 2009, p. 27). In addition, a corpus has to be representative in relation to the genre and/or the register it represents (Gilquin & Gries, 2009, p. 6). Furthermore, a corpus is “spontaneous, non-elicited language data” (Grondelaers & Speelman, 2007, p. 150), and it reflects the diversity of language. It can be written or spoken, from various domains, and about various topics.

In terms of objectives, corpus linguistics aims to acquire “linguistic knowledge through the analysis of collections of samples of naturally-occurring texts”, according to Wallis & Nelson (2001, p. 305). As usage-based theories, Corpus Linguistics and Cognitive Linguistics intersect

in their investigation of authentic language. “The use of computer-based corpora provides a solid empirical foundation for general-purpose language tools and descriptions and enables analyses of a scope not otherwise possible” (Douglas Biber, 1993, p. 243).

According to Gries’s (2015, pp. 51–60) study, Corpus Linguistics tools can be divided into two types: distributional and contextual. The first type includes three methods: frequency lists, co-occurrences, and dispersions. Gries (2010, p. 269) grouped these three methods under one umbrella, called “distributional frequency”. The frequency count of a word, for example, is the number of times it appears in a corpus. It can be counted either as raw, relative or logged. However, we “can only compare corpus frequencies or use them to make statements about what is more frequent when the frequencies have been normalized” (Gries, 2010, p. 7). These statements about use frequency can be a sound basis for conclusions such as “the more frequently a form occurs in text, the more grammatical it is assumed to be” ((Hopper & Traugott, 2002, p. 106) as cited in (Rhee, 2003, p. 192)).

As for the second distributional method, co-occurrences are built on the assumption that words do not co-occur randomly. Instead, they are attracted to form habitual relationships with specific collocates (Stubbs, 1995, p. 24). Studying co-occurrences aims to determine how likely it is for a given word to co-occur with another in a corpus and to assess the strength of the relationship between words within a given text. The patterns and frequencies of co-occurrences are investigated, through specific association measures, not merely to count the co-occurrences in the text but to reveal “the cognitive associations in the minds of language users” (Schmid & Küchenhoff, 2013, p. 532). These patterns are often described as “collocational frameworks” (Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2008, pp. 534–540) or “collocational units” (Renouf & Sinclair, 1991, p. 134).

In addition to frequency and co-occurrences, the third distributional method, dispersion, investigates how a word is (un)evenly distributed in a corpus. These three methods are concerned with frequencies (frequency of occurrences, frequency of co-occurrences, and dispersion), but they do not examine the contexts of words or patterns.

Unlike the first category of corpus linguistics tools, the second category is primarily concerned with contextual analysis. Hence, it inspects the concordance lines in a corpus. The inspection covers the context surrounding the keyword, which is known as a keyword in context and abbreviated as KWIC (Lindquist, 2009, p. 5). A contextual analysis seeks to investigate the meaning of the word in its context and identify how it interacts with other words to form meaningful regularities and patterns (Wynne, 2008, p. 715). In general, the aforementioned methods highlight the patterns so that a researcher can apply his linguistic knowledge to them (A. Deignan, 2008).

With the various computer-assisted tools, it has become easier to generate a large number of concordance lines. However, the linguist's main objective is still to read (between) these lines in order to test hypotheses in descriptive research or to explore and interpret the potential hypotheses in exploratory research. Testing hypotheses necessitates "confirmatory statistics," as opposed to generating hypotheses, which necessitates "exploratory statistics" (Gries, 2015, p. 60).

Corpus Linguistics is frequently criticized for relying too excessively on empirical data. Critics often claim that corpus-based analysis yields no more than "numbers for the sake of numbers" at the expense of interpretation and valuable conclusions (Divjak et al., 2016, p. 455). A proper analysis of conceptual metaphor relies on interpretation, but it also makes use of

Corpus Linguistics tools. The next section reviews the applications of the corpus-based approach to metaphor.

3.4.2. Corpus linguistics and metaphor research

Most of CMT's claims have been proved through empirical evidence (Semino, 2017, pp. 468–473). The application of the empirical approach is possible due to the fact metaphor is a multifaceted phenomenon. A. Deignan (2008, p. 280) asserted that “metaphor is a textual and social phenomenon as well as a cognitive one”. Hence, the corpus-based approach offers “explicit procedures, and not just intuitive judgments” (Gibbs, 2011, p. 535). These procedures have been useful in extracting linguistic metaphors from large corpora, quantifying their frequency, and proving the major claims about metaphor, such as its ubiquity, systematicity of mappings, and conceptual domains (Wikberg, 2008).

At the methodological level, the corpus-based approach offers various strategies for identifying and retrieving metaphors and metonymies from a given corpus. Stefanowitsch & Gries (2007, p. 4) identified various strategies, including lexical items from both the source domain and the target domain and “markers of metaphor” such as “metaphorically”, “figuratively”, and similar terms.

In addition, these strategies are most suitable with annotated corpora, in which each word is annotated with a tag. It can be semantic, syntactic, part of speech, stylistic, or pragmatic, among other categories. Automatic tagging programs have made annotating easy and accessible. However, there is no consensus among scholars on whether annotating is necessary or useful. Annotation is frequently criticized for its lack of accuracy, time-consuming procedures, and, more importantly, its contamination of the original text and language patterns (Anthony, 2013a, p. 147). The anti-annotation position was strongly advocated by Sinclair (2005) through his

appeal to trust the text, as the title of his article says. Rissanen (2018, p. 9) supported this view and argued that a machine cannot replace the human brain. He recommended that we “see wider textual and extralinguistic contexts, to get a glimpse of the author and society behind the text”. This same view is supported by Gibbs & Lonergan (2009, p. 252), who asserted that “metaphors are best studied and analyzed within their natural contexts”.

Given the diachronic nature of this thesis, it is worth noting the emergence of a new scholarship based on “diachronic corpus analysis” (Ahrens, 2011, p. 2). Corpus-based tools have also been used to investigate diachronic variations in metaphor use. Corpora of different languages and text types were compared from a diachronic perspective (Billig & MacMillan, 2005; Canovas, 2014; Guardamagna, 2016; Kubát & Cech, 2016; Magagnin, 2016; Musolff, 2009; Tissari, 2001; Trim, 2018b). Most of these studies have been conducted within the framework of corpus linguistics.

3.5. Research design

Having reviewed the various research paradigms, their implications, and the methods of Cognitive Linguistics, particularly metaphor studies, this second and last part of this chapter is devoted to the methodology of the current thesis. It starts with presenting the corpus, data collection procedures, data analysis stages, and analytical tools.

3.5.1. The corpus

The data used in this study consists of a compilation of all the inaugural addresses delivered by American presidents since 1789. It is made up of the entire population of the existing data. Charteris-Black (2004b, p. 88) referred to this same data as “the US Inaugural Corpus”, which is more precise than “the Presidential Corpus”. This corpus is authentic as well as machine-readable. In other words, this corpus consists of naturally-occurring language used

by American presidents in their inaugural addresses. In addition, it is compiled in an electronic form for the sake of linguistic inquiry, as specified by the research questions of this thesis.

This corpus also has the following five characteristics. First, it is monolingual as opposed to parallel or multilingual as all the inaugurals were originally written and delivered in English. Second, it is original as opposed to translated. The inaugurals will not be translated into any other language during all the stages of this thesis. Third, it is also diachronic as opposed to synchronic. It can be categorized as “historical corpus data” (Zhang et al., 2015, p. 291). Fourth, it is also dynamic as opposed to static as it keeps growing with a “predictable frequency”, as Rowley (2010, p. 44) put it. Fifth, it is a specific corpus as opposed to a general corpus.

In addition to these five features, the corpus contains the whole text of the inaugurals, not just a sample. Thus, it encompasses the entire population of the existing data, from its inception in 1789 to the present day. Consequently, issues like balance, sampling, and representativeness are not relevant.

The corpus is composed of 58 texts, one address each. These texts are the transcripts of the presidential inaugural addresses delivered in the last 228 years by the 45 presidents of the United States over the last 228 years, beginning with the first in 1789 and ending in 2017. It is self-evident to note that the texts have been equally distributed over that period: a new inaugural address was produced every four years, without any exceptions.

In terms of their historical distribution, the 18th century comprised three addresses (1789, 1793, and 1799), the 19th and the 20th centuries had 25 addresses each, and the 21st century had five addresses. However, they are not equally distributed over the number of presidents. There are 58 addresses, but only 45 presidents. The number of addresses per president is illustrated in Table 7.

Table 7

The Inaugural Addresses by Presidents

# of addresses	1	2	3	4
# of presidents	22	16	0	1

What stands out is that President Roosevelt is the only president who delivered four addresses in four consecutive terms. That was the only exception in the history of the American inaugurals. The other two patterns are consistent with the rule that each president cannot remain in office for more than two terms. In this regard, 16 two-term presidents delivered two addresses each. One-term presidents delivered the remaining 22 addresses. Appendix A offers an exhaustive list of all the inaugurals in chronological order coupled with their respective presidents' names and word counts.

In terms of size, the corpus' total count is exactly 135534 words, as specified in Appendix A. Whether measured by the number of words or the number of sentences, this corpus is deemed of acceptable size (Caruso et al., 2014). The addresses vary in their sizes. They range from 135 to 8460 words. The shortest address was delivered in 1793, while the longest was in 1841. Figure 8 clearly shows that most of the addresses have between 1435 and 2735 words.

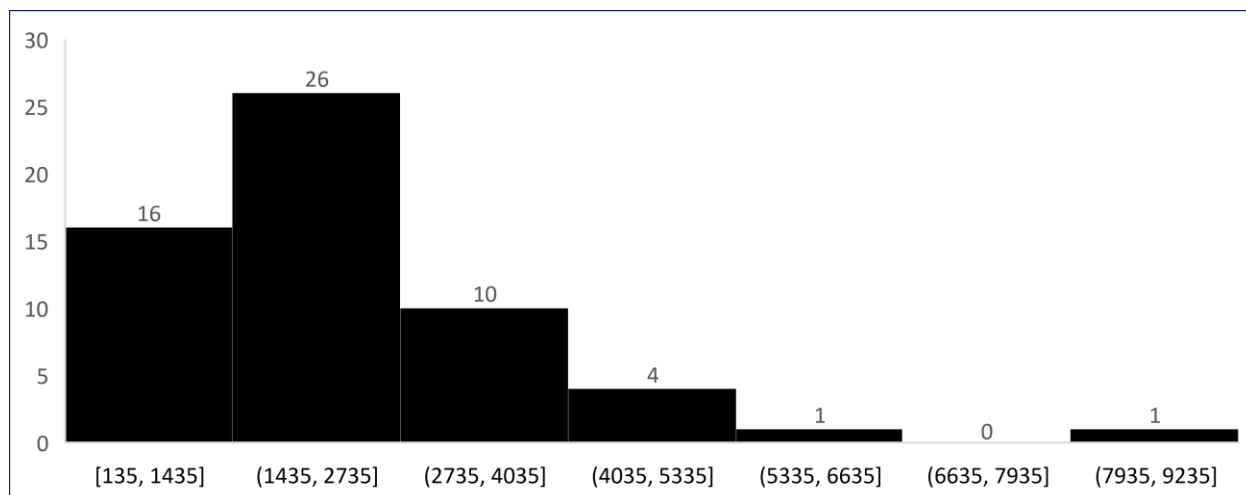


Figure 8. The frequency distribution of the inaugural addresses

Overall, the average size is 1432 words. This average, however, is not representative because it is influenced by the very few short addresses as well as the excessively long ones. These addresses are three in total: one short address and two long ones. Apart from these addresses, 26 addresses contain between 1435 and 2735 words. They account for 44, 82% of all the addresses. To put it another way, Table 8 shows the number of addresses distributed over a range from 100 to 9000 words.

Table 8

The Inaugural Addresses by Word Range

Word range	100- 499	500- 999	1000- 1999	2000- 2999	3000- 3999	4000- 4999	5000- 5999	6000- 9000
# of addresses	1	3	23	18	7	4	1	1
Percentage	2%	5%	40%	31%	12%	7%	2%	2%

Low scores can be observed at both ends of Table 8, while high scores are in the middle of the table. The scores also show that 48 addresses contain between 1000 and 3999 words, whereas the remaining 10 addresses are either too short or too long. It is also worth noting that 41 addresses have between 1000 and 2999 words. More precisely, 71% of all the inaugurals have an average size of 1863 words.

3.5.2. Data collection procedures

This section presents the procedures used to collect the data. They are as follows:

In the first stage, the inaugural addresses were accessed on the American Presidency Project, a website run by the University of California Santa Barbara.

(<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/inaugurals.php>). This website constitutes the main source of the corpus. For the sake of accuracy, all addresses extracted from the American Presidency Project were cross-checked against a similar source, the Avalon Project (http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/inaug.asp).

The second stage consists of the treatment of these inaugural texts. As they appear on their original website, they are in HTML format. To make them compatible with the requirements of the analytical tools, they were converted into text files. Superfluous information, such as symbols, images, and HTML codes, were all removed. Once cleaned, the files contain nothing but the transcripts of the original addresses. They were labeled according to the dates of their respective delivery and then saved as separate .txt files. As such, the data were ready for analysis, as Figure 9 shows.

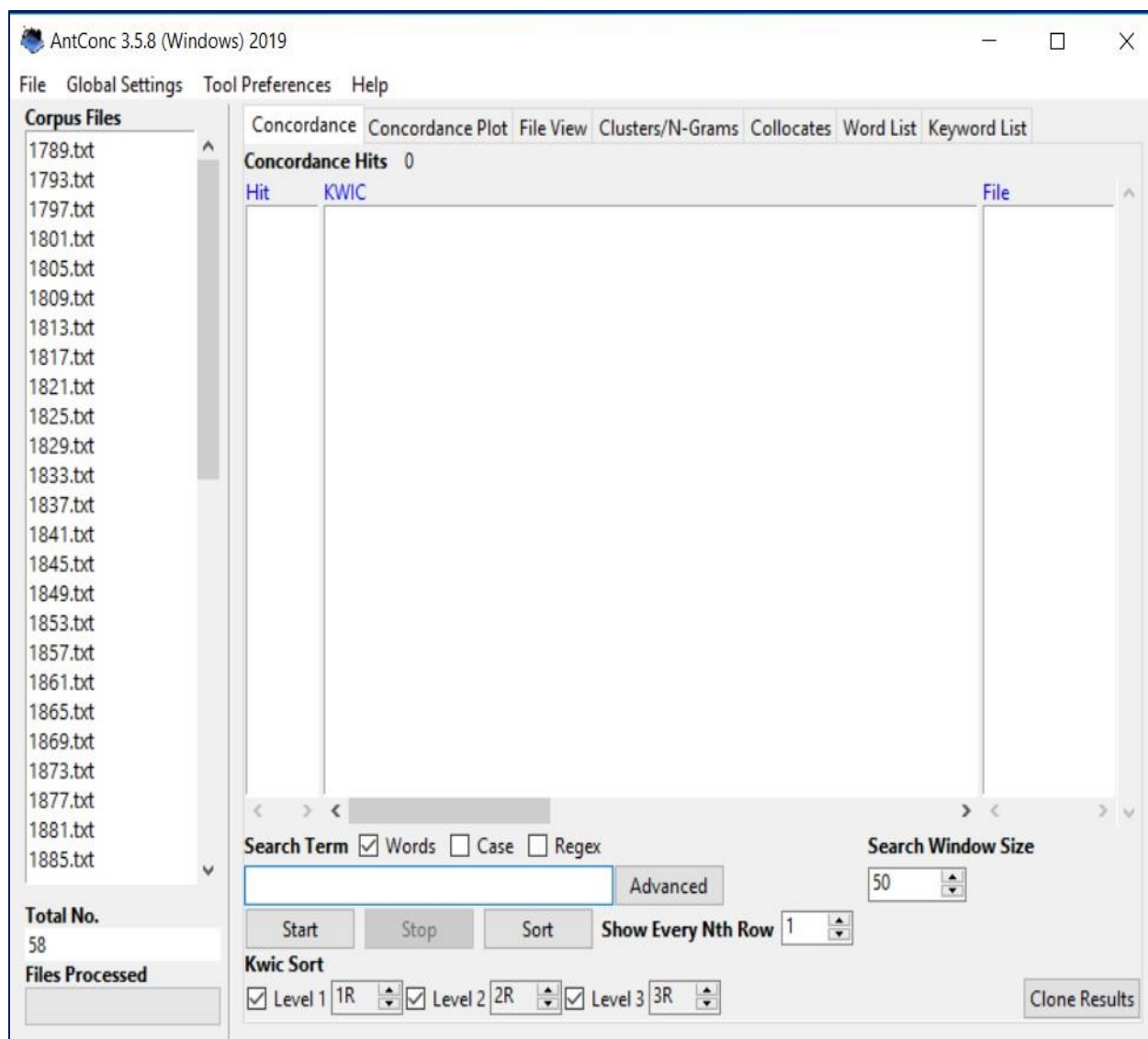


Figure 9. A window of Antconc with the inaugurals' files on the left

The software *AntConc* (version 3.5.8), developed by Anthony (2013b), was used for data analysis. It is basically a corpus analysis toolkit with a user-friendly interface, and it is one of the most popular softwares among corpus linguists, according to Tribble (2012). It also “offers a powerful concordancer, word and keyword frequency generators, tools for cluster and lexical bundle analysis, and a word distribution plot” (Anthony, 2004, p. 7).

3.5.3. Data analysis procedures

As for the data analysis procedures, they were implemented over three stages. The first stage was mainly a pre-test on a small sample of the corpus. The second stage had two parts. In the first part, the list of prepositions to be studied was identified. A list of raw and normalized frequencies of all prepositions was generated in the second part of the second stage. The third stage also had two parts. In its first part, the metaphorical senses of prepositions were identified and analyzed, while in its second part, the conceptual bases of metaphor were inferred, and dichromic metaphor variations were detected and observed. These three stages will be described in more detail in the forthcoming sections.

3.5.3.1. Pre-test

The first stage was a pre-test to determine the viability of the whole study. Hence, a pilot project was conducted following the steps mentioned above. The data consist of only two addresses, the first (1789) and the last (2017). The choice of these addresses is justified not only by their equal size but also by the time lapse between them. They have nearly the same word count (1431 and 1433, respectively) and the 228-year gap highlights the diachronic perspective. The results suggested that both presidents use prepositions in their metaphorical senses, but they vary in terms of kind, frequency, and usage. These variations at this small-scale warrant plausible explanations that can be generalized. This pilot project validated the research questions, as well as the efficacy of the methodology to be adopted by the thesis.

3.5.3.2. Prepositions list

This stage consists of the acts taken to get to the final list of the prepositions. The aim is to determine a list of “keywords” (Partington, 2006, pp. 260–264). Obviously, the search items consist of the prepositions themselves because they are the main theme of the study. The final

list of keywords includes exactly 64 prepositions. The preparation of the list went through the following stages. First, a preliminary list of 48 prepositions was compiled. It came out of the *word list* option available at *AntConc*, as shown in Figure 10.

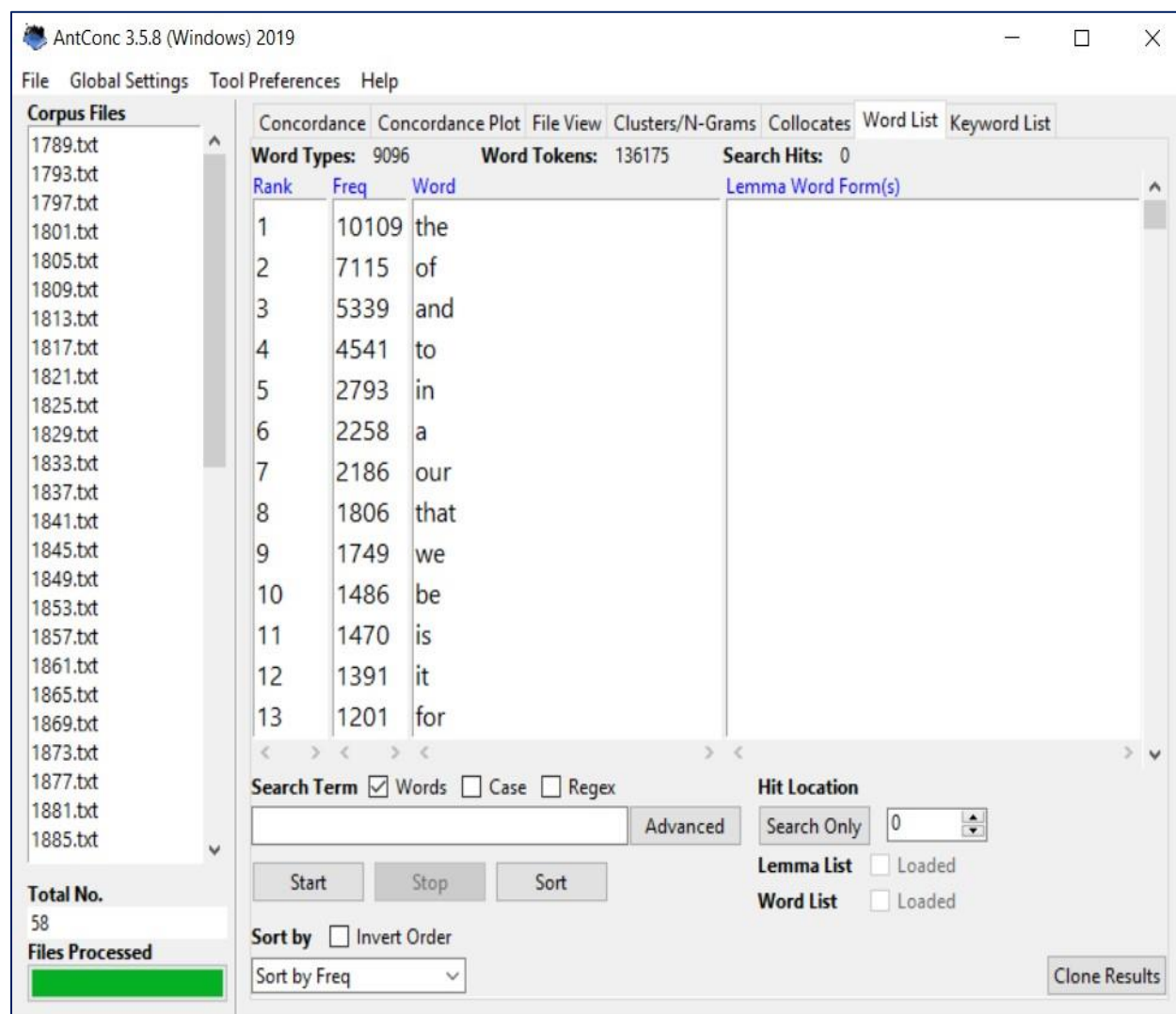


Figure 10. A word list of AntConc showing words in terms of their frequency

Prepositions were extracted from the *word list* generated by *AntConc* along with their observed raw frequency of occurrences. The *word list* feature shows the words of the corpus by order of their frequency of occurrences and displays the frequency rates in front of each word.

As shown in Figure 10, four prepositions (*of*, *to*, *in*, and *for*) are among the top 13 words in the corpus containing 9096 word types.

The preliminary results consisted of a 48-preposition list covering a wide range of occurrences ranging from 7115 (*of*) to two (*onto*). The list was created manually by which individual prepositions were recorded along with their raw occurrences and then saved as an Excel file.

In The second step, the preliminary list was cross-checked against two other lists suggested by Carter & McCarthy (2006, p. 251) and Lindstromberg (2010). The former has 61 prepositions, while the latter contains 67. A comparison between these three lists gave rise to 25 discrepancies. These cases consist of those prepositions that did not show up in the frequency list. After they were identified, they were checked whether they are in the corpus or not. The results of the queries showed that 16 (out of 25) prepositions occurred in the corpus. Thus, they were added to the keywords, and the list rose from 48 to 64. The other nine cases were eliminated because they do not appear in the corpus. Appendix B consists of the final list, comprising 64 prepositions.

The next step consisted of counting the raw occurrences of each of the 64 prepositions in each address. The counts were manually extracted and then saved in an Excel file, as partially presented in Figure 11.

	A	B	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U	V	W	X	Y	Z	AA	AB	AC
1	SER	YEA	of	to	in	for	by	with	as	from	on	upo	at	unde	witho	befo	into	again	throu	amor	betwe	out	withi	ove	up	like	towa	sinc
2	1	1789	71	48	31	12	20	17	14	7	15	0	2	5	2	1	3	1	0	1	3	1	0	2	0	0	0	4
3	2	1793	11	5	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	3	1797	140	72	47	21	30	16	14	13	10	5	6	6	3	2	2	1	1	4	2	0	0	4	1	1	3	1
5	4	1801	104	61	24	10	16	20	10	12	7	1	3	4	2	2	1	2	4	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0
6	5	1805	101	83	35	7	22	28	13	12	21	0	6	2	2	3	1	6	2	7	1	0	4	2	1	0	0	1
7	6	1809	69	61	34	5	11	10	15	7	5	2	4	6	2	2	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
8	7	1813	65	42	21	5	13	9	5	8	22	0	2	3	4	2	6	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
9	8	1817	164	126	79	19	30	36	24	19	19	1	8	10	3	1	7	9	4	3	3	0	5	1	1	0	0	0
10	9	1821	197	146	136	30	58	49	32	27	49	0	11	7	7	3	8	2	4	1	11	1	5	3	5	6	1	8
11	10	1825	245	101	62	16	38	26	8	10	2	16	13	6	1	0	3	5	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	0	1	5
12	11	1829	71	53	24	10	11	10	11	3	8	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
13	12	1833	76	46	23	8	10	10	4	8	2	5	5	2	3	4	2	0	3	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	1
14	13	1837	198	139	76	27	17	38	30	23	23	13	14	1	5	4	2	1	2	3	1	2	0	1	0	0	1	1
15	14	1841	604	318	173	53	103	57	73	49	14	34	28	17	9	3	6	4	2	3	8	2	5	3	1	4	0	4
16	15	1845	298	184	87	36	46	28	38	22	17	14	13	5	4	0	2	7	0	6	4	3	13	10	0	1	0	2
17	16	1849	62	61	20	6	17	10	7	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
18	17	1853	169	107	60	33	20	30	33	13	5	24	12	8	3	2	2	1	2	0	2	2	6	3	0	6	0	0
19	18	1857	139	105	61	28	22	14	31	17	12	3	8	8	4	3	6	5	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	3
20	19	1861	146	135	77	25	42	20	34	17	12	15	6	6	3	7	3	2	1	6	4	2	2	3	3	0	0	1
21	20	1865	22	27	9	9	6	8	5	3	3	1	3	0	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
22	21	1869	45	56	26	7	1	10	12	5	3	4	1	0	5	3	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	4	0
23	22	1873	72	50	26	14	12	9	13	5	3	4	4	6	3	3	2	1	1	0	2	1	2	1	3	1	3	1
24	23	1877	166	88	63	22	26	19	26	6	3	15	6	2	1	2	2	0	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	0	0	0
25	24	1881	181	81	49	32	27	19	10	10	7	13	9	6	3	2	0	5	2	1	2	1	4	1	1	0	0	2
26	25	1885	117	58	31	13	16	12	11	8	2	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
27	26	1889	240	134	80	34	37	24	25	16	3	21	11	5	7	1	5	1	0	4	3	2	1	4	0	1	1	0
28	27	1893	119	79	36	13	21	12	8	12	2	6	4	3	1	3	0	4	2	2	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0
29	28	1897	228	114	81	25	33	19	35	12	8	31	9	8	4	3	3	1	3	5	1	0	0	0	1	3	1	4
30	29	1901	110	64	42	23	16	21	17	6	9	12	6	6	6	0	1	6	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	2
31	30	1905	45	29	23	4	7	6	11	5	1	1	0	3	1	5	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0

Figure 11. The occurrences of each preposition in each address

The observed frequency lists include a total of 22552 tokens of the 64 prepositions. The occurrences of each preposition in each address were recorded in an Excel file. The raw occurrences were arranged by descending order of prepositions.

In the next step, the extracted prepositions were calculated in terms of their normalized frequencies. This type of frequency is highly required because the inaugurals have varied sizes. Comparing their raw frequencies will be misleading. “Instead, what is needed are the observed relative frequencies, which are typically normalized and reported as frequencies” (Gries, 2010, p.

7). The same software, Excel, generated the normalized occurrences of each preposition. It gave rise to another list, as partially shown in Figure 12.

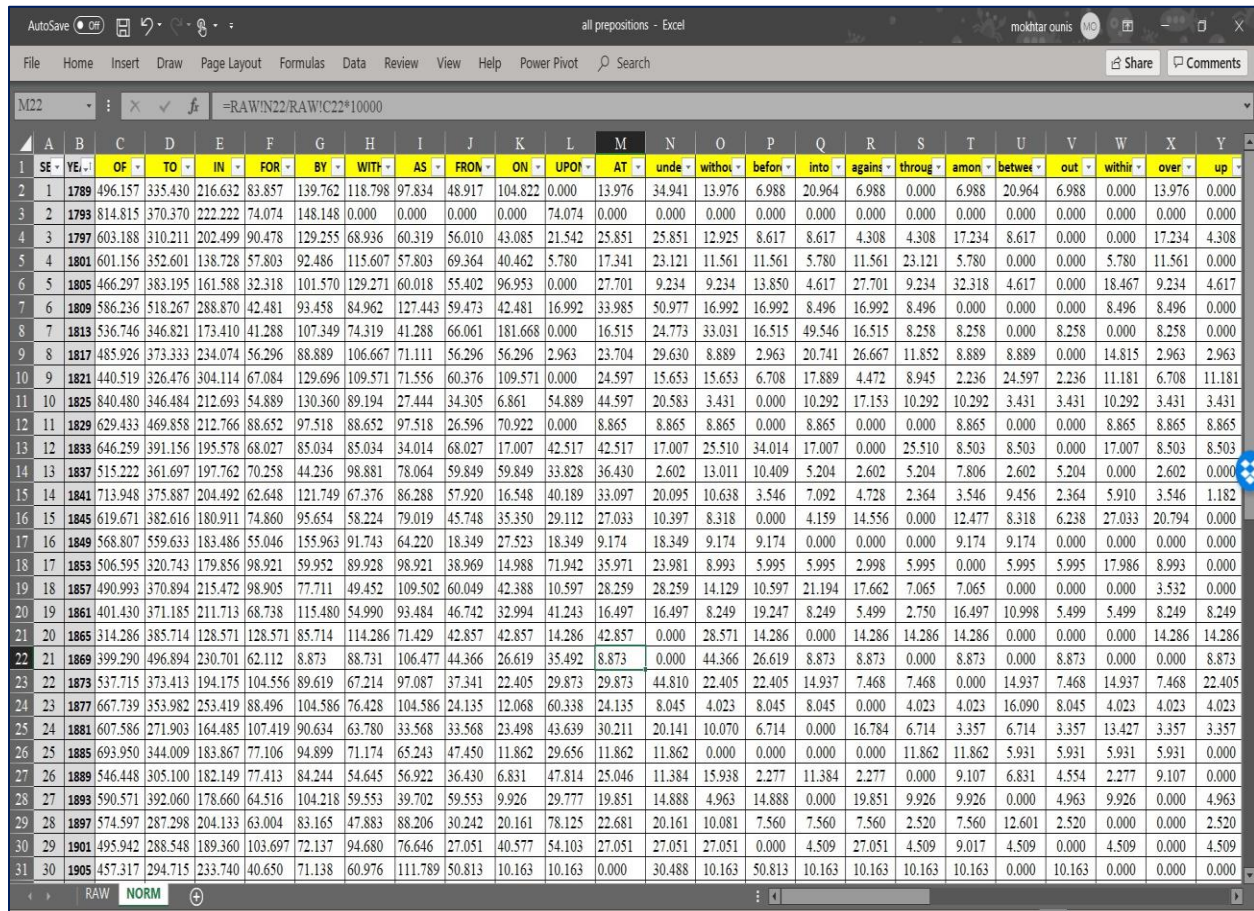


Figure 12. The normalized frequencies of all the prepositions

These lists of normalized frequencies were used to report the results in the first part of the next chapter. The second part of the finding chapter is about the thesis’s main topic: the metaphorical usages of prepositions. The forthcoming sections report the methodological procedures pursued to extract the metaphorical usages of prepositions.

3.5.3.3. Identification of metaphor-related prepositions

The analysis of metaphor-related prepositions consists of three stages. The first stage deals with the identification of metaphors. In the second stage, the conceptual bases of these metaphors are formulated. The third and last stage is about the interpretations of the extracted metaphors from a diachronic perspective.

As for the identification of candidate metaphors, it consists of a sum of the “many decisions about what is included and excluded” (L. J. Cameron & Stelma, 2004, p. 120). These decisions are informed by cognitive metaphor theory in which metaphors are recognized in naturally-occurring contexts and their extraction, therefore, relies essentially on contextual analysis. It followed three steps; First, a preposition is searched in the corpus using the software AntConc. The yielded results had the following interface, as shown in Figure 13.

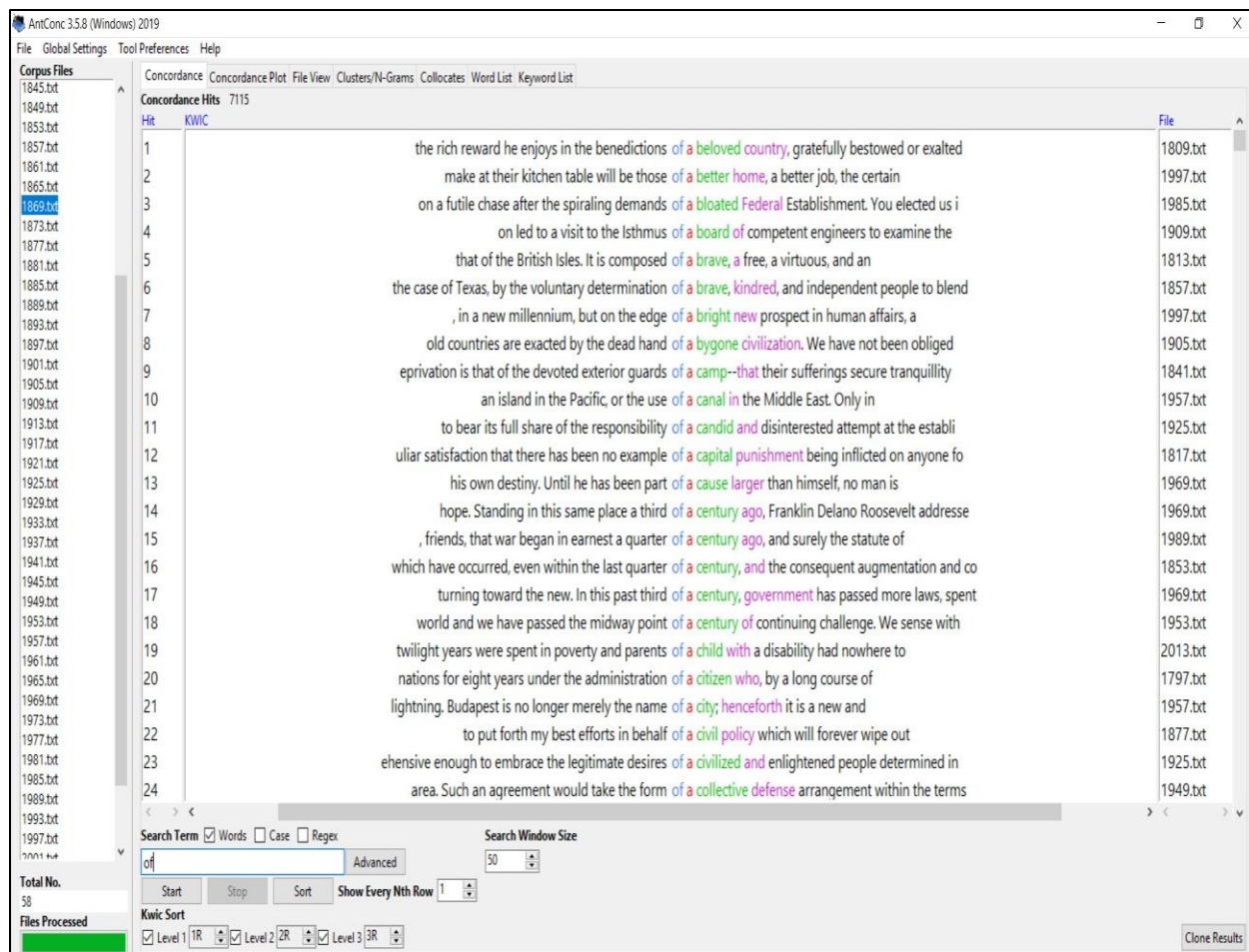


Figure 13. A window of the preposition OF in context

The concordance lines in which every single preposition occurred were read carefully to decide whether the sense is literal or metaphorical. In order to identify linguistic metaphors away from subjective interpretation, the MIPVU (G. J. Steen et al., 2010) was applied. MIPVU is defined as “a tool for linguistic metaphor identification in natural discourse” (G. J. Steen et al., 2010, p. 4). In its original version, it was called MIP and stood for Metaphor Identification Procedure. It is important to note that this procedure identifies the linguistic metaphors only and not the conceptual metaphors. This tool identifies potential linguistic metaphors in usage by

“looking at some contrast and comparison between contextual meanings and basic meanings”

(G. J. Steen et al., 2010, p. 9). The practical stages of MIP are as follows:

1. Identify the contextual meaning of the lexical unit.
2. Check if there is a more basic meaning of the lexical unit. If there is, establish its identity.
3. Determine whether the lexical unit’s more basic meaning is sufficiently distinct from the contextual meaning.
4. Examine whether the lexical unit’s contextual meaning can be related to the more basic meaning by some form of *similarity*.

A lexical unit is considered metaphorically used only when Instructions 2, 3, and 4 are all positive. In this case, this lexical unit is called a metaphor-related word, abbreviated as MRW.

The current thesis borrows the term metaphor-related prepositions from the technical terminology of MIPVU. A preposition is called term metaphor-related prepositions when it meets the requirements outlined above.

In her research on metaphors produced by advanced Norwegian learners of English and British A-level students, Nacey (2010, pp. 87–90) implemented the stages of MIP on her corpus. The following sentence from her study is taken as an illustration of how MIP works:

Our world is on a constant path of change.

All the individual lexical units of the sentence were tested, and the results reveal that the items *our, world, is, a, constant,* and *change* are not metaphorically related words while *on, path* and *of* are metaphor related. It is interesting to note that the two prepositions (*of* and *on*) are deemed metaphorically used. In its contextual meaning, the preposition *of* denotes a relationship between two abstract concepts, namely *path,* and *change* (stage 1 of MIP). Its basic meaning is

determined by the Macmillan English Dictionary, in its sixth entry, as “used for saying what something is part of” (Stage 2 of MIP). This meaning is understood from both the definition and the illustrative sentences in the dictionary. In general, the basic meaning of a lexical unit has to be extracted from a standard dictionary. MIP uses and recommends the Macmillan Dictionary for Advanced Learners and the corpus-based Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English as primary sources.

The contextual meaning of the preposition *of* differs from its basic meaning (Stage 3 of MIP) because it relates concrete concepts while, in its contextual meaning, it links abstract concepts. Despite the difference between the two meanings, they can still be related in some form of similarity (Stage 4 of MIP). It consists of the part-to-whole relationship that links both the abstract and the concrete concepts. When *of* is understood through the similarity between its contextual and basic meanings, it is considered a metaphorically related word or MRW.

This method was applied to various discourse types by different members of the Pragglejaz Group to demonstrate its reliability. The group members evaluated MIP as “explicit, reliable, and flexible” (Group, 2007, p. 2). MIP is an obvious alternative to intuition and retrospection because it provides transparent and traceable procedures. However, it has some limitations, such as the difficulty in determining the metaphoricity of some prepositions. While spatial prepositions are commonly used and easily identified as metaphors, other prepositions are not (Group, 2007, p. 20). In general, a preposition must occur in a context where there is a contrast between its basic meaning and contextual meaning for it to acquire metaphorical status. In the case of spatial prepositions, their basic meaning involves a physical location while their contextual meaning involves a non-physical situation, as understood from the context. When metaphorically used, spatial prepositions entail understanding an abstract state in terms of a

concrete location. This mechanism applies to other prepositions that have no spatial meanings. However, the situation is not that easy. It is not enough to decide that a preposition is metaphorically used whenever the noun following that preposition is abstract. It is equally important to check the lexical items that precede it. The trajectory and landmark must be examined equally in terms of their basic and contextual implications, as per MIPVU procedures.

After the metaphor identification process is completed, the sentences with metaphor-related prepositions were copied and then pasted into an Excel file along with the date of the inaugurals, their respective presidents, labels for trajectors, landmarks, source domains, and conceptual metaphors. Figure 14 illustrates part of that Excel file.

B	C	D	E	F	G	K	L
DAI	PRESIDEN	Concordance Lines	X	PREI	Y	Source Doma	Conceptual Metaphor
1973	Nixon	to build in their place bridges of understanding	bridges	of	understanding	BUILDING	TRUST RELATIONSHIPS ARE BUILDINGS
1905	T. Roosevelt	the dead hand of a bygone civilization	hand	of	civilization	BODY	TO ABUSE POWER IS TO BE IN BAD HANDS
1901	McKinley	Now every avenue of production is crowded with activity	crowded	with	activity	CONTAINER	TIME PERIODS ARE CONTAINERS FOR EMOTIONS
1881	Garfield	We stand to-day upon an eminence which overlooks a hundred years of	crowded	with	perils	CONTAINER	TIME PERIODS ARE CONTAINERS FOR EMOTIONS
1789	Washington	the asylum of my declining years	asylum	of	years	HEALTH	TIME PERIOD IS A LOCATION
1981	Reagan	to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom	bastion	of	freedom	BUILDING	THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS
1805	Jefferson	the advancement of science and the diffusion of information as the best alment	to	liberty		FOOD	SUPPORTING IDEALS IS FEEDING THEM
1897	McKinley	If, therefore, Congress, in its wisdom, shall deem it expedient to creat	congress	in	wisdom	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1801	Jefferson	it delights in the happiness of man here and his greater happiness here	delights	in	happiness	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1957	Eisenhower	The unity of all who dwell in freedom is their only sure defense	dwell	in	freedom	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1845	Polk	He would stop the progress of free government and involve his country	involve	in	anarchy	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1957	Eisenhower	all nations may live in dignity	live	in	dignity	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1949	Truman	We are aided by all who wish to live in freedom from fear	live	in	freedom	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1805	Jefferson	With which should we be most likely to live in harmony and friendly i	live	in	harmony	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1969	Nixon	will live in angry isolation	live	in	isolation	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1949	Truman	the supreme need of our time is for men to learn to live together in pea	live	in	peace	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
2017	Trump	God's people live together in unity	live	in	unity	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1957	Eisenhower	when our peoples may freely meet in friendship	meet	in	friendship	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1841	W. Harrison	They move in their respective orbits in perfect harmony with the centr	move	in	harmony	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1949	Truman	the free people of that continent can resume their rightful place in the	resume	in	forefront of civil	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1821	Monroe	For like injuries it will be incumbent on us to seek redress in a spirit	spirit	in	amity	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1813	Madison	The war has been waged on our part with scrupulous regard to all the	spirit	in	liberality	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1853	Pierce	You have summoned me in my weakness	summon	in	weakness	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1809	Madison	In their rage against each other	they	in	rage	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1941	D. Roosevelt	We were in the midst of shock	we	in	shock	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1797	Adams	at length in discontents, animosities		in	discontents	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1789	Washington	in my flattering hopes		in	hopes	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1789	Washington	opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity		in	tranquillity	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS
1821	Monroe	For all such purposes they are inexhaustible. They are more especially to be found in t		in	virtue	STATES	STATES ARE LOCATIONS

Figure 14. A window of the metaphor-related prepositions in an Excel file

The extra information added to the concordance lines permits qualitative and qualitative generalizations. Some Excel tools, such as sorting and filtering, were used to make these generalizations automatic and visible. For example, if the data were sorted by the dates of their delivery, you can observe whether there is a recurring preposition or source domain in a certain period of the inaugurals' history. The findings of the individual prepositions were primarily based on data from these Excel files. These Excel tables were also used to derive interpretations about their conceptual bases and diachronic variations.

3.5.3.4. Metaphor interpretation

In Cognitive Linguistics, linguistic metaphors are studied because they inform about the underlying conceptual metaphors, their cross-domain mapping, and the human conceptual system in general. Postulating a conceptual metaphor from linguistic metaphors was made easy thanks to the accumulated data on Excel files. When filtered by source domains, the yielded results usually suggest a potential conceptual metaphor. This process is implemented under the guidance of Steen's five-step procedure in which five areas have to be identified: (1) metaphor-related words; (2) propositions; (3) open comparison; (4) analogical structure; and (5) cross-domain mapping (G. Steen, 2017, p. 12). However, in cases when mapping is between more than two domains, guidelines from the Conceptual Blending Theory and Cognitive Grammar were invoked for the sake of cross-reference and, therefore, more accuracy and reliability.

As for the diachronic dimensions, the extracted metaphors were studied in a descripto-explanatory style (Saunders et al., 2009, p. 140). Variations of individual metaphor-related prepositions were described in a qualitative approach to suggest plausible explanations.

In short, this chapter aims to present the methodology adopted in this thesis that best answers the research questions. The first part of the chapter reviews the main research paradigms

and their research approaches, strategies, and choices. This review aims to set the methodology of this thesis in its theoretical framework. The cognitive paradigm in which this thesis belongs was formulated from the critical revisions of other paradigms. The choice of this paradigm is justified by the main theme of the thesis. Furthermore, inductive reasoning is adopted because this thesis aims to detect patterns in the metaphorization of prepositions in the Inaugural Corpus. In addition, a descripto-explanatory style is the most relevant to the aim of this thesis.

Description of the conceptual bases of the metaphor-related prepositions and their diachronic variations is an essential step to understanding why presidents have chosen one metaphor over another. Besides, the thesis adopts a mixed-method approach to deal with quantitative and qualitative research questions. The distributional frequency of prepositions and their source domains require quantitative tools, while the interpretation of the conceptual metaphors and their diachronic variations favors a qualitative approach. In the second part of this chapter, a detailed account of the research design of the current thesis was presented. It started with a presentation of the corpus, then the data collection procedures, and ends with the data analysis stages.

The next two chapters present the findings in detail and discuss the potential patterns that arise from the recurrent conceptual mappings. The sixth and last chapter summarizes these findings and concludes the thesis with remarks on the implications, limitations, and recommendations for further research.

Chapter Four: Findings

The metaphor is not the enigma but the solution of the enigma.

(Ricœur, 1978, p. 146)

In this chapter, the findings of the thesis are presented and discussed with reference to the aims of this thesis. The aims are to study the metaphor patterns of prepositions in the inaugurals, identify their conceptual bases, and check whether these metaphorical usages varied over time. The overall structure of this chapter takes the form of four sections. The first section presents the quantitative results of each preposition's occurrences based on the dates of the addresses in which it appeared. It is built on the assumption that it is necessary to identify all prepositions' occurrences and their frequency distribution across the corpus before analyzing their metaphorical senses. In this section, prepositions are categorized into sets according to the frequency of their occurrences. Each set is studied in a separate subsection.

The second section is devoted to the metaphorical senses of prepositions as they appeared in the corpus. In this section, individual prepositions or a set of similar prepositions are examined in different subsections. The third section moves on to present the findings according to their conceptual basis. The metaphorical occurrences extracted in the previous section were clustered under similar conceptual metaphors to identify any systematic coherence. The last section focuses on diachronic variations and connects the metaphor-related prepositions to their diachronic aspects to identify potential patterns and explain the related factors.

4.1. The frequency distributions of the prepositions

As the corpus is computer-readable, all the prepositions' occurrences were all analyzed without creating a sample. The prepositions extracted from the corpus are exactly 64, and their overall number of occurrences is 22, 551, which constitutes 16, 63 % of the 135, 534-word corpus.

The first finding is that these 64 prepositions are distributed over an extensive range. Appendix B shows the raw occurrences of the 64 extracted prepositions. They vary from only one occurrence to 7115, as shown in Table 9.

Table 9

Prepositions and their Central Tendency

Mean	352.37
Median	29.00
Mode	1
Range	7114
Minimum	1
Maximum	7115
Sum	22551
Count	64

In its observed occurrences, these prepositions have a mean of 352, 37. The mean coincides with the occurrences of the preposition *at*. Interestingly, the preposition that follows *at* occurs 198 times only, which is substantially lower than the mean. In this way, the mean is used to divide the data into two large sets. The first set includes the prepositions, whose occurrences

are above the mean, and the second set comprises the occurrences below 352, 37. To be more specific, the 64 prepositions are split into two large sets. The first set comprises the 11 most frequent prepositions. They include *of, to, in, for, by, with, as, from, on, upon, and at*. Their total number of occurrences is 20, 476, which represents 90, 79%. The second set consists of the remaining 53 prepositions. They occur 2076 times and represent only 9, 20%. Figure 15 presents the two sets in more detail.

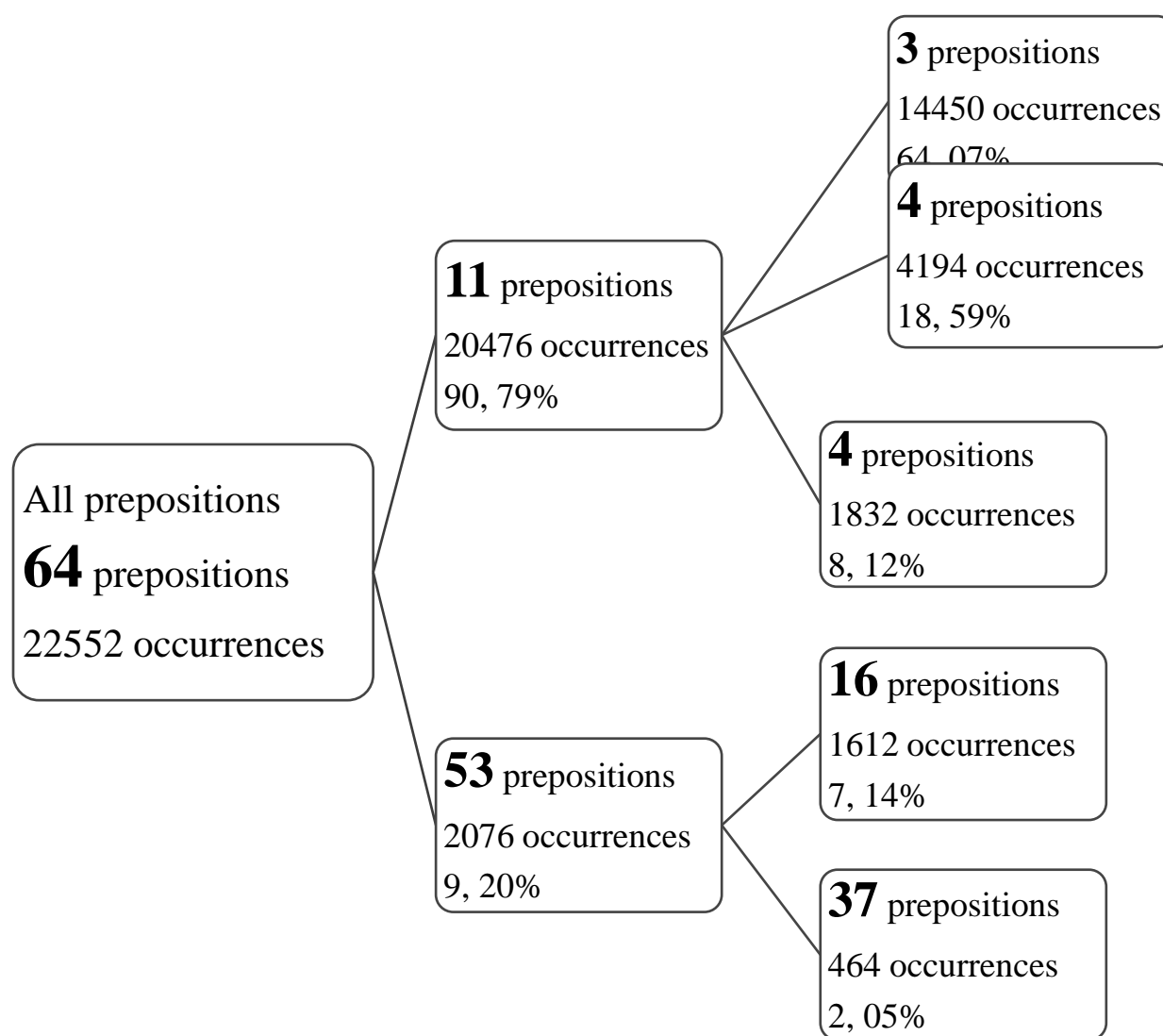


Figure 15. The raw occurrences of all the prepositions

These two sets were divided into smaller subsets. The first set has three subsets of three, four, and four prepositions, respectively. The first subset includes the three most frequent prepositions (*of, to, in*), makes a total of 14450 occurrences, and represents 64, 07%. The second subset comprises the next four most frequent prepositions (*for, by, with, as*). The third and last subset consists of the subsequent four prepositions (*from, on, upon, at*).

The second set embraces two subsets. The first subset contains 16, while the second one contains 37 prepositions. The 16 prepositions are put together owing to their relatively high occurrences. They appeared 1612 times, and they make 7, 14%. In contrast, the second subset incorporates all the prepositions with exceptionally low frequencies. This subset is interesting due to the disparity between, on the one hand, a considerable number of prepositions and, on the other hand, their low frequencies. For example, 21 out of 53 prepositions were used less than 10 times over the 228 years of the inaugurals. In addition, eight out of these 21 prepositions were used only once over the whole course. It is interesting to investigate why one preposition (*of*) was used more than 7000 times while others were used only once over a 228-year period. The uneven distribution is further demonstrated in Figure 16.

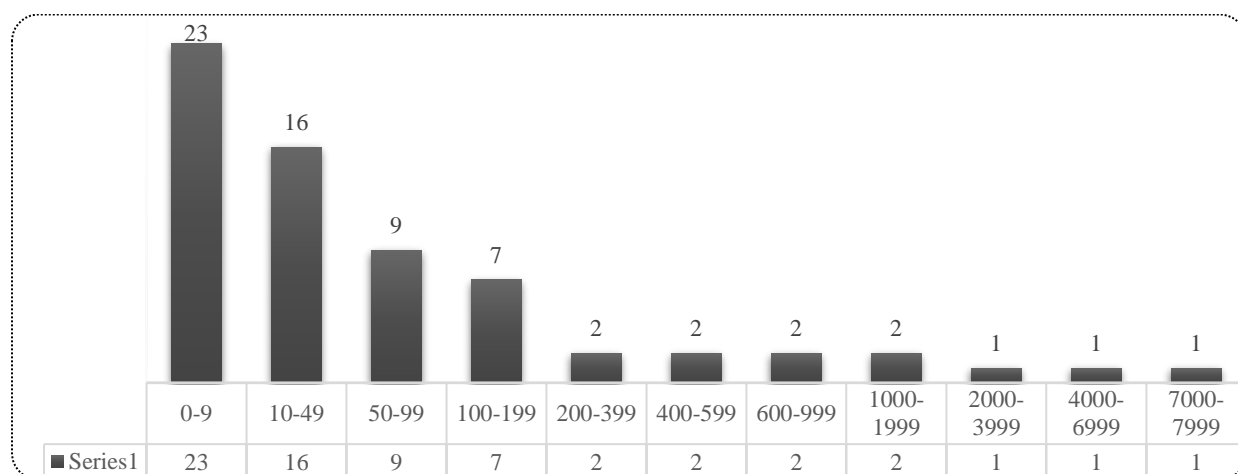


Figure 16. The frequency distribution of prepositions in the Inaugurals

As can be seen from Figure 15 and Figure 16, there are two main patterns. The first pattern supports the use of the top 11 prepositions. They are on the right side of Figure 16, and they start from the range 200, 399 up to the range of 7000-7999. These high ranges correspond to the three subsets of the first set, as presented in Figure 15. It seems that these 11 prepositions are highly needed in every address and every period of the inaugurals' history. This pattern implies that no address can survive without these 11 prepositions.

The second pattern is about the 53 prepositions distributed across four ranges extending from zero to 199, as shown on the left side of Figure 16. This pattern has two key features. First, some prepositions, particularly those in the range of 50 to 199, look as if they were optional. They were present in many addresses as well as absent in many others. The second feature is that some prepositions are dispensable. They include the prepositions with either exceptionally low frequencies or zero scores, and they appear in the range from zero to 49. The following sections will go over these sets and their subsets in greater depth to learn more about their patterns.

4.1.1. The first set

This set includes the most frequent 11 prepositions. They were divided into three subsets according to their frequency. In the sections that follow, each subset will be described in greater detail.

4.1.1.1. The top three prepositions

This first-rate set includes only three prepositions, but it stands for 64, 07%. It comprises *of*, *to*, and *in*.

To start with, the preposition *of* appeared 7115 times in all the inaugurals. As a raw frequency, its occurrences range from 11 to 604 in individual addresses. This gap between these two figures can be explained by the word count of the respective addresses. The first was drawn

from the shortest address, while the second is from the longest in the history of the inaugurals. As the size of each address varies, these figures can be misleading, and they, therefore, do not reflect any reliable relative frequency. They must be normalized, as shown in Figure 17.

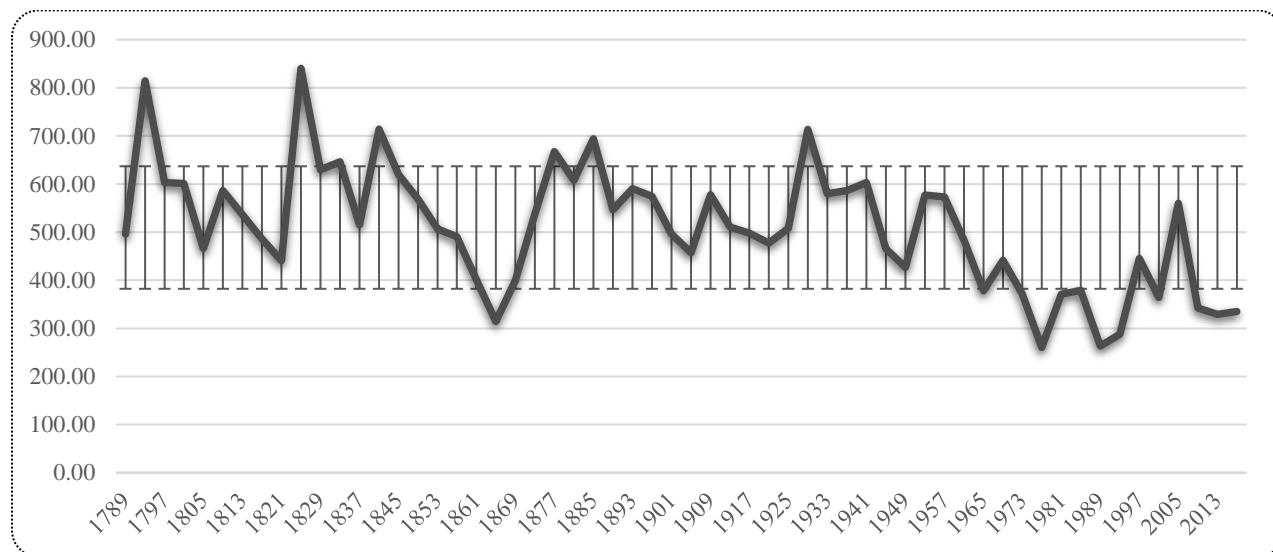


Figure 17. The normalized frequencies of *of* per address

In its normalized frequencies, the preposition *of* shows a diachronic consistency from the first address until 1957. In its consistency phase, most of the addresses are above the mean, which is 509, 63. The only exception was in the 1865 address with a value of 314, 28. In the second phase, this preposition underwent a sharp decline that reached 260, 37 in 1977. There was also a remarkable rise in the 2005 address in this phase. What is striking about these rates is that President Washington uses the preposition *of* in his two addresses at two different frequencies. In his first address, the frequency was remarkably close to the median, while his second address, which is the shortest in the history of the inaugurals, had one of the highest frequencies of this preposition.

When grouped in eras, the usage of the preposition *of* was high in four periods: the Federalist Era, the Jacksonian Democracy, the Gilded Age, and the Great Depression Era. Figure 18 also illustrates the low-frequency periods spread between the high peaks.

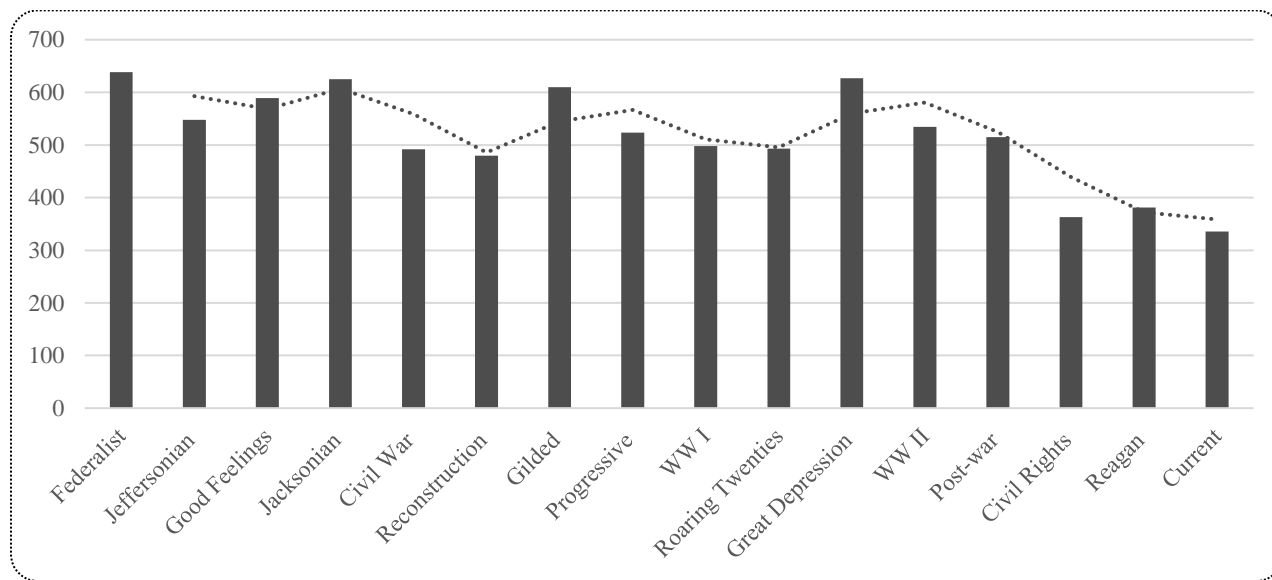


Figure 18. The normalized frequencies of *of* per period

The preposition *of* has been decreasing since the Second World War. The last three periods had the lowest occurrences of this preposition, especially during the Civil Rights Era.

In addition to the low and high peaks, the distribution of the preposition *of* across the corpus is shown in Figure 19. Its values are distributed over five ranges stretching between 260 and 860 with a mean of 509, 63, and a median of 507, 30.

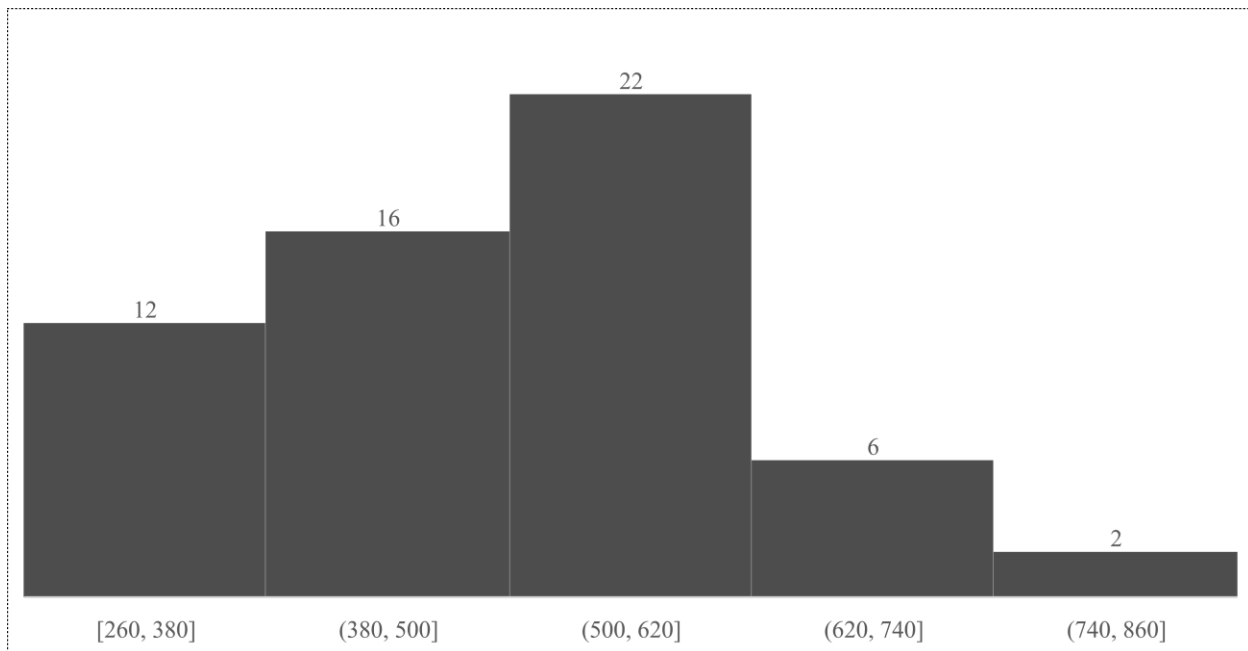


Figure 19. The frequency distribution of *OF*

The main point to note is that 22 out of the 58 addresses fall between 500 and 620. Furthermore, there are more low-frequency addresses than high-frequency ones. While there are 38 addresses with low frequencies, only eight addresses have high values. In the extreme ranges, the common trend for presidents is to use this preposition less frequently than to overuse it.

The first set also includes the preposition *to* in addition to *of*. *To* is the second most frequent in the inaugurals with a raw frequency of 4541 occurrences. At this level, it is interesting to note the difference between *to* and *of*. The gap between them reaches 2579 tokens, making the first preposition look like an exceptional choice. The range of the raw occurrences of *to* varies from five in the shortest address to 318 in the longest one. However, its normalized frequency shows a more accurate picture. Frequencies vary from 183, 49 to 559, 63, as shown in Figure 20.

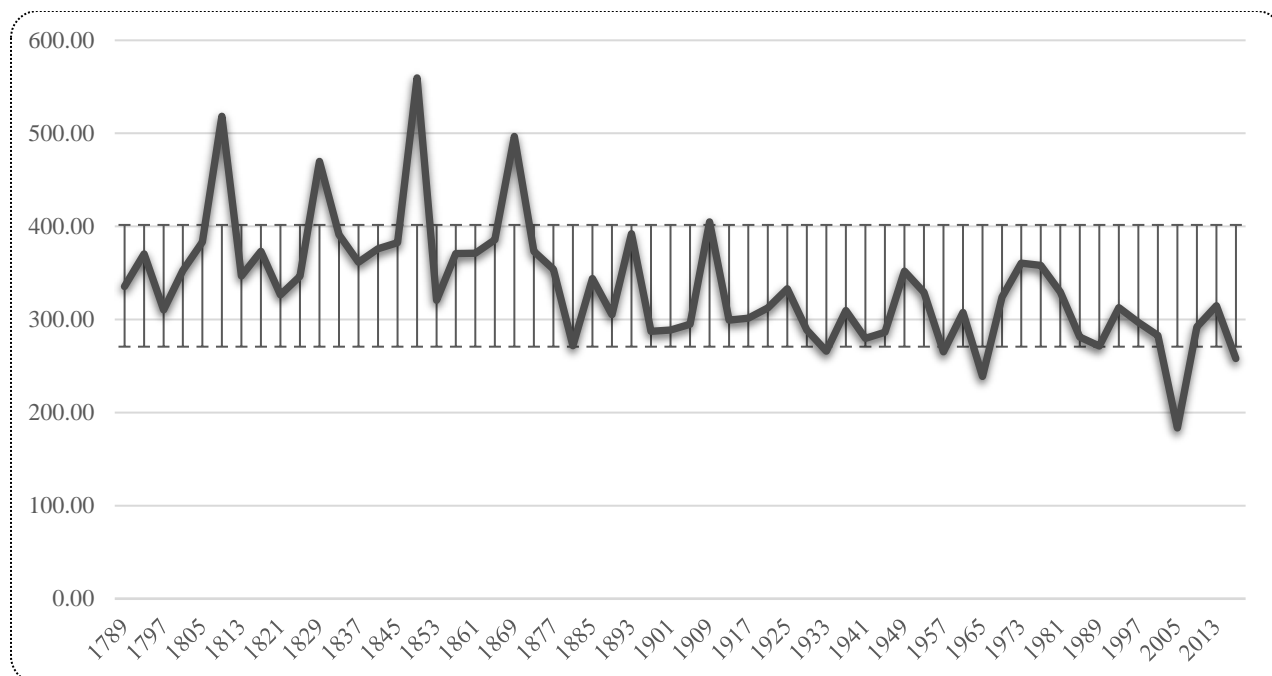


Figure 20. The normalized frequencies of *TO* per address

What stands out is the overall consistency of this preposition. Apart from four addresses with extremely high peaks (1809, 1829, 1849, and 1873) and one address with an exceptionally low value (2005), the remaining addresses were between 300 and 400. It is also interesting to note that the trend of this preposition is a consistent decline. The historical periods with high frequencies stretched from 1789 to 1877. The post-1877 period witnessed a slight decline from about 350 to a range of 250 and 300. As with *of*, the 2005 address has a different record from its adjacent addresses. It has the lowest frequency of *to*, but one of the highest values of the preposition *of*. These rates are illustrated by Figure 21, in which frequencies are grouped per eras. In the early periods, the rates were between 339, during the Federalist Era, and 406, during the Civil War Era.

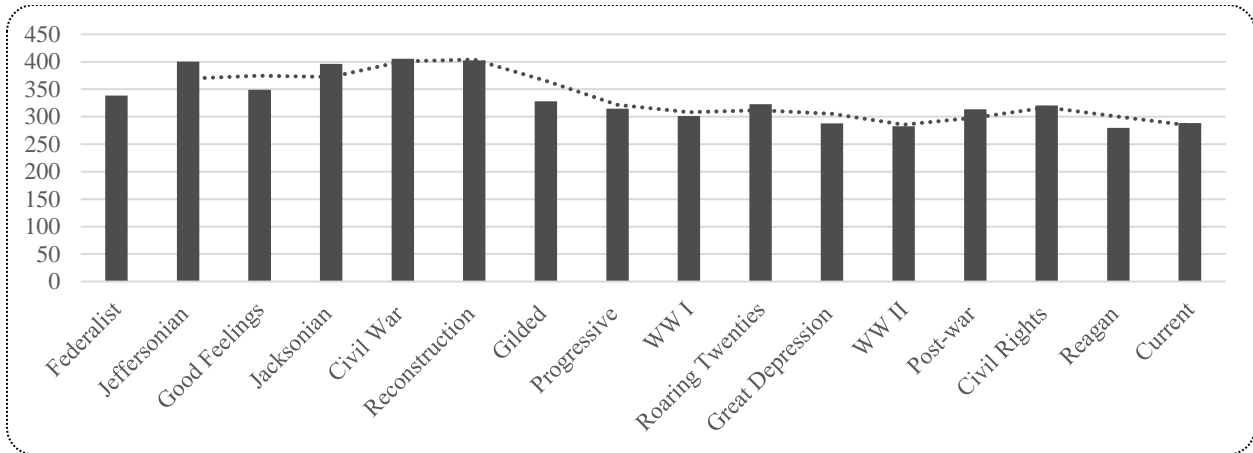


Figure 21. The normalized frequencies of *TO* per period

The second part of Figure 21 shows how the rates consistently declined from the Gilded Age (1877- 1895) to the present. It seems that the preposition *to* appeals to most American presidents, as demonstrated in Figure 22.

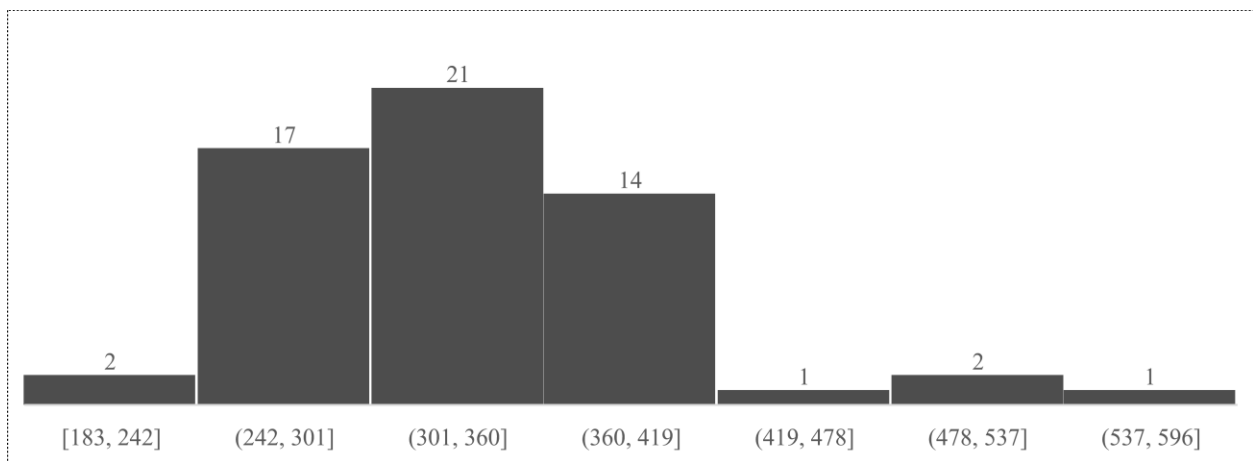


Figure 22. The frequency distribution of *TO*

The values are distributed over seven ranges with a mean of 336 and a median of 328. There are 21 addresses within the range around the mean and the median. What stands out is that

52 out of 58 addresses fall between 242 and 419. These figures suggest that most addresses have a standard frequency and that low and high frequencies together make only six addresses.

In addition to *of* and *to*, the preposition *in* appeared 2794 in the whole corpus. Its observed frequency ranges from three up to 173 while its frequency expands from 97, 70 up to 321, 69 in normalized values, as Figure 23 shows.

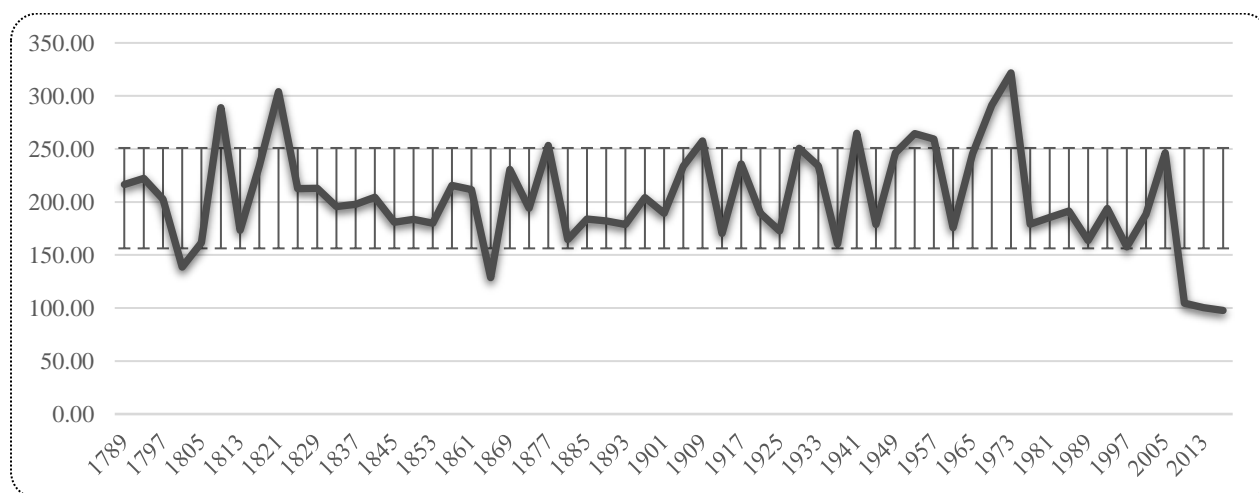


Figure 23. The normalized frequencies of *IN* per address

The frequent high and low peaks demonstrate the inconsistency of this preposition. In one of its fluctuations, *in* peaked in the 1973 address after a steady rise from 175, 70 in 1961 to 321, 69 in 1973. In the following address, *in* dropped again to 179, 01. In addition to its fluctuations, this preposition underwent a steady and sharp decline from 2009 to 2017. A final note goes to the 2005 address; it is not compatible with the trend of its period. From 1977 onwards, the frequency had been below 179 except for the 2005 address, which rose to a high point and peaked at a value of 321, 69.

The fluctuating rates of this preposition are depicted in Figure 24. The highest rates appeared in both the Era of Good Feelings and the Civil Rights Era though they are historically distant from each other.

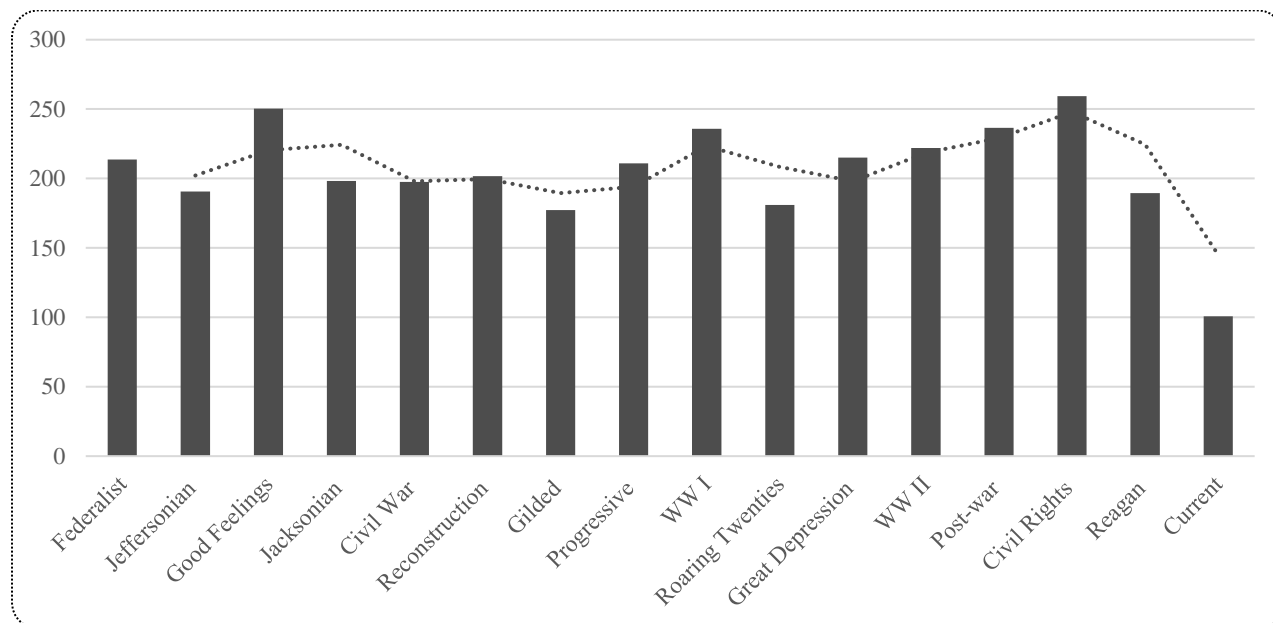


Figure 24. The normalized frequencies of *IN* per period

In addition to the fluctuations, the rates of the Current Age have definitively dropped to unprecedented low levels. In terms of the frequency distribution of *in*, it is similar to that of *to*. Its six ranges extend from 98 to 356, as shown in Figure 25. Its mean and median are 204 and 195, respectively.

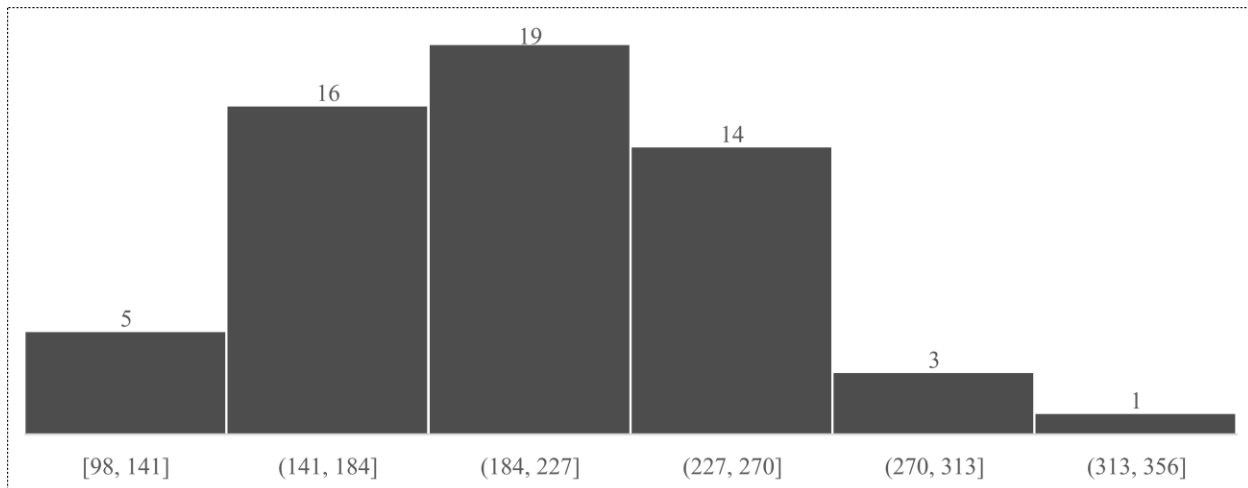


Figure 25. The frequency distribution of *IN*

This preposition is characterized by a small number of high and low frequencies. There are 49 addresses between 141 and 270. Nineteen out of the 58 addresses fall within the central range between 184 and 227.

The mean of the normalized frequencies of the three prepositions of the first subset (*of*, *to*, *in*) was calculated, and their results are presented in Figure 26.

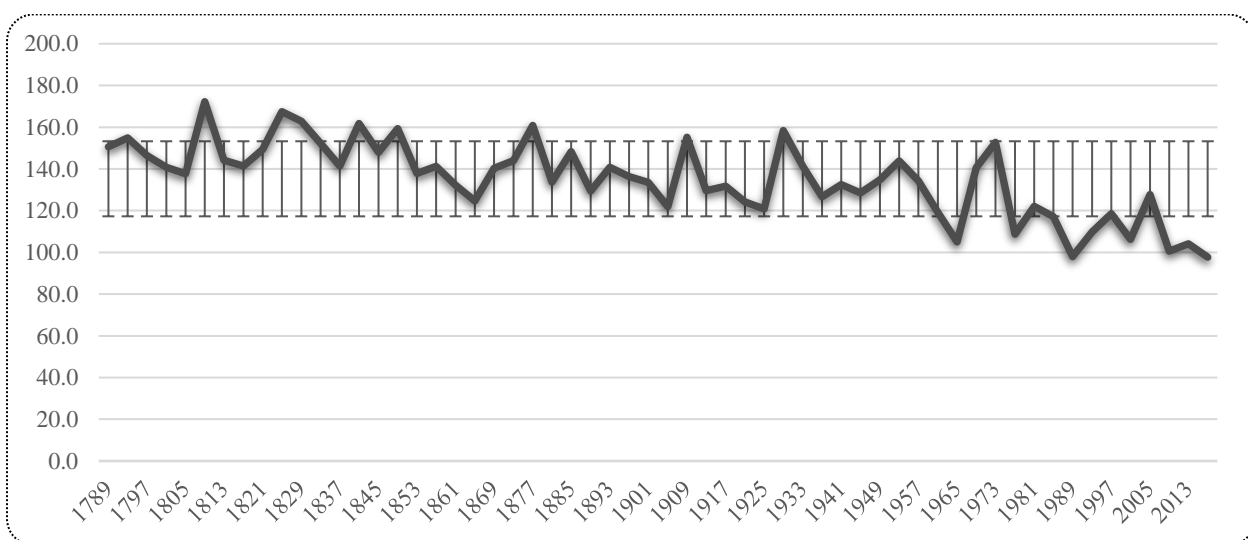


Figure 26. The normalized frequencies of *OF*, *TO*, and *IN* per address

The most important observation is the gradual decline in the use of these three prepositions. This declining trend started at the beginning of the 20th century. In contrast, most of the addresses with high values were delivered in the 19th century, except in the 1865 address. The lowest values appeared mainly in the 21st-century addresses. President Trump's address had the lowest share of these three prepositions. Likewise, the two addresses of President Obama had the third and fourth lowest rates. These remarks are supported by the rates for eras, as shown in Figure 27.

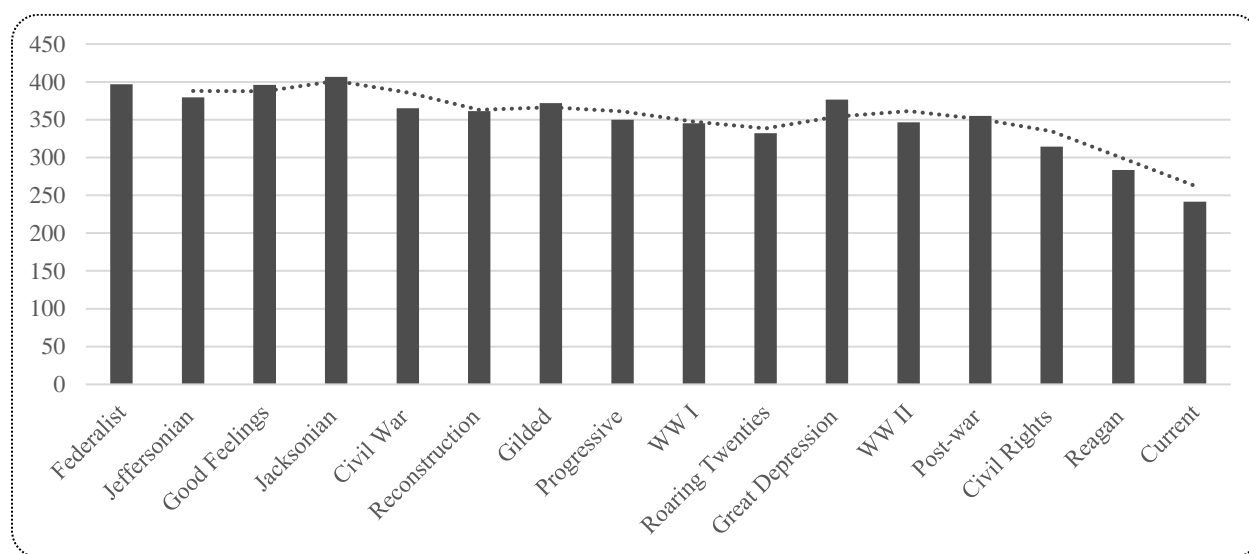


Figure 27. The normalized frequencies of *OF*, *TO*, and *IN* per period

During the Civil War Era and the subsequent Reconstruction Age, there was a remarkable decline in the use of these prepositions. The only rise was during the Great Depression, and then the declining trend resumed from the Post-War Era onwards.

4.1.1.2. *The second most frequent prepositions*

This subset includes four prepositions, which appeared 4194 times, and they represent 18, 53%. They are *for*, *by*, *with*, and *as*. These four prepositions occurred respectively 1201, 1086,

958, and 949 times in all the inaugurals. Unlike the huge gap between the frequencies of the first three prepositions, the raw frequencies of these prepositions were remarkably close to each other.

To start with, the preposition with the highest frequency is *for*. In its normalized frequencies, it shows a striking trend. It is nearly the opposite trend compared to the highest three prepositions. The use of the preposition *for* increased from low to high. Figure 28 indicates that this preposition was not widely used until 1921.

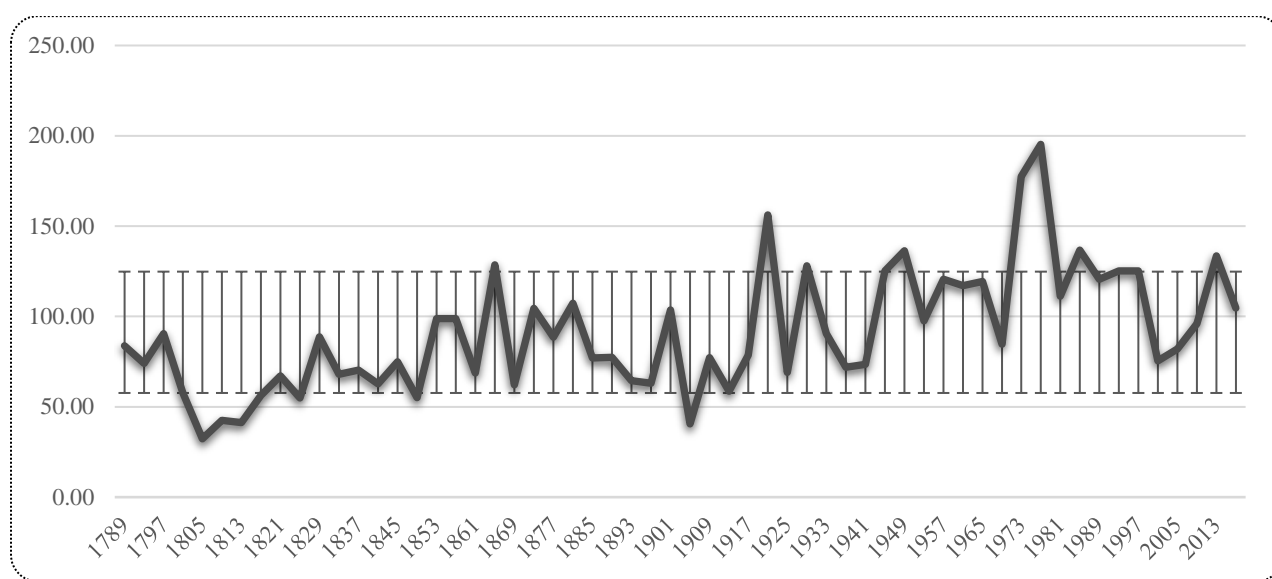


Figure 28. The normalized frequencies of *FOR* per address

The figure also illustrates the two successive high peaks of 1973 and 1977 though these two addresses were delivered by two different presidents. The increasing trend of this preposition can also be observed in Figure 29. *For* had its lowest rates during the Jeffersonian Era, while its highest rates appeared during the years of the Civil Rights Era.

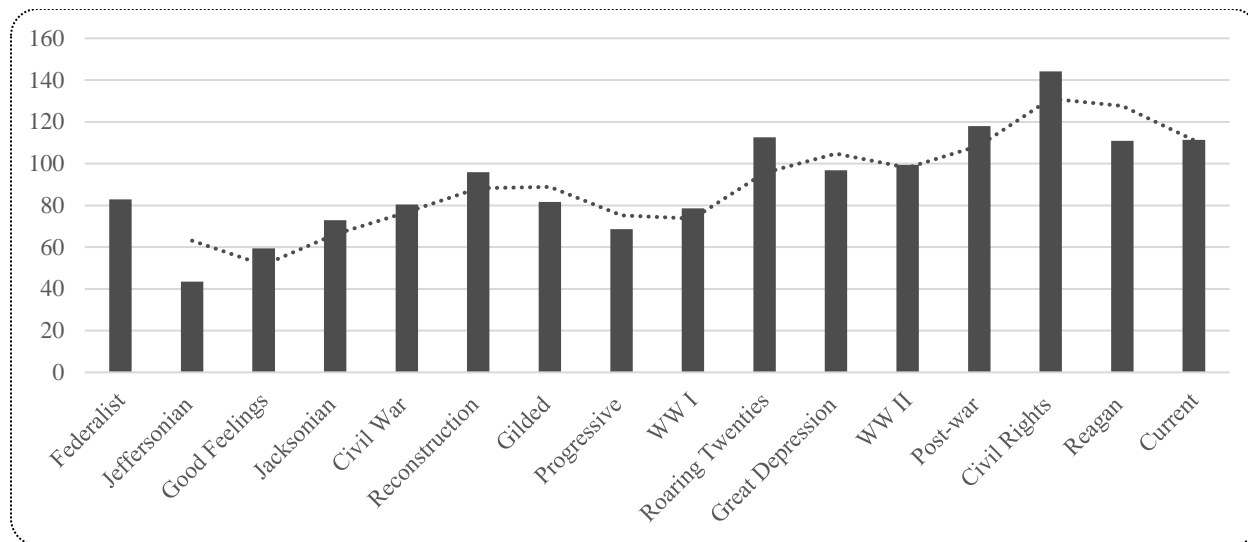


Figure 29. The normalized frequencies of *FOR* per period

It is interesting to note that the Civil Rights Era had the lowest rates of the prepositions *of*, *in*, and *to*, but not for the preposition *for*.

The preposition *for* has a mean of 91 and a median of 84. Its six ranges extend from 32 to 212, which is relatively wide. There are 24 addresses within the central range of 62 and 92.

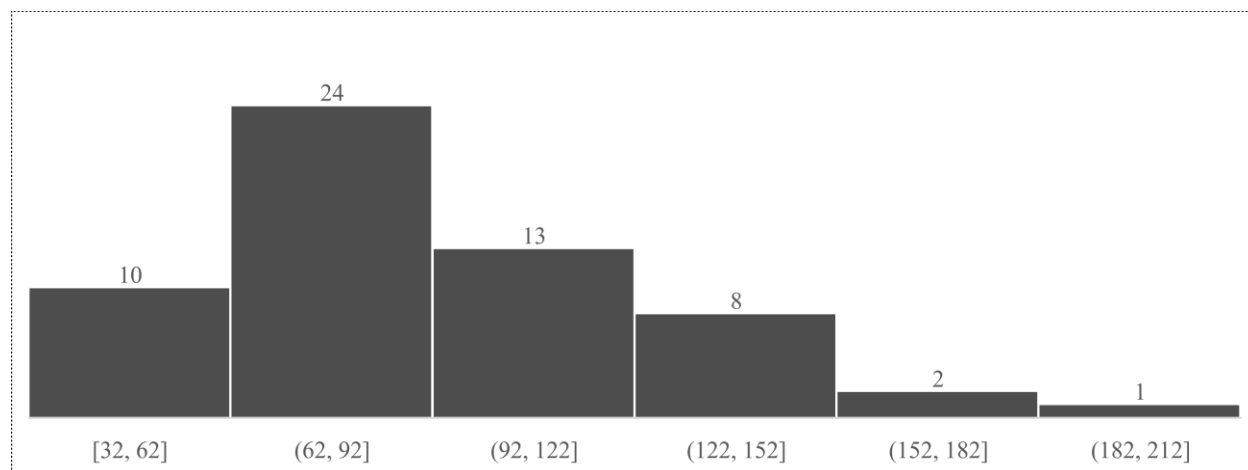


Figure 30. The frequency distribution of *FOR*

As shown in Figure 30, there seems to be a tendency to use more of this preposition. There are 13 addresses with values greater than 122, mainly in the second half of the 20th-century addresses, as presented in Figure 29.

As for the preposition *By*, its observed frequencies range from 1 to 103. Interestingly, its lowest value was not in the shortest address but in three addresses with an average size. Two of them had more than a thousand words each. The highest score was in the longest address. However, this same address had only between 53 and 73 occurrences of the prepositions *for*, *with*, and *as*.

In its normalized frequencies, *by* shows a clear trend from high values to low ones. The former stretched from the first address to the last address of the 19th century. Figure 31 illustrates this declining trend.

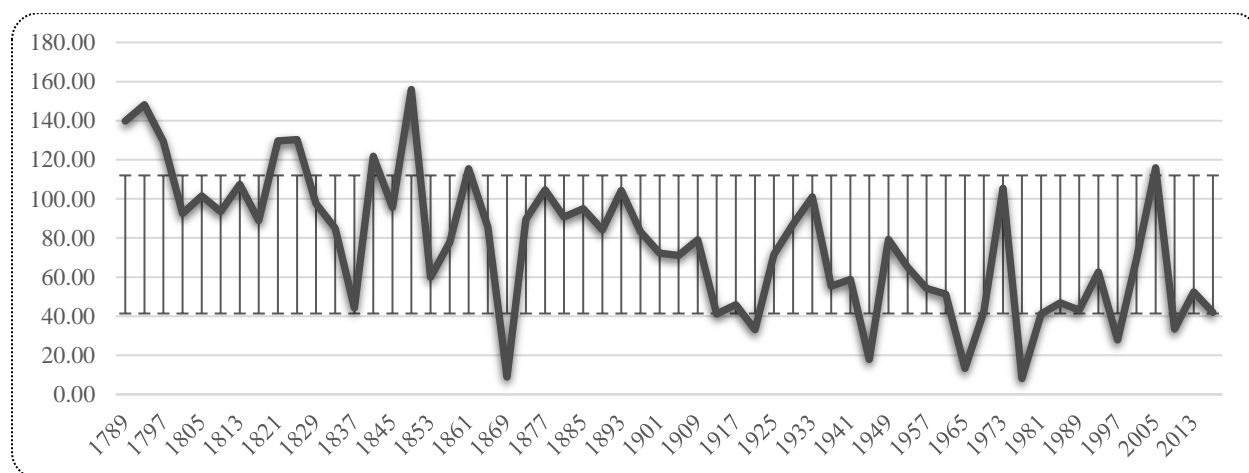


Figure 31. The normalized frequencies of *BY* per address

The usage of *by* can be divided into two parts: the high frequencies in the 18th and 19th centuries and the lower in the 20th and the 21st centuries. President Washington was the second most frequent user of *by* in his two addresses. It is interesting to note that there are three

exceptions on each side. *By* declined in the 1869 address to reach 8, 87, which is the lowest value in its records. Another remarkable exception was the 2005 address in which the use of *by* was the highest in the second part. Figure 32 shows the declining trend of the preposition *by* throughout the historical eras.

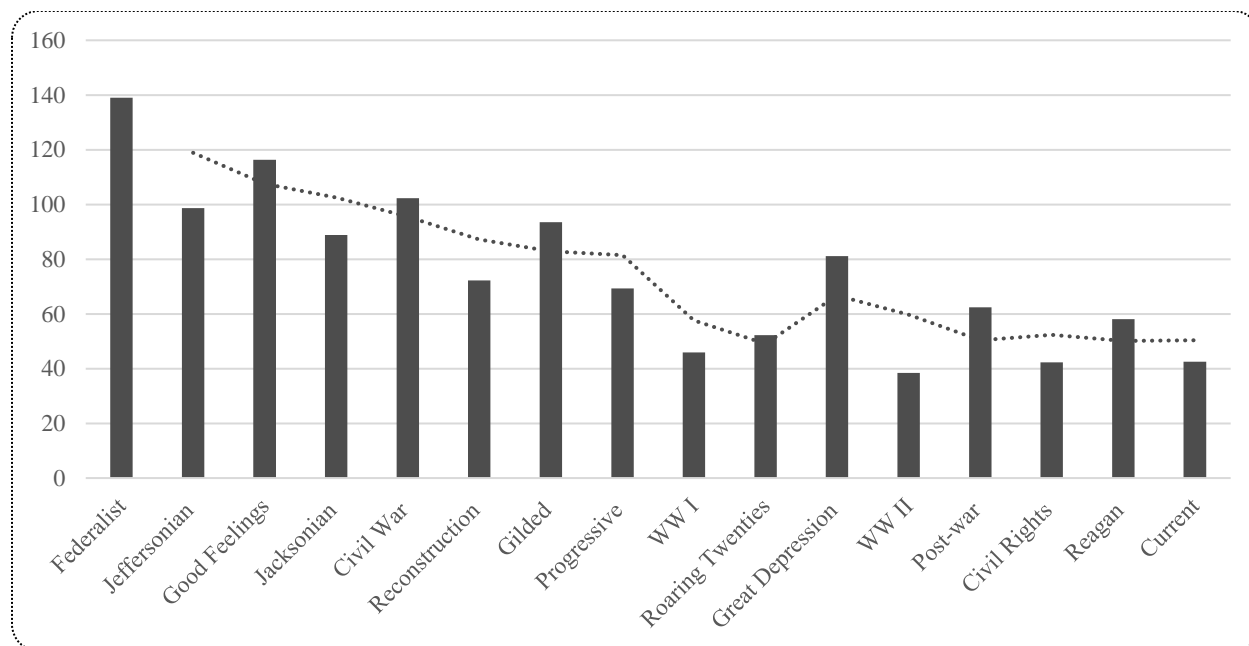


Figure 32. The normalized frequencies of *BY* per period

The lowest frequency of the 1865 address affected the frequency of the Reconstruction Age. This Age usually has the same frequencies as the preceding period, the Civil War Era.

The distribution of *by* has its distinctive two equal peaks. It also has five ranges stretching from eight to 168, as shown in Figure 33.

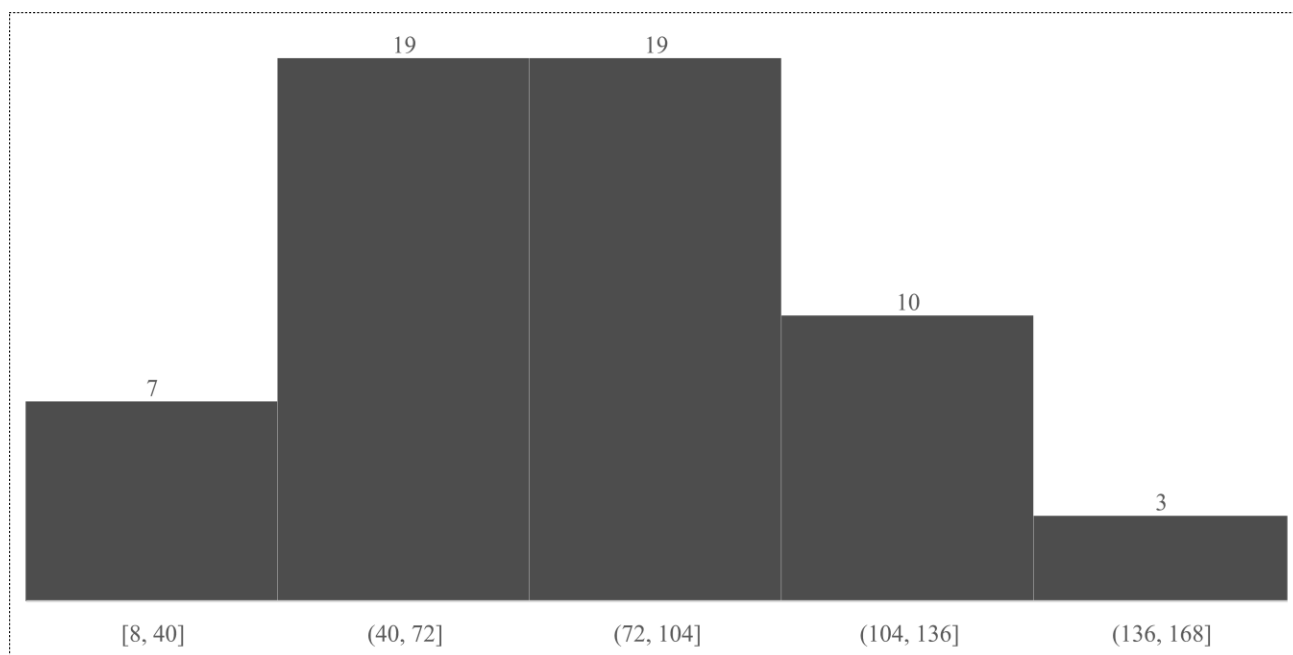


Figure 33. The frequency distribution of *BY*

This preposition has a mean and a median of 77 and 79. There are 19 addresses within the central range of 72 and 104. It seems that *by* tends to be less used, as there are 26 addresses below the mean. Seven of these 26 are even below 40. Above the mean, there are 13 addresses, but only three addresses have high values.

The preposition *with* is the third item in the second group. Its raw observed frequency is precisely 958. From this preposition onward, we will see extremely low values, including many zeros. For example, in the 1941 address, which counts 1359 words, *with* appeared only twice. The normalized frequencies, illustrated in Figure 34, show these low values.

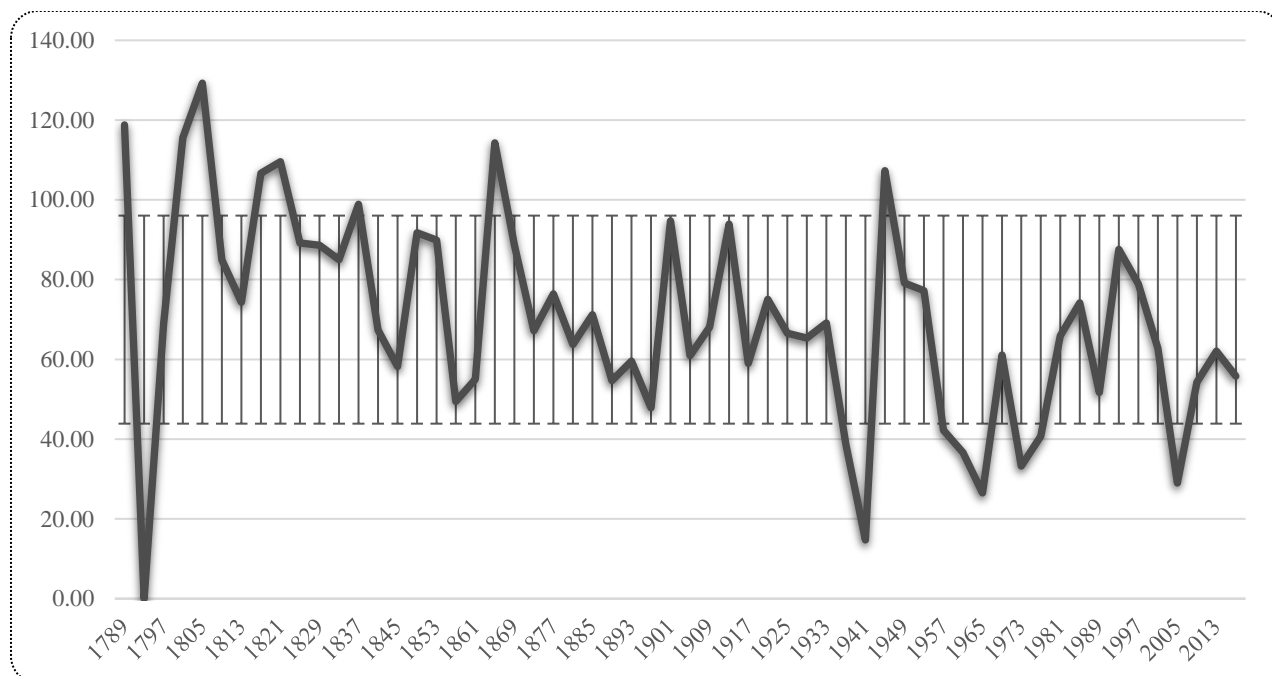


Figure 34. The normalized frequencies of *WITH* per address

Neither the low values nor the higher ones of *with* were consistent enough to make a trend. This preposition's frequent fluctuations can be seen across all historical periods. For example, *with* jumped from 14, 72 in 1941 to 107, 33 in the next address even though both addresses were delivered by the same president.

It is interesting to note that the 2005 address again contrasts with the trend of its immediate period. Its frequency went down to 28, 97 compared to the previous address (62, 81) and the following one (54, 28).

In terms of the diachronic distribution of *with*, the successive Jeffersonian Age and the Era of Good Feelings had the highest frequency of this preposition while the Civil Rights Era had the lowest. Figure 35 shows a declining trend, similar to the previous prepositions, except the trend of the preposition *for*.

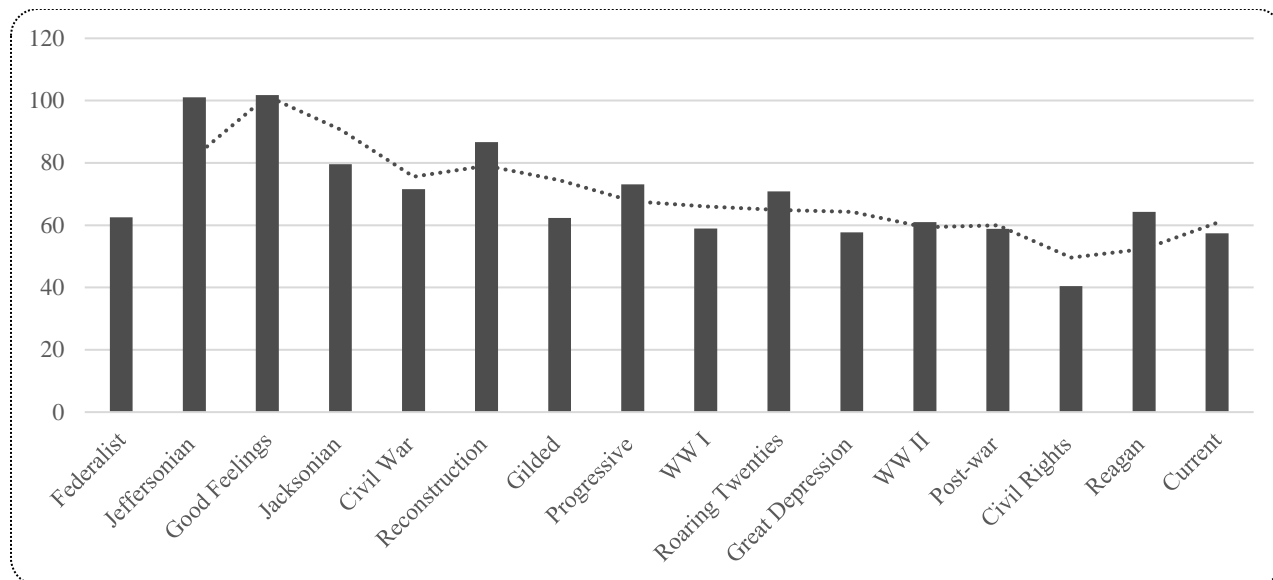


Figure 35. The normalized frequencies of *WITH* per period

The frequency distribution of the preposition *with* across the corpus is shown in Figure 36. With its six ranges extending from 0 to 144, *with* has a mean of 70 and a median of 68.

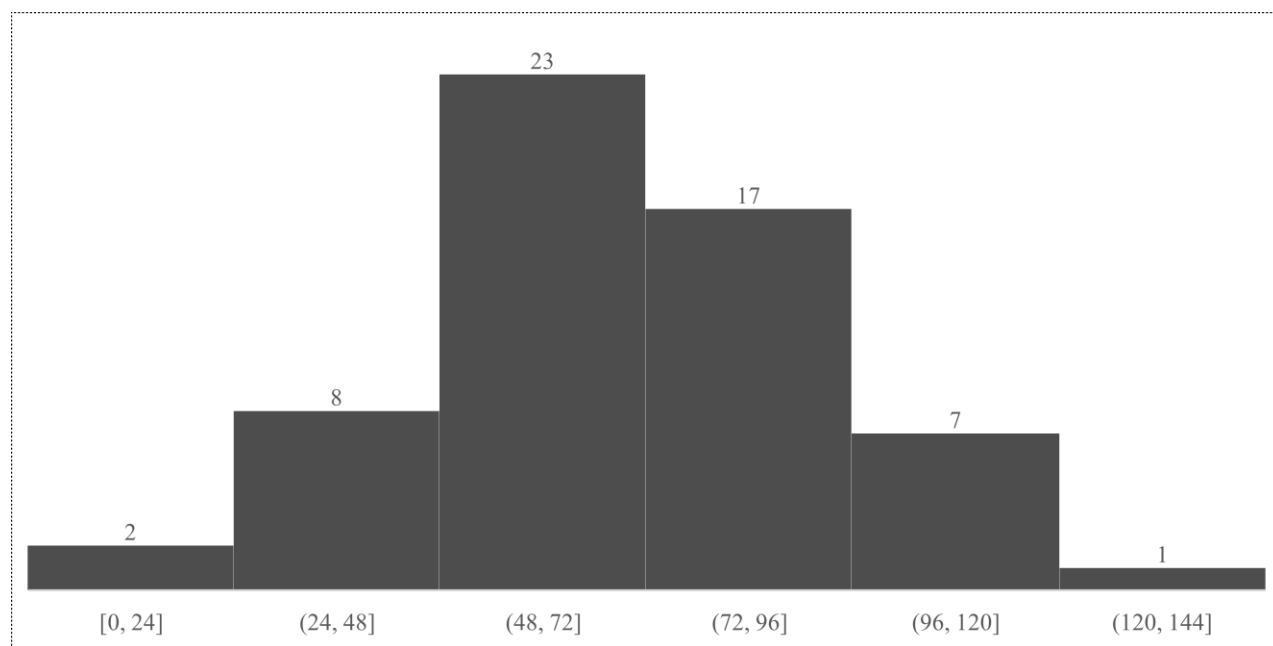


Figure 36. The frequency distribution of *WITH*

Twenty-three out of the 58 addresses fall within the central range between 48 and 72. The trend of this preposition is towards higher scores as 23 addresses are above the mean and the median. On the other end, there are only 10 addresses with low scores.

As is the fourth and last preposition in the second group, it appeared 949 times throughout the inaugurals. President Nixon used *as* in his 1969 address more than any other president did. In its normalized frequencies, the usages of *as* show too many fluctuations. Therefore, no clear trend can be observed except for the consistent low frequencies between 1989 and 2017, as illustrated in Figure 37.

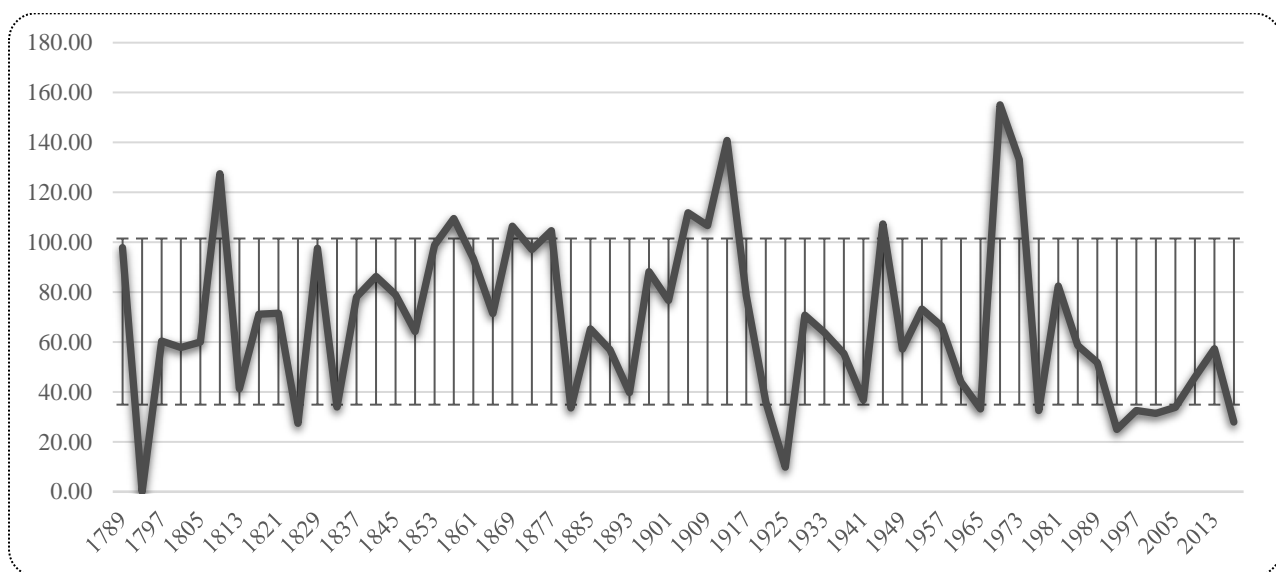


Figure 37. The normalized frequencies of *AS* per address

The extremely low rate in the 1797 address is due to the zero frequency of this preposition. Figure 38 shows a clearer picture of the many fluctuations of this preposition along the historical timeline.

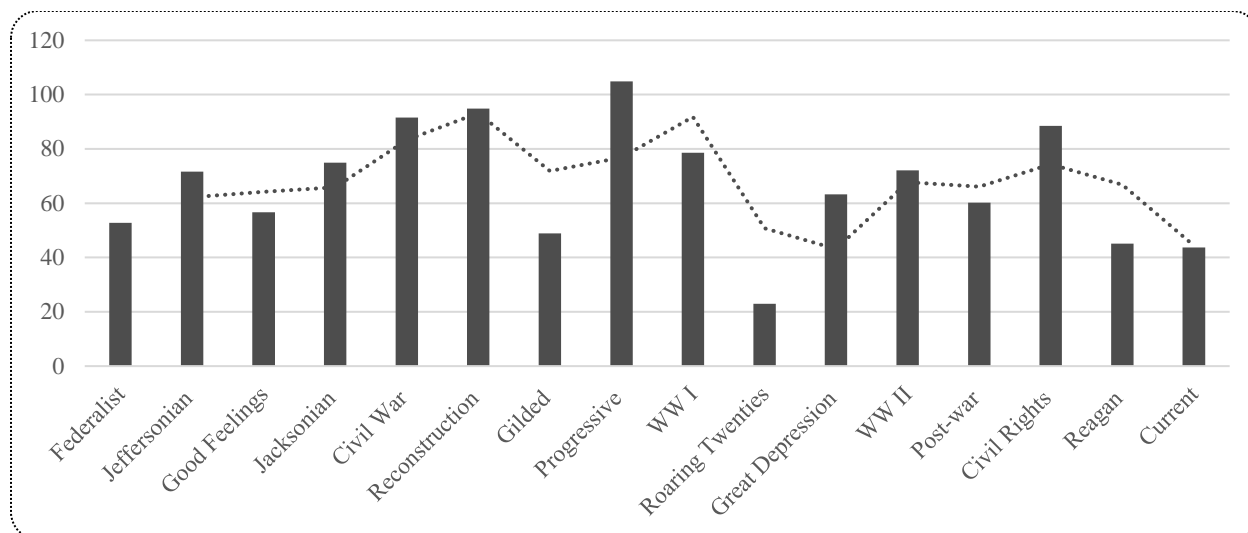


Figure 38. The normalized frequencies of *AS* per period

The Progressive Era had the highest share of the preposition *as* while the Roaring Twenties had the lowest. Aside from fluctuations throughout most historical periods, the trend is much more towards decline starting from the Post-War Age, except for the high peak of the Civil Rights Era. The distribution of the preposition *as* has a skewed shape with its six ranges extending from 0 to 180, as illustrated in Figure 39.

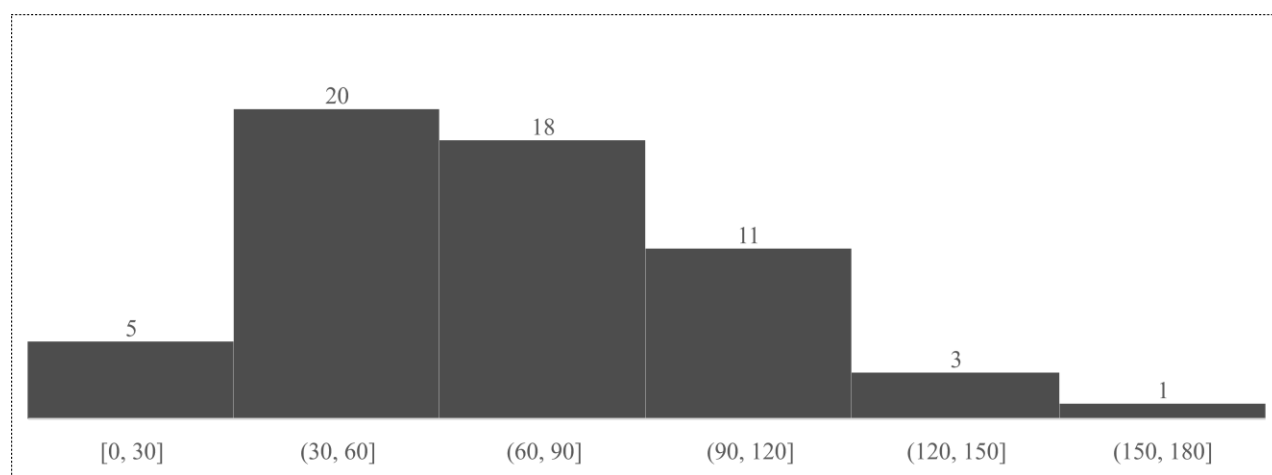


Figure 39. The frequency distribution of *AS*

As has a mean of 68 and a median of 65 within which only 18 addresses are observed. Twenty-five addresses out of the 58 are below 60, while only 15 are with high values.

To summarize, this subset (*for*, *by*, *with*, and *as*) shows a trend from high frequencies toward lower ones. The first part extends from the first address to 1945, despite the few fluctuations of *with* and *as*. The same applies to the second part in which President Nixon's two addresses peaked, as illustrated in Figure 40.

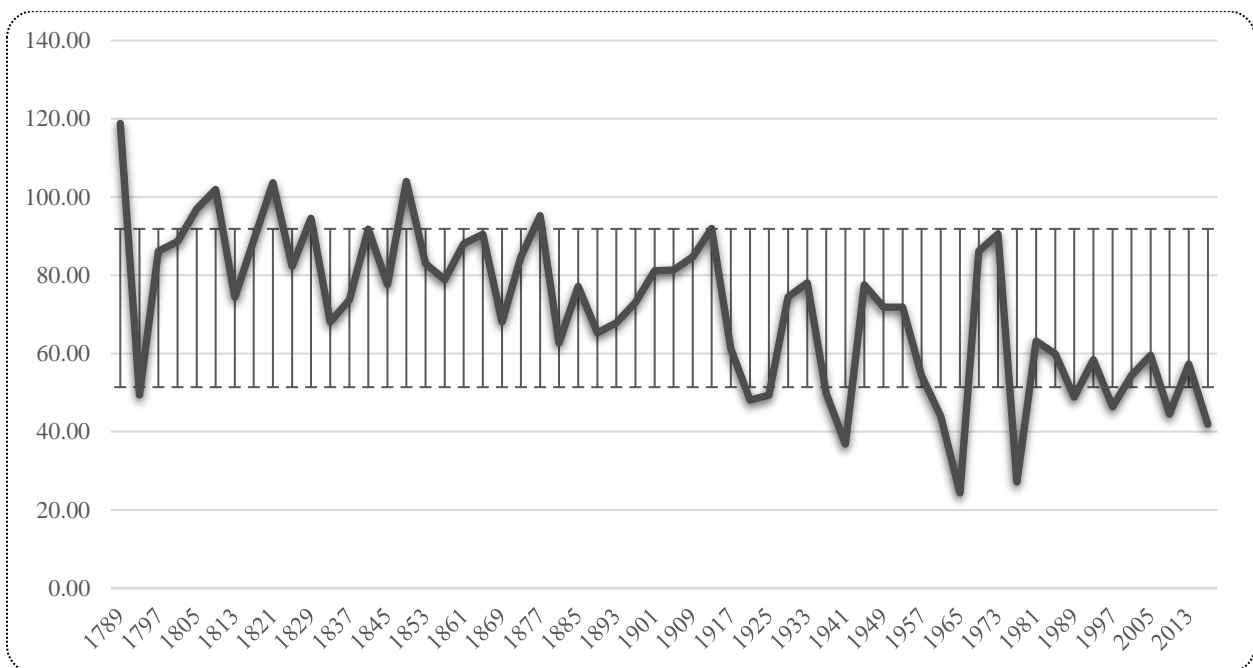


Figure 40. The normalized frequencies of *FOR*, *BY*, *WITH*, and *AS* per address

The fluctuations are also noticeable in Figure 41, which shows rates for each period. The Civil War and Reconstruction Eras had the highest frequencies in the 19th-century addresses and the same for the Civil Rights Era in the 20th-century addresses.

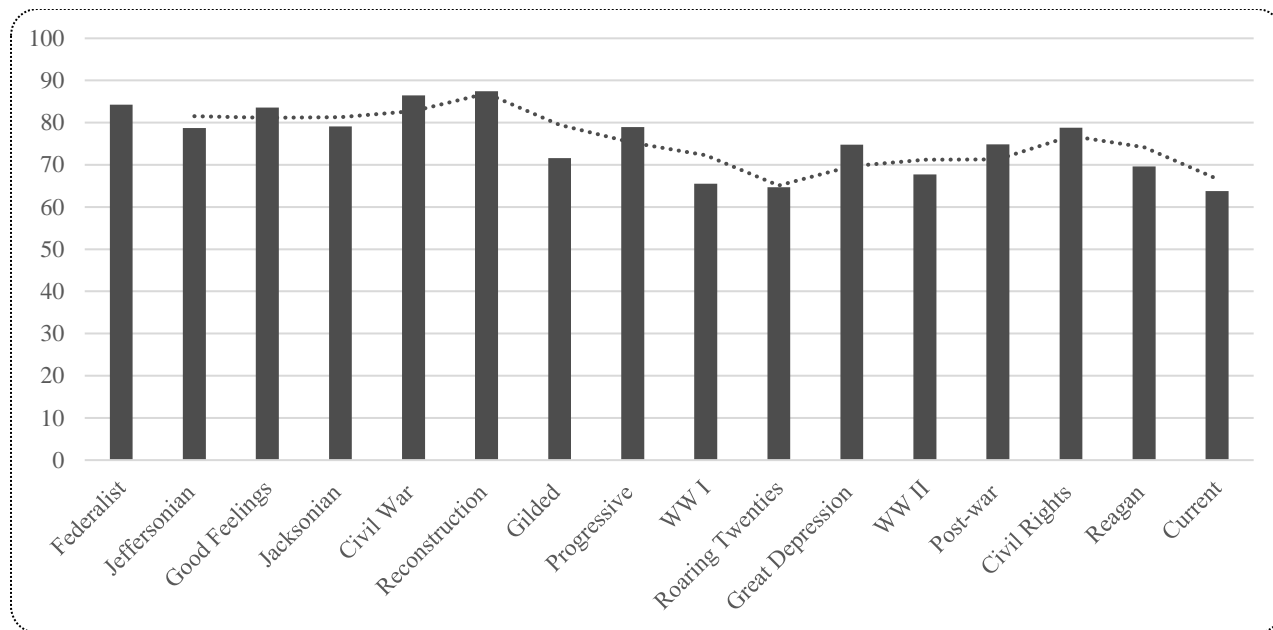


Figure 41. The normalized frequencies of *FOR*, *BY*, *WITH*, and *AS* per period

The significant decline happened during the Gilded Age when rates did not exceed 72. Furthermore, the timeline ended with a declining trend starting from the Age of Reagan.

Compared to the first subset of prepositions (*of*, *to*, and *in*), the second subset has nearly the same trend by which rates have moved from high to lower frequencies. However, there are more fluctuations in the second group.

4.1.1.3. The Third most frequent prepositions

This subset consists of four prepositions, namely *from*, *on*, *upon*, and *at*. The first remark about this group is the relatively low raw occurrences of these prepositions, varying from 574 to 348. The first preposition in this group, *from*, does not have a clear trend in its normalized frequencies. What stands out are the fluctuations and the peak of the 2017 address, as Figure 42 shows.

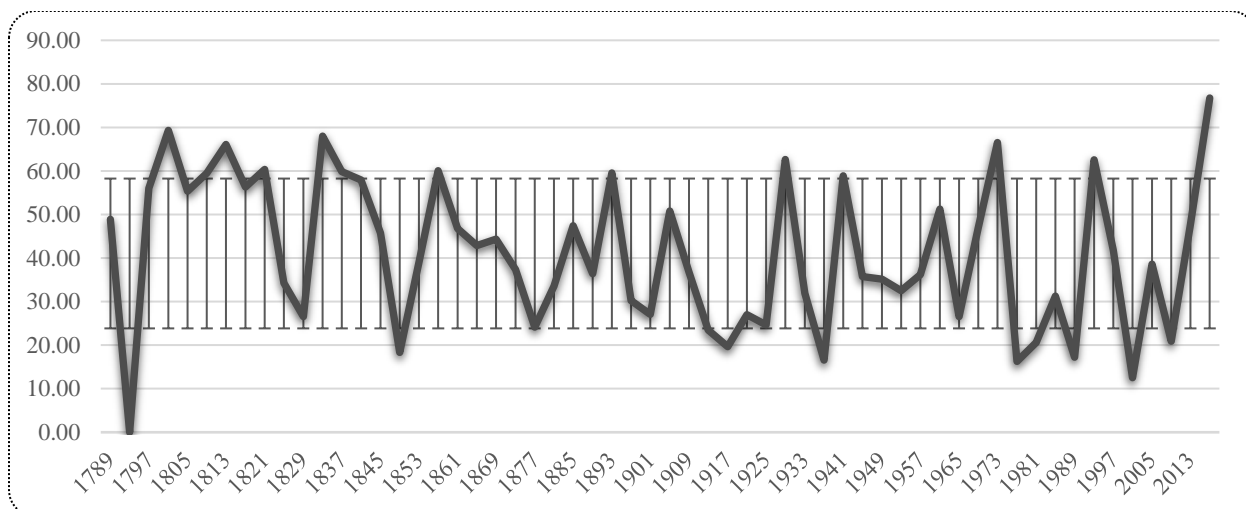


Figure 42. The normalized frequencies of *FROM* per address

Although the 18th- and 19th-century addresses had the majority of the high values, they also had a disproportionate number of low values. Interestingly, the 21st-century addresses do not have low values of this subset of prepositions as they did with the first and second subsets (*of, to, in, for, by, with, and as*). The highest values appeared during the Jeffersonian Age, as shown in Figure 43.

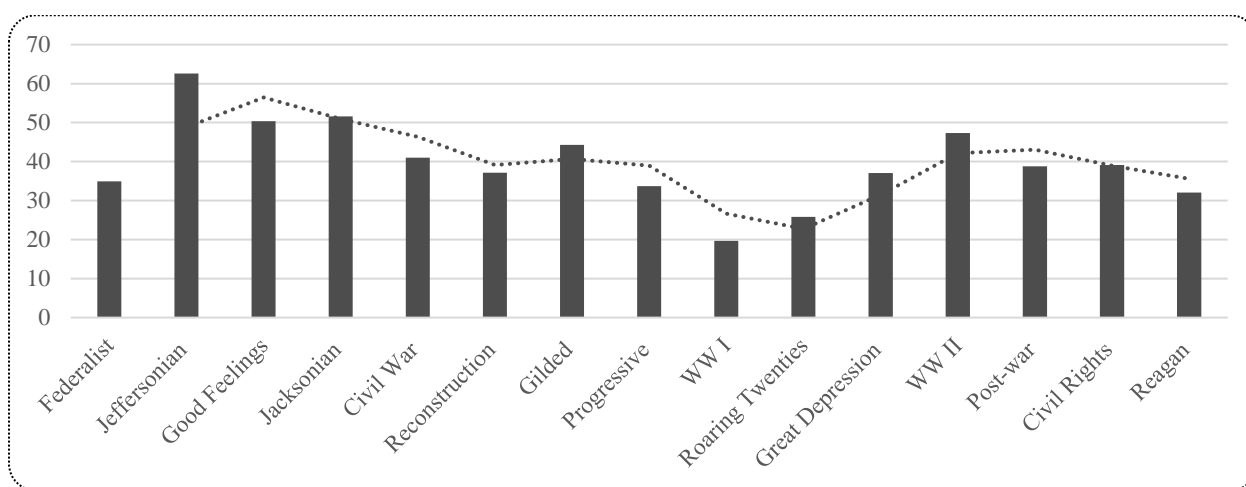


Figure 43. The normalized frequencies of *FROM* per period

After the Jeffersonian Age, a long trend of decline persisted until the address of the First World War, which could not rise above 20. The distribution of the preposition *from* is characterized by its symmetrical shape, as shown in Figure 44.

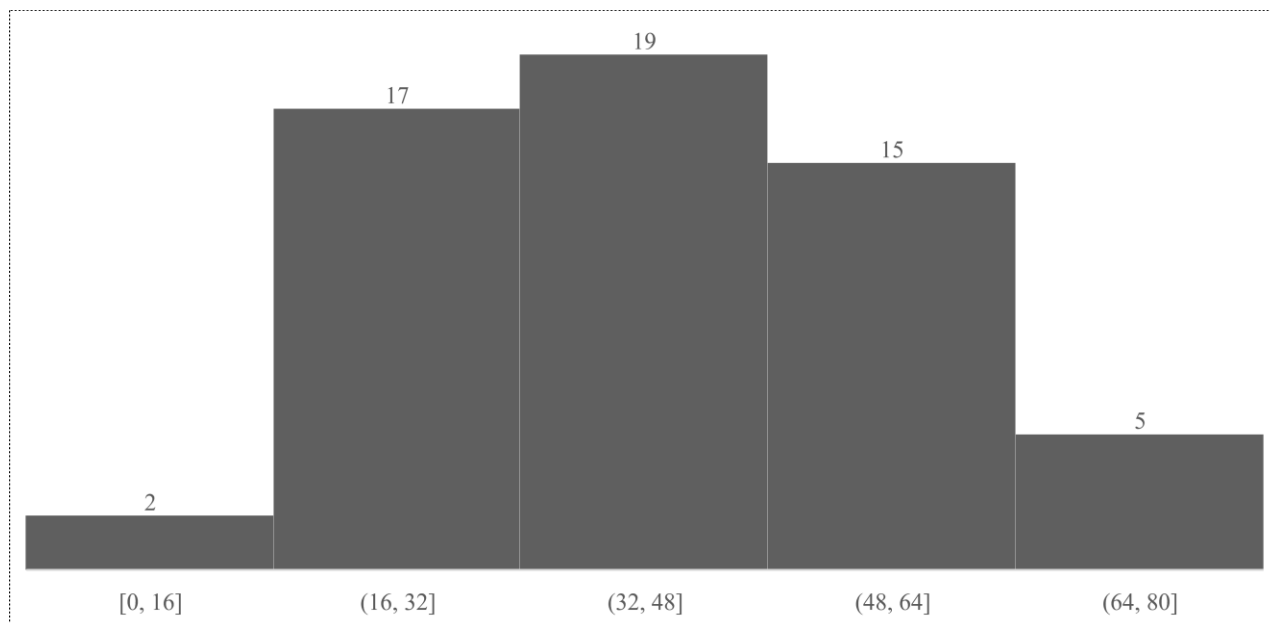


Figure 44. The frequency distribution of *FROM*

This preposition has a relatively narrow range as it extends from zero to 80. Its mean and median are 41 and 39, respectively. Within the central range, from 32 to 48, there are only 19 out of the 58 addresses. The trend is towards higher values as there are five addresses within the highest range from 64 to 80.

The preposition *on* is the first preposition to have a zero score in more than one address. It was not used in two addresses, one of which is the shortest address of 1793, and the other address was that of 1957, as Figure 45 portrays.

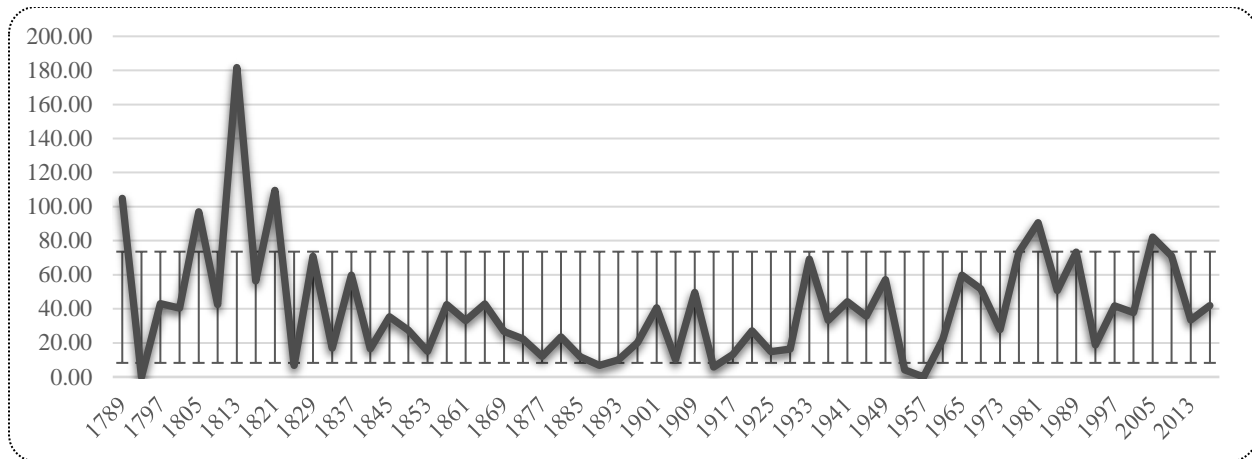


Figure 45. The normalized frequencies of *ON* per address

This proposition seems to follow a three-stage trend. The first stage is about the addresses between 1789 and 1837, and it has extremely high values. In this group, the 1813 address stands out as an interesting exception. The second stage, stretching from 1841 to 1929, has lower values. The third and last stage of the trend starts in 1933 and ends with the last address, and it shows a significant rise. In terms of historical periods, as shown in Figure 46, the Jeffersonian Age was an exceptional period with a rate as high as 90.

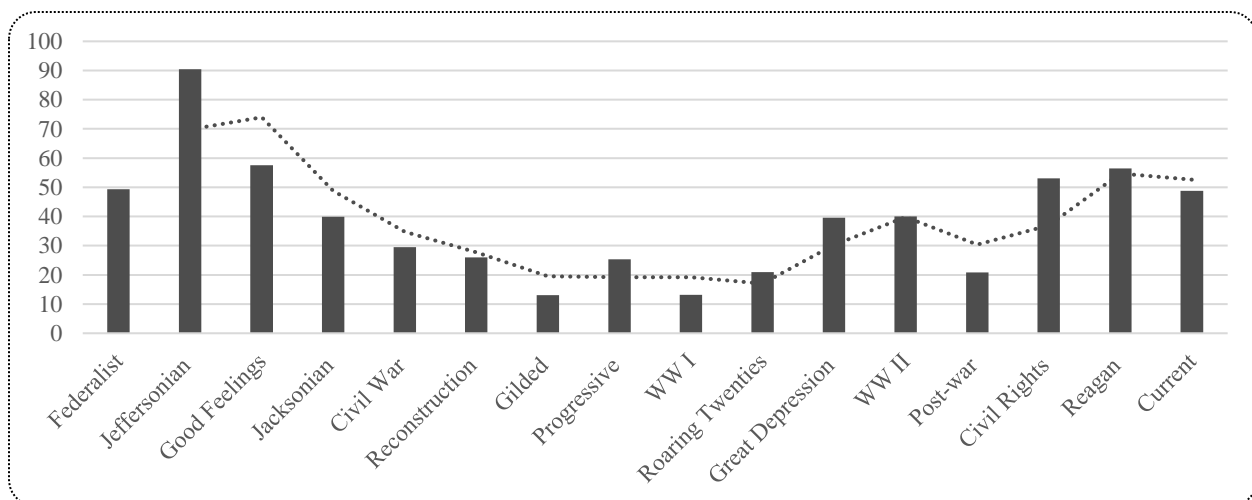


Figure 46. The normalized frequencies of *ON* per period

In contrast, the usage of the preposition *on* went down to 13 during the Gilded Age and the First World War. Starting from the Civil Rights Era, the modern presidency resumed using this preposition with a rate of about 50.

In terms of its distribution of the preposition *on*, it is distinguished by its skewed shape, as illustrated in Figure 47.

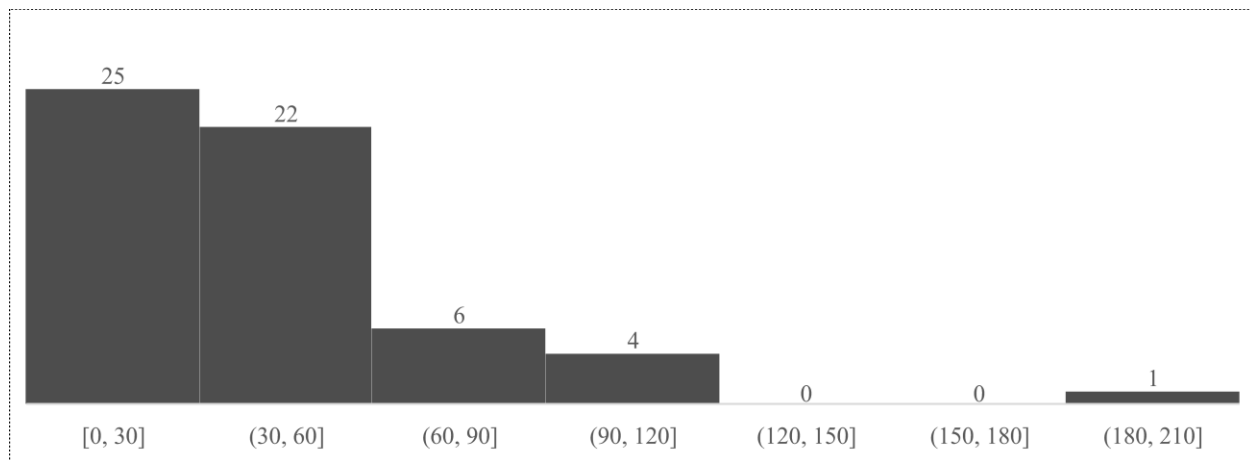


Figure 47. The frequency distribution of *ON*

On also has a wide variation with its seven ranges ranging from zero to 210. Its mean is 41, while its median is 36. What strikes out is that there are 25 addresses within the extremely low range from zero to 30. Furthermore, there are only 22 addresses within the central range from 30 and 60. An outlier is observed at the right end of Figure 47, in which only one address is located at the range of 180 and above. It refers to the 1813 address with an exceptionally high frequency of *on*.

Regarding the preposition *upon*, the most interesting aspect is the number of zero scores in its raw frequencies. It did not appear in 11 addresses spread over the three centuries, as shown

in Figure 48. Neither President Washington in 1789 nor President Trump in 2017 used this preposition.

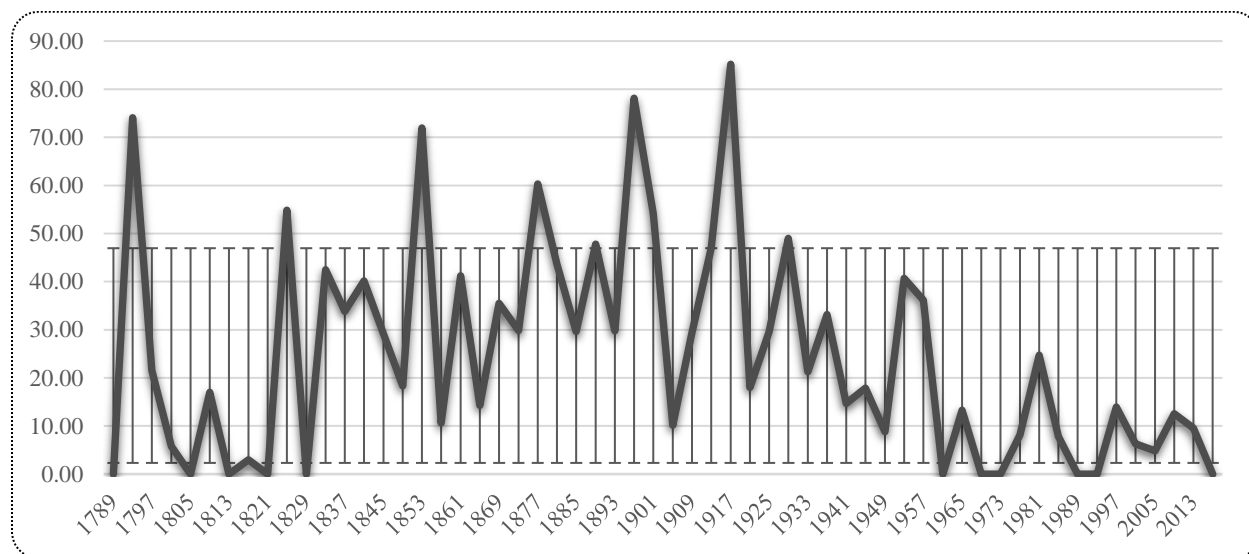


Figure 48. The normalized frequencies of *UPON* per address

Another interesting note is that President Nixon did not use this preposition in his two addresses. Moreover, the 1821 address, which is the fourth longest address (4472 words), does not contain any instances of *upon*. However, in the shortest address, President Washington used it twice.

In addition to the considerable number of zero scores, *upon* follows a trend from high scores to lower ones. Its high frequencies continued until 1917. It is interesting to note the substantial difference between the 1913 address and that of 1917. President Wilson delivered both addresses, but the frequency of *upon* increased by 81, 144. The second address, which coincided with the First World War, had the highest score, as shown in Figure 49.

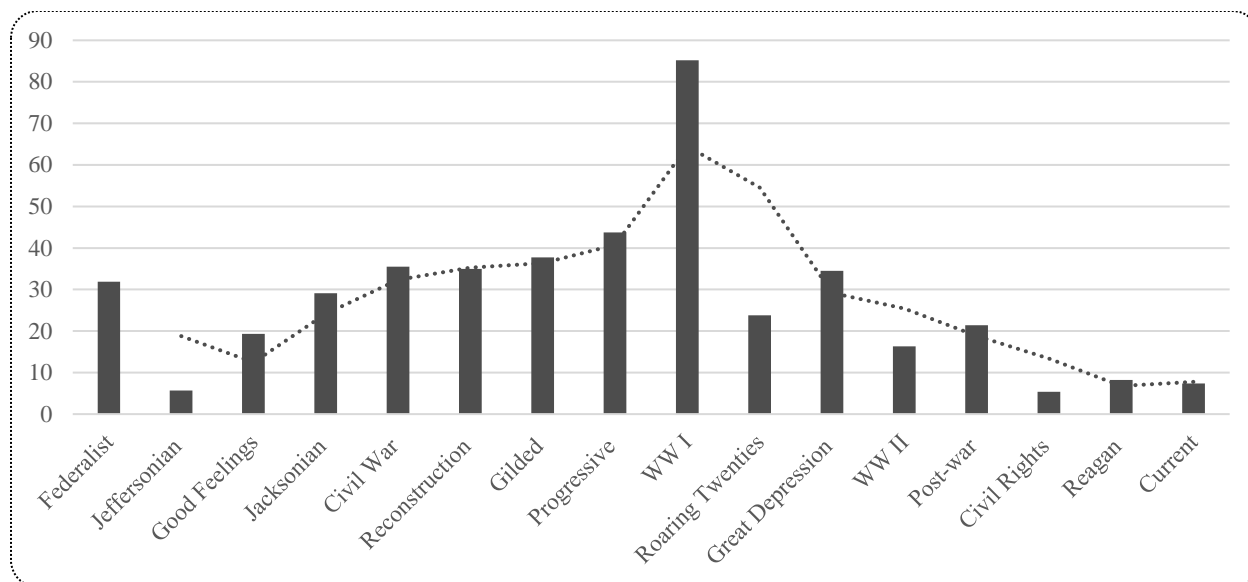


Figure 49. The normalized frequencies of *UPON* per period

It can be seen from the above figure that the 1917 address stands as a landmark separating two trends. The pre-1917 period had high values, while this preposition had exceptionally low scores after 1917. In terms of its distribution, the preposition *upon* is skewed to the right, as Figure 50 shows.

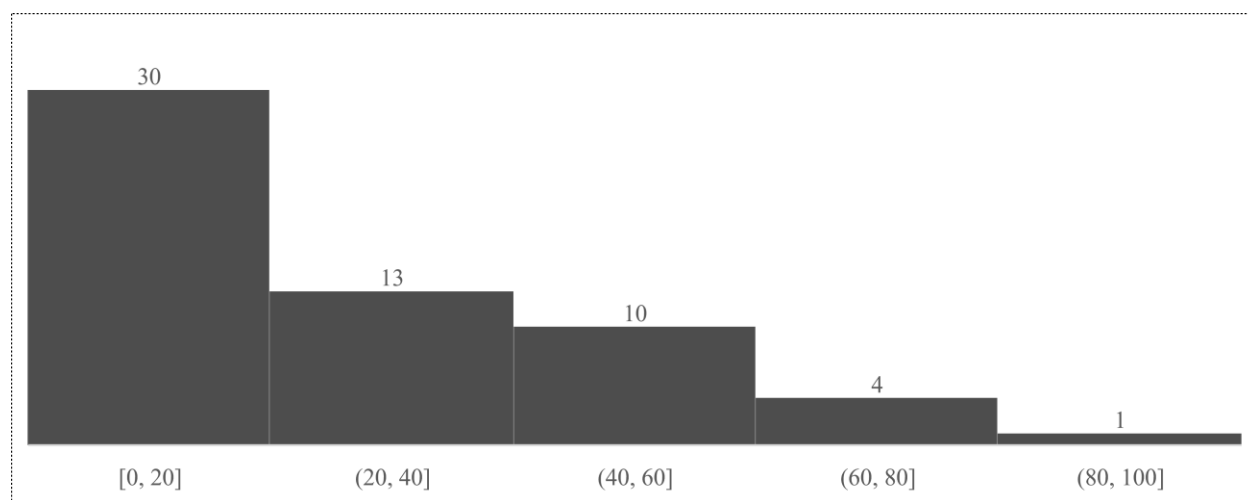


Figure 50. The frequency distribution of *UPON*

The values of this preposition are distributed over five ranges extending from zero to 100 and around a mean of 25 and a median of 18. What is striking about this preposition is that 30 out of the 58 addresses are within the lowest range from zero to 20. The zero scores appeared in 11 addresses making *upon* the first preposition with this high proportion of null values. Furthermore, only 13 addresses fall within the central range of 20 to 40. Interestingly, five addresses stand out with their high scores. One of them is within the 80-100 range.

As for the last and fourth preposition in this subset, *at* has a mean of 24, 77. Its lowest frequencies are three zero scores. In addition to the shortest address in 1793, the two addresses without any *at* were delivered in 1905 and 1965.

Figure 51 shows that the preposition *at* has no consistent trend in its normalized frequencies due to its several fluctuations. *At* tends to be more frequent in the last quarter of the 20th and the 21st centuries.

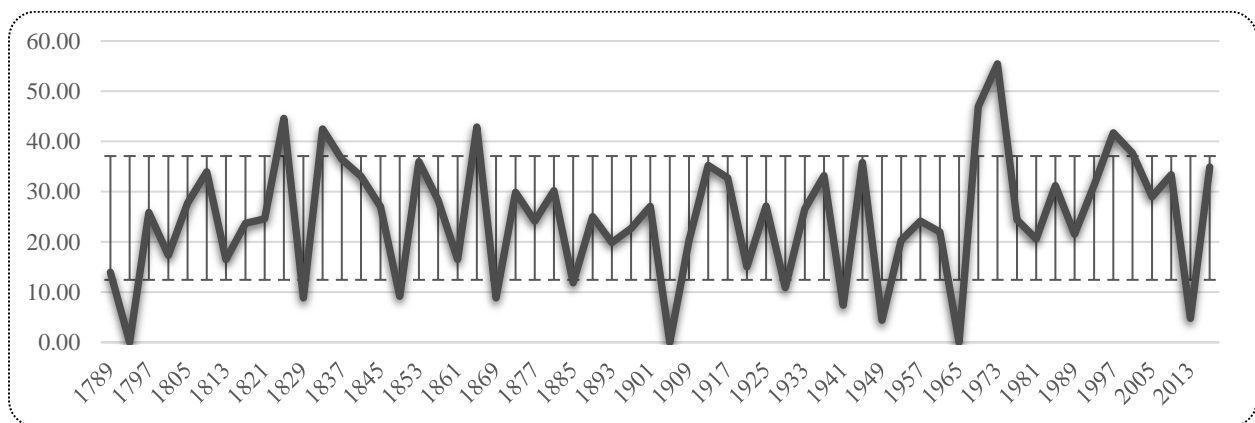


Figure 51. The normalized frequencies of *AT* per address

At is one of the few low-frequency prepositions in the 18th-century addresses, as shown in Figure 52. It started at 13 in the Federalist Era, and then it rose to 31 during the Era of Good

Feelings. A fluctuating pattern can be easily identified by observing the varying rates throughout the historical periods.

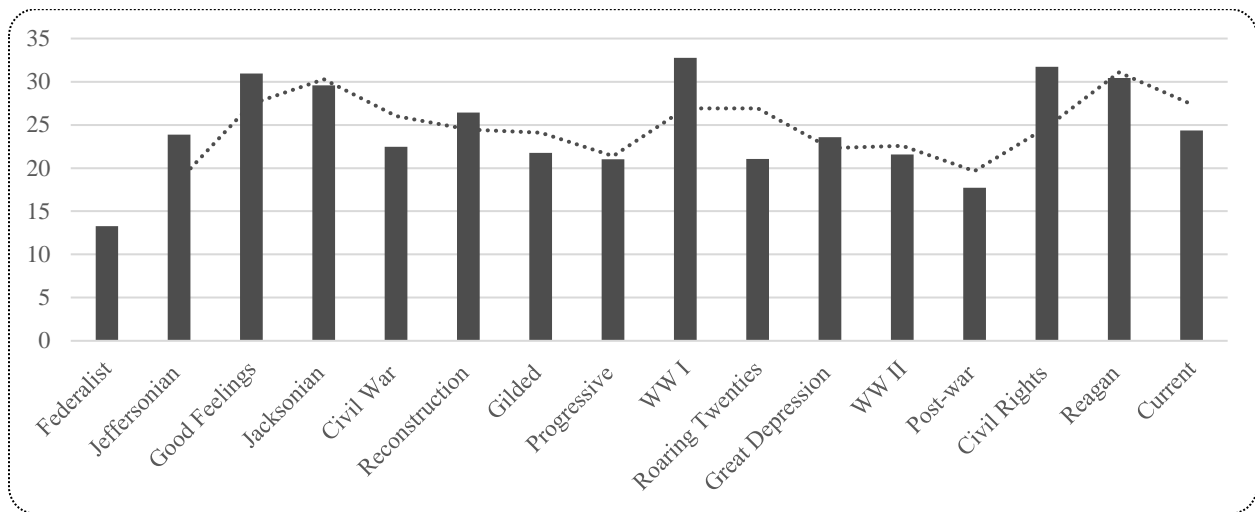


Figure 52. The normalized frequencies of AT per period

As far as its frequency distribution is concerned, *at* is distributed over six ranges extending from zero to 66, as shown in Figure 53.

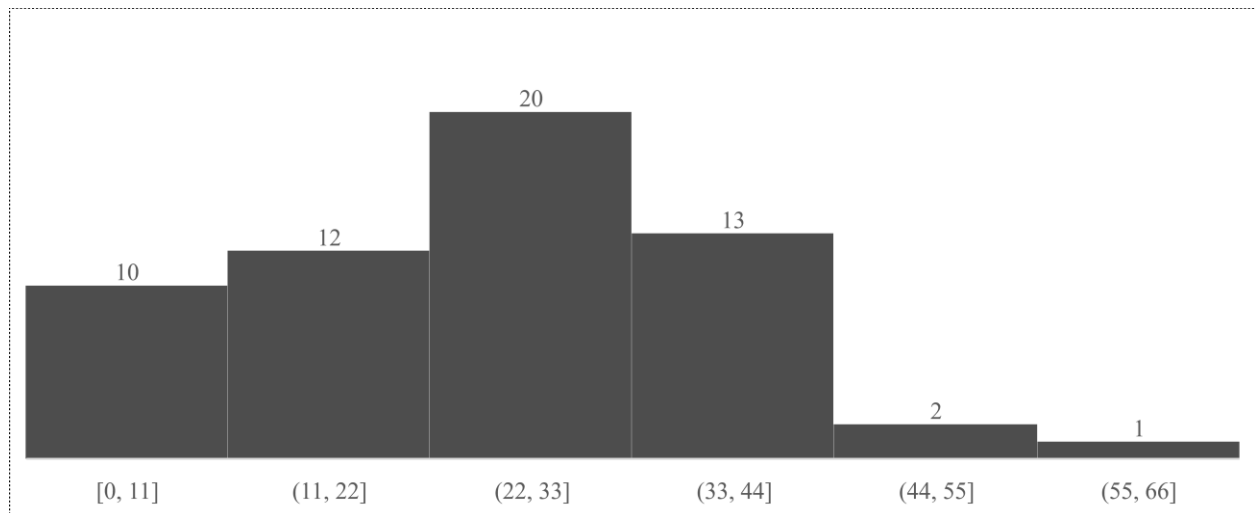


Figure 53. The frequency distribution of AT

This preposition has the same value for its mean and median, which is 25. Within the central range, there are only 20 addresses. The trend is towards lower values as there are 10 addresses with zero scores while only three above 44.

When combined, these four prepositions (*from, on, upon, and at*) fall within a range between 17, 78 and 66, 06, as illustrated in Figure 54.

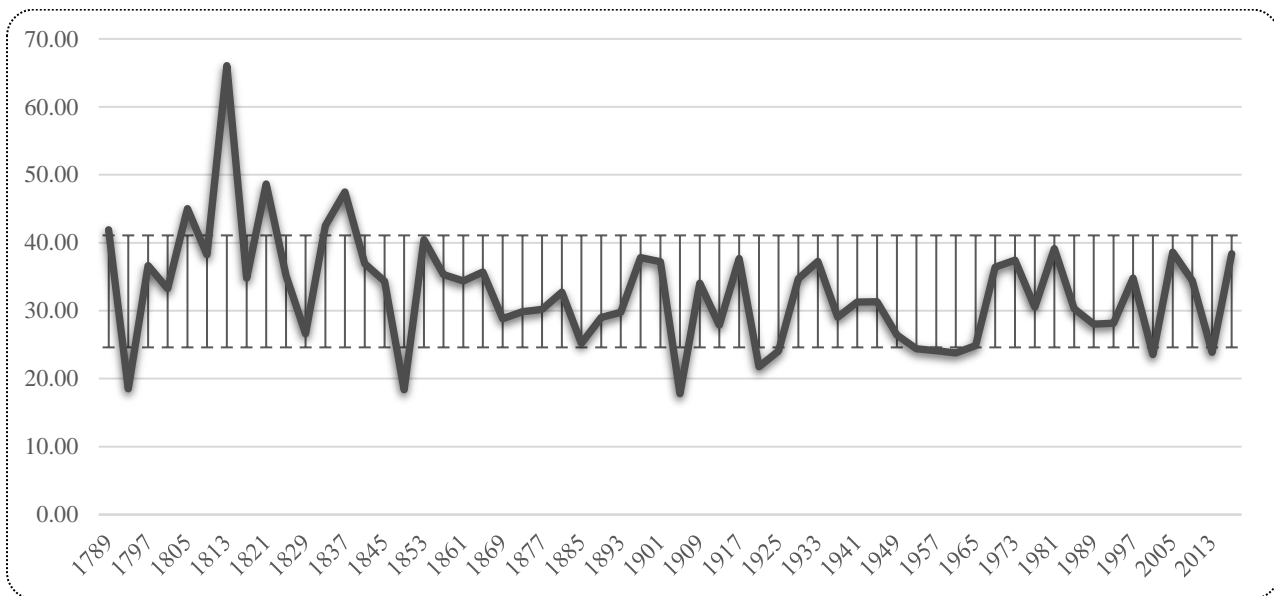


Figure 54. The normalized frequencies of *FROM, ON, UPON, and AT* per address

The main trend of this group is from the extremely high values towards a consistent set of values around the mean. The first part has all the addresses with more than 40, while the frequencies of these four prepositions, all of which are less than 40, occurred in the addresses stretching from 1853 up to 2017. The extremely low frequencies were all during the 20th century, and more precisely during the Roaring Twenties and the Post-War Era, as Figure 55 shows.

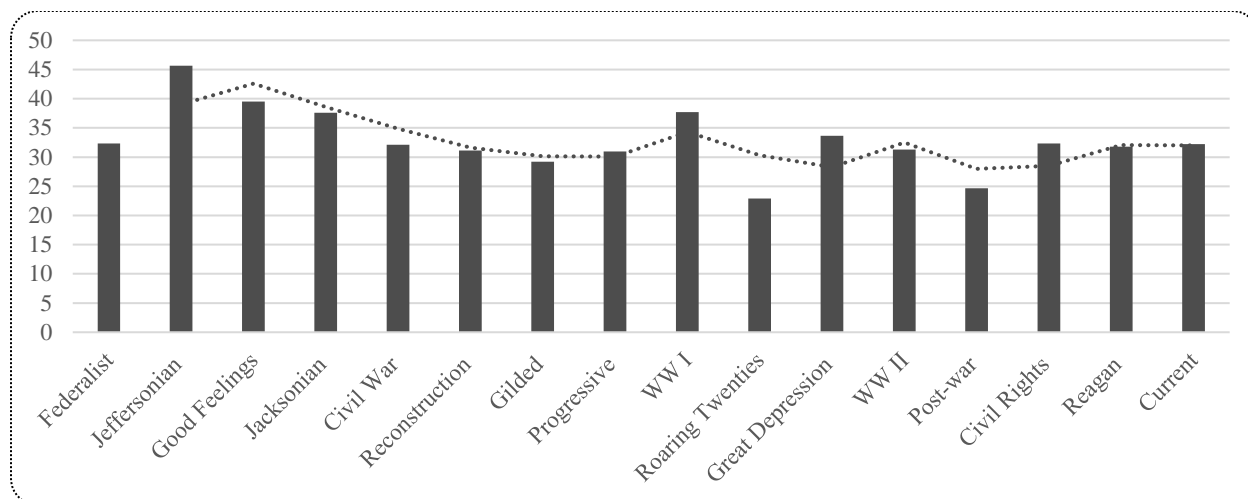


Figure 55. The normalized frequencies of *FROM*, *ON*, *UPON*, and *AT* per period

The above figure shows that this group of prepositions has high values in the second half of the 20th and the 21st centuries, namely from the Civil Rights Era to the present.

To summarize, the first set contains 11 prepositions and accounts for 90, 79% of the total occurrences. However, their distribution varies across the historical eras of the inaugurations, as illustrated in Figure 56.

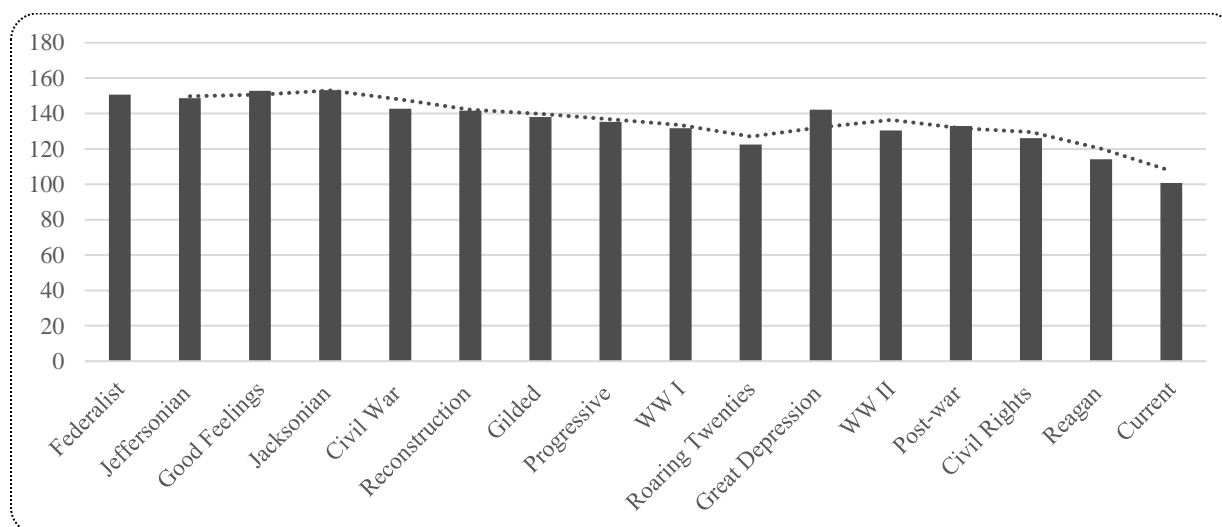


Figure 56. The diachronic frequency distribution of the 11 prepositions per period

The general tendency is more apparent in Figure 57, in which the usages of the 11 prepositions have been steadily declining.

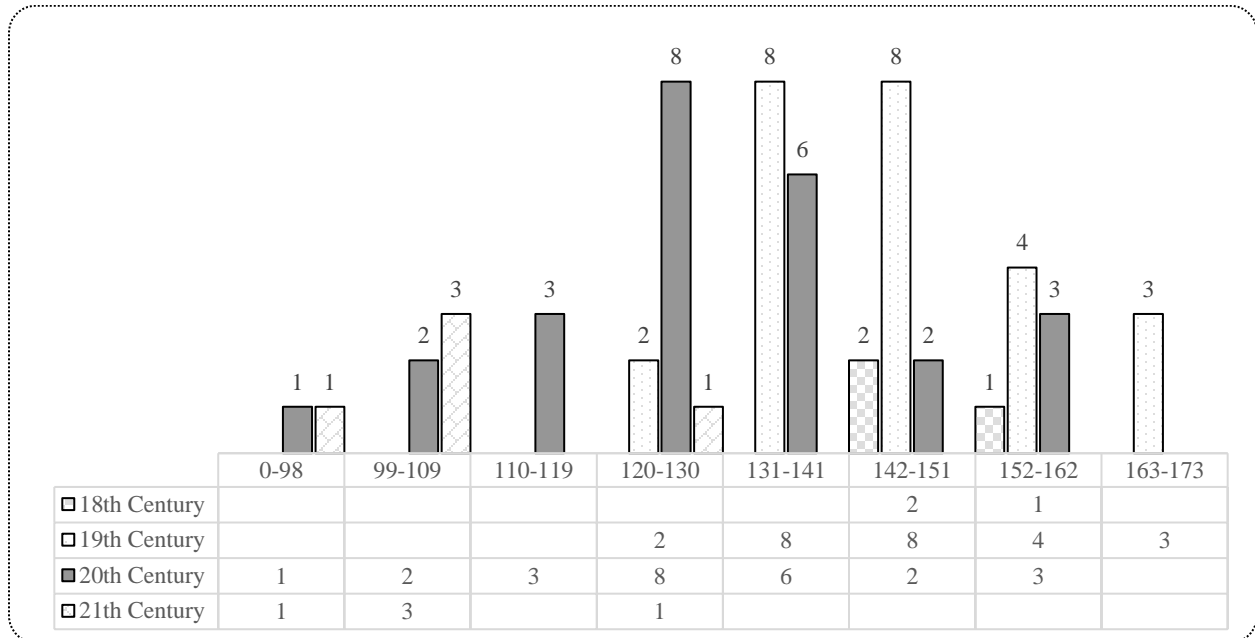


Figure 57. The diachronic frequency distribution of the 11 prepositions per century

The normalized values show a wide variation ranging from 97, 70 up to 172, 24. The mean and the median are remarkably close to each other (135, 27 and 136, 99). Around the central range, 131 to 141, there are only 14 out of the 58 addresses. The rest of the addresses are either on the low or high side. Figure 56 suggests four obvious patterns of distribution of the prepositions across the 228-year period. These four patterns coincide with the centuries. The first pattern shows that all 21st-century addresses have low scores. The five addresses of this century are below the mean. Four out of five addresses have values below 109. President Trump, for example, used these 11 prepositions less than all his predecessors. The second pattern is about the 18th-century addresses and their high scores. The three addresses of this century are all above

142. These two patterns appear on the left side and right side of the graph, which implies that none of these scores is within the range of the mean.

The third and fourth patterns are about the 19th and the 20th-century addresses, respectively. The 19th-century addresses tend towards higher scores, while those of the 20th-century are moving towards lower values. More specifically, the third pattern of 19th-century addresses has three features. First, there are more addresses within the central range, 131 to 141. Second, there are no addresses with low frequencies. It is important to emphasize that there are not any addresses below 120. The third feature of this pattern is the tendency towards high frequencies. Addresses with high ranges outnumber those with low ranges.

The fourth and last pattern describes the 20th-century addresses. The main feature of this pattern is that it marks the beginning of a declining trend in the use of prepositions. The addresses within the central range increased to six, and there are fewer addresses in the high ranges and no addresses in the highest range of 163 to 173. Furthermore, the decline gets more apparent with the lower ranges. Within the low-frequency category, there are 14 addresses, which represent a substantial number compared to low scores in the previous century's addresses. These low scores reflect a tendency of 20th-century presidents to use fewer prepositions in their addresses. For example, the address with the second lowest frequencies of these 11 prepositions was delivered in 1989.

If we combine the 18th and 19th centuries' addresses, we can infer a clear tendency towards high scores. This tendency reinforces the features of the first and third patterns mentioned earlier. Along the same lines, the 20th and the 21st centuries tend towards low scores and support the second and fourth patterns.

In short, the addresses of both the 18th and the 19th centuries with the higher values are on the right side of the mean, whereas addresses from the 20th and the 21st centuries, which tend towards the lower values, are on the left side of the mean.

4.1.2. The second set

This set includes 53 prepositions, but their overall occurrences are no more than 2076 times, which stands for only 9, 20%. As these 53 prepositions vary in their frequencies, they will be divided into two subsets. The first subset includes the top 16 prepositions, while the second subset comprises the remaining 37 prepositions. What follows is an account of these subsets.

4.1.2.1. The 16-preposition subset

This subset includes 16 prepositions and makes 7, 14%, as outlined in Figure 58. In their raw occurrences, they range from 198 down to 57. As their range is too wide, it is better to divide this subset into groups. The first comprises the first seven prepositions ranging from 198 to 108, while the second group includes the remaining nine prepositions whose raw occurrences are between 97 and 57.

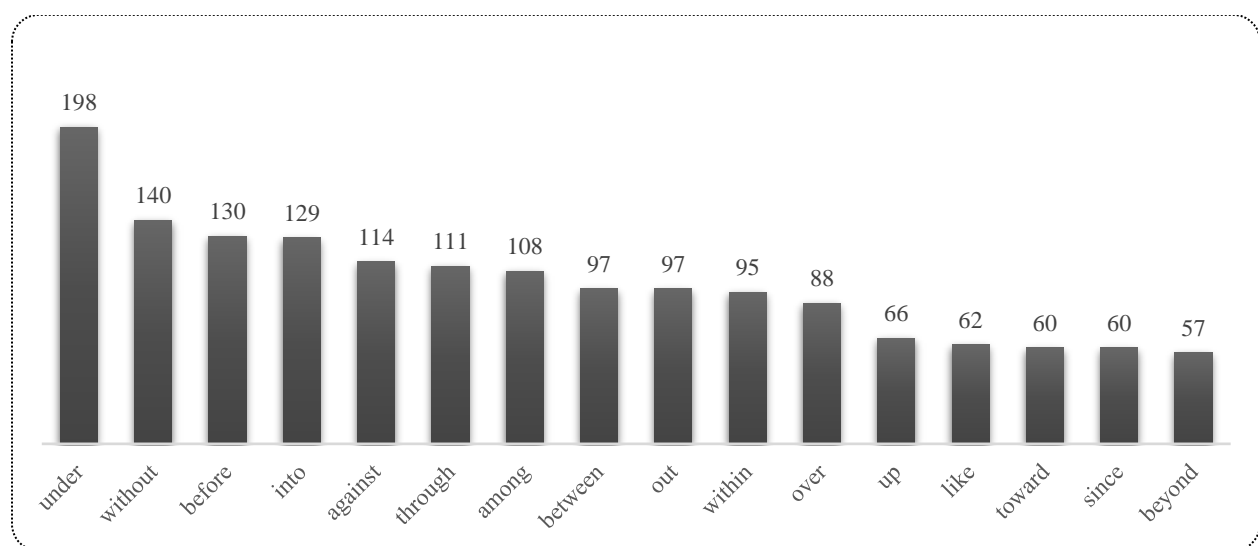


Figure 58. The raw occurrences of the 16 prepositions

The first group includes *under*, *without*, *before*, *into*, *against*, *through*, and *among*. They all share two interesting features. First, they are both sporadic and absent in many addresses. The zero scores vary from nine to 16. The prepositions *against* and *among*, for example, are absent in 16 and 15 addresses, respectively. The 1793 address, which is the shortest, had none of all these prepositions. Second, these prepositions show considerable diachronic instability. This remark is based on the mean of these seven prepositions' normalized values, as illustrated in Figure 59.

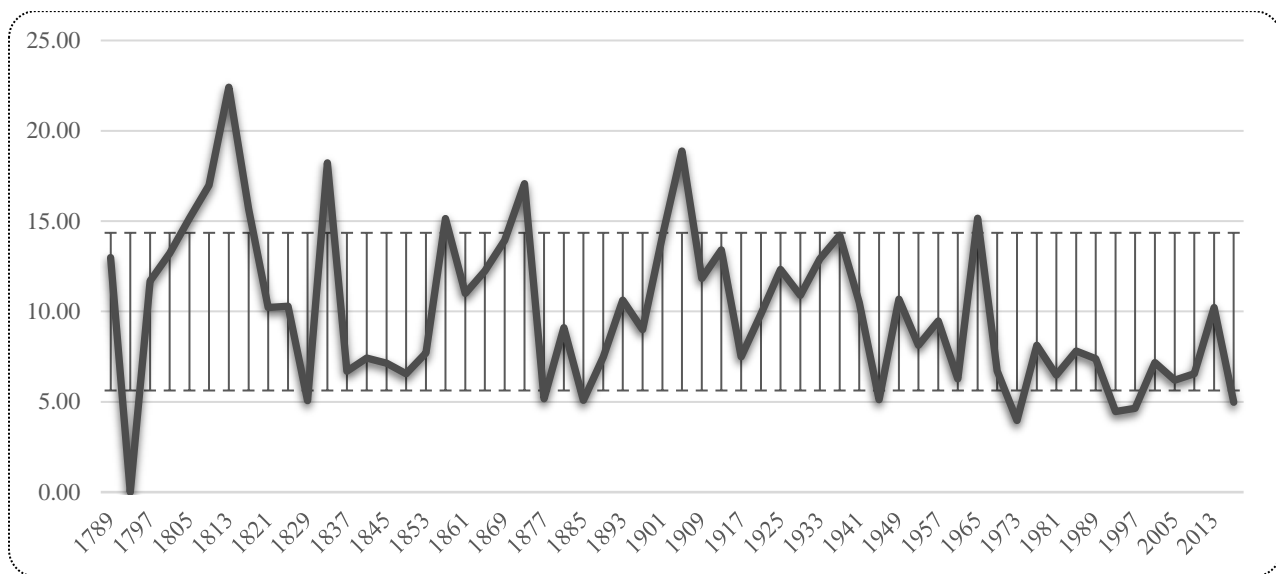


Figure 59. The mean of the normalized frequencies of *UNDER*, *WITHOUT*, *BEFORE*, *INTO*, *AGAINST*, *THROUGH*, and *AMONG*

Despite the various fluctuations, most of the highest values appeared in the 19th-century addresses, while the lowest values appeared in both the 20th and 21st-century addresses.

In addition to the first group, the remaining nine prepositions (*between*, *out*, *within*, *over*, *up*, *like*, *toward*, *since*, and *beyond*) are grouped into a separate cluster whose raw occurrences range from 97 to 57. Figure 60 portrays the mean of their normalized frequencies.

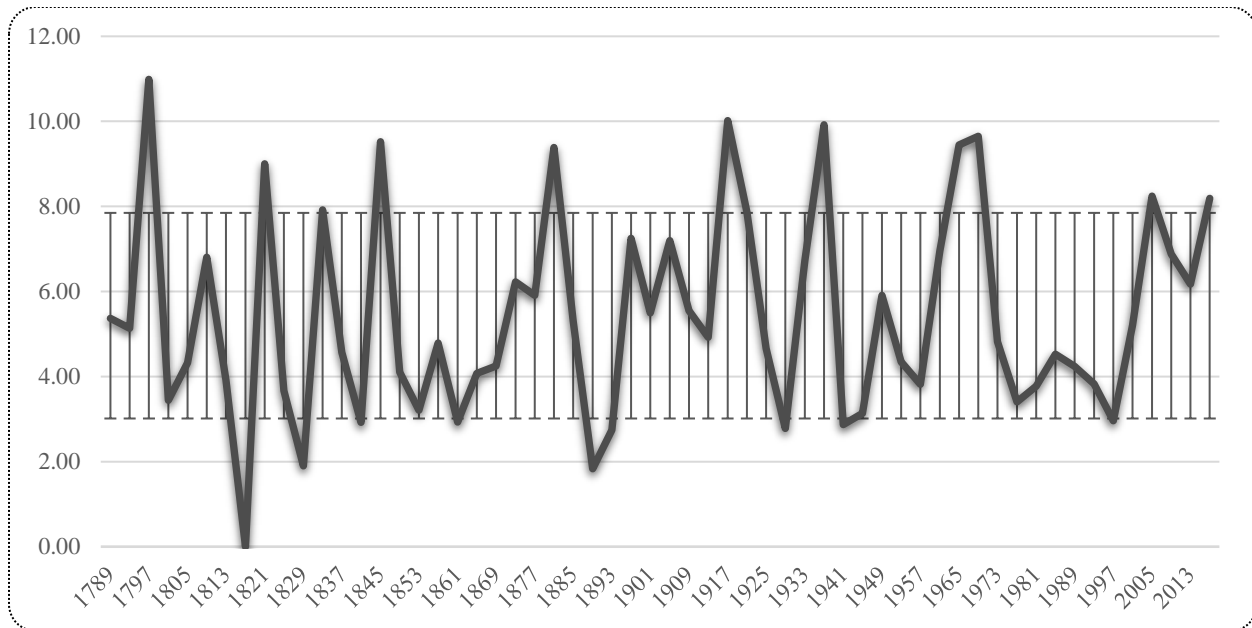


Figure 60. The mean of the normalized frequencies of BETWEEN, OUT, WITHIN, OVER, UP, LIKE, TOWARD, SINCE and BEYOND

What is striking about these prepositions is the lack of any regular trend before the 21st-century addresses. Sharp and frequent fluctuations can be observed all over Figure 60. The 1817 address scored zero in all nine prepositions. In the 21st-century addresses, there was a remarkable rise, especially in 2005.

4.1.2.2. The 37-preposition subset

The second subset consists of the remaining 37 prepositions. It includes the prepositions whose occurrences range from 44 down to 1, as shown in Figure 61. They are put together due to their low frequencies, which make only 2, 05%. They only appeared 464 times in the entire corpus.

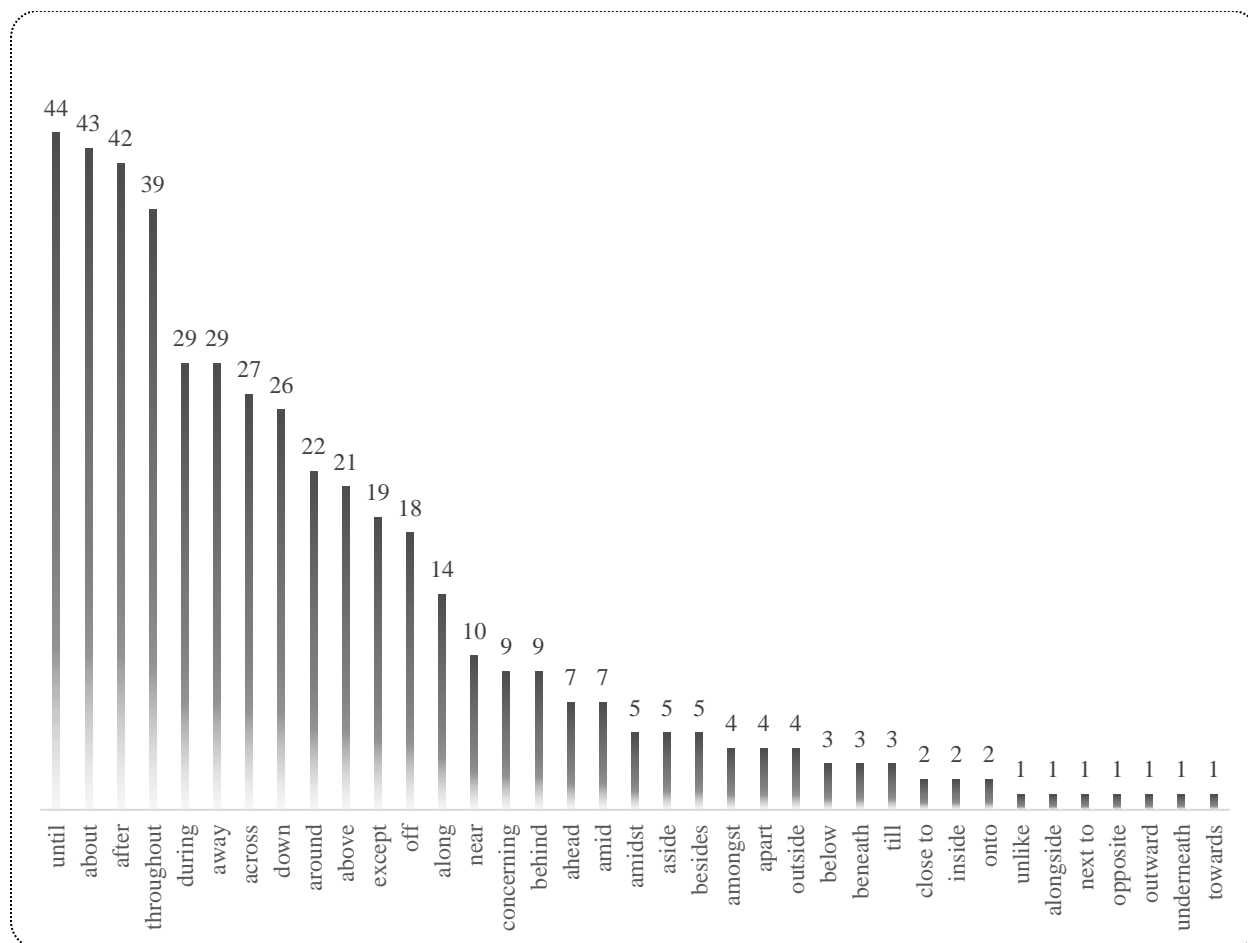


Figure 61. The raw occurrences of the 37 prepositions

What is common about these prepositions is that they have a significant number of zero scores. The preposition *until*, for example, appeared 44 times but only in 18 addresses. This low frequency shows that it was not used in the remaining 40 addresses. It seems that there is no regular pattern for its (lack of) use. In addition to the zero scores, seven prepositions can be clustered as a single frequency collection as they were used only once in the entire corpus. They appeared in the addresses of 1849, 1865, 1901, 1937, 1973, and 1993 respectively. Interestingly, these addresses were delivered only in the 19th and 20th centuries.

So far, the figures refer to the quantitative results of the prepositions found in the Inaugural Corpus regardless of their meanings, be they literal or figurative. Figure 62 presents the frequency distribution of all the 64 prepositions covered by this thesis.

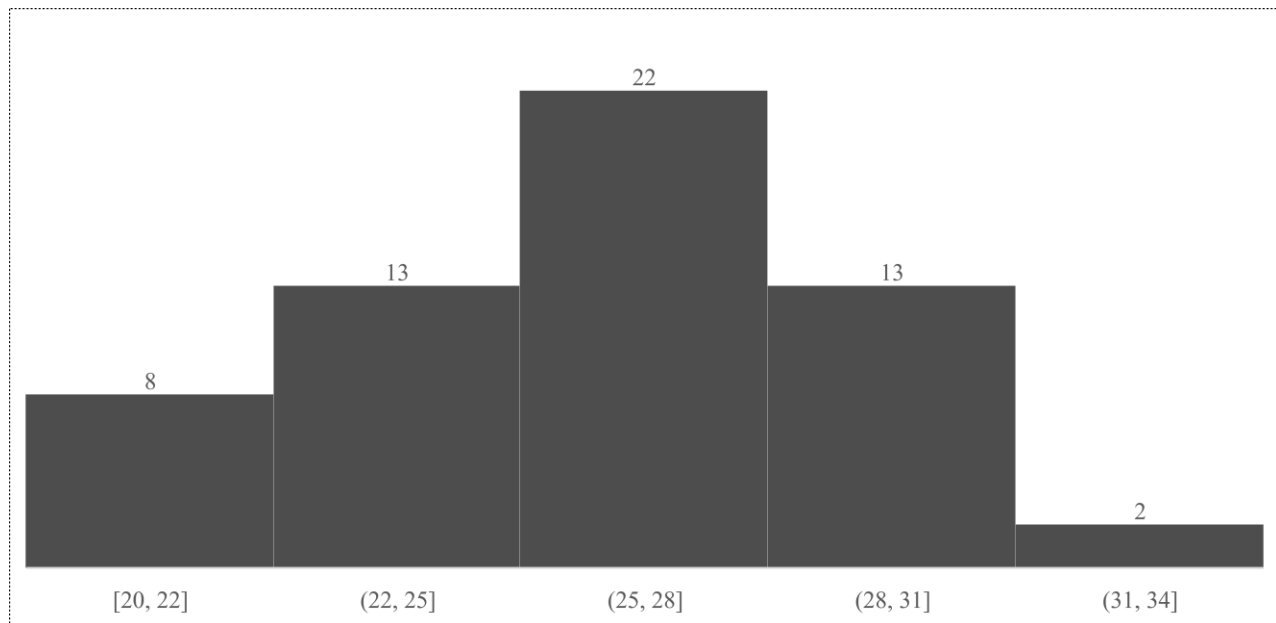


Figure 62. The frequency distribution of the 64 prepositions

The 64 prepositions are spread over five ranges ranging from 20 to 34 with a mean and a median of 26. There are 22 addresses within the central range of 25, 28. There are 21 addresses on the left side, while there are only 15 addresses on the right side. The distribution clearly shows more addresses with low scores, reinforcing the declining trend of the top 11 prepositions.

Before proceeding to the analysis of the metaphorical usages of prepositions, it is important to reconsider three observations drawn from Figures 62 and 63.

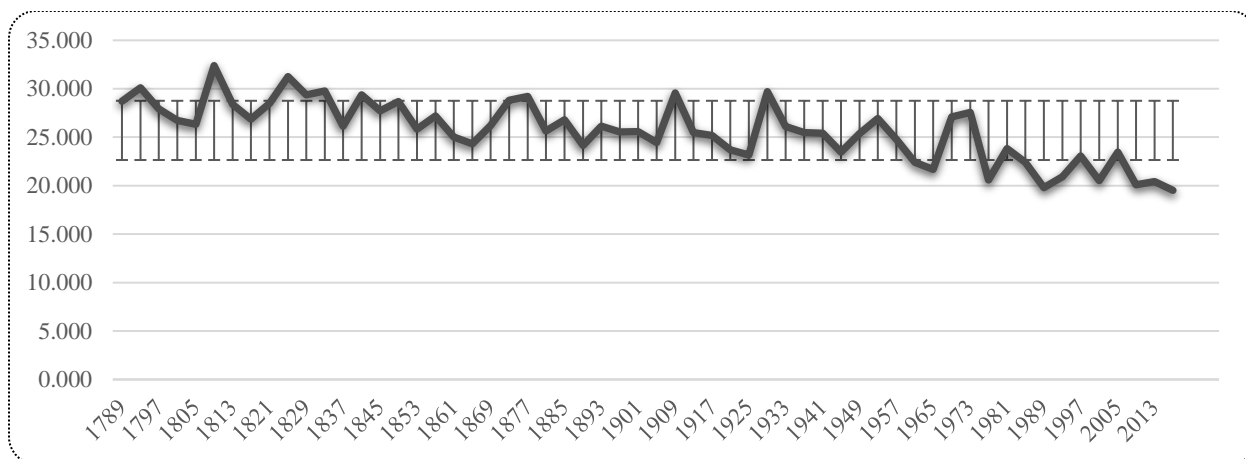


Figure 63. The mean of the normalized frequencies of the 64 prepositions per address

First, the main trend suggests a shift from high frequencies in the 18th and the 19th centuries to lower ones in the 20th and the 21st centuries. More specifically, the trend line began to decline at the turn of the 20th century before dropping dramatically below the mean from 1961 onwards. Interestingly, the two addresses of President Nixon (1969 and 1973) stand out as remarkable exceptions. The first observation is reinforced by the scores of the historical periods, as Figure 64 shows.

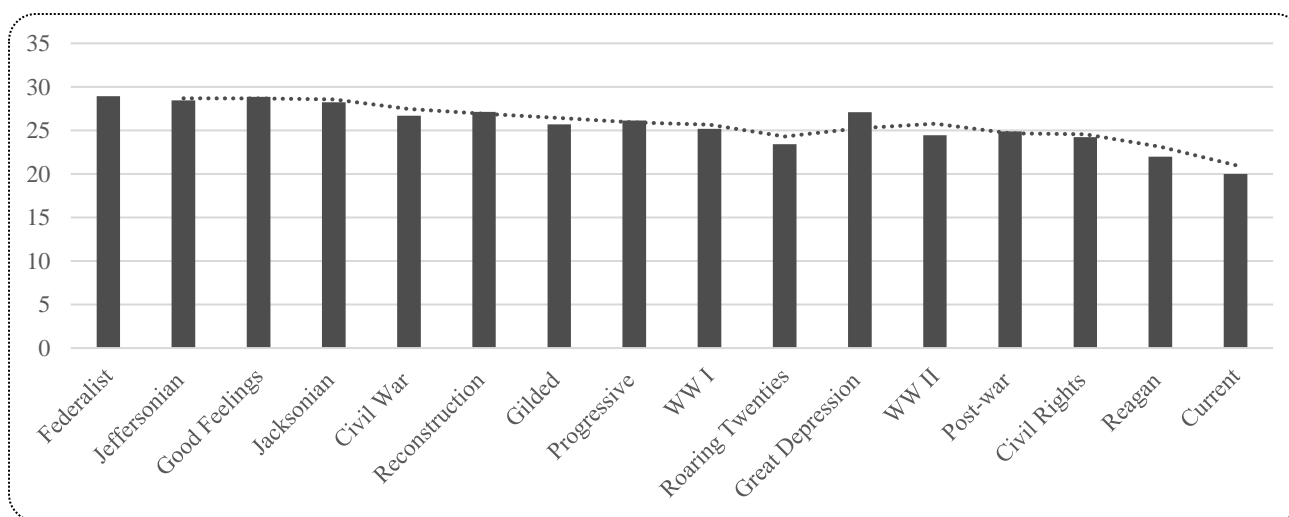


Figure 64. The mean of the normalized frequencies of the 64 prepositions per period

The declining trend is continuous but not sharp. It went down from 29 to 20 throughout the 16 historical periods. The high peak of the Great Depression may be linked to the high scores of the 1929 address.

The second observation is about individual prepositions. The trend of the individual prepositions is embedded in the general trend from high to lower scores. However, there are two exceptions in which the trend is reversed. The inverse trend applies to the prepositions *for* and *at*, as shown in Figures 28 and 51.

The third and last observation is about individual addresses and their high and low peaks. The first is the shortest address in 1793 with its high peak. The second is the addresses of 1809, 1825, and 1877 and their extremely high peaks. The third is the 1814 address and its extremely low peak. In the 20th century, the high peaks of 1909 and 1929 and the low spike of 1925 are all worth further investigation. The same applies to the 2005 address and its high peak amid low-frequency addresses.

The purpose of the first section is to draw a general picture of the prepositions in terms of their use frequencies and distributions. It is assumed that highly frequent prepositions are more likely to be used in their metaphorical senses and vice versa. The next section focuses on the metaphor-related prepositions and their frequencies as identified across the corpus.

4.2. Metaphorical usages of prepositions

The following section is devoted to the prepositions that have been identified as metaphor related. These are the extracted metaphorical expressions identified by the metaphor identification procedures applied to the corpus. Metaphorical expressions that contain prepositions will be quoted under the heading of that preposition. This section is divided into 15 subsections, each of which covers a separate preposition or a cluster of related prepositions.

4.2.1. The metaphors of *OF*

The linguistic metaphors of this preposition are based on PART-WHOLE image schema by which the part is a trajector, and the whole is a landmark. Trajectors connected to the preposition *of* are drawn from these source domains: the human body, life cycles, psychology, family, community, communication, commerce, agriculture, music, time, objects, light/darkness, building, weather, diseases, roads, and water. Examples of metaphors will be cited according to these source domains.

Human anatomy is one of the main source domains that offers an extensive experiential basis for mapping metaphors of this preposition. The state and its constituents are conceptualized respectively as a body and its parts. However, the conceptual mapping is restricted to specific parts such as *head, heads, hand, hands, arms, heart, hearts, face, eyes, face, bosom, and shoulders*, as illustrated by the following quotes:

- (10). “the *bosom* of my country” (J. Adams, 1797).
- (11). “the *heads* of Departments will need, time for inquiry” (B. Harrison, 1889).
- (12). “*Heads* of Departments, bureaus, and all other public officers” (B. Harrison, 1889).
- (13). “military leaders at the *head* of their victorious legions” (Jackson, 1833).
- (14). “the officer at the *head* of the Treasury Department” (W. H. Harrison, 1841).
- (15). “The *eyes* of all nations are fixed on our Republic” (Jackson, 1833).

As shown in (10), the relationship between the state and its citizens is conceptualized in terms of a biological bond between a mother and her children. The *bosom*, a woman’s (more often a mother’s) chest, metonymically stands for the whole person. The care and protection

associated with this part of the body are mapped on similar emotions stimulated by being in your home country.

In the same vein, *hand* and *hands* are associated with governmental institutions and groups such as Convention, tribunal, Federal Executive, leaders, Democrats, and private interests. These metaphors usually carry positive evaluations. The following quotes include examples of these entities:

(16). “the *hands* of that eminent tribunal” (Lincoln, 1861).

(17). “the *hands* of the Federal Executive” (Taft, 1909).

In a political system based on representativeness, the state is seen as the general will of the people. This notion of control is conceptualized in terms of hands.

(18). “the *hands* of the people” (Monroe, 1817).

The same parts of the body are used to describe undemocratic regimes in other countries. However, an adjective is usually added before the term *hand* to evoke a negative evaluation.

(19). “the dead *hand* of a bygone civilization” (T. Roosevelt, 1905).

(20). “no rude *hand* of power or tyrannical passion is laid upon him with impunity” (Pierce, 1853).

The term *arms* is used in conjunction with the term *government* to denote a strong authority capable of using physical strength in law enforcement.

(21). “To Texas, the reunion is important because the strong protecting *arm* of our Government would be extended over her” (Polk, 1845).

As for the face, it is not only the image of the country that is at stake. Other abstract entities are conceptualized as having faces.

(22). “you have changed the *face* of Congress, the Presidency, and the political process itself” (Clinton, 1993).

(23). “It is to make kinder the *face* of the Nation and gentler the *face* of the world” (G. Bush, 1989).

The shoulders are associated with weight on the one hand and the people on the other.

(24). “the *weight* of fear and the weight of arms be taken from the burdened shoulders of mankind” (Eisenhower, 1957).

(25). “We believe that America’s prosperity must rest upon the broad *shoulders* of a rising middle class” (Obama, 2013).

As the central part of the body, the heart is mapped onto the geographical centrality of countries in their regions and or continents. Germany is a typical example, as in the following quote:

(26). “In the *heart* of Europe, Germany still stands tragically divided” (Eisenhower, 1957).

Furthermore, hearts are often seen as the locus of good values. This conceptual basis of a true and good character is used to conceptualize the character of abstract entities, especially the nation.

(27). “it also revealed the *heart* of America as sound and fearless” (Harding, 1921).

(28). “I speak from my own *heart*, and the *heart* of my country, the deep concern” (Nixon, 1969).

(29). “America inspires the *heart* of all humanity” (Coolidge, 1925).

In conjunction with the parts of the body, the life cycles of a human being are mapped on the various stages of the nation's growth. In the first place, a nation has a life according to these quotes:

(30). "The *life* of a Nation is the fullness of the measure of its will to live" (D. Roosevelt, 1941).

(31). "you are part of the *life* of our great nation" (Bush, 1989).

According to this same mapping, a nation goes through a growth process divided into various stages like birth, infancy, adulthood, and death.

(32). "the *infancy* of our Republic" (Jackson, 1833).

President Reagan used the same conceptual mapping when he praised President Washington's efforts to establish the newborn nation.

(33). "He led America out of revolutionary victory into *infant* nationhood" (Reagan, 1981).

In some metaphors, some features of a life cycle, such as vigor and health, are made salient. Each feature is used metonymically to refer to the whole stage in the life cycle. As humans have prime years, a nation is praised for its vigor and health.

(34). "youthful *vigor* of the country" (Monroe, 1817).

(35). "the *health* of the Nation" (Wilson, 1913).

Besides, the human self is used in the mapping between the nation and the psychology of the self. The former has various states ranging from cognitive, affective to spiritual. As a target domain, the nation is conceptualized in terms of human emotional and spiritual states.

(36). "*happiness* of the nation" (Adams, 1797).

(37). "*happiness* of all the States in the Union" (Adams, 1797).

- (38). “*happiness* of our country” (Monroe, 1821).
- (39). “the *hopes* of this beloved country” (Jefferson, 1801).
- (40). “During the *throes* and *convulsions* of the ancient world” (Jefferson, 1801).
- (41). “the *spirit* of the nation” (Madison, 1813).
- (42). “we muster the *spirit* of America” (D. Roosevelt, 1941).
- (43). “the *opinions* and *feelings* of our country” (J. Q. Adams, 1825).
- (44). “The *will* of the nation” (Garfield, 1881).
- (45). “the *conscience* of the country” (McKinley, 1901).
- (46). “The *mind* of America” (Coolidge, 1925).
- (47). “The *verdict* of the country” (Coolidge, 1925).
- (48). “the *gratitude* of the Republic” (Harding, 1921).

In addition to human beings, a family is another important source domain. Family members and their relationships are mapped onto the various political actors and their relationships. A family, its members, and relationships are recruited to define the role of the president and his relationships with the people. Among the family members, the father is given the highest prominence. “Father” and “fathers” are used to describe either President Washington or the Founding Fathers of the U.S. It is used with three specific landmarks, namely *country*, *nation*, and *Republic*, as shown in the following quotes:

- (49). “the venerated *fathers* of the Republic” (Van Buren, 1837).
- (50). “the *Father* of his Country” (Z. Taylor, 1849).
- (51). “the *Father* of his Country made "the" then "recent accession” (Pierce, 1853).
- (52). “so much dreaded by the *Father* of his Country” (Buchanan, 1857).
- (53). “By the *Father* of his Country” (Cleveland, 1885).

(54). “George Washington, *father* of our country” (Reagan, 1981).

(55). “Washington remains the *Father* of our Country” (Bush, 1989).

(56). “the *Father* of our Nation” (Obama, 2009).

All these metaphorical expressions share the mapping of fathers onto political leaders with a particular reference to the first president. The main implication of these metaphors is that the nation is a family, and the president is the father.

In the above-mentioned quotes, the concept of family and its members carries positive evaluations. However, this is not the case with the notion of parents and their biological function.

(57). “*parent* of despotism” (Jefferson, 1801).

(58). “the *parent* of a spirit antagonist to that of liberty” (W. Harrison, 1841).

Though the father is one of the parents, these concepts *father* and *parents* differ enormously. While the concept of the father is associated with political achievements and treated with respect and even reverence, the concept of parents relates to despotism and the anti-liberty spirit. These political practices and ideas are conceptualized from the perspective of their sources. Parents are subject to a negative evaluation as they are in charge of their bad offsprings.

In addition to the father figure, the individual states are conceptualized as the members of one family.

(59). “Those of them which are destined to become *members* of our great political *family*” (H. Harrison, 1841).

(60). “this great and increasing *family* of free and independent States” (Polk, 1845).

Besides, a community is another source domain. Based on the PART-WHOLE image schema, a family is one part of a larger community. This mapping of family members onto the nations of the world was used by several American presidents such as:

(61). “the great *family* of nations” (Buchanan, 1857).

(62). “It had not conquered a place in the *family* of nations” (Garfield, 1881).

(63). “the *family* of nations” (McKinley, 1901).

(64). “the *family* of nations” (Wilson, 1907).

In the above-mentioned metaphors, the concept of a family and its constituent members provide a basis for a metaphorical frame in which nations constitute one family, and international relations are supposed to be as close as the bonds between brothers and sisters. In (61) – (64), presidents reasoned about their foreign policies in terms of an analogy between family bonds and international relations. Values such as cooperation and mutual respect, evoked by the concept of a family, are recruited to propagate a cognitive model of an ideal relationship between the U.S. with other nations.

In addition to human beings, objects offer a rich source domain for the metaphorical *of*. Though objects have many features, most linguistic metaphors seem to place great prominence on their weight. As weight is an integral feature of any object, it reflects its high value. Therefore, weight becomes an indicator of value and importance, and the mapping implies that the heavier the weight of an idea, the more important it is.

(65). “the *weight* of this deep conviction” (Madison, 1809).

(66). “many considerations of great *weight*” (Monroe, 1821).

(67). “the great *weight* of his character” (Van Buren, 1837).

(68). “a heavy *weight* of responsibility” (Taft, 1909).

However, an excess of weight evokes an experience of carrying a burden on one’s shoulders. In terms of evaluation, this experience infers negative connotations. Negative representation also manifests in the nature of burden-related landmarks like taxes and other

unpleasant experiences. The unpleasant effect of taxation is reinforced by the verbs that precede the landmarks such as *bear*, *reduce*, *remove*, *alleviate*, and *make it light*.

(69). “alleviate when possible the *burden* of taxation” (Q. Adams, 1825).

(70). “Removing the *burden* of expense and jealousy” (Coolidge, 1925).

In addition to weight, objects have various sides, shapes, and parts. The front side of an object usually attracts more attention and evokes positive connotations. Thus, it is activated to praise the concept of civilization, as construed by President Truman:

(71). “the *forefront* of civilization” (Truman, 1949).

When no explicit connotations are implied, a nation, like an object, can be divided into parts. A nation is the sum of its group and to talk to one group of people is to refer to one part of an object-like nation.

(72). “one *portion* of our citizenship” (Harding, 1921).

Light and darkness are also among the recurrent source domains for the metaphorical *of*. Light is an integral part of an abstract landmark in the same way that a concrete light is part of a concrete lamp. Light is also conceived as an integral feature of high principles and socio-economic states such as freedom, liberty, and prosperity. With these principles, their vitality is conceptualized in terms of fire as in the following quotes:

(73). “the sacred *fire* of liberty” (Washington, 1789).

(74). “He would extinguish the *fire* of liberty” (Polk, 1845).

(75). “this untamed *fire* of freedom” (W. Bush, 2005).

(76). “obscure the *light* of our prosperity” (Pierce, 1853).

(77). “We must frequently take our bearings from these fixed *stars* of our political firmament” (Coolidge, 1925).

In other cases, the source of light is made prominent. These sources of light include experience, Revolution, and science.

(78). “It came from the *furnace* of the Revolution” (Pierce, 1853).

(79). “the best *lights* of practical science and experience” (Garfield, 1881).

(80). “igniting the *spark* of possibility in the eyes of every girl and every boy”
(Clinton, 1997).

Light as a source domain is expressed through the concepts of *light*, *lights*, *fire*, *furnace*, *stars*, and *spark*. The term *fire* has been used exclusively with freedom and liberty.

The metaphors of light are interestingly vague. The integration of light with specific landmarks suggests two interpretations. The first interpretation holds that a landmark is enlightened by a source of light, while the second interpretation holds that a landmark is enlightening the surrounding space through its source of light. These two interpretations are drawn from the following quote:

(81). “We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it *shine* as an example, we will *shine* for everyone to follow” (Trump, 2017).

Like the light metaphors, darkness becomes an integral feature of landmarks with negative evaluations. For example, national life has a dark hour, and the world has dark corners.

(82). “the *night* of their bondage” (Eisenhower, 1957).

(83). “In every *dark hour* of our national life, a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves” (Roosevelt, 1933).

(84). “freedom will reach the *darkest corners* of our world” (W. Bush, 2005).

(85). “Every blow we inflict against poverty will be a blow against its *dark allies* of oppression and war” (Reagan, 1985).

(86). “the *dark powers* of destruction unleashed by science engulf all humanity in planned or accidental self-destruction” (Kennedy, 1961).

(87). “Only a foolish optimist can deny the *dark realities* of the moment” (Roosevelt, 1933).

While *light* connects directly with a landmark, darkness is used as an adjective that precedes a noun phrase. This pattern implies that light can be an attribute to the landmark while darkness, by itself, cannot. The adjective *dark* modifies these five noun phrases: *allies*, *corners*, *hour*, *powers*, and *realities*. These noun phrases are, technically speaking, the parts of their respective wholes. However, they are all modified by darkness.

Additionally, roads constitute another rich source domain. Based on our experience of traveling, a journey has multiple parts like departures, roads, means of transport, and destinations. The metaphorical *of* seems to favor paths among the other constituents of a journey. The landmarks of such abstract paths are mostly high principles, as mentioned in the following quotes:

(88). “the *path* of justice” (Jefferson, 1805).

(89). “the *path* of duty” (Q. Adams, 1825).

(90). “the upward *avenues* of hope” (B. Harrison, 1889).

(91). “the *path* of patriotism and honor” (McKinley 1897).

Path is also highlighted for the rewards to be gained by reaching the intended destination. Following these paths are activated to urge people to commit themselves to high principles.

Some of these rewards include prosperity, happiness, civilization, and education, as in the following examples:

(92). “pursue the *paths* of prosperity and happiness” (Pierce, 1853).

(93). “the *paths* of civilization and education” (Cleveland, 1893).

(94). “the *paths* of contentment and prosperity” (Cleveland, 1893).

In terms of thought-language interface, the concept of a path is often conveyed by different words such as *career*, *pathway*, *journey*, and *road*.

(95). “*career* of freedom and usefulness” (Garfield, 1881).

(96). “the *pathway* of any virtuous citizen” (Garfield, 1881).

(97). “Start on this *journey* of progress and justice” (W. Bush, 2005).

Moreover, various metaphors are based on buildings and construction. These metaphors are used to reason about the value of creating and maintaining a nation. It is a long-term process that needs the right people and the right components. Builders and concrete components like cement and pillars are mapped onto abstract landmarks such as nation, republic, and history.

(98). “the Constitution, which is the *cement* of the Union” (Madison, 1809).

(99). “we recognize the earliest and firmest *pillars* of the Republic” (Van Buren, 1837).

(100). “The prophets of evil were not the *builders* of the Republic” (McKinley, 901).

(101). “our people have always mustered the determination to construct from these crises the *pillars* of our history” (Clinton, 1993).

The physical strength of buildings, their cement, and their foundations are used to highlight the strength of the current government, the importance of shared values, and the achievements of previous presidents.

Another important source domain is communication. Abstract landmarks are conceptualized in a communication setting in which the country, for example, is communicating with a president. Within the PART-WHOLE schema, voice and call are made salient to structure this metaphor.

(102). “the *voice* of my country called me” (Washington, 1789).

(103). “I am again called upon by the *voice* of my country” (Washington, 1793).

(104). “the *voice* of the nation” (Jefferson, 1801).

Not only does the country have a voice, but other concepts such as battle, people, majority, and freedom are also conceptualized as communicators with a voice.

(105). “speaking with the *voice* of battle” (Garfield, 1881).

(106). “the *voice* of the people” (McKinley, 1897).

(107). “we fail to hear or heed these *voices* of freedom” (Roosevelt 1941).

In President Madison’s address, the concept of the voice was omitted, but the metaphor remains the same with the new concept call:

(108). “the *call* of my country” (Madison, 1809).

Close to the domain of communication, music offers another source domain to the metaphorical *of*. Operas are made up of several components, but American presidents seem to prefer the chorus among other musical features. A harmonious musical group of an opera is highlighted and mapped onto harmonious political groups. They are conceptualized in terms of a chorus singing in harmony. This metaphor usually promotes unity among the people of one nation. Amid the divisions between the states during the 1860s, this metaphor was used in an argument for the protection of the Union, as in the following quote:

(109). “The mystic *chords* of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the *chorus* of the Union, when again touched” (Lincoln, 1861).

President Eisenhower used this metaphor to promote political consensus. He combined the main components of a music concert with their synchronization and then mapped them onto the harmony of a unified nation.

(110). “The air rings with the *song* of our industry--rolling mills and blast furnaces, dynamos, dams and assembly lines--the *chorus* of America the bountiful” (Eisenhower, 1957).

Whenever the unity of the nation is at stake, the chorus metaphor is activated.

(111). “And we must ensure that America stands before the world united, strong, at peace, and fiscally sound. . . . We need harmony; we’ve had a *chorus* of discordant voices” (Bush, 1989).

In addition to music, the everyday commercial transactions offer an experiential basis for the linguistic metaphors in which abstract concepts are conceptualized as commodities. Among the attributes of commodities, price stands out as the most salient attribute. The preposition *of* reinforces the fact that prices are integral parts of these commodity-like ideals.

Various abstract landmarks are conceptualized in terms of their prices. Freedom, for example, seems to be the most valuable commodity-like ideal. The commodity metaphor is motivated by the experience of cherishing precious possessions, especially when their prices are high and appealing.

(112). “We are called to meet the *price* of our liberty” (Cleveland, 1885).

(113). “the *price* of this peace” (Eisenhower, 1957).

It is interesting to note that “we” and “our” are used to emphasize the shared possession of freedom and liberty. The value of these assets tends to increase when they are owned by a group instead of an individual. By using the preposition *of*, the main implication is that these landmarks have an inherent cost. Above all, prices are integral parts of such landmarks, making this metaphor inherently evaluative without any modifying adjectives. These are highly precious landmarks, and they come at a high price.

Farming is another source domain for the metaphorical *of*. This preposition integrates seeds, weed, and cultivating, as parts, into abstract landmarks such as mind, partisanship, and good international relations. The emergent blends are conceptualized as whole plants and a complete cultivation process.

(114). “this baneful *weed of party strife* was uprooted” (Q. Adams, 1825).

(115). “the *cultivation of the soil* and of the mind” (Q. Adams, 1825).

(116). “we have everything to beckon us to the *cultivation* of relations of peace and amity with all nations” (Pierce, 1853).

(117). “Everywhere we see the *seeds* of the same growth” (Eisenhower, 1957).

In addition to farming, water in the forms of seas and oceans is another source domain for the metaphors of the preposition *of*. In conjunction with these forms, water lends its movements to metaphorization. These moves include ebb, flow, tide, and wave. Landmarks are mainly political, legal, and social practices. For example, justice is conceived as water, but when its performance is inconsistent, it is conceptualized as the ebb and flow of water.

(118). “History has an *ebb and flow* of justice” (W. Bush, 2005).

(119). “here are men who believe that tyranny and slavery have become the surging *wave* of the future and that freedom is an ebbing tide” (Roosevelt, 1941).

(120). “The words have been spoken during rising *tides* of prosperity” (Obama, 2009).

(121). “the *tide* of illiteracy has risen among our voters and their children” (Garfield, 1881).

An unnamed source that supplies power to governmental institutions is conceptualized as a source of water supply.

(122). “It is a danger that lurks and hides in the *sources* and *fountains* of power in every state” (Garfield, 1881).

According to the PART-WHOLE image schema, a part can stand for the general content of a whole. This applies to water when conceived as the content of the sea. Peace, as a landmark, is conceptualized according to the same image schema.

(123). “the still *waters* of peace” (Obama, 2009).

As a large amount of water, an ocean is mapped onto a massive amount of uncertainty.

(124). “the representatives of this nation ... cut asunder the ties which had bound them and launched into an *ocean* of uncertainty” (Adams, 1797).

Additionally, the weather is another rich source domain for the metaphorical *of*. The various weather changes offer source domains to metaphors of actions or forces that lead to social or political change. Winds and hurricanes are powerful enough to cause a change in the landscape, and their force is mapped onto the influential factors that lead to social and political change.

(125). “We refused to leave the problems of our common welfare to be solved by the winds of chance and the *hurricanes* of disaster” (Roosevelt, 1937).

(126). “Thus, across all the globe there harshly blow the *winds* of change”

(Eisenhower, 1957).

(127). “No nation, however old or great, escapes this *tempest* of change and turmoil”

(Eisenhower, 1957).

(128). “America, in the face of our common dangers, in this *winter* of our hardship,

let us remember these timeless words” (Obama, 2009).

Health is another source domain for the conceptual mapping of this preposition. Diseases are used to structure landmarks ranging from immoral practices to bad social conditions.

(129). “They will demand a nation uncorrupted by *cancers* of injustice” (Roosevelt, 1937).

In some other cases, bad social conditions are conceptualized as pain-causing diseases.

(130). “Many in our country do not know the *pain* of poverty” (W. Bush, 2001).

(131). “Prices must reflect the receding *fever* of war activities” (Harding, 1921).

(132). “America has suffered from a *fever* of words; from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver” (Nixon, 1969).

Furthermore, time is used as a source domain. Among the parts of a day, *hour* and *eve* are used. When these parts are highlighted, they emphasize the importance of activities during these time slots.

(133). “*hour* of maximum danger” (Kennedy, 1961).

(134). “In every dark *hour* of our national life” (D. Roosevelt, 1933).

(135). “On the *eve* of our struggle for independence” (Reagan, 1981).

Other source domains, in addition to the ones mentioned above, have been identified, but they have not been widely used. They include *court*, *clothes*, *heat*, *weapons*, *parts of a machine*, *ranks*, and *prison*, as in the following quotes:

(136). “In pleading our just cause before the *bar* of history” (D. Eisenhower, 1953).

(137). “corrective of abuses which are lopped by the *sword* of revolution” (Jefferson, 1801).

(138). “the *artillery* of the press” (Jefferson, 1805).

(139). “we are not helpless *prisoners* of history” (D. Eisenhower, 1953).

To conclude, through its PART-WHOLE image schema, the preposition *of* permits a wide range of relationships in which numerous concrete parts are conceptualized as belonging to abstract wholes. Appendix C provides an exhaustive list of all the trajectors and landmarks by their alphabetical order. In terms of frequency, Table 10 displays the most frequent collocations from the perspectives of both trajectors and landmarks.

Table 10

The Top Frequent Collocations of the Preposition OF

Trajectors	Count	Prep	Landmarks	Count
Face	5	of	Country	19
Father(s)	8		Freedom	13
Call	5		Civilization	11
Path(s)	10		Nations	9
Light(s)	9		Nation	9
Burden	5		America	8
Weight	8		Republic	7
Voice(s)	13		People	6
Hand(s)	10		History	6
Heart(s)	10		Liberty	6
Family	5		Experience	5

What stands out in Table 10 is that the word *voice* is the most frequent trajector while *country* is at the top of the list of landmarks. Furthermore, the words *hand and heart* (and their plural forms) came in second, but it makes more sense to merge them with words from the same semantic field to make one category. The list of terms includes *country, nation, republic, and America*. When these lists are merged, the frequency becomes clearer and more significant, as Table 11 shows.

Table 11

The Top Frequent Conceptual Domains of the Preposition OF

Trajectors	Count	Prep	Landmarks	Count
Face, hand(s), heart(s)	25	of	Country, republic, America, nation	43
Call, voice(s)	18		Freedom, liberty	19
Burden, weight	13		Civilization	11
Father(s), family	13		Nations	9
Path(s)	10		History	6
Light(s)	9		People	6
			Experience	5

Closer inspection of Table 10 and Table 11 reveals that the most common conceptual mapping happens between the concrete parts of the body and the abstract concept of a nation. The choice of conceptual domains reinforces the nature of the discourse at hand. Presidents are much more interested in political issues than on any other topic. First and foremost, they are politicians, and their main preoccupation is politics.

4.2.2. The metaphors of *TO*, *TOWARDS*, and *TOWARD*

The relationships established by these prepositions, in their metaphorical senses, follow the following pattern: trajectors move in the direction of landmarks. In other words, landmarks are the goals towards which trajectors move. At the same time, trajectors get more prominence because of their dynamic nature, while landmarks are not highlighted because they are static. The main landmarks are the ideals which the presidents advocate and urge their people to pursue.

The preposition *to* relates plans to goals in terms of roads and destinations by which the first entities lead to the second ones. This conceptual mapping explains why nouns such as *road*, *path*, and *door* are used before the preposition *to*, as in the following examples:

- (140). “follow the same precise *path* to happiness” (Obama, 2013).
- (141). “the *road* to an America rich in dignity and abundant with opportunity for all our citizens” (Reagan, 1985).
- (142). “here will be no turning back or hesitation on the *road* to an America rich in dignity and abundant with opportunity for all our citizens” (Reagan, 1985).
- (143). “There is no short *road* to the realization of these aspirations” (Hoover, 1929).
- (144). “Men and women of the world move toward free markets through the *door* to prosperity” (Bush, 1989).
- (145). “The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought through the *door* to the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows” (Bush, 1989).

In their metaphorical senses, purposes are construed as abstract roads that lead to their realization in the same way that journeys are described in terms of concrete roads leading to their destinations.

In addition to roads and similar notions, the concept of motion along a path leading to a destination is expressed by verbs such as *lead*, *lift*, *restore*, *direct*, *fly*, *invite*, *march*, *lure*, *return* and *yield*. As for the final destinations, they are often about the ultimate goals of the presidents’ policies. They include prosperity, freedom, happiness, America’s desired image, heights, future, and peace.

- (146). “the *road* which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety” (Jefferson, 1801).
- (147). “we invite the world to the same *heights*” (Harding, 1921).

This same analogy between roads and purposes is used to warn about bad policies in terms of following the wrong paths. Bad policies are conceptualized as abstract journeys leading

to unpleasant and hostile states and locations such as *anarchy*, *foreign dominions*, *jungle*, and *winds*.

(148). “Those who disregard the rules of society are . . .treading the way that leads back to the *jungle*” (Coolidge, 1925).

(149). “Whoever rejects it does of necessity *fly* to anarchy or to despotism” (Lincoln, 1861).

In addition to the above-mentioned examples, the preposition *to* is used to convey metaphors of communication that highlight the journey of messages. The recipients of these messages include the future generation, the president, and other politicians and governmental institutions. The message of the communication is seen as an object, and communication is perceived as a transfer of that specific object (communication) to a specific recipient, as in the following examples:

(150). “dispense the blessings of civil and religious liberty to distant generations” (Polk, 1845).

(151). “inferior trusts heretofore confided to me by my country” (W. Harrison, 1841).

(152). “extending the circle of citizenship, opportunity, and dignity to women” (Clinton, 1993).

As for the metaphorical *toward* and *towards*, they tend to appear after motion verbs like *move*, *reach*, *rise*, *strive*, and *advance* or of nouns like *progress*, *path*, *share*, *advance*, *pilgrimage*, and *step*. The recurrent goals of these forward movements are in the realm of high principles like *democracy*, *freedom*, *prosperity*, *peace*, and *civilization*. The remaining goals were conveyed in general terms such as *heights*, *highest*, *new*, and *ideal*.

(153). “In a world moving toward liberty” (W. Bush, 2005).

(154). “1972 will be long remembered as the year of the greatest progress since the end of World War II toward a lasting peace in the world” (Nixon, 1973).

(155). “Sometimes we will be rising toward the heights” (F. D. Roosevelt, 1945).

The preposition *Toward* appeared with *from* to express a complex metaphor that combines progress based on the source domains of light, darkness, and building.

(156). “How far have we come in man’s long pilgrimage from darkness toward the light?” (Eisenhower, 1953).

(157). “every citizen to do his share toward cementing a happy union” (Grant, 1869).

Both the transition from light to darkness and the construction or fortification of a building are viewed as a process and thus a journey. Additionally, eyes and hearts are used as a metonymy for the whole person, as in the following quotes:

(158). “let us lift our eyes toward the challenges that await us in the next century” (Clinton, 1997).

To summarize, the prepositions *to*, *toward*, and *towards* evoke the concept of trajectors moving in the direction of landmarks. This concept is expressed in five patterns. The first pattern is about the entire journey in which both the departure and the destination are mentioned. As shown in Table 12, these prepositions co-occur with the preposition *from*.

Table 12

The Full Journey Pattern

PREP 1	X	PREP 2	Y
<i>from</i>	slavery	<i>to</i>	the full rights of citizenship
	infancy	<i>to</i>	manhood
	darkness	<i>toward</i>	light

The second pattern consists of the metaphors in which these prepositions are preceded by a concrete entity expressed by a noun phrase and followed by an abstract entity. Table 13 specifies both the concrete and abstract entities.

Table 13

The NP + Preposition+ Landmark Pattern

X	PREP	Y
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • road • door • path • step 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>to</i> <i>toward</i> <i>towards</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • freedom • prosperity • America • the realization of these aspirations • happiness • sustainable energy sources • the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows • ultimate goal

The third pattern is a variation of the second one. It has the same elements, but it adds the verb *lead*. Table 14 lists its principal manifestations.

Table 14

The NP + Lead + Preposition+ Landmark Pattern

X		PREP	Y
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • road • way 	lead	to	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • peace • liberty • safety • jungle

The fourth pattern consists of transitive motion verbs preceding the prepositions. As Table 15 shows, destinations include high principles, future periods, and high status.

Table 15

The VP + Preposition+ Landmark Pattern

X	PREP	Y
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • advance • cross • come • cultivate • fly • march • move • reach • rise • strive • tend 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to toward towards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a world where man's freedom is secure • a blessed land of new promise • greatness • a new realization of our place in the world • highest degree • the standard of the law • anarchy • despotism • this new future • the music of our time • an era of good feeling • an ideal • liberty • stronger moral and spiritual life • realizing the full potential of all its citizens • our hopes • heights • the ultimate in individual freedom • republicanism • democracy

The fifth and the last pattern includes a set of transitive verbs and their objects before the prepositions. The verbs can be grouped into three categories. The first category includes motion verbs that transfer an entity toward a destination. The second category holds verbs related to provision. The metaphors conceptualize provision as a journey from the provider, as a starting point, to the beneficiary, as the ultimate destination. The last and third category applies to communication acts in which messages are conceptualized as traveling from a sender to a receiver. Table 16 illustrates the three categories of verbs of the fifth pattern in more detail.

Table 16

The VP + NP + Preposition+ Landmark Pattern

VERB	X	PREP	Y
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • advance • direct • turn • lift • give • raise • restore • invite • transmit • do • extend • confide • bring • dispense • scatter • put • secure • argue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • direction • the reign of justice and reason • voice • temple • the world • blessings • share • blessings • public efforts • hopes • leadership • suspicion • fear • ambition • temptation • eyes • inferior trusts • hearts • government • confidence • citizenship • opportunity • dignity • American democracy • civil and religious liberty • politics • thoughts • a proof of their patriotism • a higher glory • projects • hands • pain • blessings of liberty • principles • nation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> to toward towards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • freedom • the extinction of force • God • the ancient truths • same heights • our children • the advancement of civilization • every individual • the public good • far-off future • to the realization of these ideals • the fruition of these aspirations • country • challenges • me (president) • knowledge and character • (president's) successor • government • cementing a happy union • new influence • new responsibilities • distant generations • a broader view • an impending Civil War • the winds • you • the friends of free government • American people • light

In all the above-mentioned categories, the focus is on the endpoint of a path. The prepositions *to*, *toward*, and *towards* emphasize the ultimate goal of trajectors assuming that the goal will be achieved once the trajector reaches the landmark. Other related issues, such as when and how to reach those destinations, are usually relegated.

4.2.3. The metaphors of *IN*

Metaphors of this preposition include social and emotional states conceptualized in terms of physical locations. The different sets of landmarks that correlate with this preposition can be divided into two sets according to their nature and evaluative load. The first set is about high principles such as freedom, dignity, amity, friendship, and happiness. These ideals are conceptualized as pleasant or desirable locations. The second set is about the fate of the nation or the current social conditions. They are conceptualized as unpleasant locations.

(159). “The unity of all who dwell in *freedom* is their only sure defense”

(Eisenhower, 1957).

(160). “... when our peoples may freely meet in *friendship*” (Eisenhower, 1957).

(161). “a world in which no people, great or small, will live in angry *isolation*”

(Nixon, 1969).

(162). “twilight years were spent in *poverty*” (Obama, 2013).

In terms of semantic fields, the conceptual mapping of the preposition *in* involves a network of source domains such as body parts, darkness, and vehicles. As for the parts of the body, political power is located in the hands of a specific person or the people in general. When these hands are not preceded by negative attributes, they denote the location of power and the identity of the agent who exercises that power. In general, the metaphors of the hand evoke the possession of power, whether it is the power of God through the Divine Hand or the power of the

government through the hands of the people. Following the logic of this metaphor, a chain of power may be arranged in this way: The government is in the hands of the people, and the people are in the hands of God. The hands of God are the first location that holds the people. The second location is the hands of people that hold the government. However, the function of each location is likely to be different. Divine hands tend to appear in contexts of affective protection, while human hands tend to appear in contexts of control, as in the following quotes:

(163). “I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose *hands* we are” (Jefferson, 1805).

(164). “The Government has been in the *hands* of the people” (Monroe, 1817).

(165). “the correction of those abuses that... have placed or continued power in unfaithful or incompetent *hands*” (A. Jackson, 1829).

In the same way, the heart functions as a location. It is the locus of moral values, intellect, political convictions, and certain specific emotions such as sympathy.

(166). “Whoever would understand in his *heart* the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln” (Reagan, 1981).

(167). “its existence only awakens in my *heart* a deeper sympathy for those who have to bear it or suffer from it” (Taft, 1909).

(168). “he told of his dream that one day America would rise up and treat all its citizens as equals before the law and in the *heart*” (Clinton, 1997).

In addition to the parts of the body, the whole person can be conceptualized as a location. The preposition *in* is used to portray themselves as a location of trust and authority. President Washington used this conceptual mapping in his two addresses, and then President D. Roosevelt followed suit.

(169). “For the trust reposed in *me*, I will return the courage and the devotion that befit the time” (F. D. Roosevelt, 1933).

Dark locations are associated with states where people need assistance and guidance, particularly from Divine sources.

(170). “seeking Divine guidance to help us each and everyone to give light to them that sit in *darkness*” (F. D. Roosevelt, 1937).

Vehicles, as a source domain, are used as special locations because they combine location and motion. Even when they are moving, the containment of vehicles becomes more salient. This metaphor conceptualizes citizens united behind one purpose in terms of passengers on board the same boat on a sea trip.

(171). “to steer with safety the *vessel* in which we are all embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world” (Jefferson, 1801).

Like social conditions, emotional states are conceptualized in terms of physical locations. However, President D. Roosevelt used the experience of painting in which emotions function as colors. The state of the nation is affected by certain emotions in the same way that a picture is marked by its distinctive colors.

(172). “It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope because the Nation, seeing and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out” (D. Roosevelt, 1937).

As most of the metaphors of this preposition are mainly about locations, they can be grouped into six categories according to the nature of the location. The first two categories involve the two different parts of the body. Emotional and social states are included in the third and fourth categories. These two categories deal with political situations and manners.

The first category may be referred to as the ruling hands. It comprises various trajectors centered in one location: the hands. As shown in Table 17, most trajectors are related to law and authority that makes hands the locus of power and the tools of control.

Table 17

The Ruling Hands Pattern

X	Prep	Y
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • government • power • means of enforcing • the president 	in	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hands

The second category is about the other part of the body, the heart. It is conceptualized as the locus of knowledge, wisdom, moral and political values. The only emotion included in this category is sympathy, as Table 18 illustrates.

Table 18

The Heart as a Location Pattern

X	Prep	Y
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • peace • commitment • dedication • the meaning of America • freedom • sympathy • destiny • what matters • hopes • know • a lasting place • all its citizens as equals • the inspirations of its history 	in	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • heart • hearts

Table 19 summarizes the third category in which landmarks are mainly bad emotional states conceptualized as locations. By being in these locations, trajectors acquire the emotions associated with these locations.

Table 19

The Emotions as Locations Pattern

X	Prep	Y
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • we • picture • other people • Republic 	in	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fear • despair • anxiety • distrust • shock • exultation

The fourth category is about poverty as a social condition. The trajectors include vulnerable yet precious entities, as demonstrated in Table 20. Prominence is accorded to adverse conditions inside these confinement-like locations. The trajectors, surrounded by these confining landmarks, range from social groups to the last years of one's life.

Table 20

The Social Conditions as Locations Pattern

X	Prep	Y
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • families • mothers and children • the States • twilight years 	in	poverty

In the fifth category, civil and political rights situations also function as abstract locations, as presented in Table 21. The list of trajectors includes the American people, the U.S., other countries, and their citizens.

Table 21

The High Principles as Locations Pattern

X	Prep	Y
God's people, people, men, we, nations, other countries	in	dignity, freedom, anarchy, despotism, peace, unity

The last category is about manners which function as landmarks. As shown in Table 22, the enactment of various verbs is conceptualized in terms of being in a location.

Table 22

The Manners as Locations Pattern

X	Prep	Y
fire, people, other countries, the States, the flag, picture, we, Republic, government, redress, negotiation, war, The president	in	spirit, hope, hopes, minds, moral climate, friendship, tranquility, harmony, honor, isolation, infant state

As shown in Tables 17 through 22, the metaphorical *in* has two significant implications. The first deals with the function of the landmarks, while the second deals with their axiological aspect. The landmarks of the metaphorical *in* are likely to be bounded locations with an interior that surrounds and contains their trajectors. In this way, trajectors are highlighted as entities enclosed by the boundaries of their landmarks. As for the axiological values, landmarks rate the comfort of the location. Peace, for example, is a pleasant state, and so is the location it

represents. In general, these landmarks cannot be neutral because their enclosure on the trajectors does not occur without an effect. When the effect is negatively evaluated, it may be described in terms of restrictions, or even as trap-like confinement, as poverty in President Trump's words. In positive evaluations, the overall effect is beneficial immersion by which trajectors enjoy, benefit and gain more experience while they are inside a useful landmark.

The choice of these landmarks conceals the presidents' evaluations. Prominence is accorded to the state of being inside, while a "mental path" is suggested. Being in a location is just a stage in the process of moves that have led to somebody being placed in a specific location. However, a few assumptions can be formulated, such as the existence of an entrance and the possibility of entering. Moreover, we may assume that being inside can vary in duration. It may be temporary with hope and/or a plan to move out. This hope requires, at least theoretically, an exit. These attributes are mapped onto social conditions, undemocratic regimes, and certain emotional states. Most of these landmarks are harshly criticized, and trajectors are urged to leave their unpleasant locations and move into pleasant ones. This plan is appropriate for any political agenda that preaches change, reform, and, at times, rebellion. When the state sounds permanent, it implies that either the trajectors are enjoying their current state, and presidents have no plans to change the status quo. These conservative ideologies may explain the lack of references to the affluent and the lack of a prepositional phrase equivalent to "in poverty" that could describe the location of the rich.

In general, a landmark is not merely a reference entity that locates a trajector. Instead, it characterizes trajectors in terms of the attributes of their landmarks. With these attributes, the trajector is classified and judged according, not to its spatial configurations, but the socio-economic and political connotations of their landmarks.

4.2.4. The metaphors of *FOR*

The metaphorical *for* depends on various semantic fields such as commodities, destinations, and benefactor/beneficiary relationships as its source domains. Specific landmarks are profiled as commodities in a context of a commercial transaction. Freedom, for example, has a precious value and a high price.

(173). “The *price* for this freedom at times has been high” (Reagan, 1981).

(174). “the *price* that is paid for liberty” (Obama, 2013).

The future of Americans is even more precious than freedom. It is too valuable to be mortgaged.

(175). “mortgaging our future and our children’s future for the temporary convenience of the present” (Reagan, 1981).

In addition to these valuable commodities, this preposition evokes the role of the beneficiary across various semantic fields. In terms of light and darkness, the United States acts as a source of inspiration for the benefit of the rest of the world. President Trump triggered the mental space of light as an intended benefit for any beneficiary.

(176). “We will shine for everyone to follow” (Trump, 2017).

The metaphorical *for* also triggers the role of a family as a source domain by which parental care, which is intended to benefit children, is used to structure the political relationship between the government and its citizens.

(177). “government is competent when all who compose it work as *trustees* for the whole people” (D. Roosevelt, 1937).

In a similar instance, President Clinton made an analogy between the government and a family in terms of a landmark that is supposed to receive benefits from its respective trajector.

The analogy can be in the form of (nation: people):: (family: children) and interpreted as a nation to its people is what a family to its children.

(178). “We must provide for our Nation the way a family provides for its children”
(Clinton, 1993).

(179). “the American dream alive for all her children” (Clinton, 1997).

President Kennedy’s most famous quote is built on the relationship between benefactor and beneficiary. The preposition *for* was used to redefine that relationship, as in the following quote:

(180). “And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country” (Kennedy, 1961).

The first president used *for* to define the role of his government as a benefactor, the people as beneficiaries, and the intended benefits.

(181). “a form of government for the security of their union and the advancement of their happiness” (Washington, 1789).

President Lincoln used the same preposition in a sensitive atmosphere of the Post-Civil War to specify the identity of the beneficiaries of the charity.

(182). “With malice toward none, with charity for all” (Lincoln, 1865).

This same president used the same preposition with the conceptual image of the State. Though it is not part of the inaugurals, the famous quote uttered at the Gettysburg Address confirms this trend. This quote includes three prepositions (*of*, *by*, and *for*) that concisely outline the conceptual image of an ideal government. The metaphorical *for* specifies the beneficiary.

(183). “that government *of* the people, *by* the people, *for* the people, shall not perish from the earth” (Lincoln, 1863).

This same emphasis on beneficiary was profiled by President Reagan and President Obama in their paraphrase of Lincoln's statement.

(184). "They gave to us a republic, a government of and by and for the people, entrusting each generation to keep safe our founding creed" (Obama, 2013).

(185). "that government by an elite group is superior to government for, by, and of the people" (Reagan 1981).

Furthermore, destinations are another source domain for the presidents' plans. As journeys are conceived in terms of their destinations, plans are conceived in terms of the time when they will be completed.

(186). "a Government for our tomorrows, not our yesterdays" (Clinton, 1993).

Some presidents took advantage of the fact that their inaugurals were delivered at the end of a century to set the new century as the time for their plans to bear fruit. In his second address, President Clinton used *for* in this sense.

(187). "We need a new Government for a new century" (Clinton, 1997).

As temporal dimensions are an essential part of the conceptual identity of policies, the metaphorical *for* is useful to portray the future by means of temporal landmarks. They range from *tomorrow* to the *new century*. Obviously, *tomorrow* is used in a metonymic fashion because nobody expects the president's plans to be achieved the following day.

As a landmark, the concept of the future is the most frequent. Most of the trajectors of the future are positive emotions such as hope and reassurance. In its endeavors to achieve its plans, the government will be conceptualized as a traveler reaching his/her final destination.

(188). "America reached for her best" (Reagan, 1981).

To sum up, the preposition *for* profiles a trajector as an entity to be offered to a landmark. The latter, as a beneficiary, is intended to receive and benefit from the trajector. This pattern is presented in Table 23.

Table 23

The Beneficiary Pattern

X	Prep	Y
shine, provide, live, die, progress	for	everyone, children, flag, America

In addition to the beneficiary pattern, the metaphorical *for* profiles landmarks as desired purposes in two different ways. First, landmarks consist of positive values, including high principles as well as high status. The metaphorical *for* relates a trajector to the intended purpose or the landmark. In this way, the trajector is profiled as a necessary condition for the accomplishment of that purpose. The second type of destination is evoked by expressions that denote the future. Both types of destinations are shown in Table 24.

Table 24

The Purpose Pattern

X	Prep	Y
struggle, appeal, passion, call, sacrifice, poise, blows, prayer	for	existence, fellowship, fraternity, cooperation, best, common good, greatness, truth, peace
(new) government, children, fear, hope, supplications, lesson		future, tomorrow, new century,

The preposition *for* is also used to praise high principles as valuable commodities, as demonstrated in Table 25. It combines trajectors and landmarks in a commercial transaction. A

trajector is profiled as a price while a landmark is presented as a high principle, valued as a precious commodity. Based on the experience that high-quality commodities usually come with high prices, the worth of principles is determined by their costs.

Table 25

The Commodity Pattern

X	Prep	Y
(high) price, profit, present, security	for	freedom, liberty, future, decencies, honor

The metaphorical *for* does not favor any sense of motion. Instead, it defines the intended beneficiaries as the recipients of our present action and assesses goals as valuable commodities worth our sacrifices.

4.2.5. The metaphors of *BY*

The metaphorical *by* shows a clear pattern in which an entity is affected by the action of an agent. The affected entity consists of three major types; nation, the president, and the people, while the affecting agents are positive and negative values. The positive values include freedom, country, fathers, liberty, justice, and revolution, while the negative values include ignorance, cancers, sword, and slogans.

Presidents are affected by light, the call, and the voice of their country.

(189). “I was summoned by my country” (Washington, 1789).

(190). “It is my good fortune, moreover, to have the path in which I am to tread lighted by examples of illustrious services” (Madison, 1809).

Talking about his first reading of the American Constitution, President Adams used the preposition *by* four times in one sentence.

(191). “Irritated *by* no literary altercation, animated *by* no public debate, heated *by* no party animosity, I read it with great satisfaction, as the result of good heads prompted *by* good hearts, as an experiment better adapted to the genius, character, situation, and relations of this nation and country” (Adams, 1797).

When talking on behalf of the people, presidents use the pronoun *we* to emphasize a single agency coupled with shared values, as in the following examples:

(192). “we shall be lifted by our dreams” (Nixon, 1969).

(193). “Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own Federal and Republican principles, enlightened by a benign religion” (Jefferson, 1801).

(194). “We can not permit ourselves to be narrowed and dwarfed by slogans and phrases” (Coolidge, 1925).

The metaphorical *by* conceptualizes the nation as an entity that can be affected by an action or agency, as in these quotes:

(195). “the America builded on the foundation laid by the inspired fathers” (Harding, 1921).

(196). “The harmony of the nation is promoted and the whole Union is knit together by the sentiments of mutual respect” (Q. Adams, 1825).

(197). “America was built not by government, but by people; not by welfare, but by work; not by shirking responsibility, but by seeking responsibility” (Nixon, 1973).

This same preposition is used in general statements that promote good conduct and warn against threats to the nation’s unity.

(198). “history also has a visible direction, set by liberty and the Author of Liberty” (W. Bush, 2005).

(199). “They will demand a nation uncorrupted by cancers of injustice” (D. Roosevelt, 1937).

(200). “If that generation comes to its inheritance blinded by ignorance and corrupted by vice” (Garfield, 1881).

(201). “Men blinded by their passions” (W. Harrison, 1841).

To sum up, the metaphorical *by* profiles landmarks as agents and trajectors as the affected entities. The landmarks found in the corpus can be grouped into four sets. The first set is the country and its different nominations, as Table 26 shows.

Table 26

The Nation Pattern

X	Prep	Y
Nation, America, Republic, government	by	injustice, depression, fathers, work, seeking responsibility, mutual respect, terror, solemn passion

The second set is devoted to the president, as shown in Table 27. As a trajector, a president is profiled as being affected by the agency of various landmarks. The most frequent of which is the country via its metonymic parts: voice, and call.

Table 27

The President Pattern

X	Prep	Y
I	by	call/voice of my country, examples of illustrious services, experience, age, lights, the occasion, time, party animosity

Similarly, presidents and their people are combined as one trajector, but with a different set of landmarks, as shown in Table 28.

Table 28

Presidents and their People Pattern

X	Prep	Y
We	by	phrases, interests, dreams, experience, slogans, history, President Washington, religion

Table 29 presents the fourth set, which includes other countries and other people affected by bad landmarks. These wrong landmarks consist of anti-democratic values and negative emotions.

Table 29

The Others Pattern

X	Prep	Y
Other nations, world, men, history	by	sword, freedom, ignorance, vice, lights, passion, liberty, Author of Liberty, falsehood, defamation

In all these four sets, the agency of the landmarks generates an effect on the trajector. This effect is reinforced by the verbs used in these constructions. These verbs are often loaded with a positive evaluation drawn from a variety of semantic fields such as light (*enlightened, lighted, illuminated*), building, heating (*heated, warmed*), and motion (*advanced, lifted, moved, stirred*).

4.2.6. The metaphors of *WITH* and *WITHOUT*

The metaphorical *with* relates trajectors and their landmarks in a well-functioning assemblage. The most frequent pattern is the container and its content. In the corpus, the metaphorical *with* correlates mainly with three entities: the verb *fill*, the adjective *full*, and emotions. The latter includes anxieties, trust, pride, hopefulness, and sympathy. Source domains such as light, voice, books, building, and parts of the body are the most common.

(202). “no event could have filled me with greater anxieties than that of which the notification” (Washington, 1789).

(203). “the flag that waves above and that fills our hearts with pride” (Obama, 2013).

(204). “I see history as a book with many pages, and each day we fill a page with acts of hopefulness” (Bush, 1989).

In addition to filling, other metaphors rely on the concepts of crowdedness to convey time slots as containers and events as content, as in the following quote:

(205). “We stand to-day upon an eminence which overlooks a hundred years of national life--a century crowded with perils, but crowned with the triumphs of liberty and law” (Garfield, 1881).

Furthermore, other metaphors profile trajectors as processes and landmarks as means, manners, and instruments. These landmarks are used in a metonymic fashion to stand for the entire process.

(206). “The legions which she sends forth are armed, not with the sword, but with the cross” (Coolidge, 1925).

(207). “The will of the nation, speaking with the voice of battle and through the amended Constitution” (Garfield, 1881).

(208). “With the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes” (W. Wilson, 1913).

As for the preposition *without*, it was used to describe the nation in terms of a living organism, as in the following quote:

(209). “Without the body and the mind, as all men know, the Nation could not live” (F. D. Roosevelt, 1941).

To sum up, metaphorical *with* tends to be used in two patterns: content and manners. As shown in Table 30, trajectors are conceived as containers for emotions, high principles, and states of mind. The verb *fill*, which is the most frequent, reinforces the function of trajectors as containers and their ability to hold their content. Most of the trajectors revolve around the president and the people.

Table 30

The Container and Content Pattern

X	Prep	Y
we, the president	with	feelings, sympathies, anxieties, trust
we, people, hearts		ideals, justice, pride, hopefulness, success, dreams, responsibility

The assembly of these trajectors with the content of these landmarks creates a new image of the trajectors. The new trajector stands for an ideal model of these emotions and principles.

In addition to the containers, manners and means are evoked by the preposition *with*, as presented in Table 31. Trajectors are abstract entities, such as peace and greatness, and most of the landmarks are concrete instruments.

Table 31

The Manners and Means Pattern

X	Prep	Y
rights, greatness, will, nation, light, armed, peace	with	hand, spirit, eyes, body, mind, inventions, cross, sweat

Some of the landmarks are rather metonymies. For example, the cross stands for peaceful achievement, eyes for a determined character, and sweat for physical effort. Some trajectors also relate to motion verbs, but their landmarks are more about the style and the fashion of performance.

The metaphorical *with* allows presidents to associate themselves, the people, their achievements, and plans with high principles, reliable means, and efficient manners. Such metaphors are likely to create and promote new identities for these trajectors.

4.2.7. The metaphors of *AS* and *LIKE*

In addition to metaphors, presidents often resort to similes. President Bush and President D. Roosevelt stand out as the most frequent users of this figure of speech. In his 1941 address, President D. Roosevelt supported his argument with an analogy between a nation and a person in three consecutive statements:

(210). “A Nation, like a person, has a body, a body that must be fed and clothed and housed, invigorated and rested, in a manner that measures up to the standards of our time” (D. Roosevelt, 1941).

(211). “A Nation, like a person, has a mind, a mind that must be kept informed and alert, that must know itself, that understands the hopes and the needs of its

neighbors all the other Nations that live within the narrowing circle of the world”
(D. Roosevelt, 1941).

(212). “A Nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something larger than the sum of all its parts. It is that something which matters most to its future which calls forth the most sacred guarding of its present” (D. Roosevelt, 1941).

Each statement describes a specific level of this analogy, namely body, mind, and unspecified component, but, from the description, it is likely to be soul. These levels correspond to the core aspects of the human being. These same correspondences and this same simile reappeared in the address of President Bush in 1985.

(213). “Great nations like great men must keep their word” (Bush, 1985).

It is interesting to note that only one address out of the 28 delivered in the 18th and the 19th centuries used the preposition *like*. However, President W. Harrison’s analogy was different from that of President D. Roosevelt.

(214). “When this corrupting passion once takes possession of the human mind, like the love of gold, it becomes insatiable” (W. Harrison, 1841).

In modern addresses, President Trump’s simile of factories as tombstones is the only one in the 21st-century addresses.

It’s a different story when it comes to the preposition *as*. This preposition was used 949 times in the corpus, but only a few metaphors were identified. Interestingly, it was used approximately 100 times in expressions that denote the unity of the nation, such as “as a nation”, “as a people”, “as Americans”, “as citizens”, and “as we”. In its metaphorical senses, *as* relies on various source domains ranging from books, darkness, and burdens.

(215). “There are times when the future seems thick as a fog” (Bush, 1989).

(216). “Let us accept that high responsibility, not as a burden” (Nixon, 1973).

In his justification for the American involvement in the Second World War, President D. Roosevelt used the Chain of Being to create a simile between humans and animals.

(217). “We have learned that we must live as men and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger” (D. Roosevelt, 1945).

4.2.8. The metaphors of *FROM*

The metaphorical *from* relates trajectors to their sources, and it is used in different contexts to invoke different meanings. First, *from* implies an origin as it occurs in a FROM-TO construction. This construction suggests a positive evaluation by highlighting progress from the initial stage to the current stage. These two stages usually represent two juxtaposed source domains. Semantic fields of light and living organisms are the basis of such conceptual mappings.

(218). “their rapid progress from infancy to manhood” (W. Harrison, 141)

(219). “How far have we come in man’s long pilgrimage from darkness toward the light?” (Eisenhower, 1953).

Second, when it is used without any other prepositions, the metaphorical *from* presupposes the origin of that landmark.

(220). “freedom is a gift from God” (Obama, 2013).

(221). “this new proof of confidence from my fellow citizens” (Jefferson, 1805).

Third, as a source of harm, the main verb that correlates with this preposition is “*suffer*”. President Nixon used *from* four times in one statement to highlight various sources of potential harm to the country.

(222). “America has suffered from a fever of words; from inflated rhetoric that promises more than it can deliver; from angry rhetoric that fans discontents into hatreds; from bombastic rhetoric that postures instead of persuading [emphasis added]” (Nixon, 1969).

This statement combines three prepositions *of*, *from*, and *into*, and stands as a typical illustration of how metaphor-related prepositions can mix well to produce a coherent set of metaphors.

In a similar metaphor, President Truman evokes nearly the same source of pain and suffering, but under different names.

(223). “We are aided by all who want relief from lies and propaganda--those who desire truth and sincerity” (Truman, 1949).

Finally, pain relief is expressed in terms of liberation from any source of pain, social conditions, or threats in general.

(224). “Let us extricate our country from the dangers which surround it and learn wisdom from the lessons they inculcate” (A. Jackson, 1833).

(225). “Through liberation from widespread poverty, we have reached a higher degree of individual freedom than ever before” (Hoover, 1929).

Other source domains appear in the metaphorical expressions of this preposition, such as light, living organism, path, and lessons.

(226). “the new-born nation. It came from the furnace of the Revolution” (Pierce, 1853).

(227). “the citizens of the United States are both law-respecting and law-abiding people, not easily swerved from the path of patriotism and honor” (McKinley, 1897).

To sum up, the metaphorical *from* is used in four distinct patterns. They are ingredients, path, source of harm, and separation. Table 32 shows how certain abstract concepts such as the country and wisdom are profiled in terms of their ingredients.

Table 32

The Ingredients Pattern

X	Prep	Y
country, wisdom, Union	from	lessons, revolution, blood, and fire

The value of these trajectors is emphasized by highlighting their ingredients or rather the high quality of these ingredients. The newborn nation, for example, derives its significance and high value from its two valuable ingredients: revolution and experience.

In addition to ingredients, *from*, in its dynamic sense, highlights progress. When the full path is outlined, the audience can track the full “mental path” from departure to its terminus in order to identify the extent of progress. Both locations of progress are shown in Table 38.

Table 33

The Path Pattern

	PREP 1	X	PREP 2	Y
man’s long pilgrimage	from	darkness	to	light
progress		infancy		manhood
		infancy		present hour

The first location is the point of departure, and the second is the point of destination. The two locations are evaluated in different ways. The first is usually associated with negative connotations, whereas the second is positively evaluated. Trajectors are highlighted in terms of the progress they have already achieved, and more precisely, of the transformation from a bad state into a better one.

As for the third pattern of the metaphorical *from*, a landmark is construed as a source of harm, or more specifically, a source of pain, whereas a trajector is an entity affected by that harm, as presented in Table 34.

Table 34

The Source of Harm Pattern

X	Prep	Y
America, we, country	from	words, lies, propaganda, rhetoric, dangers, poverty

The most frequent trajectors are the country and the people. The sources of harm are social evils and linguistic abuses.

When trajectors are separated from their landmarks, concepts of freedom and liberation are highlighted. As shown in Table 35, landmarks are, therefore, conceptualized as confining locations.

Table 35

The Separation Pattern

X	Prep	Y
America, we, country	from	poverty, dangers, misery

The endpoints are omitted as more prominence is accorded to separation. The act of separating is conceptualized in terms of regaining health and protection.

4.2.9. The metaphors of *INTO*

The metaphorical *into* follows a consistent pattern. It relates trajectors, which co-occur with motion verbs, with landmarks, which are noun phrases. The verbs that precede *into* are *fall*, *fade*, *rise*, *sink*, *land*, *cast*, *walk*, *lead*, and *be born*.

(228). “But such considerations, important as they are in themselves, sink into insignificance when we reflect on the terrific evils” (Buchanan, 1857).

(229). “we led our beloved land into a new century” (Clinton, 1997).

(230). “... and turned the tide of history away from totalitarian darkness and into the warm sunlight of human freedom” (Reagan, 1985).

From an image schema perspective, the metaphorical *into* profiles trajectors entering locations. This profile implies that these landmarks have an entrance, and they are, therefore, accessible. Additionally, the trajectors pass through that entrance and occupy a space inside the new locations. Closer inspection of the verbs shows that the change is not always self-propelled. Some agents, like children, are portrayed as being forced to move into bad states.

Equally, *into* is used with life stages to structure the nation’s progress as it moves from a location into another. This mapping evokes the semantic domain of human growth from infancy to manhood.

The landmarks refer to abstract entities and can be grouped into three categories. Ideals such as nationhood, indignity, and insignificance make the first category. The second category is about temporal periods such as tomorrow and the new century, while the third category is about social and psychological states, as shown in Table 36.

Table 36

The Patterns of INTO

X	Prep	Y
people a little girl land America history industries	into	new century, tomorrow
		poverty, unemployment
		manhood, nationhood
		misery, indignity
		disrepair and decay

From an axiological perspective, the metaphorical *into* promotes improvement when it entails a (positive) change of location and at the same time warns against deterioration as moving into the wrong location. It is interesting to note the difference between the positive evaluation of the trajectors who willingly access new locations and the negative connotations of those forced to occupy spaces. In the latter case, the real agents are always not mentioned. The new locations include malfunction and bad social and emotional conditions. Prominence is placed more on the move into the current state rather than on how the trajectors have ended up there or how they could move out. In some instances, it seems that the exit option is unavailable. The contact between the trajectors and their landmarks is often implied as well as its nature, whether it is forceful or not.

4.2.10. The metaphors of *ON* and *UPON*

The metaphors of these prepositions are based on the SUPPORT image schema which structures the relationship between specific trajectors and their supporting landmarks. The support function is often conceptualized as the foundations of a concrete building, as in the following quotes:

- (231). “this seems to be the corner stone upon which our American political architects have reared the fabric of our Government” (H. Harrison, 1841).

(232). “it eminently becomes a government like our own, founded on the morality and intelligence of its citizens” (Taylor, 1849).

(233). “a National Union founded directly upon the will of the people” (Garfield, 1881).

(234). “progress must be based upon the foundation of experience” (Hoover, 1929).

(235). “our America, the America builded on the foundation laid by the inspired fathers, can be a party to no permanent military alliance” (Harding, 1921).

(236). “our decisions based on honest need and prudent safety” (Bush, 1989).

The support relation is expressed by means of such expressions: *build*, *founded*, *rests*, *formed*, and *foundation*. When a specific location is given prominence, expressions such as *stand on*, *placed on*, and *pause on* are used.

(237). “At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand” (Reagan, 1981).

This preposition *upon* correlates with other prepositions to blend experiential domains such as darkness, paths, and buildings.

(238). “this seems to be the corner stone upon which our American political architects have reared the fabric of our Government” (W. Harrison, 1841).

(239). “The shadows that now lie dark upon our path will soon be dispelled” (W. Wilson, 1917).

In addition to the foundations of buildings, other supporting surfaces include specific physical entities such as *hearts*, *wheels*, and *a veranda*. They all function as a surface that supports abstract concepts such as history, democracy, and words, as in the following quotes:

(240). “Make us strong to do Your work, willing to heed and hear Your will, and write on our hearts these words: “Use power to help people”” (Bush, 1989).

(241). “history runs on the wheels of inevitability” (W. Bush, 2005).

(242). “We meet on democracy’s front porch” (Bush 1989).

Within the framework of support, the concept of burden is mapped onto unpleasant governmental measures. Accordingly, the people function as the support that carries the load as long it is not too heavy.

(243). “That they will do so as soon as it can be done without imposing too heavy burdens on their citizens there is no reason to doubt” (Polk, 1845).

(244). “these expenditures have been defrayed without a burthen on the people” (Monroe, 1821).

(245). “without imposing any serious burdens on the people” (Monroe, 1821).

Interestingly, the words *burden* and *burthen* are preceded by the preposition *without* and the adjectives *serious* and *heavy*. President Wilson went further to add weight to the burden and describe the former as *dead*.

(246). “men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through” (Wilson, 1913).

Several other landmarks were construed as burdens. Laws, political systems, and ways of life are among them. They are encoded by both the preposition *upon* as well as verbs like *impose*, as in the following quote:

(247). “Under a despotism, the law may be imposed upon the subject” (Coolidge, 1925).

In general, the trajectors of the prepositions *on* and *upon* are profiled as entities located on the supporting surfaces of their respective landmarks, as presented in Table 37.

Table 37

The Burden Pattern

X	Prep	Y
burden, words, shadows, prejudices and paralysis of slavery, seed, weight	on upon	people, citizens, hearts, road, path, winds, men, and women

Support is the main function of the landmark, while the trajector's existence depends on that support. Besides, once trajectors' weight becomes too heavy, the relationship is understood within a burden framework. The most frequent trajector is *taxes*, and the typical landmark is the people. The ability to pay these taxes is conceptualized in terms of the people's physical ability to support heavy objects. In addition to heaviness, a burden is often associated with pressure. Most presidents portray the relationship between taxes and the people as an unpleasant experience, and they, therefore, tend to sympathize with them.

4.2.11. The metaphors of AT

The most recurrent metaphorical usages are drawn from the semantic fields of the human body. Parts of the body such as hand, heart, head, and feet are conceptualized as locations as in the following quotes:

(248). "We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts" (Wilson, 1913).

(249). “God has placed upon our head a diadem and has laid at our feet power and wealth beyond definition or calculation” (B. Harrison, 1889).

Other instances of metaphorical locations appear within the frames of height and proximity.

(250). “the national prosperity being at a height not before attained” (Madison, 1809).

While addressing the leaders of other countries, President W. Bush expressed his support in terms of physical proximity.

(251). “Start on this journey of progress and justice, and America will walk at your side” (G. W. Bush, 2005).

In his attempts to convince other politicians to negotiate, President Bush used the physical space of the water’s edge metaphorically to refer to a communication phase in which internal differences have to be concealed from the rest of the world.

(252). “But when our fathers were young, Mr. Speaker, our differences ended at the water’s edge” (Bush, 1989).

Along the same lines, the expression “*at home*” appeared 45 times in the corpus. The concept of home is summoned to refer to the nation, but it has become a dead metaphor because of its popular, conventional, and extensive usage. The same applies to two phrases: “*at peace*” and “*at war*”.

4.2.12. The metaphors of *AGAINST*

The concept of forceful contact conveyed by this preposition is used to structure a firm political action that deals with bad social conditions such as poverty.

(253). “Every blow we inflict against poverty will be a blow against its dark allies of oppression and war” (Reagan, 1985).

To President Kennedy and President Carter, poverty is one of the many social evils on their lists.

(254). “we will fight our wars against poverty, ignorance, and injustice” (J. Carter, 1977).

(255). “a struggle against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease, and war itself” (Kennedy, 1961).

Slavery, violence, and hatred are examples of social evils. According to President Eisenhower, the best way to eradicate these social evils is to fight them with their counterparts, following the rule of nature. As light dispels darkness, so does freedom dispel slavery. In this way, *against* combines the metaphor of war on social evils with the conceptual domains of light and darkness. The metaphorical *against* provides trajectors with its image schema of forceful contact to justify the use of force to mend, alleviate or eradicate all evil landmarks.

(256). “Freedom is pitted against slavery; lightness against the dark” (Eisenhower, 1953).

To conclude, forceful contact is the most salient in the metaphorical usage of *against*. It can be split into two sets. In the first set, both the trajector and the landmark are contradictory values, and they are combined in a relationship of opposites, as shown in Table 38.

Table 38

The Contradiction Pattern

X	Prep	Y
freedom, lightness	against	slavery, dark

The juxtaposition is not of two equal forces. Instead, trajectors are emphasized for exercising their force against their landmarks. The metaphorical *against* creates a situation of

contact and force. It puts the trajectors in a state of forceful defense and the landmark in a state of advancing threat. By highlighting the forceful contact of *against*, trajectors gain a reputation of good agents engaged in exerting force on evil landmarks.

The second set consists of a war scenario in which the trajector is involved in a war-like situation, and the landmark is an enemy-like entity. As Table 39 shows, most trajectors are engaged in explicit conflict with their respective landmarks. The list of enemies includes poverty, undemocratic practices and theories, and negative opinions and emotions. Presidents usually avoid assuming the role of protectors in explicit terms. Nevertheless, they used the pronoun *we* or the term *the nation* to evoke their protective role.

Table 39

The War-Enemy Pattern

X	Prep	Y
blow, war, struggle, defense	against	poverty, oppression, war, tyranny, disease, violence, hatred, ignorance, injustice, terror

According to this pattern, *against* relates two conflicting entities that require the use of war-related verbs and nouns. The metaphors of *against* serve to strengthen the reputation of the trajectors and justify the use of force. Justifications revolve around the benefits of security by means of concepts such as *safety*, *defense*, *guard*, *bulwark*, *guarantee*, and *protection*. Similarly, justification is also built on assuming that evil and violent landmarks require trajectors capable of using extremely violent means.

In terms of symmetry, it seems that both the trajectors and the landmarks of the metaphorical *against* have opposite directions and opposite paths of motion. The trajectors get higher prominence because presidents have the same direction and follow the same paths as

those of the trajectors. Put simply, the preposition *against* exposes the opinions, practices, and policies that presidents reject.

4.2.13. The metaphors of *UNDER*

The metaphorical *under* profile abstract entities occupying a lower location in which they undergo either a joyful or threatening experience. It all depends on what exists in a higher position. According to the Chain of Being, *under* creates and structures a relationship between human beings and God. It is interesting to note the phrase “*under God*” appeared only four times in the corpus. Three of these four occurrences were uttered by President Reagan in both his addresses.

(257). “We are a nation under God” (Reagan, 1981).

(258). “one people under God” (Reagan, 1985).

As for the relationships between humans, the joyful experience is offered by the U.S. government and freedom.

(259). “the happy Government under which we live” (Monroe, 1809).

(260). “Under the eternal urge of freedom, we became an independent Nation”
(Madison, 1809).

However, undemocratic governments and hostile regimes fall within the scope of frightening experiences, as in these quotes:

(261). “those who live today in fear under their own governments” (Truman, 1949).

(262). “we and the Soviets have lived under the threat of mutual assured destruction”
(Reagan, 1985).

However, some blessings are in disguise, such as tough times acting as an incentive to scientific progress.

(263). “Advance became imperative under the goad of fear and suffering” (D. Roosevelt, 1937).

In another instance, the metaphorical *under* seems to take control of the delicate process of social integration.

(264). “to bring the aborigines of the country under the benign influences of education and civilization” (Grant, 1873).

In terms of trajectors, most of them are human beings ranging from the President to other people. Table 40 outlines the extracted trajectors and their respective landmarks.

Table 40

The Control Pattern

X	Prep	Y
We, I, advance, Soviets, other people	under	government, threat, conviction, freedom, democracy, God

Under creates a control relationship between trajectors and landmarks in which the former is the target of control, yet it is more focal in this relationship. Landmarks function as a cover and exert control over the trajectors, and the preposition *under* reinforces the state of being completely covered in such a way that the trajectors look as if they are dominated. Moreover, the cover of the landmarks can be so low that the pressure on the trajectors becomes too tight and unbearable. Despite being covered by the landmarks, trajectors still occupy a focal status in such a way that dramatizes control, protection, pressure, dominance, and oppression.

In terms of its evaluation load, *under* can be either positive or negative. It can take a positive evaluation in two cases. First, when the landmark is one of the high principles such as freedom and democracy or divine protection. In the second case, landmarks are stressful

situations, but they motivate their trajectories to succeed. Circumstances, dangers, and attacks are examples of landmarks. The negative evaluation is highlighted when landmarks are conceived as oppressive covers. They are usually associated with foreign countries or individuals living under undemocratic regimes. These landmarks are usually represented as traumatic experiences in which fear reigns and trajectors are rendered powerless.

4.2.14. The metaphors of *THROUGH*

The metaphorical *through* is used in two patterns. First, it profiles a scene in which trajectors use specific means to reach their ends. Second, it outlines a path for the trajectors to follow in order to achieve their goals.

As for the first pattern, *through* presupposes the means used to achieve a goal. These means are used to structure the ways of attaining the desired ideals and economic growth. It seems that some presidents chose to remind the public of these means through *through*.

(265). “to promote peace through friendliness and goodwill, through mutual understandings and mutual forbearance” (Coolidge, 1925).

(266). “those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent” (Obama, 2009).

In respect to the second pattern, the best way to reach a location is usually to walk or drive through the right road and, in the case of closed locations, through the right door.

Democracy, freedom, happiness, and the highest interest are all accessible through these same doors. President Bush used the metaphorical *through* in three consecutive sentences combining three prepositions; *toward*, *through*, and *to*. The outcome is a coherent metaphor cluster that combines path, means, and destination as source domains.

(267). “Great nations of the world are moving *toward* democracy *through* the door *to* freedom [emphasis added]” (Bush, 1989).

(268). “Men and women of the world move *toward* free markets *through* the door *to* prosperity [emphasis added]” (Bush, 1989).

(269). “The people of the world agitate for free expression and free thought *through* the door *to* the moral and intellectual satisfactions that only liberty allows [emphasis added]” (Bush, 1989).

Similarly, in his comments on the governmental regulations on the Indians, President Cleveland combined *through* with two other prepositions to create an equally coherent metaphor.

(270). “Every effort should be made to lead them, **through** the paths **of** civilization and education, **to** self-supporting and independent citizenship [emphasis added]” (Cleveland, 1893).

When used without any other prepositions, *through* denotes the path followed, as in the statement made by President Reagan while he was quoting Jefferson:

(271). “we rode through the storm with heart and hand” (Jefferson, quoted by Reagan, 1985).

Doors and paths are the most frequently used landmarks. Some landmarks are bounded spaces that allow their trajectors to move into and then out following specific paths and borders, such as door frames. Accordingly, various trajectors are profiled as walking through several doors on their journey towards the future. Most of these doors lead to positive states such as better education, freedom, prosperity, intellect, and morality. By highlighting the borders and the boundedness, these paths are endowed with the necessary conditions for success.

In contrast to the bounded spaces, other landmarks are represented without boundaries, which highlights the obstacles and even the dangers faced while traveling along that path. These hardships are often reinforced by terms such as *peril* and *perils*, periods of time, and harsh weather conditions. Two patterns can be deduced from these examples. In the first pattern, some landmarks provide guidance and support to their trajectories, whereas in the second pattern, other landmarks present difficulties and challenges. Furthermore, regardless of the surrounding landmarks, the phase of being in the middle of the action is highlighted. This phase is signaled in comparison to the previous ones of entering and leaving.

4.2.15. The metaphors of the remaining prepositions

This set includes the prepositions that are not frequently used in their metaphorical senses. It comprises eight prepositions, namely *above*, *amidst*, *along*, *before*, *near*, *off*, *outside*, and *over*.

The preposition *above* appeared in metaphorical expressions when order is at stake. High principles are assigned high status with reference to specific landmarks. The principles are usually placed above those landmarks, but without downgrading these landmarks. Awareness of this order is a prerequisite for good citizenship, according to President W. Bush.

(272). “We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests, and teach us what it means to be citizens” (W. Bush, 2001).

This same order is vital not only for individuals but also for the whole nation, as President Eisenhower put it in this statement:

(273). “A people that values its privileges above its principles soon loses both” (Eisenhower, 1953).

The next preposition, *amidst*, recruits its source domains from the semantic fields of harsh weather, wars, and conflicts. Working in hostile circumstances is conceptualized as being amidst harsh weather and burning fires, as in the following quotes:

(274). “the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms” (Obama, 2009).

(275). “We are being forged into a new unity amidst the fires that now blaze throughout the world” (Wilson, 1917).

According to these metaphors, nations go through crises in the same way that humans experience natural disasters. Additionally, this conceptual mapping reinforces the image of a successful politician who can overcome these challenges.

The horizontal surface of the preposition *along* is triggered to describe forward movement in a constant direction by means of motion verbs such as “*lead*” and “*travel*”.

(276). “I assume the solemn obligation of leading the American people forward along the road over which they have chosen to advance” (D. Roosevelt, 1937).

(277). “a glance at the pathway along which our people have traveled” (Garfield, 1881).

However, President D. Roosevelt was careful not to confuse the concept of leading the people with a lack of democracy. He added the phrase *choose to advance* to emphasize his people’s free will and, at the same time, to specify his role as a leader.

The concept of the path and its relationship with the president is the theme of the metaphors of *before*. The path is in front of the president as in the following quotes:

(278). “they will be my standard of conduct in the path before me” (van Buren, 1837).

(279). “the sentiments declared in accepting the nomination for the Presidency will be the standard of my conduct in the path before me” (Hayes, 1877).

The proximity denoted by the preposition *near* was used with body parts in the only metaphorical expression in the corpus.

(280). “In any action calculated to promote an object so near the heart of everyone who truly loves his country, I will zealously unite with the coordinate branches of the Government” (Taylor, 1849).

In its metaphorical sense, *off* evokes separation and triggers a mental space of imprisonment and its confining instruments such as chains and shackles, as in these quotes:

(281). “Masses of Asia have awakened to strike off shackles of the past” (D. Eisenhower, 1953).

(282). “we offer a special pledge ... to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty” (Kennedy, 1961).

This preposition evokes a positive evaluation. Liberation from confinement evokes a fresh start, as described by President Harding.

(283). “We must face a condition of grim reality, charge off our losses and start afresh” (Harding, 1961).

Only one instance of a metaphorical usage of the preposition *outside* was found in the corpus. Its landmark, hope, is conceptualized as a bounded location, while its trajector is conceptualized as excluded from that location. As such, it includes everybody within the boundary of hope in the same way that the inhabitants of a country are located within its boundaries. Strangers, therefore, are the people who are outside those boundaries. The same applies to the phrase “outside our control” though it sounds like an entrenched metaphor.

(284). “if as a nation, there is much outside our control, as a people no stranger is outside our hope” (L. B. Johnson, 1965).

The preposition *over* was used twice in different metaphorical expressions. The first combines with a part of the body, arm, to highlight control. The metaphorical *over* blends its higher position with its function of covering to convey forceful authority and control.

(285). “To Texas, the reunion is important because the strong protecting arm of our Government would be extended over her” (Polk, 1845).

Nevertheless, President Trump used *over* in an entirely different context while assessing the policies of the previous government.

(286). “the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has dissipated over the horizon” (Trump, 2017).

The wasted assets of the country were conceptualized as located in the wrong location, the horizon. This location is not only far away in the distance, but it is also not reliable because it cannot support and retain any entity. The entities found in that location are not retrieved and therefore permanently wasted and lost.

To conclude, this section has attempted to provide a concise summary of the linguistic metaphors of the prepositions as found in the corpus. It has also attempted to identify metaphorical expressions observed through the metaphors of individual prepositions. The next sections are devoted to detecting commonalities by studying the conceptual mappings of all the prepositions.

4.3. The Conceptual mapping of the metaphor-related prepositions

This section is an attempt to understand the conceptual mappings of the metaphor-related prepositions. A three-stage procedure was used to achieve this goal. These stages will be

discussed in detail in the three parts of this section. The first part summarizes the main semantic fields in terms of their frequencies in the corpus. The second part moves on to analyze the conceptual basis of the metaphors with a particular focus on the three highly frequent target domains. The third and last part focuses on the metonymic mapping that underlies most of the metaphor-related prepositions.

4.3.1. Overview of metaphor-related prepositions by semantic field

This section describes the semantic fields found in the linguistic metaphors. Table 41 outlines these fields along with their observed frequencies and percentages across the corpus of the linguistic metaphors. A total of 630 metaphorical expressions were identified in which 27 prepositions were observed, as described in the previous section. After the analysis of these linguistic metaphors, 32 semantic fields were extracted. They cover 505 metaphors of a total of 630, which makes 80.158%. The remaining metaphors were mostly single occurrences.

Table 41

The Semantic Fields and their Frequency

	Fields	Count	Percentage			Fields	Count	Percentage
1	Psychology	49	9.70%		17	Time	11	2.18%
2	Human body	48	9.50%		18	Weather	9	1.78%
3	Light	39	7.72%		19	Religion	8	1.58%
4	Motion	34	6.73%		20	Community	7	1.39%
5	Communication	33	6.53%		21	Music	7	1.39%
6	Roads	29	5.74%		22	Agriculture	7	1.39%
7	Life cycles	27	5.35%		23	Container	7	1.39%
8	Building	24	4.75%		24	Nature	6	1.19%
9	Objects	21	4.16%		25	Machines	6	1.19%
10	Family	17	3.37%		26	Poverty	6	1.19%
11	Diseases	16	3.17%		27	Verticality	5	0.99%
12	Darkness	16	3.17%		28	Prison	4	0.79%
13	War	16	3.17%		29	Tribunal	3	0.59%
14	Commerce	15	2.97%		30	Food	3	0.59%
15	Water	14	2.77%		31	Size	2	0.40%
16	Education	14	2.77%		32	Heat	2	0.40%

Metaphors were divided into broad semantic fields based on the thematic similarity of their source domains. The frequencies reveal saliency in the conceptual mapping of metaphor-related prepositions. What can be seen in Table 41 is the high rates of semantic fields related to human beings. Fields like body parts, psychology, life cycles, family, and community cover the biological, psychological, and social manifestations of human beings. In terms of percentage, they stand for 29, 31% when they are combined.

Furthermore, combining the domains of motion and roads under the label of a journey yields a percentage of 12, 48. Thus, they become the second most frequent semantic field.

Likewise, the domains of light and darkness make 10, 89% when they combined.

These combinations, which are supported by the rankings in Table 41, lead to the general conclusion that metaphor-related prepositions are primarily structured by human psychology and anatomy, light, and motion. From another perspective, the semantic fields are drawn mainly from three types of systems, namely the living organism, the natural system, and the mechanical system. The systems' complex networks of relationships are used to describe the complexities of the political system. This argument will be discussed further in the next chapter.

A final remark about the least frequent semantic fields concerns the geometrical dimensions of verticality and size. It seems that the inaugurals' metaphor-related prepositions relate to semantic fields of concrete content more than to abstract geometries.

After describing the main semantic fields of the trajectors, the next section discusses the main target domains associated with metaphor-related prepositions.

4.3.2. Overview of metaphor-related prepositions by target domain

This section deals with the conceptual basis of the metaphor-related prepositions. To reach this objective, the first three target domains will be selected and then examined. They include government, people, and high principles.

As outlined in the previous section on the individual prepositions, most of the metaphors were related to political issues. To confirm this finding, an additional search was conducted on the whole corpus using the *AntConc* software. The results returned the saliency of the words *government* and *people*. In terms of frequency, these two terms are ranked 28 and 29 in the 9096 word-list-corpus, as shown in Figure 65.

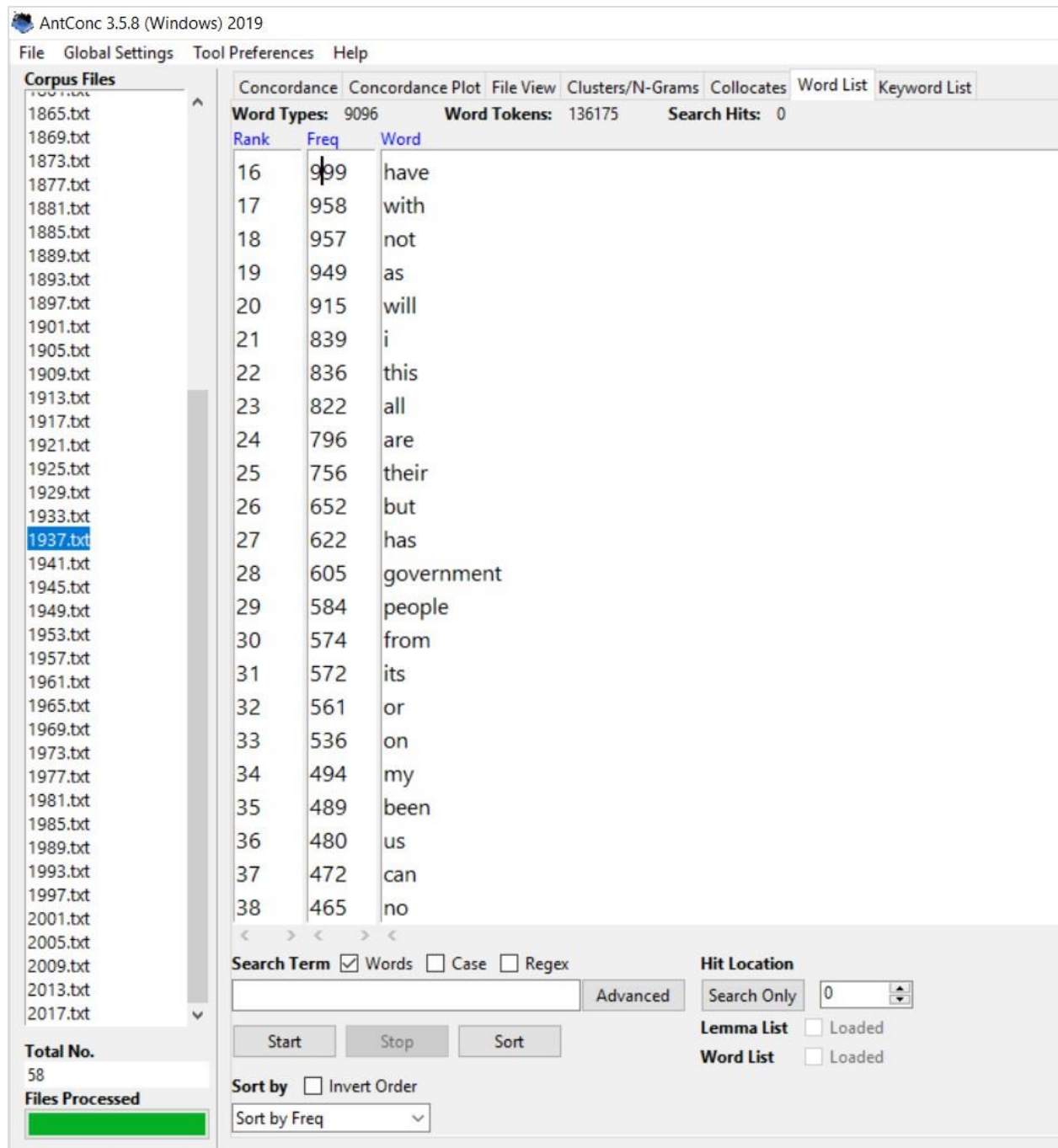


Figure 65. The frequencies of *government* and *people*

A close inspection of the list reveals that the *government* and the *people* are the top two content words. In their 28th and 29th ranks, they are preceded only by small particles such as articles, pronouns, prepositions, and quantifiers.

To start with, the word *government* appeared 605 times in the entire corpus. This saliency sounds natural in a corpus where presidents are supposed to express their views and opinions on governments. In addition to *government*, similar words such as *America*, *country*, *states*, *nation*, *republic*, and *union* make a total of 2052 raw occurrences in the corpus. The high frequency of these terms confirms the importance of these notions, among other implications.

If we group these seven notions under the generic name of the NATION and then we combine it with the source domains, as outlined in the previous section, we may deduce the following conceptual metaphors, as shown in Table 42.

Table 42

The Conceptual Metaphors of the NATION and their Source Domains

Source domains	Conceptual metaphors
Living organism	A NATION IS A LIVING ORGANISM A NATION IS A PERSON A NATION IS A FAMILY A NATION IS A HUMAN BODY A NATION IS A COMMUNITY
Mechanical system	A NATION IS A BUILDING

Metaphor-related prepositions relate a wide range of features and attributes from the source domains to the abstract concept of NATION. The diversity of the source domains can be explained by various manifestations of the concept of the nation ranging from political power, institutions, limitations, and the relationship between government and people.

The first conceptual metaphor is built on the following underlying argument: what is natural to a person is also intrinsic to the state. In his 1941 address, President D. Roosevelt clarifies that the metaphors he used are built on the PART-WHOLE image schema.

(287). “A Nation, like a person, has something deeper, something more permanent, something larger than *the sum of all its parts* [emphasis added]” (D. Roosevelt, 1941).

According to the conceptual mapping between a human being and a nation, some presidents even resorted to explicit similes through the prepositions *as* and *like*. The use of similes shows that presidents opted for clear linguistic signaling words to emphasize the similarities between a state and a person.

The NATION IS A LIVING ORGANISM metaphor is the meeting place where human psychology and politics merge. In his 1941 address, President D. D. Roosevelt was meticulous in exploring the different facets of this metaphor. Interestingly, both “spirit” and “faith” were combined throughout the address in such a way that emphasized the spiritual dimension of the nation. The various aspects of the mapping were explored. The constructed metaphors are based on the PART-WHOLE image schema. President Bush pushed that image schema even further by dividing a part into sub-parts.

(288). “No matter what your circumstances or where you are, you are part of this day, *you are part of the life of our great nation* [emphasis added]” (Bush, 1989).

According to this view, a person becomes a subpart of a part (life) that constitutes a whole (a nation).

As for the family metaphors, mappings include family members, roles, duties, and relations, but they do not distinguish between Lakoff’s two models of the father. The two models

are suggested by Lakoff (2008, p. 77), who explained the relationship between the State and the people in terms of conceptual roles according to which “a strict father family that mapped onto pure conservative politics, and a nurturant parent family that mapped onto pure progressive politics”. Metaphor-related prepositions do not illustrate these two roles as clearly as Lakoff explained. Instead, the family-related metaphors extracted from the Inaugural Corpus simply support the general NATION IS A FAMILY metaphor. Furthermore, the family frame is used to structure international relations by the implicit roles of the family members. By creating such discourse via family metaphor, a conceptual image is created in which the world is made up of nations according to the PART-WHOLE image schema. Another implication is that the intrinsic relationships between the individual nations and the rest of the world require commitment and cooperation in the same way that family members commit to their families. Interestingly, the family frame included references to religion only once through the notion of *brethren* in the 1801 address:

(289). “We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists” (Jefferson, 1801).

This finding is consistent with Trim’s assertion that “there has been a general decrease in religion” as a source domain (Trim, 2011, p. 182).

As for the conceptual mapping between political concepts and the human body, the body parts in the corpus were different from those found by Musolff (2004b) in the British and German coverage of European Union discourse. Organs like arteries, bottom, feet, gallbladder, legs, liver, and muscles have never been used throughout the inaugurals. Only a few common organs were found in both corpora, such as *heart*, *eyes*, and *feet*.

The metaphor-related prepositions with parts of the body as their experiential basis demonstrate a high degree of specificity more than the general metaphor of STATE AS A BODY. Instead, body parts suggest a more precise formula like “A COUNTRY IS A BODY THAT COMPRISES OF VARIOUS PARTS AND ORGANS” (Efeouglu & Icsik-Güler, 2017, p. 67). Specificity is one of the classes of construal by which human beings tend to highlight the details they deem important. (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 23) defined specificity as “the degree of precision with which a scene is viewed or conceived”. Metaphor follows a similar tendency whenever it emphasizes more specificity to the features during the cross-domain mapping. This argument will be further expanded in the next chapter.

The process of constructing a physical building is used as a source domain to highlight that an abstract entity, be it the nation itself or abstract concepts such as peace, history, and education, can be constructed. Thus, the metaphors of construction found in the Inaugural Corpus are more than A NATION IS A BUILDING. The focus is more on the intrinsic relationships that exist between a building and its components. Furthermore, the various building metaphors reveal, as outlined in the previous sections, that great prominence is placed on the construction components such as pillars, foundations, and cement, among other things.

In addition to the government, the concept of the people received the second highest share of metaphorical representation. It appeared 584 times in the corpus. A similar term, *citizens*, occurred 249 times in the corpus. When these two figures combined, they confirm the importance of the people to presidents and American political culture, in general. The importance of the people is not surprising in a political system that relies on the ballot box.

The notions of government and country, on the one hand, and people and citizens, on the other, are usually associated by means of metaphor-related prepositions, as in this memorable quote:

(290). “And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country” (Kennedy, 1961).

This memorable quote is composed of two entities, a country, and its people, and one preposition (*for*). What President Kennedy did was to reverse the order of the benefactor and beneficiary. In the same vein, there is another quote that follows the same strategy with prepositions, but it has not received similar attention. Discussing the government’s role, President Reagan defined the relationship between the government and the people by means of four prepositions.

(291). “... it’s not my intention to do away with government. It is rather to make it work; work *with* us, not *over* us; to stand *by* our side, not ride *on* our back [emphasis added]” (Reagan, 1981).

These four metaphor-related prepositions represent four scenarios of the possible relationships between the government and the people.

The third target domain is high principles, and more precisely, freedom and justice. Their high frequency is indicative of their significance to American political culture. The concept of freedom, including the terms “free” and “liberty”, appeared 495 times, and the words *justice* and *just* appeared 138 and 73 times, respectively. It has shown that metaphor-related prepositions conceptualize these principles and other similar abstract ideas in terms of a wide range of experiences such as commercial transactions, journeys, catching and fighting diseases, farming,

light, and darkness. These recurrent mappings give rise to the following list of conceptual metaphors, among others:

HIGH PRINCIPLES HAVE HIGH PRICES

IDEAS ARE LIVING ENTITIES

POLITICAL / SOCIAL HARMONY IS MUSIC

DEVELOPING AN ATTRIBUTE IS CULTIVATION

ADHERING TO PRINCIPLES IS A MOTION ALONG A PATH

GOODNESS IS LIGHT

EVIL IS DARK

IMMORALITY AND POVERTY AS DISEASES

These semantic fields included in the conceptual metaphors reveal a tendency to combine various sources drawn from the experiences of the American people.

In conjunction with high principles and their metaphors, another recurrent metaphor is based on objects and their attributes. A conceptual metaphor based on the OBJECT image schema activates weight as a salient feature. The conceptual mapping recruits both the intrinsic relation between an object and its weight and the evaluation potential of carrying heavy objects. Opinions and political values are evaluated within the frame of the IMPORTANCE IS WEIGHT metaphor. However, an excessive weight turns this importance into negative connotations. This view is supported by the “EXPENDITURES ARE BURDENS” metaphor (Ferrando, 1999, p. 154) and the “burden metaphor” (Lindstromberg, 2010, p. 61). In other words, when a trajector becomes too unbearable for a landmark to support, the trajector evokes the “FORCE DOWNWARDS schema” (Ferrando, 1999, p. 19). The verb *impose*, which co-occurs with the burden metaphor-related words, reinforces the pattern of a trajector exerting a downward force.

What is more interesting is the connotations of sympathy with the landmarks in their experiences under the trajectors' downward force. This sympathy is expressed from the conceptualizers' perspective (Langacker, 2008a, pp. 73–79). The scene is viewed through the lens of the landmark in which people are conceptualized as support. Most presidents insisted that taxes must be collected, but their burden must not be imposed. In this way, they give the impression that the taxes can be burden-free.

The last remark goes to some infrequent target domains. It seems that presidents tend to select non-violent, non-technical, and non-dramatic source domains such as weapons, machines, and prisons to comment on some events. The fall of communism, for example, was conceptualized in terms of “shipwreck” in such a way that you cannot decide whether it was accidental or arbitrary, “local or integral” (Virilio, 2007, p. 12). Above all, it conceptualizes an enemy's situation from the perspective of the consequences of an accident. This metaphor exaggerates these consequences to the extent that it can be read as a “cold” metaphor that complies with the Cold War strategies. Furthermore, accidents are rarely used as a source domain in the inaugurals. Virilio (2007, p. 10) argued that although technology is usually emphasized, its serious effects, such as accidents, are usually mitigated and even denied.

The choice of target domains is undoubtedly in the hands of the inaugurals' writers, but socio-cultural and historical factors may affect their choices. These factors raise the issue of their diachronic variation, which will be discussed in the next section.

4.4. Metaphor variations

This section accounts for the metaphor-related prepositions according to the historical periods in which they appeared. It is divided into two parts. Metaphors are to be contextualized in their wider historical contexts. In the first part, while diachronic variations are to be described

in terms of individual prepositions in the second part. The description will cover only those prepositions with significant variations in their conceptual mapping across the history of the inaugurals.

4.4.1. Metaphor variations across the historical periods

In the first period, the Federalist Era, most of the metaphor-related prepositions were about the nature of the new political system and its underlying principles such as liberty and justice. These themes reflect the debate between the Federalists and the anti-federalists and the impact of the Constitution's principles on the political system. The inaugural addresses were one side of the debate. The Federalist presidents resorted to source domains such as the parts of the body, living organisms, light, communication, and water to formulate legitimizing metaphors by virtue of the image schemas of the metaphorical *of* and *by*. Metaphors of this period include “*voice of my country*”, “*happiness of the nation*”, “*guided by lights*”, “*fountains of justice*”, and “*fire of liberty*”.

The Jeffersonian Democracy and its limited government have an impact on the choice of metaphors. The presidents of the Jeffersonian Era did not cherish the government as a natural organism. Thus, the STATE AS A PERSON metaphor and its entailments were not promoted. Instead, good governments are valued for the good goals that they want to achieve. The concepts of path and road, such as in the “*path of justice*”, first appeared during this period. Similar metaphors built on the image schema of *to* were also emphasized. During this same period, abstract concepts, such as public opinion, conceptualized in terms of *weight*, were first used.

It is interesting to note that the Federalist Era and the Jeffersonian Era witnessed the highest rates of metaphor-related prepositions, as shown in Figure 65.

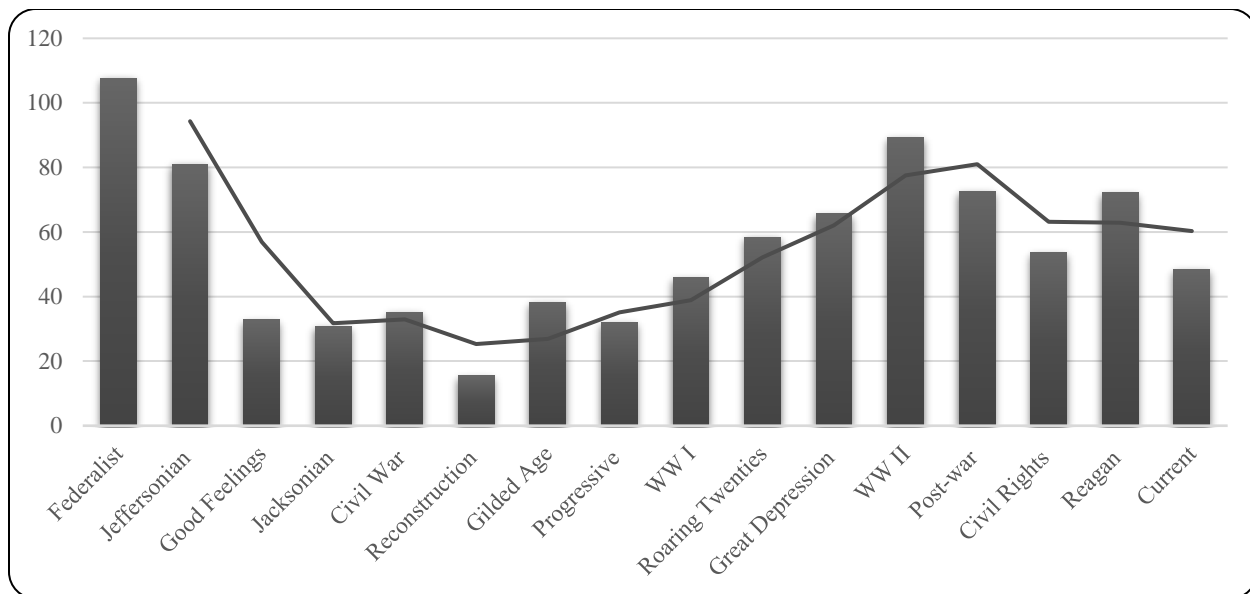


Figure 66. The normalized frequencies of all the metaphor-related prepositions

The next era was full of good feelings, but not with many metaphor-related prepositions. The low frequencies can be explained by the reconciliation policy adopted by the presidents of this era. Positive feelings are evoked by the metaphor-related prepositions through expressions such as *“happiness of our country”*, *“youthful vigor of the country”*, and *“happiness of the people”*. Negative feelings caused by party tensions and political rivalries were condemned by metaphors of undesired plants such as in *“weed of party strife”*.

The Jacksonian Era had an equally low frequency of metaphor-related prepositions. Though most presidents of this era started the tradition of rehearsing the republican ideals, the frequency was lower than that of the Jeffersonian Era. The republican political system was conceptualized in terms of human biology, family, life cycles, buildings, light, and roads. These source domains draw the frame of a government with natural structure, inevitable growth, and solid foundations. Metaphorical expressions include *“lights of experience”*, *“progress from infancy to manhood”*, *“arm of our Government would be extended over [Texas]”*, *“family of free*

and independent States”, and “*path of duty*”. This framework was required to accommodate both an expanding voting system and an expanding frontier. Talking about concrete reforms and regulations seems to be more important for presidents of this era than creating metaphors about abstract concepts.

The addresses of the Civil War Era had little or no metaphors of the nation or the nature of government. However, most of the presidents of this era followed the tradition of rehearsing the expression “*father of the country*” in reference and deference to President Washington as the symbol of national unity. Similar reverence was paid to the revolution in terms of the source domain of light. In terms of the new target domains, the concepts of prosperity and harmony came to the fore in such a way that they reflect the predominant conflict over slavery and the outstanding efforts invested in preserving the unity of the nation. Metaphors of this era include “*chorus of the Union*”, “*lights of our prosperity*”, “*paths of prosperity and happiness*”, and “*the admonitions of history*”. The use of “*rude hand of power*” may be considered a new perspective that the government has parts and features other than bosom, eyes, and voice.

The metaphors of the Reconstruction Era, which followed the Civil War Era, were the lowest across the history of the inaugurals. The political situation was fragile and vague, especially the nature and power of the central government and the status of the Southern States. Facing such a situation, presidents of this era tended to be less assertive than the Federalists or the Jeffersonian presidents. During this era, the term poverty was first used in the inaugurals to describe the social conditions in the Southern States. President Grant said in his 1869 address, “the ten States in poverty”, making him the first president to conceptualize poverty as a location.

The usages of the metaphor-related prepositions rose again in the Gilded Age despite the high voter turnouts. Body parts were utterly absent from the list of the source domains, and so

were *state*, *nation*, and *government* from the list of the target domains. Instead, there was a remarkable frequency of PATH of ABSTRACT CONCEPT construct as in the “*avenue of hope*” and “*paths of civilization and education*”. Likewise, President Cleveland’s criticism of partisan practices was criticized by metaphors based on repulsive source domains such as diseases, heat, and noise, as in “*the heat of the partisan*”, “*symptom of insidious infirmity*”, and “*the din of party strife*”.

The Progressive Era is remembered for its reform and modernization initiatives. However, metaphors of this era did not fully reflect that trend. The presidents of this era used the conceptual mappings of their predecessors. This tendency is illustrated by the remarkable frequency of the body metaphors such as “*hand of private interests*”, “*hands of Democrats*” and “*an eye single to the standards of justice*”. The source domains of cost and burden were among the recurring concepts in a way that reflected the outcomes of introducing the income tax as in “*men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen*”.

In his 1917 address, President Wilson devoted almost all the address to justify the involvement of the U.S. in the First World War. He presented himself as if he had no choice but to participate in the war, claiming that it was one of the “*matters lying **outside** our own life as a nation*” and “*matters have more and more forced themselves **upon** our attention*”. As a consequence, Americans “*have drawn us more and more irresistibly **into** their own current and influence*”. President Wilson also invoked the concept of a community to justify his commitments towards “the family of nations”. The whole address follows the same style in which metaphor-related prepositions, among other rhetorical and stylistic tools, were used to legitimize his war policy and defend his decision against the prevailing pacific and pro-neutrality mood of the era. One of his arguments is that wars can help to strengthen national unity when he

said: “*We are being forged into a new unity amidst the fires*”. President Wilson’s address has a higher frequency of metaphor-related prepositions than his predecessors. This high frequency can be partially explained by the new style of presidents talking directly to the larger public, known as the rhetorical presidency.

The impact of the First World War can be felt throughout the 1921 address in which the word *civilization* was used 21 times. It was an attempt by President Harding to persuade the “lost generation” of the Roaring Twenties that the U.S. had preserved its civilization in comparison to the nations that had destroyed theirs during the war. Civilization was conceptualized in terms of different concrete concepts such as roads, living organisms, and teaching such as in “*the path of civilization*”, “*It is the oldest lesson of civilization*”, and “*the gaze of all civilization*”. Likewise, the metaphorical phrase “*the heart of America*” first appeared in this era, as well as other similar phrases such as “*the will of America*” and “*the mind of America*” drawing on a conceptual mapping from the state and the psychology of human beings. This mapping was further elaborated in 1921 when President Harding advocated the profile of “*the America of tomorrow*”. In fact, the word *America* was repeated 15 times in his address, and most of the linguistic metaphors include prepositions such as in the following quotes:

(292). “We would not have an America living within and for herself alone”.

(293). “We want an America of homes, illumined with hope and happiness”.

Metaphors of the Great Depression Era involve two types. The first type describes the current situation, while the second type offers solutions. In the first type, darkness, as a source domain, is activated to describe the current situation via metaphor-related prepositions such as “*dark hour of our national life*” and “*sit in darkness*”. In addition to darkness, conceptual domains based on diseases are invoked. They structure metaphors such as “*cancers of injustice*”.

These metaphors reflect the harsh realities of the economic recession and its social repercussions. The second type of metaphor that advocates hope and progress is built on conceptual mappings from paint, roads, motion, and verticality. These metaphors are required to promote an economic plan as promising as the New Deal. Examples of metaphors include “*progress to higher standards*”, “*progress toward prosperity*”, “*they are moving toward stronger moral and spiritual life*”, and “*It is not in despair that I paint you that picture*”.

The exceptional circumstances of the Second World War may explain the use of the following three unique metaphors. First, the use of animals in metaphors is not common in the inaugurals. Animals metaphors were used in a simile by President Roosevelt in his 1941 address when he said: “*We have learned that we must live as men and not as ostriches, nor as dogs in the manger*”. In the same address, President Roosevelt resorted to another simile between a nation and a person, and he elaborated on the similarities between the two entities from various perspectives. His analogical argument is built on the conviction that the nation’s survival is equivalent to the survival of every individual. Metaphorical phrases “*life of a nation*”, “*lives of nations*”, and “*life of this republic*” first appeared in 1941. Interestingly, the phrases “*faith of America*” and “*life of this republic*” were used only once in the history of the inaugurals. Likewise, President Roosevelt used the concept of verticality in “*we will be rising toward the heights*”. This metaphor is described by its intrinsic and purposeful movement, as well as its positive evaluation, which instills patriotic pride in the audience.

The social unrest at home and the Cold War abroad had an immediate impact on the conceptual mappings of the Post-War Era. The most frequent and distinctive mapping of the period relies on the source domains of light, darkness, and prison. In terms of the target domains, freedom stands out as the most frequent concept. Other less frequent yet quite recurrent concepts

include peace and poverty. As for freedom, the prepositional phrase “*of freedom*” was used 50 times in all the inaugurals, 10 of which were used during the Post-War Era. The conceptual mappings were activated as part of rhetorical argumentation against the expansion of communism. The words *communism* and *communist* were used 15 times in the inaugurals, 10 of which appeared during this era. This example may be considered as a typical example of how historical context affects the choice of metaphors. With an assertive tone of victory, President Truman established the conceptual mappings for his address and the subsequent addresses of this era. He framed war within the quest for freedom and peace and, thus, expressed and reflected the significance of freedom and peace as the main tenets of the American political culture. Their meanings had been established by the experience of the War of Independence and by a long tradition of peace-advocating foreign policy. President Washington’s famous expression “*the sacred fire of liberty*” was reformulated as “*the light of freedom*” in 1957. In fact, the 1957 address has one of the highest frequencies of metaphor-related prepositions and a wide range of linguistic expressions unique to President Eisenhower, such as “*winds of change*”, “*tempest of change*”, “*chorus of America*”, “*shackles of the past*”, “*weight of fear*” “*shoulders of mankind*”, to name just a few.

The Civil Rights Era had its own challenges, which affected the choice of conceptual domains. The common concepts of the previous era, such as freedom, peace, and dignity, were all replaced by metaphors that evoke “*a crisis of the spirit*”, to borrow President Nixon’s words. Within this crisis, “*America has suffered from a fever of words*”. It could also be said that it was more than a fever. In this era, Americans “*endured a long night of the American spirit*”. Drawing from diseases, natural disasters, and buildings, the metaphor-related prepositions of this era portray an image of America different from that of the victorious country fully proud of its

achievements in the Second World War and its new role as a model and preacher for peace and democracy. Metaphors of this era include “*walls of hostility*”, “*bridges of understanding*”, “*the valley of turmoil*”, and “*the cup of despair*”. It is interesting to note that the metaphorical VOICE-Of CONSTRUCT usually evokes positive entities and positive contexts such as is “*voice of my country*”, “*voices of freedom*”, and “*voice of experience*”, but in this era, this same construct was not as positive as it used to be. In his message to the social activists, President Nixon described some of them as “*the voices of quiet anguish*”. This metaphorical expression was used only once in all the inaugurals. In addition to these voices, the source domains of light and darkness were widely used in the 1969 address to argue that the social problems of this era will be naturally resolved in the same way that the darkness of the night is dissipated by the light of the day. President Nixon elaborated his reassuring arguments through a conceptual mapping that portrays the Civil Rights Era’s social unrest as merely the natural cycle of day and night. In general, the metaphors of this era advocate hope, as well as direct the people’s attention to “*the dawn of a new age*” and listen to “*voice of the heart*”.

The Age of Reagan has a high frequency of motion metaphors by virtue of prepositions like *to*, *toward*, and *into* and a wide range of verbs such as *walk*, *march*, *move*, and *progress*. Destinations include freedom, democracy, future, brotherhood, and nationhood. Once combined with these verbs and prepositions, these destinations reflect the optimistic and forward-looking outlook of the Reaganite Age. Another frequent conceptual mapping of this age is built on the THROUGH-THE-DOOR-TO CONSTRUCT, which blends abstract concepts such as freedom, prosperity, and moral and intellectual satisfaction. This construct is used with goal-oriented metaphors structured by the PATH image schema such as “*journey of progress and justice*”, “*In a world moving toward liberty*”, and “*the road to an America rich in dignity*”.

In addition to goals, freedom, one of the tenets of American political culture, was ardently conceptualized as a valuable commodity. This conceptual mapping makes the price a salient feature. *“The price for this freedom at times has been high, but we have never been unwilling to pay that price”*, said President Reagan in his 1981 address. The term *freedom* was remarkably used in both the 1989 and 2005 addresses, making 21, 58% of all its occurrences in all the inaugurals. The first address coincided with the freedom movements in the Eastern bloc, while the second address reflected the post 9/11 policy. The latter advances the expansion of freedom as a strategy. Furthermore, light and darkness continued as salient source domains throughout the Age of Reagan. They are used in positive self-presentation, and negative presentation of other undemocratic regimes, as in *“this untamed fire of freedom will reach the darkest corners of our world”*. The blend of light with the concept of freedom is as old as the inaugurals themselves. President Washington’s original phrase *“the sacred fire of liberty”* was either quoted or reformulated whenever the concept of freedom is at stake. In this era, this same blend between light and freedom is evoked by *“sunlight”* in the 1985 address, *“sunshine”* in the 1993 address, *“flame”* in the 1997 address, and *“untamed fire”* in the 2005 address.

The Current Era comprises the addresses of both President Obama and President Trump, but it is still acquiring its distinctive features. As they stand now, the metaphors in these addresses do not reflect the Era’s main concerns, except for their emphasis on poverty as a bounded location. Instead, they rehearse the American culture’s traditional themes, such as deference to President Washington as the father of the nation, promotion of freedom as a light, dissemination of happiness and prosperity as paths, and propagation of peace as a natural phenomenon. Typical examples of metaphors of this era include *“path to happiness”*, *“precious light of freedom”*, and *“rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace”*.

4.4.2. Metaphor variations per preposition

Diachronic variations of the metaphor-related prepositions will be described in the forthcoming section. The description will cover only those prepositions with significant variations in their conceptual mapping across the history of the inaugurals. Separate subsections will be allocated to these prepositions.

One of the common usages of the metaphorical *of* is with the parts of the body, namely *bosom, heart, hand, eyes, face, and head*. President Washington was the first president to conceptualize the American people in terms of *hands* and the country in terms of a *bosom*. These two body parts were the first to appear consecutively in 1789 and 1797. While the metaphorical *hand(s)* persisted, it appears that the metaphorical *bosom* did not appeal to later presidents. The third body part to appear was the *face* in 1809, followed by the *heart* in 1817. Next, two body parts were introduced in 1833, namely *head* and *eye*. The term *arm* appeared a little bit late in 1845, while the term *shoulders* was not used until 1957. The last two body parts, *arm*, and *shoulders*, were used only twice each throughout the history of the corpus. The former was not used after 1857, while the latter reappeared in the 2013 address after a long absence. The other five body parts (*heart(s), hand(s), eyes, face, and head(s)*) were used more than three times each and over a lengthy period of time. Though it also remained salient throughout the history of the inaugurals, the *hand*, for example, has undergone various fluctuations in its nature. It started as a “*liberal hand*” in 1837, then as an “*impartial hand*” in 1845, then as a “*strong hand*” in 1909, and recently as “*American hands*” in 2017. From a metonymic perspective, a hand stands for a person, but the adjectives that modify it give rise to different interpretations. For example, an impartial hand can stand for fair people and even for fairness itself.

Besides, four landmarks have always been present throughout the conceptual mapping of the metaphorical *of*. They are *country*, *people*, *humanity*, and various terms that stand for governmental institutions. It started with the “*hands of the people*” in 1789 and ended with the “*face of the earth*” in 2017. Between the two addresses, other landmarks were made salient such as some governmental institutions in the second half of the 19th century. However, the first half of the 20th century saw a remarkable salience of *humanity* and *mankind*. Likewise, two different human organs were mapped onto the character of God in two different addresses, in 1961 and 2013, respectively.

In conjunction with the parts of the body, paths are another recurrent source domain. The PATH- OF pattern, in which path is a concrete part of an abstract whole, first appeared in 1805, and it was prevalent throughout the 19th-century addresses. However, it was used only twice in the first half of the 20th century. More precisely, it has not been used since 1925. Moreover, the phrase “*the path of duty*” was used only in the period ranging from 1825 to 1845. It is interesting to note that the phrase *path of* continued to be employed compared to its synonyms such as *road of* and *avenue of*. The latter was not used after 1901, while the *road of* was used only once in the entire corpus.

In addition to paths, light and darkness vary in two ways. First, light is much more frequent than darkness. The *light* of* was used 10 times while the *dark* of* was used only five times. Second, the *light of* phrase has a more extended history. It stretches from 1821 to 2013, while the “*dark of*” phrase started as late as 1933. Another interesting note is that both phrases have never appeared in the same address. In short, there is more *Light* than *Darkness*, and it is either *light* or *darkness*.

Variation also affected sources of light such as *fire of*, *sunshine of*, *sunset of*, *furnace of*, *stars of*, *sunlight of*, and *spark of*. The most frequent of which is *fire of*. It first appeared in 1789 and then appeared four times respectively in 1845, 1881, 1941, and 2005. President D. Roosevelt quoted the original author of “*the sacred fire of liberty*”, while, in 1997, President Clinton made that metaphor more specific by highlighting “*flame of*” as one part of the fire of freedom.

As for the diachronic variation of the family concept, the mapping between a father and a president started in 1837 and continued until 2009. The phrase “*father of -- country*” is the most recurrent reference to the first president of the U.S. There are two minor observations on the historical variation of this phrase. First, it originally referred to the Founding Fathers as a group. Second, all the 19th-century addresses started to refer to President Washington as the father and *his* country, while the 20th-century addresses referred to the same president as the father of *our* country. However, in both cases, “the father remains the main symbol of the family who is the manager of the family and the state at the same time” (Trim, 2018b, p. 5).

In addition to *father*, *parent* was used mainly in the 18th and 19th-century addresses. Both despotism and the anti-liberty spirit are valued negatively, yet their sources are conceptualized in terms of bad parents who give birth to bad descendants.

No other family members were used metaphorically except *brethren* in one instance in 1801. This concept may relate to religious organizations more than to family members, but it still carries the meaning of brotherhood.

Another recurrent phrase is *family of*, as in “the family of nations”. It first appeared in 1857, but it was not used after 1907. In 1845, nearly the same phrase was used, but it refers to the individual States and the Union.

Construction is another source domain used with the metaphorical *of*. This conceptual mapping started in 1789 and continued until 1997. Furthermore, there are precisely 10 constituents in the corpus: *pillar*, *building*, *builder*, *ruin*, *wall*, *hearthstone*, *cement*, *bastion*, *door*, and *bridge*. Diachronically speaking, they can be grouped into three sets. The first set is that of the 19th-century addresses. It comprises *cement of*, *ruin of*, and *ruins of*. The first constituent, *cement*, was used only once in 1809, while the remaining two were used four times between 1821 and 1845. The second set has two constituents, *pillar*, and *foundations*. The phrase *pillar of* was used in both the 19th and 20th-century addresses. The first occurrence was in 1837, while the second and the last one was in 1993. As for *foundation of*, it is the most frequently used phrase. It first appeared in 1789, and then it was used six times in the 19th-century addresses and six times in the 20th-century ones. A foundation is usually larger than pillars, which may explain why there are many more occurrences of *foundation* than that of *pillar*. The third and last set of construction includes all the remaining terms, and they all appeared only during the 20th-century addresses. It is interesting to note that seven out of these 10 constituents were used only once throughout the corpus.

Furthermore, acoustics is another interesting source domain. Some of its components, such as *song*, *echo*, and *music*, were of a one-occurrence type. They appeared in 1957, 1985, and 1993, respectively. The two phrases, *chorus of* and *din of*, have a similar occurrence pattern. They first appeared in the 19th century, followed by a lengthy period of absence, and then they reappeared in the 20th century. Respectively, they first appeared in 1861 and 1885, and they reemerged in 1957 and 1989. In both of its occurrences, *din of* preserved its negative connotations as an unpleasant noise caused by “*narrow interests*” and “*party strife*”. In contrast, *chorus of* was used in a semantic field of harmonious situations and an orchestra-like nation.

President Eisenhower combined two auditory concepts, *song* and *chorus*, in one address and, more precisely, in one sentence. The remaining two sounds, *voice*, and *call*, occurred 15 and eight times, respectively. The phrase *voice of* was one of President Washington's favorite expressions. It was used in all the three addresses of the 18th-century and seven addresses in the 19th century. Moreover, it appeared only five times in the 20th century, in four addresses by three presidents only. The second sound, *call*, first appeared in 1801, but it persisted until 2013.

The landmarks of these auditory components can be grouped according to their diachronic occurrences. From 1789 to 1853, it was the country that had a *voice* or a *call*. The situation was different after 1853. It seems that the *voice* of the country faded, whereas the voice of the *people* became louder.

Mapping based on commerce has also undergone some diachronic variations, especially with those abstract entities conceptualized in terms of their prices and values. As for *price of*, it was used twice, in 1885 and 1957. It is interesting to note that the commodities are different due to the long gap between the two occurrences. It was *liberty* in the 1885 address and *peace* in the 1957 address. It seems that presidents do not value the same commodity in the same way. In the 19th-century context, *liberty* was salient as the most precious commodity. Presidents not only remind the audience of its price, but they also warn them that there is always a high price to pay if they want to enjoy the benefits of such a valuable commodity. The same applies to *peace*, as advocated by President Eisenhower in 1957. This same address is referred to as "The Price of Peace" according to a Congressional Record (vol. 103, p. 728).

Another set of landmarks that underwent diachronic variations belong to learning and teaching. The salient concepts include *lesson*, *admonition*, and *book*. As for the phrase *admonition of*, it was restricted to the first half of the 19th century. In contrast, *lesson of* has a

more prolonged diachronic presence. It was first used by President Washington and continued to be used until 2013. The phrases *experience of* and *history of* stand out as the most frequent as they were used between 1789 and 1849. The abstract entities eligible to give lessons range from *civilization, past, Vietnam, and paternalism*.

Furthermore, the source domain of weight first appeared in 1805. The mapping started with *opinion* and similar concepts in the 19th century. Then, it developed into *responsibility* in the first half of the 20th century and then into *fear* in 1957. In his message to the Russian people, President D. Eisenhower profiled fear in terms of its weight. In such situations, it is clear that the heaviness of the weight, rather than the attribute of weight, is emphasized. Kövecses (2010, p. 108), among others, explained such expressions in terms of the EMOTION IS BURDEN metaphor. Within the same source domain, the concept of *burden* was first used in 1825 and persisted until 1969.

In addition to objects and their weight, a living organism is one of the recurring source domains that varied across history. The conceptual mapping of the various aspects of a living organism started in 1797 when President Adams spoke about the “*happiness of the nation,*” and it survived until the last inaugural address with President Trump’s words: “*the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country*”. The phrase *happiness of* was used three times in the same address in 1797, but its saliency did not last beyond 1821. Distinctive features were salient during different periods. The 19th-century addresses had their distinctive human features. The most frequent is the *will of the nation*, while the least frequent is its *vigor*. As a life stage, *infancy* was used only twice, in 1833 and 1845. Only two features, namely *hope* and *spirit* appeared in the 19th-century addresses and continued through the next century. Throughout the 20th-century addresses, the nation is conceptualized through the following features: *mind, conscience, faith,*

health, gratitude, and verdict. For example, the phrase *faith of* was exclusively used by President D. Roosevelt in his 1941 address, while the phrase *soul of* first appeared in 1989, but, unlike other phrases, it reappeared in 2005.

Source domains drawn from nature such as weather, landscape, water, and plants also underwent diachronic variations. References to nature started with *water* in 1797 and continued to the most recent addresses. The 2009 address referred to *water* as well as to *winter*. The early references to water were expressed by *fountain* and *ocean*, while the modern references were by means of *winter, waters, and tide*. The early presidents referred to *uncertainty* as an *ocean*, while the modern presidents used *winter, waters, and tide* to refer to peace and prosperity.

The 19th-century addresses included exclusive references to *weed* and *cultivation*, while *climate, ground, jungle, seeds, tempest, wave, weather, and valley* all appeared only in the 20th-century addresses. *Ebb, flow, and winter* were all used only by the 21st-century presidents. The only term that maintained its saliency over three centuries is *tide of*. It is interesting to note that three terms, namely *seeds, tempest, and wind* appeared together in the 1957 address.

The last set is a miscellaneous collection of source domains that includes food, weapons, machines, prison, and law. The most frequent domain is that of the law and its component, the *bar*. It first appeared in 1801 and then reappeared in 1953. The landmarks ranged from *good reason* to *history*. Components of prisons were used between 1949 and 1961, and their landmarks are the *past* and *poverty*. In addition, parts of a machine first appeared in 1801 and continued until 2005. President Nixon's famous phrases of "*the cup of despair*" and "*the chalice of opportunity*" are infrequent usages of cutlery in metaphors. The term *sword* was salient in 1801 and 1845 when it was used to refer to executive power. However, its inferences are entirely different. When it was related to the American Revolution, it was conceptualized as a justifiable

and efficient tool. In contrast, it was evaluated in a negative way when it was related to non-democratic regimes.

As for the preposition *against*, its occurrences do not reveal any systematic variation. Its highest peak was in a single address in 1909. In an address delivered amidst controversial debate on racial equality, President Taft took advantage of his inauguration to voice his views about African Americans and other legal issues. He probably found *against* the appropriate preposition that best serves his communication goals.

In its metaphorical usages, *against* underwent a clear diachronic change in terms of its trajector. The change consists of two basic stages. Trajectors were drawn from the domain of preventive action in the first stage, and the domain of initiative-taking action in the second stage. In most of the 18th and 19th-century addresses, the trajectors of *against* were within the frame of prevention and signaled by words such as *protect*, *safeguard*, *safe*, *guarding*, *bulwark*, *shield*, and *defend*. This preposition was used to denote trajectors that are in forceful contact with their landmarks but in a defensive strategy. Whereas the second stage has a different strategy by which trajectors are engaged in an initiative-taking fight. For example, President D. Roosevelt, in his 1933 address, asked Congress “*to wage a war against the emergency*”. In 1977, President Carter announced an active attack frame by stating, “*we will fight our wars against poverty, ignorance, and injustice*” and in 1985, the same frame is evoked in metonymic fashion through this statement: “*Every blow we inflict against poverty*”.

In terms of its landmark, this preposition did not indicate any consistent collocation, except with *danger* and *dangers*. Out of the 10 occurrences of *against- danger**, eight appeared in addresses of 1817, 1841, 1845, 1853, and 1881. Interestingly, this construction appeared four times in one single address in 1817. The remaining two occurrences appeared in 1921 and 1949.

The construction *against-poverty* appeared in three different addresses ranging from 1961, 1977, and 1985. Additionally, the concept of darkness was activated in only two addresses in the 20th century. The 1953 address was about slavery, while the 1985 address was about poverty and its “*dark allies*”. These two landmarks, slavery, and poverty, illustrate the saliency of these issues during the times of these two inaugurals.

As for the prepositions *to*, *toward*, and *towards*, they have always been present in the inaugurals. The construction *advance* to/toward/towards* started in 1789 and ended in 1949, while the construction of *mov* to/toward/towards* started only in 1929. It looks like that *move* has replaced *advance*, but it needs more empirical evidence to assert this substitution. Similarly, the *progress* to/toward/towards* had a short life span. It first appeared in 1929, and it was last used in 1961. It was used successively in the three addresses from 1929 to 1937. As for the term *road*, it was also used in 1929, and it continued until 1985. It is interesting to note that the 1929 address contained all these terms except *path*. The latter first appeared in 1921, and then it reappeared in President Obama’s two addresses. Another interesting construction is that of *direct* to/toward/towards*, which has a similar variation pattern. It started in 1821, and it was last used in 2001. There is a set of idiosyncratic terms related to the style of specific presidents. For example, the term *march* was used only by President Clinton in his two addresses.

As for the goals, the most recurrent is evoked by words such as *high* and *height* with their various forms. They first appeared in the 1837 address and then reappeared in the first half of the 20th century. Besides, other popular landmarks include the following three principles, as uttered by President Jefferson in 1801.

(294). “let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to *peace, liberty, and safety* [emphasis added]” (Jefferson, 1801).

It looks like President Jefferson outlined the components of an ideally comprehensive goal comprising three fundamental aspirations. Subsequent presidents followed suit, but they added new constituents such as *prosperity, freedom, happiness, brotherhood, and hopes*. It is interesting to note that *liberty*, as a goal, reappeared only in 2005 within an atmosphere of the U.S. involvement in global wars. Along the same lines, *freedom* first appeared in 1949, in the aftermath of the Second World War.

The prepositions *in* and *into* varied across the history of the inaugurals. The construction *in hand** first appeared in 1805, and it persisted until 1969. Landmarks with parts of the body became more popular in the first half of the 19th century. The construction *in hand** was used three times in the 1817 address, twice in 1833, and four times in 1841. In the 20th century, this construction reappeared, and more precisely, in the sixties. They were used twice in the 1961 address and once in the subsequent addresses, in 1965 and 1969.

In addition to the “*in hand*” phrase, the historical path of the *in heart** construction extended from 1881 until 1997. It was remarkably salient in the 1989 address. President Bush used it four times. Three of which appeared in the same phrase “*in our hearts*”. To a less extent, President D. Eisenhower used it three times in his two addresses, while President Clinton used it twice in his 1997 address.

As for *into*, this preposition correlates with landmarks of life cycles and specifically the stages of manhood and infant nationhood. They first appeared in 1821 and 1989 addresses, respectively. The stage of manhood is restricted to a specific period extending from 1821 to 1881. The corpus does not include any occurrences of manhood since 1881. However, the landmarks of *infant* and *infancy* first appeared in 1805 and ended in 1981. It is worth mentioning that they disappeared from 1845 till 1981.

As for the landmarks denoting the future, they seem to correlate with the end-of-century addresses. The term *tomorrow* was used in 1989, and the phrases “*second century*” and “*a new century*” appeared in 1889 and 1997, respectively.

The metaphorical *for* refers to the desired time for the intended action via the FOR-FUTURE TIME construction, which kept its saliency throughout the history of the inaugurals. The phrase “*for the future*” first appeared in 1809 and kept its saliency until 2013. Other expressions were invented in different periods. For example, two inaugurals that contained the phrase “*for tomorrow*” were delivered during the 20th century. Likewise, President Clinton emphasized the FOR-FUTURE TIME construction by using “*for a new century*” three times in one address in 1997.

When used with the preposition *for*, the source domain of commodity was salient exclusively in the 20th-century addresses. The mapping first appeared in 1937. President Reagan relied on this mapping in various parts of his 1981 address.

The FOR-YOU construction did not start with the famous quote of President Kennedy in 1961. Instead, it first appeared in 1937. It signals a conversational discourse with the public, but it was not very frequent. The third and last use was by President Trump.

When used with *founded*, the prepositions *on* and *upon* showed an interesting diachronic pattern. The FOUNDED- ON/UPON construction was not used in any of the 20th-century addresses. It was mainly an 18th-century saliency, revived by President Obama in his 2013 address. During the 20th-century addresses, it seems that FOUNDED- ON/UPON construction was substituted by BUILT- ON / UPON.

The same note applies to BASED-ON/UPON, which was mainly used in the 20th-century addresses. The only exception was in a single occurrence in the 1853 address.

Furthermore, the construction ON/UPON-ME, which refers to the president as a landmark, first appeared in 1797 and persisted in occurring in the 19th-century addresses. President Van Buren used it three times in a single address. This construction appeared in five addresses in the 20th century, but it was not found in any of the 21st-century addresses.

Furthermore, the prepositions *as* and *like* underwent some diachronic variations. *As* first appeared in 1805, but it was President D. Roosevelt, in his 1941 address, who elaborated on the various levels of similarity by using *as*. This simile was last used in 1989 to refer to the similarities between nations and men. President D. Roosevelt is the only president to refer to “*a person*” and the only one to refer to a singular entity. Other presidents used “*individuals*” and “*men*”, but none of them referred to women.

In general, the usage of similes started in 1809 and persisted until 2017. The famous tombstones simile of President Trump has been accused of overdramatizing the socioeconomic conditions. It is interesting to note that both President D. Roosevelt and President Bush were the most frequent users of these similes. The latter used it in various domains ranging from freedom, nation, future to history.

As for the metaphorical *with*, the construction of FILL-Me was used in the 18th-century and the first half of the 19th-century addresses only. In the remaining addresses, it seems that presidents ceased talking about themselves and began referring to other entities ranging from “*our hearts*” to “*a page*”.

4.5. Summary of the findings

The data analysis reveals that the use frequency of the prepositions in the inaugurals is not equal. The findings confirm that they are unevenly used compared to each other. In general, the preposition *of* stands out as the most frequent along with 10 other prepositions. The

prevalence of these 11 prepositions leads to the conclusion that a small amount of prepositions accounts for more than 90 % of the occurrences. In contrast, a large number of prepositions were rarely used or not used at all. This same inequality applies to their distribution over the addresses and across their history. These findings answer the first research question about the distribution of prepositions in the corpus.

Furthermore, the data analysis also reveals that most of the conceptual mapping of the prepositions is based on a set of source domains related to the human organism and that most of the target domains are about the government, the people, and high principles. These findings answer the second research question about the conceptual structure of the metaphor-related prepositions.

The closing section of this chapter was devoted to the diachronic variations of the metaphor-related prepositions. There are indications of a discourse oscillating between stability and change in terms of the source domains involved in these metaphors. A thorough analysis of the factors affecting the diachronic trends is the content of the fifth section of the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Discussion

This thesis has sought to explore the metaphorical usages of the prepositions found in a corpus of 58 inaugural addresses stretching over 228 years. The shortage of research on this topic had developed an interest in this practical project. Previous studies have examined prepositions from a semantic and cognitive perspective, and they have examined the metaphor-related prepositions from the perspective of new senses annexed to primary sense. Some of these studies aim to explain polysemy and, ultimately, provide a coherent and simplified account of English prepositions. Other studies focus on spatial prepositions to explore the relationship between space and metaphor. Though this thesis builds on the findings of these studies, its scope and aims are entirely different. In its scope, this thesis examines all the prepositions with no exception, and it has no pre-defined choice of prepositions. It does not focus on any type of prepositions, whether spatial or temporal. As it is an exploratory study, it aims to discover the metaphors of these prepositions as they naturally occur in an authentic corpus. To attain this objective, this thesis starts with examining the frequency distribution of these prepositions in the corpus before identifying their metaphorical usages. It then moves on to infer their conceptual basis, explore their coherence within the discourse, and characterize the factors that affect their diachronic variations.

The main findings relevant to the research aim and questions outlined in the introductory chapter will be discussed in this chapter. In separate sections, these findings will address each of the five aspects of the research questions. The chapter concludes with a microanalysis of random inaugural addresses to cross-check these findings.

5.1. Frequency use trends

This section of the discussion chapter is devoted to the findings related to the use frequencies of the 64 prepositions extracted from the Inaugural Corpus. There are two significant findings to be outlined in this section. The first is about the prepositions' use, while the second finding deals with the ratio of prepositions across the history of the inaugurals.

First, the frequency scores of the 64 prepositions reveal a usage pattern that allows these prepositions to be divided into four sets with the following tentative labels:

- “*The Special Set*”: It includes the preposition *of*. It is distinct from other sets in that its frequency is much higher than that of the second preposition. It is deliberately differentiated to stress its prevalence.
- “*The Golden Set*”: It consists of these 10 prepositions: *to, in, for, by, with, as, from, on, upon, and at*.
- “*The marginalized Set*”: It embraces 53 prepositions. They all have low frequencies, and they account for only 9% of all the occurrences. In the 228 years of the inaugurals, 37 prepositions occurred less than 10 times. This set is also known as “marginal prepositions” (Crystal, 2004, p. 183).
- “*The Absent Set*”: It consists of at least 16 prepositions. They have never been used in the 58 addresses. The number 16 is deduced from the 80-preposition list of Johansson & Hofland (1989).

In terms of percentages, *of* represents 31, 55% of 22551, the total occurrences of all the prepositions in the corpus, as shown in Table 43. In the same vein, the prevalence of this same preposition is quantitatively supported by Nacey (2010), who found that *of* accounts for approximately 27% of all prepositions in her 40, 000-word corpus.

Table 43

The Top 11 Prepositions and Their Percentages

	Prepositions	
1	of	31.55%
2	to	20.14%
3	in	12.39%
4	for	5.33%
5	by	4.82%
6	with	4.25%
7	as	4.21%
8	from	2.55%
9	on	2.38%
10	upon	1.66%
11	at	1.54%
Total		90.80%

The gap between *of* and the rest of the prepositions is reinforced by the sharp fall of scores from 31, 55% down to 5, 33% starting from the fourth highest preposition. These figures also illustrate that 64, 07% of the prepositions are drawn from only three prepositions (*of, in, to*).

The four sets listed above are not unique to the Inaugural Corpus. Instead, similar corpus-based studies have yielded these same findings. For example, Nacey (2010) found out that the top 14 prepositions in her corpus account for more than 94% of the total occurrences. Along the same lines, Johansson & Hofland (1989) categorized the top 80 English prepositions into five groups based on five frequency ranges extending from 2805 to zero, as shown in Table 44.

Table 44

Frequency Analysis of English Prepositions by Johansson and Hofland (1989)¹⁵

Group	Members	Frequency Range (Actual Range)
A	of, in, to, for, with, on, by, at, from, as (10)	Above 2,000 (2805-35324)
B	into, about, after, like, between, over, through, without, under, against (10)	500-2000 (575-1,658)
C	before, upon, within, among, behind, across, above, since, along, down, until, near, round, beyond, outside, around, off (17)	100-500 (116-488)
D	below, up, except, beside, beneath, past, amongst, till, concerning, owing, opposite, besides, via, onto, toward, unto, alongside, notwithstanding, nearer (19)	10-100 (11-99)
E	amid, considering, aboard, underneath, amidst, pending, out, versus, touching, minus, vis-à-vis, nearest, afore, onward, aside, atop, inward, together, while, ahead, midway, aboard, withstanding, back (24)	Below 10 (0-9)

A comparison between the current study and the five groups of Johansson and Hofland (1989) reveals four common features. The first feature is the prevalence of the preposition *of*. In both corpora, this preposition has the highest score, and, more importantly, it differs from the second highest preposition by a significant margin. Secondly, the group with the highest scores usually consists of a few prepositions. They are 10 in Inaugural Corpus and nine in Johansson

¹⁵ Reprinted from (Rhee, 2003, p. 195).

and Hofland's corpus (Group A without *of*). Third, these select few prepositions are nearly the same. The fourth and last feature is that a substantial number of prepositions have a low frequency. For example, the Inaugural Corpus has 53 out of 64 prepositions, while in Johansson and Hofland's corpus, groups D and E have 43 out of 80. Besides, prepositions with use frequency between 0 and 90 represent 30% of the corpus of Johansson and Hofland (1989) and 36% of the Inaugural Corpus.

In addition to the preliminary comparison with Johansson and Hofland's findings, the first two sets follow the same pattern in different corpora and different historical periods. For example, the preposition *of* has the highest frequency in four other corpora. The first corpus is that of the British National Corpus (henceforth BNC) (Leech et al., 2001). The second corpus consists of 1041000 words extracted from 93 Ph.D. theses and research articles in Medical and Social Sciences as part of a study conducted by Benelhadj (2015). The third corpus comprises one million words extracted from the Lancaster- Oslo/Bergen Corpus (LOB) and studied by Johansson & Hofland (1989). The fourth and last corpus is the BROWN Corpus of American English and the LOB Corpus of British English conducted by Mindt & Weber (1989).

In conjunction with the prevalence of the preposition *of* in the Inaugural Corpus and the above-mentioned corpora, the 10 prepositions of the Special Set have many similarities, as demonstrated in Table 45.

Table 45

The Distribution of the Top 11 Prepositions in Different Corpora

	BNC	Medical and Social Sciences Corpus	Johansson and Hofland	Inaugural Corpus
1	of	of	of	of
2	in	in	in	to
3	to	to	to	in
4	for	for	for	for
5	with	with	with	by
6	on	as	on	with
7	by	by	by	as
8	at	on	at	from
9	from	from	from	on
10	as	at	as	upon
11	into	between		at

These four corpora share 10 out of 11 prepositions, and it is only in the 11th and last rank that the corpora start to diverge, as shown in the shaded cells in Table 45. An equally significant observation is that the same prepositions have the same rankings, especially those top 10 positions, as shown in Table 46.

Table 46

The Top 10 Prepositions in Terms of their Ranks

	Rank	Prepositions
Subset A	1	of
Subset B	2	in, to, for, with
	3	
	4	
Subset C	5	on, by, at, from, as
	6	
	7	
	8	
	9	
	10	

The first subset includes only one preposition *of*, for two reasons. First, this preposition occupies the first rank in the compared corpora without any exception. Second, the exceptionally high frequency of the preposition *of* differs from the adjacent prepositions. In the five groups of Johansson & Hofland (1989) (see Table 44, Group A), *of* appeared 35,324 times while the lowest score in the same group was more than 2,805. Likewise, *of* appeared 7115 in the Inaugural Corpus while the second highest preposition, *to*, accounted for only 45451 tokens. In terms of percentage, *of* stands for 5, 2% of the corpus, while *to* stands for only 3, 4%. The gap between *of* and the rest of the prepositions is even more noticeable when compared with *for*, the fourth highest preposition in the corpus. *For* accounts for only 0, 9% of the corpus and the gap between *of* and *for* reaches 4, 3%. In general, the prevalence of the preposition *of* may be considered as a piece of empirical evidence to challenge the assumption that prepositions are used solely for their spatial aspect. More research is needed to analyze the high frequencies of the preposition *of* in greater depth and understand why spatiality has always been foregrounded.

The findings of the current thesis are also in line with the diachronic distribution of 50 English prepositions from an extensive corpus covering four historical periods, namely Old English, Middle English, Early Modern English, and Modern English. The data of the first three periods are extracted from the diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus, which is 1,572,800 million words in length and covers the traditional three eras of English, namely Old English (700 - 1150), Middle English (1150 - 1500) and Early Modern English (1500 - 1710) (Rissanen et al., 1993, pp. 1–17). The data of Modern English are drawn from Leech et al. (2001). Table 47 shows only the first 10 prepositions of these 50 prepositions in addition to data from the Modern English Corpus and the Inaugural Corpus for the sake of comparison.

Table 47

*The Distribution of the Top 10 Prepositions in the Historical Periods of English and the Inaugural Corpus*¹⁶

	Old English	Middle English	Early Modern English	Modern English	Inaugural Corpus
1	on	of	of	of	of
2	to	to	to	in	to
3	mid	in	in	to	in
4	in	for	for	for	for
5	for	be	with	with	by
6	of	on	by	on	with
7	At	by	at	by	as
8	be	with	from	at	from
9	after	at	on	from	on
10	ofer			as	upon
11					at

The 11 highly frequent prepositions of the Inaugural Corpus are similar to those found not only in Modern English but also in Early Modern English and even in Middle English. For example, the preposition *of* has kept its status as the most frequent preposition in English from

¹⁶ Adapted from (Weber, 2012, p. 13).

1150 to the present. At the same time, the prepositions *in* and *to* have shared the second and third positions while the preposition *for* has managed to maintain the fourth position since 1150. The fifth, sixth, and seventh positions are shared mainly by the prepositions *with* and *by* while the ranking of the preposition *from* starts from the eighth position. Other common prepositions, such as *on*, *as*, and *at*, are found from the sixth to the 11th position.

The second pattern observed in the frequency scores of the inaugurals' prepositions is about their ratio. The findings include a ratio of one preposition in six words. This ratio is slightly higher than that observed by Mindt & Weber (1989) in their analysis of prepositions in American and British English. A recent study on prepositions in academic writing (Ph.D. theses and research articles) in Medical and Social Sciences found that there is a preposition in every eight words (Benelhadj, 2015, p. 107). In another study comparing the distribution of English prepositions in Pakistani and British Englishes in three corpora, namely Lancaster- Oslo-Bergen (LOB), Freiburg LOB (FLOB), and Pakistani Written English corpus (PWE), Asghar et al. (2014, p. 218) found out that prepositions account for 12, 6% in Pakistani English in PWE and 11, 24% in British English in LOB and FLOB corpora. In terms of ratio, it means one preposition in eight words and one preposition in nine words, respectively.

As for the ratio of prepositions throughout the inaugurals, Figure 67 shows a steady trend despite a few fluctuations.

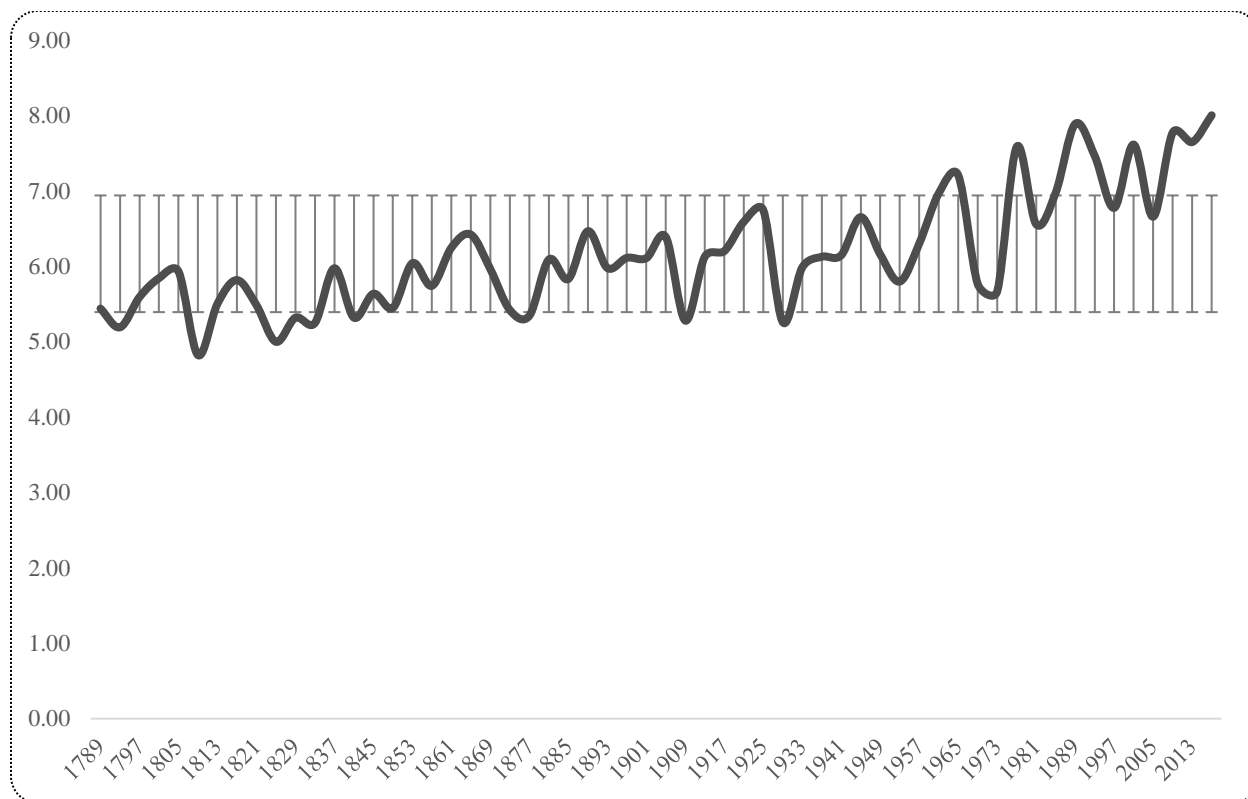


Figure 67. The ratio of all the prepositions per address

This trend moves in one direction as the use frequency develops from a ratio of one preposition in five words in the 18th and 19th-century addresses to a ratio of one to eight in the 21st-century ones. President Madison’s 1809 address, for example, stands in stark contrast to President Trump’s 2017 address. In the former, one preposition was used every four words, whereas one preposition was used every eight words in the latter.

The trends of the frequency of prepositions correlate with a diachronic variation in the degree of formality. Prepositions can be considered as a marker of style and, especially, as an index of formality. The gradual decrease in prepositions is likely to prove that the inaugurals have become increasingly informal. This view is in line with Douglas Biber & Finegan (2001, p. 67), who concluded that “English registers have been following a general ‘drift’ towards more

oral styles over the last four centuries”. They formulated their conclusion based on the observed decrease in prepositions, nouns, and adjectives, which are usually associated with formal style. “Nouns, adjectives, articles, and prepositions are more frequent in formal styles”, as Heylighen & Dewaele (1999, p. 1) concluded in their empirical measure of formality. Along similar lines, Hudson (1994, p. 336) observed that “every corpus which is high on prepositions and common nouns is low on verbs and pronouns, and vice versa”. This pattern is demonstrated by the evolution of the ratio of a preposition per number of words. These explanations are supported by Reijnierse (2017), who argues that informational texts often use abstract entities and they, therefore, tend to employ nouns and prepositions to convey the abstractness of these entities. As a result, “nouns and prepositions are more frequently used in their metaphorical sense than in their non-metaphorical sense” (Reijnierse, 2017, p. 59). This same pattern and same explanation are reiterated by G. J. Steen et al. (2010) and Herrmann (2013) in their studies on metaphors across registers and word classes.

In terms of parts of speech, the rhetorical presidency style tends to use fewer nouns and prepositions than before. More specifically, the decrease of formality in presidential rhetoric was also observed by Lim (2002, p. 333), who explained that “recent developments in the Post-War Era (such as television and the increased usage of direct primaries) have fostered a heightened reverence of the opinion, judgment, and rhetoric of the common man”.

Another possible explanation lies in the paradigmatic shift in which limits of time and space have been reconsidered, especially by the new concepts of cyberspace and global access to the Internet. Within this paradigm, public discourse has adjusted its choice of words to “the frame of the screen”, as Samuels (2008, p. 232) wrote. However, the current paradigm is still

developing, and its correlation with the ratio of prepositions in the inaugurals needs further analysis.

To sum up, the 64 prepositions extracted from the Inaugurals Corpus show the following features. First, they vary in their use frequency in such a way that they can be divided into four distinct classes. Second, the preposition *of* occupies a class on its own because of its exceptionally high scores. Third, the Inaugural Corpus is in line with similar corpora either in terms of the classes of prepositions or in the prevalence of the preposition *of*. The fourth and last feature is that the ratio of prepositions changed from one preposition in five words in the 18th and 19th-century addresses to one to eight in the 21st-century ones. In other words, the use of prepositions has been declining for several factors such as the degree of formality and paradigmatic patterns.

Studying the use frequencies of prepositions is just an introduction to the study of the metaphorical usages and their conceptual basis. Though the linguistic metaphors were exhaustively presented in the previous chapter, their conceptual basis will be further discussed in the forthcoming section.

5.2. The conceptual basis of metaphor-related prepositions

In this previous chapter, metaphors of the individual prepositions with their source and target domains were identified and classified. However, two significant observations have to be highlighted. The first observation is about the metaphors of the preposition *of* and its metonymies, while the second is about the nature of the conceptual mapping.

5.2.1. The metaphorical *of* and its metonymies

Before proceeding to the main topic of this section, it is interesting to note that the high frequency of the preposition *of* suggests that metaphor-related prepositions are much more than

merely conceptualizing non-spatial entities in terms of spatial ones as described in the literature. The preposition *of* does not offer any spatial, experiential basis, yet it structures a wealth of metaphors in the corpus.

This section is an attempt to explore the metaphors of *of* in order to go beyond the conceptual notation of A is B by including principles from the CIT, image schemas, and metonymy. Basically, the linguistic metaphors of this preposition are formulated according to X of Y pattern in which X is a part and Y is the whole to which X belongs. In terms of image schema, the metaphorical *of* is built on PART-WHOLE. As it stands, this construction is a typical metonymy and, more precisely, a synecdoche. However, it is also metaphorical because it is based on a mapping between a concrete domain and an abstract one.

Let us take a quote from the inaugurals as a sample in order to understand the components and stages of the conceptual mapping of the metaphor *of*. The quote reads as follows:

(295). “Returning to *the bosom of my country* after a painful separation from it for ten years” (Adams, 1797).

At this stage, the focus is only on the phrase “the bosom of my country”. As shown in Table 48, the arrows refer to the conceptual mapping between the two domains and the two meanings of the preposition *of*.

Table 48

The Conceptual mappings of President Adams' quote

Target Domain	Description		Description	Source Domain
THE BOSOM	Abstract (and an invented) part of a country	↔	Concrete (and an existing) part of a body	THE BOSOM
OF	Projected intrinsic relationship	↔	Naturally intrinsic relationship	OF
MY COUNTRY	Abstract (and existing) whole	↔	Concrete (and existing) Whole	A HUMAN BODY
		↔	Concrete part of a person	A HUMAN BODY
A COUNTRY	Abstract Whole	↔	Concrete Whole	A PERSON

The last cells of Table 48 suggest A COUNTRY IS A PERSON metaphor. However, this metaphor is just a naïve description of the complex mapping between the components of the conceptual domains. In other words, the phrase “the bosom of my country” involves more than a correspondence between the two entities. Instead, the relational profile evoked by the preposition cannot be disregarded. The preposition *of* relates a concrete part to an abstract whole according to the following construction: A concrete PART *of* an abstract WHOLE. More precisely, the mapping yields the following inference: The relationship between a real bosom of a real person is like the relationship between an imaginary bosom and a country. This metaphorical

relationship applies to all the linguistic metaphors in which the preposition *of* relates a concrete domain with an abstract one. Tentatively, the figurative meaning is attained through the following stages and assumptions:

- First, the concrete PART implies a concrete WHOLE. For example, a bosom is one of the parts of a whole, which is a body. Thus, it implies the human body as a concrete whole to which the bosom belongs.
- Second, the concrete WHOLE is omitted, but it is still implied. The word *body* does not appear in the phrase “the bosom of my country”.
- Third, the concrete PART evokes a source domain. The concept of a bosom is the concrete item in the phrase, and it, therefore, suggests that its whole is the source domain.
- Fourth, the abstract WHOLE is transformed into a dividable entity. For example, a country is an abstract concept that does not have any constituent parts. However, the phrase “the bosom of my country” evokes that a country can be divided into parts.
- Fifth, the abstract WHOLE evokes a target domain. The abstractness of the concept of a country makes it a perfect candidate to be a target domain.
- Sixth, the imaginary PART of the abstract WHOLE takes the name of the concrete PART. The abstract WHOLE lends itself to division into parts, as the fourth stage illustrates, but it has no name for these parts because they do not exist in the first place. Hence, the need to borrow a name for any part whenever it becomes salient. President Adams had divided the concept country into parts.

Then he made one part (the bosom) salient. After that, he chose the name *bosom* for that imaginary part of his country.

- Seventh, the concrete PART is mapped onto the imaginary PART. Naming is just one step of the conceptual mapping between these two PARTS. As the imaginary PART is abstract and invented, it acquires the relational profile of the concrete PART. The conceptual mapping consists of understanding the imaginary PART in terms of the concrete PART.

These seven stages are meant to deconstruct phrases like “the bosom of my country” by following this pattern: A concrete PART *of* an abstract WHOLE. Two main conclusions can be drawn from the above-mentioned stages. The first conclusion is about conceptual mapping. The conceptual metaphor of NATION AS A BODY may be valid, but it is not an accurate mapping. It is valid because the source domain of the PART is mapped onto the target domain of the WHOLE. This mapping is not accurate because it obscures the primary mapping between the two PARTS. The second conclusion is that the main mapping is about the relationship between each PART and its whole. The relationship between the bosom and the human body is mapped into the relationship between that imaginary PART and the country. According to the second conclusion, the intrinsic relations of the preposition *of* are central in both the concrete and the abstract entities. This view is in line with Langacker (2008b, p. 18), who studied the preposition *of* and concluded that “the relationship between its trajector and landmark is somehow intrinsic rather than contingent”. Presidents took advantage of this relationship to create and maintain the impression that trajectors are intrinsically integrated into their landmarks. The intrinsic relationship may explain the high frequency and the diachronic saliency of this preposition in the Inaugural Corpus. Put simply, the prevalence of the preposition *of* and its metaphors may be

considered as a rhetorical strategy to propagate that a political system is merely a mirror of a natural order. As the preposition *of* reinforces intrinsicness, it presupposes that the components of a government are linked in an intrinsic relationship in the same way human organs are integral parts of the body or a father is an intrinsic part of his family. Furthermore, intrinsicness projects the stability of both attributes and relations in the source domains onto the political system and its concepts. The political system that presidents have repeatedly attempted to define must look stable with permanent features and whose components are linked by long-lasting relationships. To attain this objective, presidents need metaphors that reinforce a representational model of society by which “society forms an organic whole, in the absence of which it ceases” (Lyotard, 1984, p. 35). Thanks to its image-schematic structure and intrinsic relationships, the metaphorical *of* serves to convey durability, the very same feature that a reliable political system demands. The inevitable cycle of day and night, the predictable movement of water, seas, and oceans, and the unavoidable consequences of weather evoke the certainty of scientific truths and promote the rigidity of the laws. The preposition *of* is used to create metaphorical relationships that reinforce one message; governments, like natural phenomena, are governed by irrevocable laws. Even history is reduced, by metaphors of light and darkness, to the natural rotation of day and night. By naturalizing such metaphors, non-human, ahistorical, and rigid rules regulate the historical and flexible concepts of human life.

From the perspective of metonymy, the pattern of A concrete PART *of* an abstract WHOLE encompasses two metonymies. The first metonymy is the part of a concrete whole from a source domain. The second metonymy is that of the target domain. When applied to the phrase “the bosom of my country”, the first metonymy is the concrete bosom as a part of a human being, and the second metonymy is the imaginary part of the country. Barcelona (2003, p. 46)

argued that metaphor is created because “the metonymically understood source structure is able to match the metonymically understood target structure”. In this way, the conceptual metaphor of NATION AS A BODY is plausible thanks to these two metonymies that underpin it. The source domain (BODY) is triggered by the word *bosom*, which is a part that stands for a whole. As for the target domain (NATION), it is a whole, but the real emphasis is on one of its parts, the bosom. Metonymic relations persist not only in the source domain and the target domain separately but also in the metaphor itself. It is made up of a blend combining a concrete part with an abstract whole. This blend is based on the “metonymic genesis” (Barcelona, 2003, p. 49) of the image schema evoked by the preposition *of*.

In one way, the bosom of a country is a fictive concept invented owing to metaphorical and metonymic projections. It can also be interpreted as a (re)categorization that a conceptual metaphor allows. Accordingly, language users employ metaphors to create new categories that (re)describe reality. In the words of CIT, new categories are generated in the form of an emergent blend. In the case of the bosom of the country, it is a hybrid concept, or “a hybrid conception, fictive in nature, combining selected features of each input space”, as Langacker (2008a, p. 51) put it. As a blend, it is created by virtue of a metaphorical relationship established by the preposition *of* and understood via elaboration rather than composition or completion, according to CIT. In the same vein, in the utterances based on the parts of the body, the metonymy BODY PART FOR AN ATTRIBUTE CONNECTED WITH ITS PHYSICAL FUNCTION has come to the fore (Barcelona, 2003, p. 37). When the conceptual domain of darkness is activated, Barcelona (2003, p. 40) argued that DARK FOR NEGATIVE STATES CAUSED BY DARK emerges as a relevant metonymy. Like other prepositions, the metaphorical *of* imposes its image-schematic constraints on the compatibility between the two

entities. Accordingly, it makes the relational interpretation of “the bosom of my country” more appropriate than the reductionist cross-mapping. The relationships conveyed by *of* are preserved during the conceptual mapping according to “the systematicity principle” (Gentner, 1983), and the Invariance Hypothesis (Turner, 1987).

To conclude this section, the prevalence of the preposition *of* has been noticed in both the literal and metaphorical senses throughout the corpus. Moreover, some metaphor-related prepositions include metonymies and metaphors. The preposition *of* makes an excellent example of how metaphor and metonymy merge in a conceptual mapping. Accordingly, a new notation for conceptual mapping has to be considered. The implications of the notation are discussed in greater depth in the following section.

5.2.2. Conceptual notation

A conceptual mapping of any metaphor usually involves two entities. We perceive one experiential domain in terms of the other. However, in metaphor-related prepositions, there are three entities instead of two. The entities are a source domain, a target domain, and a preposition. The present thesis defends the principle that the preposition in question should be included in any conceptual mapping. This principle is built on the assumption that the relationship between the two entities (source and target) is semantically affected by the preposition in question. In the first place, a preposition creates a new relationship between two entities in a metaphor. However, and more importantly, the preposition, through its image schema, constrains that relationship. Along the same lines, Nickels (2013, p. 126) suggested that metaphor-related prepositions be allotted the shorthand notation “Ap B” instead of A is B in order to emphasize the differences between a preposition-based mapping and a nominal two-domain mapping. Most metaphor research takes nouns as the default part of speech to be used in conceptual metaphors, and they,

therefore, generate “the form “An X is a Y”” (Gentner et al., 2001, p. 211). The tradition may be the outcome of the classic examples in the literature on metaphor, such as *Richard is a lion* and *Juliet is the sun*. The notation of A is B is perfect for nominal metaphors because mapping is primarily correspondence between attributes by which we perceive the attributes of Richard in terms of the attributes of a lion. However, mapping in prepositions-based metaphors is primarily correspondence between relationships. For example, in a statement like Jill is *in* poverty, we understand the situation in terms of the preposition *in* because it is the particle that relates Jill with poverty. The schematic structure of *in* constrains our understanding of Jill’s situation in terms of a typical person situated in a concrete location. In this way, there are two mental spaces. While the first space has a typical person in a concrete location, the second space comprises Jill in a socioeconomic state. In terms of conceptual integration networks, the first space has the organizing frame through the preposition *in* with its spatial configurations and its functions. In a Simplex network, the first space is applied to the second by which a conceptual mapping is formulated as follows: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A PERSON AND HIS/HER SOCIOECONOMIC STATE IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A PERSON AND HIS/HER CONCRETE LOCATION. As it stands, this conceptual metaphor may sound accurate and inclusive, but it is not concise and, thus, not easy to remember. What is required is a notation that neither reduces the mapping to the two semantic fields nor neglects the preposition and its schematic meaning. Metaphor-related prepositions necessitate a formula in which the preposition is as salient as in its original context.

Having considered the metaphorical *of*, it is also reasonable to look at the conceptual mapping of the metaphor-related prepositions in general. The next section describes the cross-domain mapping from another perspective.

5.2.3. System metaphors and inter-system mapping

The second observation concerns the pattern of conceptual mapping identified in the preposition-based metaphors in the corpus. The pattern consists of a tendency to describe a political system in terms of other systems. Presidents, therefore, “will be judged on their ability to articulate images and symbols around which creative responses from these interlocking networks can coalesce” (Dobuzinskis, 1992, p. 375). Inter-system mapping serves to coalesce both the principles and concepts of a political system with other systems and the inherent structure and relationships of these systems.

As political metaphors are about the political system, they are conceptualized in terms of another system, whether natural or human-made. Hence, the conceptual mapping of such metaphors can be labeled as “inter-system mapping”. Table 49 displays the major systems observed in the metaphors of *of*.

Table 49

Systems and Their Source Domains

Systems	Source domains
Biological system	Human body
Living Organism	Life cycles
	Psychology
	Diseases
	Communication
Social Organization	Family
	Community
Natural Order	Weather
	Water
	Light
	Darkness
	Agriculture
Urban organization	Roads
	Building
	Commerce
Other systems	Music
	Time
	Objects

Some of these systems are natural, mechanical, self-organizing, temporary, spontaneous, or chaotic. As a human-made system, it seems that politics is in constant need of recruiting concepts and features from these divergent systems to (re)establish frames and cope with emergent situations. For example, human anatomy is recruited whenever intrinsicness is needed. From a pragmatic perspective, intrinsicness is useful whenever presidents need to convey the similarity between, on the one hand, natural or human-made systems and the political system, on

the other. This analogy emphasizes the naturalness of the political system and adds weight to the rationality of its norms and values. In this way, political reasoning relies on metaphors to underscore an inherent analogy with biological and natural systems. At the same time, by highlighting the logical character of this analogy, the presidents' arguments sound like a *Logos* appeal. The political order becomes not only natural but also logical thanks to this analogy. The overall effect of intrinsicness "celebrates existing power relationships and makes them seem a normal and acceptable part of the natural order" (Gamson et al., 1992, p. 380). The naturalizing effect is enacted by prepositions which connect systems in metaphorical expressions. Concepts from human anatomy, natural phenomena, objects, and buildings are connected to high principles and policies' missions and objectives. An inter-system mapping evokes a political argument grounded on biological fatalism and naturalizing argument and urges the general public to accept the consequences of political order and abide by its rules.

Similarly, concepts from other systems, such as commercial transactions, roads, and travel, are used to advocate for policies and future plans. The rules of the market in the source domains related to commerce are efficient enough to generate logical metaphors capable of defining and evaluating political concepts and actions. However, these commerce-based metaphors give the impression that these concepts and acts are motivated by economic gain and regulated by the will of the market. Common concepts such as peace, freedom, and citizenship are represented as commodities that have, by default, prices.

Preposition-based metaphors blend the relational profile of the prepositions, their image schema, and the inherent structure and relationships of the systems. In the example *Jill is in poverty*, the preposition *in* relates between the two entities. Unlike nominal metaphors, such as *Richard is a lion*, where similarity is what relates the two entities, the image schema of

containment characterizes the relationship between Jill and poverty. The spatial system provides us with its inherent structure and relationships to understand a socioeconomic situation in terms of spatial configurations.

In general, the present thesis defends a broad conception of conceptual mapping in which the concepts are contextualized within their original systems. It is self-evident that metaphor is understanding one experience in terms of another, but these experiences belong to broad systems, and they carry their inherent properties to the conceptual mapping.

Diachronically speaking, natural systems were activated when it was necessary to legitimize the political system. Natural systems and their features of spontaneity, intrinsicness, and durability provide vital support for presidents facing fears of a central government, doubts about the nature of the new political system, and even the horrors of a civil war.

From another perspective, the modernist principles of order, objective truth, and linear progress reinforced the popularity of these systems as source domains for metaphors of the early inaugurations. According to this view, a society is “an organic whole” (Lyotard, 1984, p. 11), and so are the presidents’ metaphors, especially those expressed by the preposition *of*. They constitute a coherent “representation of reality, a mirror of nature” (Lakoff, 1987, p. 162). Political order is nothing more than a creation by a group of people to organize their communal life, but it seems that this human creation has gone beyond human control to lend itself to the rigid laws of nature and under the dominance of the natural, or rather the illusion of the natural, over the human. The postmodernist view of the “self-regulating system” (Lyotard, 1984, p. 12) activated other systems, such as commercial transactions and light and darkness, to highlight that society can readjust itself in case of any dysfunction. The social unrest of the Civil Rights Era necessitated metaphors that can enhance self-adjustment, confidence, and optimism.

Though metaphors drawn from other systems serve to simplify the complexities of a political system and achieve pragmatic functions, they have some risks. First, the inter-system mapping is likely to generate metaphors that reflect the president's construal than that of the political system itself. When a president describes the political system in terms of another system, this implies that he believes that the other system offers an accurate description and explanation of the issues at hand. In other words, the politician's description of a political situation is usually consistent with the inherent logic of the source system. For example, source domains underlying metaphors like "*rude hands*", "*arm of the government*" can generate metaphors of wars that legitimize the use of force and even transgress laws and human rights. Second, as long as politicians keep recruiting conceptual experiences from other systems than politics, politics remains an open system that can be affected by other systems. Some source domains are drawn from systems that are incompatible with politics in their character and key features, yet they still motivate a wide range of political metaphors. A cross-system mapping implies either that the political system is unable to establish its own identity and metaphors or that politicians are reluctant to disclose all the secrets of their system.

Finally, relying on another system as a constant source domain may create a recurrent correspondence between that system and politics. Any recurrent correspondence may create a platform for conventional metaphors, but "it creates a tendency to inertia", as Dobuzinskis (1992, p. 368) put it. Part of the metaphors found in the inaugurals demonstrates their resistance to change in spite of the ever-changing environments and ever-increasing innovations in communication. In other words, it is the inertia that fills the inaugurals with a stagnated inter-system mapping that resists the dynamics of the diachronic and, thus, confines the inaugurals to a particular system and prevents them from establishing their own norms. When it is necessary to

create new metaphors, the inaugurals shift to another system to recruit new source domains with the conviction that the new system offers a more accurate and more convincing representation of reality than the traditional system. By shifting to various systems looking for alternative source domains, metaphors may end up “in some kind of a quantum jump” from one system to another (Dobuzinskis, 1992, p. 368).

So far, this section has focused on the conceptual bases of the preposition-based metaphors with an emphasis on the blend between metaphor and metonymy. Having defined what is meant by inter-system mapping, the following section will discuss the coherence of metaphor-related prepositions with each other and with other types of metaphors.

5.3. Metaphors’ coherence

This section deals with how metaphor-related prepositions relate to each other and to other metaphors within the same text. Thus, it is divided into two parts. The first part examines how metaphor-related prepositions tend to occur with other prepositions, while the second part surveys how preposition-based metaphors mix with other types of metaphors.

It has been observed that metaphor-related prepositions appear with other prepositions of the same type, even in the same sentence. The co-occurrence of these prepositions is restricted by the two key factors. First, the scores of use frequency and metaphor patterns. As for the first factor, the preposition *of* forms the central metaphorical unit around which other prepositions appear in the same sentence. These prepositions provide complementary information to the meaning of the *of* construct. This pattern can be illustrated by the metaphor “*fire of freedom*”, for example, when it attracted two other metaphor-related prepositions (*in* and *of*) as in the following quote:

(296). “And as hope kindles hope, millions more will find it. By our efforts, we have lit a fire as well, a fire *in* the minds of men. It warms those who feel its power. It burns those who fight its progress. And one day this untamed fire *of* freedom will reach the darkest corners *of* our world [emphasis added]” (W. Bush, 2005).

The same pattern can be identified in the following quote, where three metaphor-related prepositions complement the main metaphorical expression, “*the will of the nation*”.

(297). “The will *of* the nation, speaking *with* the voice *of* battle and *through* the amended Constitution [emphasis added]” (Garfield, 1881).

The second factor that contributes to the formation of a cluster of metaphor-related prepositions is the metaphor pattern, and more precisely, the components of the conceptual identity and conceptual space. Entities defined by the preposition *of* are likely to be located and assigned a direction. This pattern implies that the metaphorical *of* tends to co-occur with *in* and *to* within coherent metaphorical scenes such as:

(298). “That element lies *in* the heart *of* humanity [emphasis added]” (Coolidge, 1925).

(299). “If we do not turn the hearts *of* children *toward* knowledge and character, we will lose their gifts and undermine their idealism [emphasis added]” (W. Bush, 2001).

The most recurrent example of a coherent metaphor cluster is the FROM -TO construct that evokes progress. Examples include quotes of this sort:

(300). “their rapid progress *from* infancy *to* manhood [emphasis added]” (Harrison, 1841).

(301). “How far have we come in man’s long pilgrimage *from* darkness *toward* the light? [emphasis added]” (Eisenhower, 1953).

This construct will be analyzed in detail in Section 5.4.2.3. devoted to extent as a component of a conceptual space. Furthermore, another coherent cluster of metaphor-related prepositions was used by President Bush. It includes three prepositions, namely *toward*, *through*, and *to*, and it appeared in the same order in two adjacent sentences, which makes a perfect illustration of metaphor coherence, parallelism, and the “consistency effect” (Gentner et al., 2001, p. 215).

(302). “Great nations of the world are moving *toward* democracy *through* the door *to* freedom. Men and women of the world move *toward* free markets *through* the door *to* prosperity [emphasis added]” (Bush, 1989).

In general, metaphor-related prepositions mix well with one another. A well-crafted blend of such prepositions usually gives birth to memorable quotes. For example, President Lincoln mixed *of*, *by*, and *for* to describe the relationships between government and the people. This cluster inspired other presidents to use the same three prepositions and create their own clusters.

(303). “that government by an elite group is superior to government *for*, *by*, and *of* the people [emphasis added]” (Reagan 1981).

(304). “They gave to us a republic, a government *of* and *by* and *for* the people, entrusting each generation to keep safe our founding creed [emphasis added]” (Obama, 2013).

As for the second type of coherence, metaphor-related prepositions seem to be consistent with other research that found nearly the same source domains for metaphors expressed by other

parts of speech. The findings partially agree with Charteris-Black's results, as presented in Table 3. The metaphor-related prepositions share all the seven source domains identified by Charteris-Black (2004a). They are ordered by their use frequency as follows: conflicts, journeys, buildings, fire and light, physical environment, religion, and body parts. However, there is a disagreement between this thesis and the findings of Charteris-Black (2004a) in terms of use frequency. In the former, parts of the body are one of the most frequent source domains, but it occupies the last ranking in Charteris-Black (2004a). Conflict, the first source domain in Charteris-Black's list, is not among the frequent concept in this thesis. Instead, conflict is expressed by the preposition *against*, which appeared only 114 times in the entire corpus.

Though there is a difference only in the use frequency of the source domains, metaphor-related prepositions do not include the prepositions *up* and *down*. The low frequency of these two prepositions constitutes an unexpected finding because literature abounds with assertive claims about the centrality of these prepositions in any discourse on social or political hierarchy. National cohesion is far more important than propagating hierarchy, at least according to President D. Roosevelt. Nobody is stigmatized for moving up or down.

(305). "But in our seeking for economic and political progress as a nation, we all go up, or else we all go down, as one people" (D. Roosevelt, 1937).

Similarly, President Clinton was openly critical of these divisive stratifications.

(306). "Powerful people maneuver for position and worry endlessly about who is in and who is out, who is up and who is down" (Clinton, 1993).

It is interesting to note that *up* and *down* in these quotes are used as adverbs and not as prepositions. Apart from these quotes, metaphors like HIGH STATUS IS UP and LOW STATUS IS DOWN have not been observed throughout the corpus. In addition, *up* and *down*

belong to the marginalized set as *up* was used 66 times while *down* appeared only 26 times. In these occurrences, *up* and *down* are used more as adverbs than as prepositions. Similarly, prepositions of verticality do not show any significant frequency. This finding does not support three of the five image schemas in Chilton's list. In addition to up-down, front-back, up-down, and center-periphery image schemas are not among the priorities of the American presidents. A likely explanation is that the overall tendency is to promote a unifying discourse and avoid stigmatization and segregation.

It has been shown that metaphor-related prepositions mix well with each other even in a single sentence, and they also mix well with metaphors expressed by other parts of speech. In terms of image schemas, the coherence of metaphors and metonymies could be attributed to the "schematic integrations", as stated by Mandler & Cánovas (2014, p. 528). The overall effect is that of coherence rather than a "clash of metaphorical imagery" (Kimmel, 2010, p. 97) in spite of a slight difference in use frequency. Additionally, the fact that the inaugurals can be considered a planned discourse contributes to metaphor coherence (Shen & Balaban, 1999).

Furthermore, the findings also reveal coherent representations of political life with its complex entities and relationships. The present thesis suggests a tentative cognitive model that infers mental representations shared by presidents and their people. These features answer the fourth research question on the cognitive models and means of representation, and they are the content of the next section.

5.4. Toward a cognitive model

The metaphors scattered throughout the 58 inaugurals tell the story of the American nation in 58 different yet coherent versions. It is a grand story, or a metanarrative, built on the assumption that "metaphors are vehicle of thought", as Murphy (1996, p. 178) put it. This

section discusses the fourth research question of the thesis concerning the cognitive function of metaphor-related prepositions. In this regard, the main finding, albeit a preliminary one, suggests that the seemingly unrelated metaphorical senses of the prepositions can suggest a coherent cognitive model in which the metaphor-related prepositions provide a coherent structure for the unstructured world of politics. These metaphors, as “conventionalized systems of reasoning” (Gentner et al., 2001, p. 241), reveal a shared representation and establish a pattern of understanding and reasoning about abstract concepts in politics. Evans & Green (2006, p. 48) affirmed that “the very purpose of our perceptual and cognitive mechanisms is to provide a representation of this reality”. Presidents communicate their representations to their audience through a coherent model of metaphors that reflect and affect how political thoughts and contemporary issues are conceptualized.

The tentative model describes how the metaphor-related prepositions are systematically used to conceptualize political abstract entities and issues in two major areas: conceptual identity and conceptual space. In the first area, prepositions provide details that specify the identity of political concepts. In other words, prepositions express “qualification by means of relations” (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 157), and they, therefore, distinguish a particular referent from other referents. The second area in which political concepts can be perceived is by localizing them in a conceptual space within three distinct frames of reference, namely location, direction, and extent.

In the sections that follow, each area will be described in terms of its constituent prepositions and how their conceptual domains are triggered in coherence with the main theme of their respective area. Along the way, diachronic variations will be highlighted.

Before examining both areas in more detail, it is essential to know which prepositions are included in each area. The conceptual identity involves prepositions such as *of*, *with*, *like*, *as*, *for*, and *by* while the conceptual space includes *in*, *into*, *from*, *to*, *on*, *at*, *off*, *toward*, and *towards*.

5.4.1. The conceptual identity

The quest for identity has always been present in epideictic addresses through celebrating common values that define a nation and distinguish it from other nations. Campbell & Jamieson (1985, p. 396) affirmed that the inaugurals, as a genre, aspire to convey an “epideictic timelessness” in which the features of the nation’s identity are re-affirmed through “illustrations of political philosophy” (Campbell & Jamieson, 1985, p. 400). To express this philosophy, metaphors are needed to reduce the complexity of defining and describing its abstract concepts. The relational profile of the English prepositions serves to create and communicate a conceptual image of political concepts such as the state, including its theoretical foundations, presidential power, and the exercise of political authority over the people.

Of may be considered the typical preposition that stands for conceptual identity. In its metaphorical senses, *of* identifies the conceptual identity of almost all the abstract concepts of politics, as construed by presidents. It allows us to understand and reason about a whole via its salient part. Merle (2017, p. 9) argued that a trajector receives “characterization, qualification, modification or complementation” from the landmark. The preposition *of* takes advantage of its PART-WHOLE image schema and its metonymic structure to define and characterize the identity of the concept at hand. The nature of relationships between a concrete part and its whole emphasizes the intrinsic integration between them. In its metaphorical usages, this intrinsic relationship is both preserved and emphasized. “The preposition *of* profiles a relationship characterized schematically as holding intrinsically between its trajector and landmark”

(Langacker, 2008a, p. 431). Accordingly, a salient attribute is created and emphasized to act as a defining and restrictive referential factor (Merle, 2017, p. 5). From the perspective of the PART-WHOLE image schema, one specific part is made so salient and distinctive that it becomes able to define and refer to the whole. This view is consistent with Langacker's claim of "the unitization of a mass" (Langacker, 2008a, p. 342). According to this view, abstract concepts such as values, principles, and goals are conceptualized as masses that can be divided into units. The preposition *of* makes one unit salient to generate a conceptual identity of the mass. The "coextensive" nature of the preposition *of* allows both the trajector (the unit) and the landmark (the mass) to share the same conceptualization (Langacker, 2008a, p. 342). The path of justice, for example, is the same as justice, yet the metaphorical *of* still refers to both.

In its conceptualization of the identity of political concepts, the preposition *of* relies on many source domains such as the parts of the body, living organisms, family, education, light/darkness, building, acoustics, commerce, objects, and other miscellaneous domains.

To start with body parts, a conceptual identity is defined through metaphors based on the parts of the body. What is more interesting is the preference of some parts of the body over others. For example, "*arm*" was used only once while "*heart*" appeared 17 times. There are several possible explanations for this uneven usage. It may be that *arm* is associated with force, and it, therefore, conveys negative connotations incompatible with the image of presidents in civil society while heart-related metaphors are more compatible. The "*heart*", as the traditional locus of emotions and knowledge, has retained its saliency throughout the history of the inaugurals. Besides, American presidents may have preferred to portray their military achievements in softer terms for fear of arousing the doubts of the opponents of the federal government. Doubts about a strong central government constitute one of the tenets of the

American political culture. Above all, the image of the president is as important and sensitive as that of the state. This finding is in agreement with Kane & Patapan (2010, p. 371), who argued that the democratic rhetoric aims to “convey and persuade, not command and overawe”.

As for the “hand”, it was used 16 times. Its saliency is likely to reside in its function of control and possession. More specifically, it could be argued that presidents often need to remind in whose hands (political) power rests.

In addition to political concepts and high principles, the corpus also reveals that the metaphorical *of* was used to define the identity of God in terms of human organs. Body parts such as the hand and the eyes were recruited to transfer their biological functions into the attributes of God. In accordance with this finding, Roche (2015, p. 75) demonstrated that most American presidents have “incorporated elements of God’s nature” in their inaugural addresses.

Likewise, the features of a living organism contribute to the definition of conceptual identity. The mapping between a nation and a human being is explained in its biological, mental, and spiritual levels. The human life cycle, the prime years, health, and life itself, are all mapped on the stages of the nation’s growth. President D. Roosevelt, for example, started his 1941 address with a definition of the nation by virtue of its relationship to its life cycles. This definition was entirely based on the analogy between a human being and a nation. The inferences of this metaphor revolve around its vulnerability. As humans are prone to diseases, negative emotions, and low states of mind, presidents are likely to warn of similar threats to the psychological well-being of the nation.

(307). “nor until this last appeal could no longer be delayed without breaking down the spirit of the nation, destroying all **confidence** in itself [emphasis added]”
(Madison, 1813).

More than two centuries later, President Trump replicated Madison's warning, but in his way. In short, the damage had already been done.

(308). "We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and **confidence** of our country has dissipated over the horizon [emphasis added]" (Trump, 2017).

Family, as a source domain, has usually been activated to characterize the concept of a nation. By highlighting their nation's conceptual identity in terms of a family, presidents are more likely to be concerned with the unity and cohesion of their country. This view is consistent with Lakoff (2008, p. 76), who affirmed that "family values are absolutely central to American politics". These values provide a semantic field from which they recruit concepts of unity and harmony to reinforce conformity and enforce our sense of moral responsibility towards our country as we do towards our families and siblings. The family-based identity is demonstrated by the recurrent use of the phrase "father of *our* country". Conceiving a president as the father of his nation is not unusual in the Western political culture. The father's concept can also be traced back to the Scriptures and the Holy Father figure. Trim (2018b, p. 5) explained that the French monarchy, before the French Revolution, used to refer to the king as the father of his subjects.

Another family-related term is *family* itself. It is used mainly to define the identity of the international community in terms of the "family of nations". As family ties bind its members, the international community cherishes similar bonds.

In addition to the family, the domain of education is used to enhance the image of presidents. The metaphors are expressed owing to three entities, namely *lesson*, *admonition*, and *book*. Lessons and admonitions are typically given by teachers or wise people, whereas a book is the author's work. These education-related entities are used with the preposition *of* to convey an intrinsic relationship between authors and their lessons. The choice of abstract teachers and

authors vary across the history of the inaugurals, but they all share the glorification of experience and history, as well as the propagation of the image of a president as a devout learner.

Besides, light and darkness are used as defining features of specific identities. “The positive/negative attributes have been adapted to social/cultural aspects of the period” (Trim, 2011, p. 141). The metaphors of light and darkness are associated with the glorification of democratic ideals and the condemnation of undemocratic regimes. The ideals are conceived as enlightening, whereas the regimes are portrayed as dark. In addition to the term *light* itself, other specific sources of light were made salient. *Fire* was highlighted as the defining feature of freedom. President Washington’s original phrase “*fire of liberty*” was cited by subsequent presidents whenever it was vital to rekindle the national spirit.

Furthermore, the conceptual identity is profiled by means of metaphors drawn from buildings and construction. It is not surprising that *pillar* and *foundation* are the most salient parts because they convey reliable support. The metaphorical *of* serves to emphasize that a sound foundation is an integral part of the conceptual identity of the nation.

In addition to buildings, a conceptual identity is profiled from the domain of acoustics. Based on our shared knowledge of sounds and music, the preposition *of* permits “mapping is via the sense of hearing” (Trim, 2011, p. 13). Auditory constituents are conceptualized as integral parts of abstract entities. *Chorus*, *song*, *din voice*, *call*, and *music* are some of the main trajectors, and their landmarks are conceptualized as entities that produce these sounds. They range from the (human) voice, the (official) call, the (musical) sound, and the (loud) noise. From the perspective of trajectors, they range from the nation (and its various names such as country, union), people, industry, ideals, government, and experience. Different auditory constituents relate to their respective wholes. *Din*, for example, is a defining feature of noise-producing

entities, such as parties and lobbyists, while the chorus is an integral part of an opera-like nation. As for *voice, call, and echo*, they are conceptualized as defining features of living organisms. In general, voice integrates nature and law, as explained by Rousseau via the emotion of natural compassion (*la pitié naturelle*), which “in a state of nature supplies the place of laws, morals, and virtues, with the advantage that none are tempted to disobey its gentle voice” (as cited in (Derrida, 1997, p. 173)). Early American presidents usually portray themselves in a natural relationship with their country, listening to its gentle voice and obeying its calls.

Value is one of the most key features of a conceptual identity of various entities. The metaphorical *of* highlights components such as price, cost, and value as intrinsic parts of certain abstract concepts such as peace and liberty. These principles are highly cherished in American culture and provide a basis for the “VALUABLE COMMODITY metaphor”, as Kövecses (2000, p. 106) explained.

Weight, as a specific feature, is attributed to abstract entities by means of the preposition *of*. This definition usually carries an evaluation load. The “*weight of his character*”, referring to the first president, is undoubtedly a positive portrayal of the president’s character and identity. Furthermore, taxation, defined in terms of its “*burden*”, evokes unbearable weight and physical pressure.

Moreover, a conceptual identity has been structured by natural phenomena including four natural source domains, namely *weather, landscape, water, and plants*. The trajectors can be categorized according to their motion. Winds and tempests, tides, and ebbs highlight the identity of unstable landmarks to convey “an inexorable, nature-like fact” (Martin, 2015, p. 31). For example, political change is conceptualized as winds and tempests, and justice is understood in terms of tides and ebbs. This conceptual mapping assumes that political situations and opinions,

despite their inconsistency and vagueness, are no more than the ordinary changes of nature, whether it is the weather, water, or landscape. This reasoning, which is based on the universal facts of nature, supports Cheng (2009, p. 151), who found out that “Natural Forces Metaphors” is one of the most frequent metaphors in Chinese political discourse.

Having considered the preposition *of*, it is also reasonable to study how other prepositions contribute to the characterization of abstract entities in the corpus. *From*, for example, profiles the ingredient(s) of a trajector. In this way, a trajector and its landmark are related as a “product + ingredient” (Lindstromberg, 2010, p. 217) or as a product + source or as an outcome + cause. In its different versions, the metaphorical *from* treats a landmark as “raw material” (Lindstromberg, 2010, p. 251) and, therefore, as a salient part that constitute the whole, the trajector. It usually appears in SPRING / DERIVE / ARISE -FROM construction to highlight the landmark as a source, as in the following quote:

(309). “happiness springs from a perfect equality of political rights” (Van Buren, 1837).

Various similar abstract concepts are defined in terms of their sources, such as *national pride*, *confidence*, and *faith*. These concepts are all related to the country’s political identity, which explains why the presidents recruit them in their metaphors.

Likewise, the metaphorical *with* contributes to the conceptual image of the country and other abstract entities. This preposition relates a trajector and a landmark “as elements of an overall ensemble”, as explained by Lindstromberg (2010, p. 214). This ensemble bears resemblances to the intrinsic composition of the entities related by the preposition *of*. However, the *with* ensemble specifies its parts in terms of their nature and functions. These parts include devices, materials, attributes, and ingredients.

The metaphorical *for* contributes to the construal of the conceptual identity in three ways. First, *for* is “almost always much more about intention rather than movement” (Lindstromberg, 2010, p. 226). Intentions in politics are more likely to be tracked in the vision and goals of any political action. The inaugurals are the perfect opportunity to connect these intentions with the state’s identity, the president’s policy, and the president himself. Second, this preposition “promotes the consequence” (Lindstromberg, 2010, p. 228), which explains its utility in constructing an image of practical policy developed by an efficient planner and praised for its positive outcomes. The third and last way is that the landmark of the metaphorical *for* is usually considered as a beneficiary. The famous quote of President Kennedy rearranges the order of benefactor and beneficiary and thus introduces completely new conceptual identities of the country and the people.

Conceptual identities defined by the metaphor-related prepositions include various legal, moral, social, and political concepts. Defining the identity of these concepts is what makes the presidents in charge of teaching their people the conceptual identity of their state and the shared political concepts. In this way, an inaugural address turns out to be “a responsible form of civic education”, as described by Broughton (2009, p. 275). Accordingly, presidents assume the role of teachers of their nation. Metaphor-related prepositions, like other tools of imagination, have become teaching tools thanks to their capacity to redescribe, reweave the fabric of the common beliefs, and serve as a tool for change and progress (Rorty, 1991, p. 18).

Having explained what is meant by a conceptual identity and how metaphor-related prepositions are used in such conceptualizations, the next section discusses the second area, which is the conceptual space.

5.4.2. The conceptual space

What follows is an account of how metaphor-related prepositions characterize abstract entities by locating them in a conceptual space. These entities can be in both static and dynamic states, but they vary in their conceptual mappings and diachronic saliency. If we take the concept of the country as a sample entity, the conceptual space answers three questions: (1) Where is the country?; (2) where is it heading?; and (3) how far has it progressed? The answers to these questions inform us about the location, direction, and extent of any abstract entity. These same answers reveal that the schematic relations of prepositions play a significant role in (re)producing a politicized space via metaphor and metonymy (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 118). A more detailed account of these three representations (direction, location, and extent) is provided in the following subsections.

5.4.2.1. Location

Within the conceptual space, location is essential, and this explains the occurrences of metaphors in which various social and political entities are located relative to their respective landmarks. This type of relationship is highly interesting in terms of the choice of both the trajector and the landmark. The most important deduction is that the entities, which are located, are generally valued and evaluated. As for the landmarks, the locative prepositions transform abstract entities into locations. In other words, these abstract entities, which are originally not physical locations, are turned into locations via the schematic relations of the prepositions that precede them. This mapping between locations and states applies to body parts. They are conceptualized as concrete locations. For example, the phrase *in hands* is used to refer to the possessor of power in the political system with an emphasis on the location of that power. As a

metonymy, hands stand for holding power and locate it in the whole, which is the people. As a landmark, hands act as a relative reference frame according to which power is located.

The term *hands* is highlighted to refer to an abstract location, but each location invokes specific axiological values. When conceptualized as a location, *hands* may function as a container giving rise to conceptual metaphors such as POSSESSION IS HOLDING SOMETHING IN THE HAND and HOLDING IN THE HAND IS CONTROL (Ahn & Kwon, 2007, pp. 201–206). *Hands* metonymically stand for both the whole body of the holder of power and to the connotations of possession and control. One of these connotations is the accountability for that power. Thus, who occupies the location is accountable for its outcomes, and as long as the location of power is your hands, its exercise is under your responsibility. President Kennedy’s use of the phrase “*in your hands*” demonstrates how a conceptual space is manipulated and how it is associated with value judgments.

(310). “In your hands, my fellow citizens, more than mine, will rest the final success or failure of our course” (Kennedy, 1961).

By shifting the location from the hands of the president to the hands of the people, President Kennedy seems confident that the game of hands will go unnoticed. In a political system built on the caution of excessive power in one branch of government, presidents are more likely to assert that the ultimate power is located in the hands of the people. These metaphoric hands serve as a reminder of the original location of power.

In addition to “*the hands of the people*”, the phrase “*the hands of God’s*” is used to remind the audience of the chain of locations and control, particularly in the last few sentences of most addresses. In politics, it is the human hands that compete for possession and control, while, away from politics, the hands of the Almighty God have the ultimate control.

Another location conceptualized in body parts is the human heart. Similarly, as a relative reference frame, various entities are located somewhere inside the frame of the heart. The heart-related metaphors found in the Inaugural Corpus do not include happiness, sadness, fear, and anger. Instead, the heart is conceptualized as the site of intellect and understanding, evoking THE HEART AS THE SEAT OF VALUES OF MORALITY AND SPIRITUALITY, ONE'S REAL SELF metaphor, as Swan (2009, p. 466) put it. Location is expressed in various forms of heart ranging from the broad "*human heart*", "*our hearts*" to "*his heart*". The unique reference to the president's own heart was made in 1909 and coincided with the emotion of sympathy. Taken together, these metaphorical landmarks can be grouped under the heading of the NATIONAL HEART. This new appellation is coined after "*emotional heart*" and "*moral heart*" (Swan, 2009, pp. 469–471). In short, the NATIONAL HEART is the locus of the shared principles or, more precisely, the knowledge shared by presidents and their people, as President Reagan put it:

(311). "In our hearts, we know what matters" (Reagan, 1981).

The relationship between the national heart and the shared values accords with Campbell & Jamieson (1985, p. 396), who asserted that the inaugurals rehearse "timeless principles" which are to be preserved in a special location: the national heart.

In addition to body parts, darkness was conceptualized as a location in the 1937 address.

(312). "seeking Divine guidance to help us each and every one to give light to them that sit in darkness" (1937).

Herriot (2008, p. 65) explained that this figurative location is linked to its original text, the Bible, precisely Psalm 107. A possible explanation for biblical references is that politicians often resort to a well-established source to manufacture powerful and useful metaphors, especially during socioeconomic, military, and political hardships. As a location, the

metaphorical darkness highlights how unpleasant the current location is and urges the location holders to relocate to a better location.

A metaphorical location, in general, has a boundary and an entrance, which are two of the essential spatial features of any physical space. The landmarks found in the corpus are bounded and “enterable” (Lindstromberg, 2010, p. 31). It seems that the preposition *in* reinforces the boundedness while *into* supports entrance. The most frequent verb that precedes *in* is *live*, which evokes trajectors enclosed by emotional, socioeconomic conditions, and political circumstances. Interestingly, each location seems to correlate to a specific trajector. Political circumstances, as locations, are reserved for other countries, especially whose political systems are different from that of the U.S. When emotions are conceptualized as abstract locations, they are mainly related to political systems. While positive emotions are the outcome of the American democratic principles and policies, negative emotions refer to undemocratic regimes and unpopular policies. For example, “*in hopelessness*” is related to “*tyranny*”, and “*in fear*” is linked to undemocratic governments. In contrast, positive emotions like “*in harmony*” and “*in dignity*” are conceptualized as positive locations. The latter is reserved for praising the federal system and, in particular, the relationship between the member states and the federal government. Furthermore, socioeconomic conditions, for example, are stigmatized for particular social groups inside the U.S. These conditions are characterized by poverty and portrayed as locations that confine their inhabitants. Social categorization and space are interconnected in such a way that space is organized according to social hierarchy. The in-group vs. out-group were characterized by the spaces they occupy, and their identities are constructed via spatial prepositions. These prepositions name a relationship between groups and spaces in a way that each space defines the group, and the characteristics of that space are projected onto the group. The entrenchment of

such relationships would eventually allow for an easy justification of social and economic hierarchy through the naturalization of out-spaces for out-groups. It would also reinforce the stigmatization of these groups by downgrading their locations. The focus on mothers and children may be contextualized in the postmodern paradigm in which marginalized and voiceless groups are awarded more privileges than in the modernist model of metaphor. By highlighting these localized and modest stories, truths and values tend to be socially constructed. The stories of these groups, or their micronarratives, are highlighted to “challenge hegemonic values” (B. C. Taylor, 2005, p. 118).

Location is also conveyed by other prepositions than *in* and *into*. For example, the preposition *at* is used in the representation of conceptual locations via *peace* and *war* as landmarks. These two notions are metonymies that refer to their socioeconomic contexts and *at* highlight the proximity of the trajectors with these two events.

Furthermore, *at* combines certain trajectors with their prices in a single mental space. The prices, as landmarks, coincide with their trajectors, and this coincidence highlights the value of the latter. *At* serves to equate both entities and visualize them in a single mental space. The same process of conceptual integration applies to the rest of the source domains.

Another set of locations is expressed by the metaphorical *on*. This location is semantically strengthened by the SUPPORT image schema. The metaphors of *on* share the pattern of landmarks acting as locations and, at the same time, foundations to their trajectors. In other words, the interplay of location and support serves to locate trajectors and, at the same time, to highlight the role of their landmarks as supporting foundations. The SUPPORT image schema is useful during low-spirited times. In the post-depression period, President D. Roosevelt

used the metaphorical *on* to conceptualize his policy as a new building while stressing its vertical direction.

(313). “By using the new materials of social justice, we have undertaken to erect on the old foundations a more enduring structure for the better use of future generations” (D. Roosevelt, 1937).

The statement brings the supporting surface of the landmark to the fore by means of the preposition *on*, lexical items from the building domain, the verticality image schema, and the positive evaluation of the comparative forms. In short, conceptual location is not merely a mirror of spatial localization but also an added value generated by the function of support on which the existence of the trajectors rests.

Most of the metaphors of *on* are within the framework of “THE ASYMMETRICAL DEPENDENCE OF SOME PARTS ON OTHERS IS PHYSICAL SUPPORT” metaphor (J. E. Grady, 1997, p. 49). This finding is supported by Ferrando (1999, p. 153), who conducted a focused study on the metaphorical *on* and in which he formulated the conceptual metaphor of the “MAIN COMPONENT IS SUPPORT OF THE WHOLE” to describe the same relationship. The component is the landmark, while the whole is the trajector. Ferrando (1999, p. 147) affirmed that “a single linguistic unit like ON may express a conceptualization based on the contact schema in the physical domain”. In the inaugurals, most of the landmarks are shared moral values and political principles and they add prominence and credibility to their trajectors. These metaphors derive their positive weight from both the supposedly solid foundations and the assumed verticality of the whole structure. From a diachronic perspective, these landmarks have remained unchanged as presidents kept referring to the same set of ideals.

5.4.2.2.Direction

Within the frame of conceptual space, some metaphor-related prepositions are used primarily to inform about the direction of abstract entities, especially the nation. The high frequency of such metaphors can be explained by the fact that “people simulate motion even when motion is metaphorical” (Matlock, 2012, p. 482). Furthermore, it seems that American presidents are not only aware of this tendency, but they seem to master a good sense of direction, and they, therefore, consider giving directions to their people as their core and sacred duty. The following quote explicitly describes the president’s moral duty.

(314). “I assume the solemn obligation of leading the American people forward along the road over which they have chosen to advance” (D. Roosevelt, 1937).

The frequent use of prepositions to evoke conceptual direction is reinforced by the modernist theory that postulates a natural telos toward which human acts inevitably move. Dirven & Verspoor (2004, p. 83) studied these purposeful acts within “the moving schema”.

To emphasize the purposiveness of their plans, presidents systematically employ prepositions denoting directions. It is not surprising that a set of dynamic and directional prepositions such as *to*, *toward*, *for*, and *into* are used in their metaphorical senses to promote the purpose(s) presidents intend to achieve. These prepositions reflect “a cognitive bias toward dynamism”, according to Talmy (2000a, p. 171).

These prepositions relate policies with their goals in such a way that political agendas are conceptualized in terms of trajectors moving in the direction of goals. In practical terms, politicians take advantage of some metaphor-related prepositions to blend a prolonged cognitive state stretching from the current state to a better one in the future. Recurring goals include democracy, peace, prosperity, and freedom. Not only does conceptual direction highlight goals,

but it also invokes notions of improvement and hope. Metaphors of GOAL are, therefore, more likely to sustain a mood of hope by reinforcing the impression that the president is leading the country towards a better future.

By combining hope with paths leading to goals, metaphor-related prepositions blend goals with positive motion verbs and emotion-related words. In this way, the conceptual direction is in line with the coherent blend elaborated by Ungerer & Schmid (2006, p. 224). Their blend consists of (1) the goal offers “an inferential conceptualization of the entire path”; (2) it is the future that counts; (3) there is hope; and (4) somebody is moving, of his own volition, towards the goal.

Although metaphor-related prepositions are based on the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema, not all these components are equally significant. “We are generally more concerned with the goal of a motion event than with its source” (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 311). The metaphors extracted from the corpus show that the SOURCE and PATH are not as frequent as the GOAL. Dirven & Verspoor (2004, p. 85) explained this asymmetry through “the goal-over-source principle”. This principle is in accordance with “the goal bias principle” that promotes prepositions of goal over those of the source and or the path (Stefanowitsch & Rohde, 2004; Stefanowitsch, 2018).

The goal bias hypothesis had different manifestations in the corpus. The most frequent is a direction to heights and a higher standard. It is not surprising that presidents would opt for such an inspiring direction. The vertical direction has always been metaphorically associated with high status and well-being. These goals kept appearing in reaction to temporary events such as the years of economic depression and the two World Wars.

Setting goals has been an essential part of the representations of the nation. As early as 1801, President Jefferson set three fundamental goals in terms of destinations and a metaphorical road leading to them. This scene of a conceptual direction is based on the preposition *to*.

(315). “let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety” (Jefferson, 1801).

President Jefferson enacts the role of the president/planner, which is a central concept in the modernist model of metaphor. Presidents may portray themselves as rational and efficient policy planners who can offer “guidance or steering for the purpose of achieving intended conditions or reaching a desired goal”, as Dobuzinskis (1992, p. 357) put it.

Conceptual direction persisted even in modern addresses. From a metamodernist perspective, politicians need to set goals even if they know they can never be fulfilled. The metamodernist theory may explain why metaphors alleviate the burden of responsibility when politicians fail to achieve these goals and fulfill their promises. It seems that politicians are aware that “people are not really going toward a natural but unknown goal, but they pretend they do so that they progress morally as well as politically”, as Vermeulen & Van den Akker (2010, p. 5) reformulated Kant’s negative idealism.

5.4.2.3.Extent

As part of the conceptual space, extent combines location and direction, but it emphasizes the amount of progress achieved. It is mainly evoked by the *FROM-TO*-construction and viewed from a “maximal scope” (Langacker, 2008a, pp. 63–65). In other words, the entire frame is portrayed, and not just a part of it.

Following this type of frame, two main source domains, namely the life cycle and that of day and night, are recruited to communicate the metaphors of extent. The inherent natural

evolution of these two cycles is activated to structure the advancement of political and social actions. The metaphorical *FROM-TO*-construction profiles political and social progress in terms of either growth from infancy to manhood or natural evolution from darkness to light.

Prominence is placed on the amount of progress by juxtaposing the initial stage with the current one in such a way that progress becomes salient.

Linguistic metaphors that contain notions of light and darkness are often associated with the GOODNESS AS LIGHT and EVIL AS DARKNESS metaphors. However, the meanings of the prepositions involved in such metaphors give rise to a different conceptual mapping. The notion of extent must be highlighted to generate a more accurate conceptual metaphor. To conceptualize extent, several mental spaces are to be integrated, as advocated by CIT (Fauconnier, 2009). There are certainly more than two spaces and more than a cross-domain mapping. It is a process of gradual transformation that ends up with an achieved progress, as advocated by President Nixon:

(316). “We have endured a long night of the American spirit. But as our eyes catch the dimness of the first rays of dawn, let us not curse the remaining dark. Let us gather the light” (Nixon, 1969).

In addition to the prepositions *from* and *to*, the preposition *off* is also used in metaphors of extent. It evokes “separation from (the surface of) a supporting Landmark”, according to Lindstromberg (2010, p. 55). This meaning is exploited to celebrate separation as an initial stage of progress. The extent of progress becomes more marked with landmarks such as poverty, earlier losses, and history. Progress is evoked through moving from poverty to well-being or from the past to the present. In terms of their source domains, they are presented as a release from control, liberation from confinement, and forceful freedom from imprisonment.

Extent is also expressed by the preposition *into*, especially when it appeared in a *motion verb-into* construction. Though the initial stage is absent, it is still implied, and the extent of the progress is emphasized.

Thus far, the thesis has suggested a tentative cognitive model in which political entities and concepts are characterized in terms of their conceptual identity and space (direction, location, and extent). Identity has prevailed over the rest of the components, as demonstrated by the exceptionally high frequency of the preposition *of*. This may be explained by the tendency of avoiding precision included in location, direction, and extent, and the inherent commitment of such configurations.

This tentative model accords with Joronen (2016, p. 97), who asserts that ontology “takes place topologically, i.e. it is place-bound”. In one way, this tentative model represents the main ontological questions: What are our main concepts? Where are we heading? What is the purpose of our actions? and How far and how well have we progressed? These questions are in line with the main discursive strategies: “nomination” and “predication”, as advocated by the Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). These two strategies correspond to conceptual identity and conceptual space. This model is also consistent with the findings of Chilton (2004, pp. 201–205), who specifies that “spatial metaphors make concepts of the group and identity available”. However, this model differs from Chilton’s in its constituent prepositions. While Chilton’s model is limited to spatial prepositions, this thesis proves that the preposition *of* is exceptionally significant in both use frequency and metaphorical usages. Likewise, this model seems to be closely linked with Langacker’s view of a trajector as “the entity construed as being located, evaluated or described” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 81). According to this view, political entities are subject to these three processes: being located, evaluated, and described. Localization

refers to the role of metaphor-related prepositions to localize abstract entities in an abstract space, while description refers to their role in defining these same abstract entities. Evaluation refers to their role in judging these identities in both localization and definition.

So far, this section has outlined the tentative cognitive model and its components. The following section will discuss the patterns of diachronic variations.

5.5. Patterns of diachronic variations

The fifth and final remark is about the “historical corpus data” as a rich context for detecting metaphor variations patterns (Zhang et al., 2015, p. 291). The most significant remark is that metaphor-related prepositions oscillate between stability and change. “The inaugural must ensure continuity, but must also promise change” (Hinckley, 1990, p. 22). Likewise, Mieder (2001, p. 169) affirmed that the inaugural addresses “are meant to be timely and timeless”. Sections 4.4.1. and 4.4.2. have shown how source and target domains have kept reappearing and, at the same time, some new ones emerged at certain times and then disappeared. The most likely explanation is that there are factors of stability and change that affect the behavior of the conceptual mapping of the prepositions in question. It is worth reminding that these “factors are not causes” (Rastier, 1999, p. 112) of stability or change. Instead, they are analytical tools for describing the general tendencies and explaining how they have affected the diachronic evolution of the metaphors in question. These factors will be further analyzed in the sections that follow.

5.5.1. Factors of diachronic stability

Long-term patterns are shaped by the following five stabilizing factors. The first stabilizing factor is related to prepositions themselves. As a closed group, there is little or no chance of coining new prepositions. Instead, the same set of prepositions is constantly and continuously used. Trim (2011, p. 35) argues that “the different structures in a language can have

a certain amount of influence, albeit limited, on conceptual mapping”. Though its limited impact, this factor stabilizes the conceptual mapping of metaphor-related prepositions.

The second factor that contributes to the stability of metaphorical patterns is the semantics of the prepositions. Most of the prepositions’ meanings have not undergone any significant changes, at least in the historical period of the inaugurals. Metaphor-related prepositions rely mainly on the unchanged meanings of the prepositions. These meanings remain constant owing to the stability of the image schemas that structure prepositions. In this way, the intrinsic relations of the preposition *of* and the schematic relations of the rest of the prepositions make conceptual mapping stable.

Thirdly, most metaphors expressed by prepositions rely on conventional conceptual mapping in which source domains emphasize stability and durability. These semantic fields explain the prevalence of order-related metaphors. Natural order and human-made order include human biology and psychology or natural phenomena, social organizations such as family, community, commerce, and human activities such as music, building, and farming. These systems provide coherent and relevant concepts that suit a “consensual rhetorical discourse” (Meyer, 2010, p. 415) rather than a discourse of change. By relying on conventional inter-system mapping, political metaphors establish “a tendency to inertia” (Dobuzinskis, 1992, p. 368), by which conceptual mapping remains constant.

The fourth factor is that presidents have constantly embraced the major tenets of the American political culture. In general, all the inaugurals belong to and reflect the same political culture. Cultural factors, therefore, have not induced any significant change and the inaugurals continue to “comply with officially declared principles of USA”, as Kubát & Cech (2016, p. 23)

put it. Accordingly, they belong to “current discourse space” in which “everything presumed to be shared by the speaker and hearer” (Langacker, 2008a, p. 59).

Similarly, it has been observed that American presidents assume the role of the teachers of the “timeless principles” (Campbell & Jamieson, 1985, p. 396). These principles include freedom, equality, democracy, civic duty, and individual responsibility. They establish a stable cognitive frame within which some conceptual mappings remain constantly salient. A stable conceptual mapping, which propagates timeless and shared political ideals, contributes to political consensus and societal coherence. In this respect, the findings are in line with Ericson (1997, pp. 728–729), who contended that presidents use the inaugurals to rehearse their mission, which is to maintain political continuity of the American ideals, to defend the Constitution, the union, and federalism at home, and to lead by example abroad. Furthermore, this mission also requires virtuous, nonpartisan, and unified citizens and the assistance of Congress, God, and the people. These mission’s requirements have contributed to the stability of conceptual domains.

The fifth and last factor deals with the inaugurals’ generic properties and their impact on the semantic fields. Inaugurals have been taking place in nearly the same “communication situation” since their inception (Schaffner, 1997, p. 3). The inaugurals form a well-established genre with its structure, norms, themes, and specifications (Liu, 2012). This view is supported by Campbell & Jamieson (1990, p. 21), who asserted that American presidents “must affirm that they will transmit the institution intact to their successors”. This requirement is manifest in preserving the generic properties of the inaugural address itself. Consequently, the same rhetorical steps of this genre dictate specific topics that require the same conceptual mappings.

In addition to the “demands of investiture” (Campbell & Jamieson, 1985, p. 406), these addresses are often the outcome of a compromise. During their preparations, they came under

several pressures from the different interests inside the White House. “Balancing these demands may ultimately prove more essential than lofty rhetorical goals” (Collier, 2014, p. 23). According to T. A. Van Dijk (2006, p. 374), the presidential metaphors (re)produce a discourse “in the interest of the dominant group and against the best interests of the dominated group”. Amidst these conflicting interests, the inaugurals have adjusted their generic properties through inclusive and, at the same time, stable metaphors.

These five factors combined tend to produce stable mappings that generate conventional metaphors. Once conventionalized, metaphors tend to be saved in “lexical storage” (Gentner et al., 2001, p. 216). As presidents usually rehearse shared values in their addresses, they tend to repeat conventional metaphors retrieved from that lexical storage.

5.5.2. Factors of diachronic change

The change factors imply the existence of metaphor variations without contradicting the factors of stability listed above. While the former explains the creation of new metaphors, the latter explains the replication of conventional metaphors.

Novel metaphors are affected by the five following factors of change. First, changes in the relationship between American presidents and their people have had an impact on the presidential discourse. This relationship evolved from a constitutional presidency to a party presidency and eventually to a rhetorical presidency, with each phase dictating its distinctive conceptual mapping. For example, the constitutional presidency is “grounded in the formal institutional arrangements of the constitutional text” (Broughton, 2009, p. 167), while during the period of the party presidency, presidents expressed their “fidelity to the parties” (Korzi, 2004, p. 40). Modern presidents portray themselves as “protectors and defenders of the people” (Lim, 2002, p. 339).

The second factor deals with the paradigmatic shifts from modernity to postmodernism and eventually to the contemporary post-postmodernism. Each paradigm imposed its values on conceptual mapping ranging from the modernist glorification of reason and progress, then to the postmodernist skepticism and glorification of diversity, and eventually to the emerging paradigm and its discourse of hope. The paradigmatic shifts have affected the nature of a political text. The latter developed from a scientific text to a critical text and eventually to a digimodernist text, which is “the outcome of a silent negotiation between viewer and screen” (A. Kirby, 2009, p. 296). In general, the findings of this thesis have observed that religion, which is one of the metanarratives of modernity, has lost most of its saliency as a semantic field. In the meantime, most modern metaphors seem to favor economics and biology (Trim, 2011, p. 182).

The third factor is the semantic potential of the prepositions themselves. This potential resides in the “reparamétrage” function of the prepositions by which new parameters are introduced in conceptualization (Lapaire, 2017, p. 14). Although they are a closed group, prepositions can generate an infinite number of relationships, whether they are literal or figurative. In other words, they can relate, at least theoretically, an infinite number of trajectors with an infinite number of landmarks. The inaugurals may include creative usages of prepositions that take advantage of their relational profile and their inherent potential of reconfiguration.

The fourth factor of change is the president’s idiosyncratic style and character. Each president had done extensive research on previous inaugural addresses before writing his own. However, this does not imply that the addresses have become identical. The findings of this thesis do not demonstrate that the first inaugural is a full template for other presidents to replicate its metaphor-related prepositions. Many metaphor-related prepositions used by President

Washington could not survive for a long time while new conceptual mappings appeared in the course of history. American presidents, like all politicians, have “the passion for distinction”, as President Adams put it, and they want their words to be remembered. Distinction implies meeting the rhetorical challenge, which, in its turn, requires creating new metaphors as “a sign of genius”, according to Aristotle.

The fifth and final factor of change is the major cultural and historical circumstances. This factor invokes a fundamental concept in Cognitive Linguistics, which is embodiment. Trim (2011, p. 218) maintained that “cultural features are usually a part of embodied structures”.

All the embodiment approaches agree that metaphor is “intertwined with and embedded in the environment” (Jensen & Greve, 2019, p. 3). Equally, this factor is central to diachronic linguistics. Trim (2011) asserted that “single historical events may cause salience in particular items to increase considerably over a short period of time”. Such historical contexts offer incentives for the emergence of novel metaphors. The first seven addresses, delivered between 1789 and 1813, had the highest frequency of metaphor-related prepositions. This period witnessed an intense debate on the nature of the political system between the defenders of the central government and the defenders of more rights to the individual states. After this phase, there was a lengthy period, ranging from 1813 to 1909, in which the usage of metaphor-related prepositions has fallen sharply. During this period, the economic boom and party fidelity gave rise to great entrepreneurs, but not great presidents. In the twentieth century, the main historical events such as the two World Wars, the Great Depression, the Cold War, and the Civil Rights Era contributed to the rise of metaphor-related prepositions. It is interesting to note that all these eras were under the rhetorical presidency in which presidents started to address the public directly, over the heads of Congress and political parties.

Factors of stability and those of change represent two types of frames that often co-exist within the same address, and their blending ranges from mere coexistence to full integration. In other words, presidents employ metaphor-related prepositions to construct the meaning of a wide range of political concepts that serve to characterize, interpret, and evaluate the contemporary realities and recommend new realities as plausible solutions. At the same time, within the stability frame, metaphors become a powerful tool in the hegemony of the dominant cognitive model and the fortification of “the bounds of the accepted discourse” (Entman, 1993, p. 55).

In addition to stability and change, the findings detected another tendency in which some metaphors reappear after a period of absence. In evolutionary terms, “the dying metaphor, as it were, can be reactivated with a burst of life” (Billig & MacMillan, 2005, p. 461). Metaphor variation is often seen as context-bound, and it happens through “recontextualization” (Semino et al., 2013) by which American presidents re-use metaphors, taken from their original sources, in different contexts, and for different purposes. These sources are primarily the Bible and the addresses of the first president. This phenomenon may be explained as a case of “grammaticalization” by which “grammar is always being created and re-created by language use” (Bybee, 2007, p. 981).

So far, this section has focused on diachronic variations and the stability and change factors. The following section will focus on five addresses as a sample microanalysis.

5.6. Microanalysis of sample addresses

This section examines sample addresses in a microanalysis style. The sample includes five random addresses. They were selected solely on the basis that they were delivered at a 50-year interval between each other. These criteria were adopted to ensure partiality and refrain from choosing the addresses that may be biased in favor of the main findings of the current

thesis. These five addresses were randomly selected to cross-check the validity of the findings presented in the previous and current chapters. More specifically, the years were counted beginning with the 1801 address and ending with the 2001 address. As a result, the five addresses are 1801, 1853, 1901, 1953, and 2001. Diachronically speaking, these dates may make four phases covering three centuries.

The first address was delivered by President Jefferson in 1801 after a victory referred to as “the revolution of 1800” (Onuf et al., 2002). In the heated election campaign, the two parties, Federalist and the Democratic-Republican, disputed over the nature of the government. The 1800 election was waged in an extremely competitive manner, amidst controversial issues such as alien and sedition laws and the Federalists' lenient foreign policy, and it marked the beginning of modern election campaigns. Despite the competitive election campaign, the address was more conciliatory rather than retaliatory. President Jefferson's main concern was the unity of the nation and the survival of “good government”, as he put it.

The 1853 address, delivered by President Pierce, took place in an unstable context. The president, himself, was a reluctant nominee, and he won the election amidst family tragedies. At the national level, another tragedy is looming as the question of slavery started to escalate, but President Pierce could not control the then-divided Congress.

The third address was delivered in 1901 by President McKinley during the 1893 economic depression. His era was of imperialist expansion in which the U.S. annexed Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. At home, President McKinley supported a protective policy and, thus, he enacted the highest tariffs to promote the American industry.

The fourth address was delivered by President Eisenhower during the ongoing tensions of the Cold War Era abroad and the tensions of racial segregation at home. This address reflected

the continued rivalry with the Soviet Union. It is, thus, referred to as The Chance for Peace speech or the Cross of Iron speech. Military spending and arms race became an issue between those who press for a more aggressive stance toward the Soviet Union and those who argue that the New Deal needed more support.

The fifth and final address was delivered after a dispute on the election results. The ambiance was of partisan tempers and political divisions caused by the elections and President Clinton's personal scandals. The 2001 address sought to look forward and to promote the sense of unity, civic responsibility, and duty. It is often referred to as the "C- Speech" because it includes many words starting with the letter C, such as civility, courage, compassion, and character.

Having considered each address's general context, it is time to look at the patterns of prepositions. The use frequency was calculated for the two top sets: The Special and Golden Sets. The first set comprises the preposition *of* while the other set has the following top 10 prepositions (*to, in, for, by, with, as, from, on, upon, and at*). These two sets make 91% of all the occurrences of English prepositions in the corpus. The remaining 37 prepositions were not included in this microanalysis because of their insignificant percentage. In AntConc analysis, the preposition *of* was second in the rankings of the most frequent words. It is right after the determiner *the*, followed by *and*, and then by *to* and *in*.

As for the preposition *of*, Figure 68 shows its normalized frequencies in the five addresses.

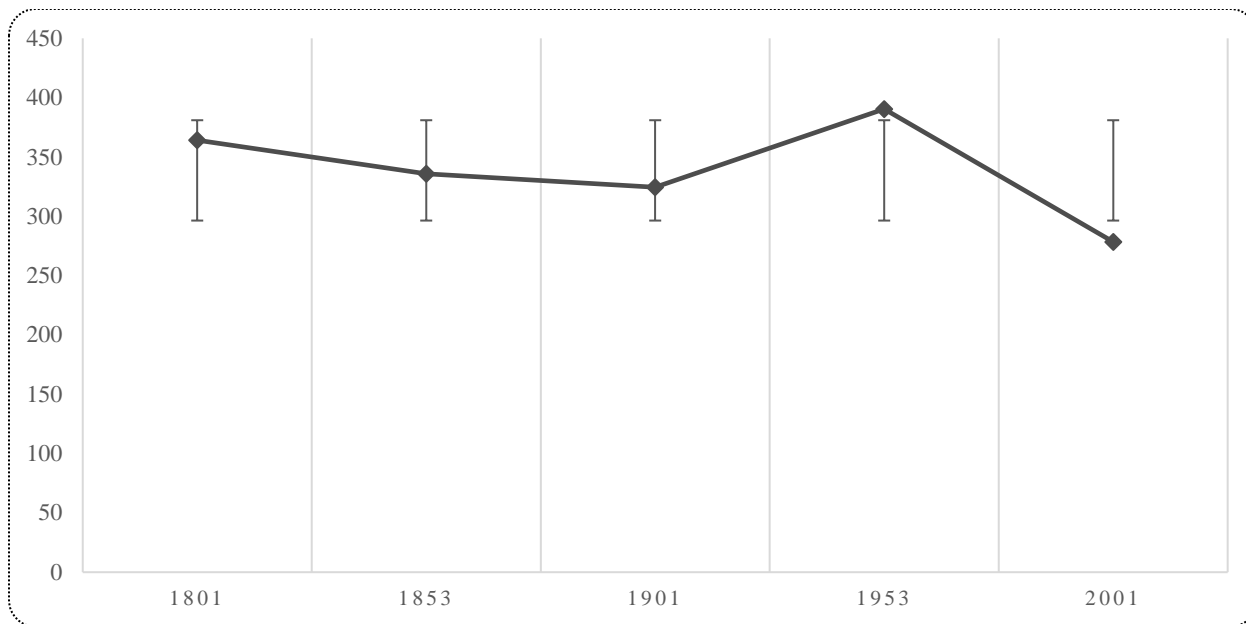


Figure 68. The normalized frequencies of OF in the five addresses

All these five addresses are below the mean, which is 509, 63. They also show a steady decline despite the exception of the 1953 address. Nearly the same trend can be observed in the normalized frequencies of the top 10 prepositions, as Figure 69 shows.

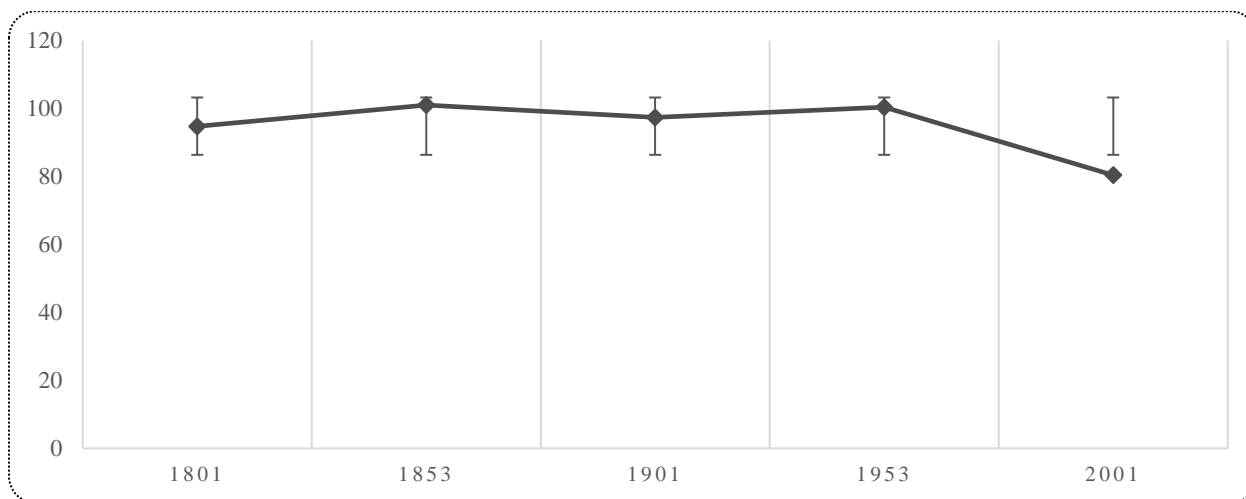


Figure 69. The normalized frequencies of the top 10 prepositions in the five addresses

The mean of the normalized frequencies of the 10 prepositions is 97, 75. The scores of the five addresses reveal the same declining trend, with the 2011 address falling far short of the mean. This trend is consistent with the main findings of the thesis, which show that the use of all 64 prepositions in the 58 addresses is decreasing.

As for the target domains, the concepts of the government and the people came first in the list of content words of the AntConc analysis. This high frequency confirms their importance as themes of these five addresses.

The 1801 address reflected the atmosphere of the bitter election campaign in terms of an unsafe sea trip.

(317). “I look with encouragement for that guidance and support which may enable us to steer with safety the vessel in which we are all embarked amidst the conflicting elements of a troubled world” (Jefferson, 1801).

Like most of the 18th- century presidents, winning an election is presented as responding to a “*voice*” or a “*call*”. For President Jefferson, it was the “*voice of the nation*” that decided the result of the election. The same metaphor was used by President McKinley but without any preposition.

(318). “The sentiments I now announce were not unknown before the expression of the voice which called me here” (McKinley, 1853).

The concept of voice was absent from the remaining three addresses, which can be attributed to the tendency to express election results in literal language.

In addition to voice, President Jefferson evoked the concept of conceptual direction by which trajectories move along a path to reach a destination.

(319). “Let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety” (Jefferson, 1801).

The preposition *to* relates road, on the one hand, and peace, liberty, and safety, on the other, in an emergent blend that postulates achieving objectives as traveling towards a destination along a road. As this emergent journey is entirely fictive, President Jefferson asked his audience to “retrace” the path of that journey in the same way a “conceptualizer traces the same mental path (from a reference point to search domain to target) by way of apprehending the locative relationship” (Langacker, 2010b, p. 12). This conceptual activity is possible because it is based on the PATH image schema and, more precisely, on its interface with language (Trim, 2011, p. 25). This interface is the second parameter in Trim’s evolution model described in Section 2.5. It is important to remember that “the thought/language interface evolves diachronically”, as Trim (2011) put it. President Bush expressed the 21st-century version of the same image schema.

(320). “And I can pledge our Nation to a goal: When we see that wounded traveler on the road to Jericho, we will not pass to the other side” (Bush, 2001).

Both presidents not only make the same appeal to trace a mental path, but they also employ the same strategy of inclusiveness coupled with the tendency to rationalize their arguments via the image-schematic structure of these prepositions.

In addition to the notion of roads and destinations expressed via the metaphorical *to*, other presidents opted to highlight the intrinsic relationships evoked by the metaphorical *of*. In the 1853 and 1901 addresses, the notion of the path is evoked. President Pierce wished that the neighboring nations:

(321). “pursue the paths of prosperity and happiness” (Pierce, 1853).

For President McKinley, it is the same intrinsic relationship, but with a different destination.

(322). “The path of progress is seldom smooth” (McKinley, 1901).

Whether it is progress or happiness, it is the future that matters, and “the goal bias principle” enhances the persuasiveness of the argument (Stefanowitsch & Rohde, 2004; Stefanowitsch, 2018). This cognitive principle matches with a cultural principle: the “unalienable rights [to] life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness”. Within a culture that promotes the pursuit of such ideals, it is not a coincidence that President Pierce used the verb “pursue” to reinforce the concept of pursuit.

The main issue of the 1953 address is related to the extent, as an aspect of the conceptual space (See Section 5.4.2.3.). President Eisenhower was assessing the progress achieved by asking his audience the following question:

(323). “How far have we come in man’s long pilgrimage from darkness toward the light? Are we nearing the light--a day of freedom and of peace for all mankind? Or are the shadows of another night closing in upon us”? (Eisenhower, 1953).

The contrast between light and darkness is elaborated in three diverse ways. First, it is based on a FROM-TO CONSTRUCT, in which an entire journey, including its departure and destination, is portrayed. In the second part, only the desired destination is highlighted. In this part, this destination is also characterized by revealing its main identity. It is freedom and peace in which light is an intrinsic feature (See Section 5.4.2.1.). Hence, the entire journey is revealed as well. It is about progress from a state of wars and lack of freedom to one of peace and freedom. The third and last part portrays the worst-case scenario in which the wrong destination is highlighted. The wrong destination is characterized by means of the same semantic field.

Darkness, which is the state of departure, turns out to be the state of arrival. Hence, the inefficiency of the journey is highlighted. Not only does the journey fail, but it also ends in the wrong location. Darkness is located “*upon us*” instead of being behind and far from the traveler (See Section 5.4.2.2.). From this quote, we can see how the tentative model suggested by the current thesis works. Conceptual identity and conceptual space, conveyed through the prepositions’ intrinsic and schematic relationships, function as “sources of normativity” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018, p. 174). Light is the source of normativity to President Eisenhower, who formulated an analogy through the preposition *against*. Analogical mapping enables us to establish “a structural alignment between two represented situations” (Gentner et al., 2001, p. 200).

(324). “Freedom is pitted against slavery; lightness against the dark” (Eisenhower, 1953).

The alignment established between freedom and slavery in terms of light and darkness is an illustration of “relational metaphors” (Gentner et al., 2001, p. 200) by which we comprehend the metaphor of freedom in terms of the relationships that hold between light and darkness. From an axiological perspective, it can be considered as a morality-related metaphor with a normative value or “a built-in value judgment”, as Barcelona (2003) put it. The preposition *against* is merely the medium to represent the value of freedom and enhance its “axiological load” (Krzyszowski, 1993). The analogy is structured by the “Axiological Invariance Principle,” by which the positive evaluation of light, compared to the negative evaluation of darkness, is mapped on freedom and slavery.

Furthermore, the mix of prepositions in this quote has a cohesive effect in such a way that they bind various scenarios in a single coherent frame. “The point of representing (or ‘framing’)

an issue in a particular way is to create particular public attitudes and opinions, and thus legitimize or facilitate a particular course of action” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018, p. 171).

The 2001 address, which contains fewer prepositions than the other addresses, has fewer metaphors as well. The sentences are much shorter, and there are more verbs and adjectives than nouns and prepositions. These observations commensurate with Lim (2002, p. 333), who contended that modern presidents tend “to substitute formal word choices for more colloquial turns of phrase”. If we add the inaugurals’ epidictic aspect into the equation, then the presidents’ words may become mere ritualized routines leaning towards short sentences, fewer nouns, and prepositions. The overall style may become more and more conversational. These features tend to echo the characteristics of digital texts and the aesthetics of TV performances. As the audience has become viewers of digital texts, the inaugurals of the 21st century may be consumed as one of the apparently real texts.

In their communications with their audiences, modern presidents tend to deliver more people-oriented messages. For example, they have made more references to children than their forebears. In his 2001 address, President Bush used four out of the six references to children in the five addresses. In one of these references, he used the preposition *of* in a metonymy by which a part (the heart) stands for the whole.

(325). “If we do not turn the hearts of children toward knowledge and character, we will lose their gifts and undermine their idealism” (Bush, 2001).

This trend started with President Franklin Roosevelt’s increasing awareness of “the endearing effect that familial references have on their auditors” (Lim, 2002, p. 339). It has increased due to the postmodernists’ focus on marginalized minorities.

As a metanarrative, the American political system is narrating its story through the words of its presidents. This notion is observed in the 2001 address. President Bush used the word *story* 10 times while none of the other presidents did. Nevertheless, they all tell the same story; the American version of democracy is the most rational and enlightened form of government capable of achieving eternal progress and universal happiness.

In this regard, metaphor-related prepositions, along with other rhetorical devices, are used to seek persuasion coupled with arousing extreme emotions without excluding the temptation of manipulation and even propaganda. The 1953 address stands as a classic illustration of a President talking in the tone of a superpower leader. In this tone, he claimed the world's leadership by means of manipulative use of an undefined trajector and the preposition *upon*.

(326). “destiny has laid upon our country the responsibility of the free world’s leadership” (Eisenhower, 1953).

The chosen trajector (destiny) is highlighted in order to hide a planned imperialist policy decided by the institutions of the American government. By invoking a vague agent and a passive landmark, President Eisenhower used the preposition *upon* to reinforce the passivity of the hidden human agents and construct a meaning that “comes to us in the form of taken-for-granted assumptions” (Gamson et al., 1992, p. 381). These unquestionable beliefs remind us that “[T]ruths are illusions which we have forgotten are illusions”, as Nietzsche (1979, p. 84) put it. In this way, this quote is a matter-of-fact announcement of the new role of the U.S. and an illustration of how “political common sense” is disseminated.

The analysis of the five addresses reveals how presidents use metaphor-related prepositions to define and construct political reality from their perspectives, for their benefits, and in response to contemporary contexts.

5.7. Conclusion

Based on the findings reported in the previous chapter and discussed in more detail within this chapter, five concluding remarks can be drawn.

First, the use of prepositions varies significantly between the inaugural addresses. Prepositions can be divided into four groups based on their frequency. The first set includes only the preposition *of* because of its extremely high frequency. The second set includes the subsequent 10 prepositions. In this set, three prepositions (*of, in, to*) account for 64, 07 % of the total occurrences. In this regard, the Inaugural Corpus is similar to other corpora. In addition to these sets, the findings reveal a pattern in which the use frequency of prepositions has been gradually declining. The ratio started as one preposition in five words in the late 18th century, and then it has become one in eight words in modern addresses. As style markers, using fewer prepositions signals a shift from a high degree of formality to less formality and even to informality. Modern addresses tend to use fewer nouns and prepositions, which leads to the conclusion that modern presidents tend to be more informal and conversational in their communications.

Second, the conceptual mapping of the metaphor-related prepositions creates an emergent category made up of two conceptual domains and an image schema that regulates the relationship between them. The mapping is not entirely based on similarity, but rather on the schematic structure evoked by the preposition. More precisely, prepositions provide presidents with relational profiles fit to achieve these three tasks; (1) to characterize abstract concepts in terms of their distinctive features; (2) to rationalize their arguments via the image-schematic logic of these prepositions; and (3) to pass axiological evaluations by utilizing profiled relationships as “sources of normativity” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2018, p. 174). In general, the

relationships within the source domains, and not their attributes, are mapped onto the complex relationships of the political system.

In terms of the metaphoricity of prepositions, the main target domains are related to nation-building, such as government, nation, and people. Other recurrent domains include the main ideals cherished by the American people, such as freedom, peace, and prosperity. To conceive these concepts, source domains are drawn mainly from natural and human-made systems. This recurrent mapping has led to the conclusion that it is a cross-*system* mapping rather than a cross-domain mapping.

The conceptual metaphors derived from these mappings proved to be more complicated than anticipated. One of the causes of confusion is that some metaphor-related prepositions combine metaphor and metonymy. The preposition *of*, for example, is based on the PART-WHOLE image schema, which is inherently metonymic but, at the same time, it expresses a metaphor based on a conceptual mapping between a concrete concept and an abstract one. Though the conceptual mapping of the metaphor-related prepositions involves more than the familiar two conceptual domains, metonymy is central in most of the metaphorical instances studied in the previous chapter.

Moreover, a preposition-based metaphor integrates three conceptual domains relating to the trajector, the landmark, and the preposition. Consequently, the thesis strongly suggests the inclusion of prepositions in conceptual metaphors. If we apply the shorthand notation A is B, we may easily deduce conceptual metaphors such as A NATION IS A PERSON and A NATION IS A BUILDING. In this case, the meaning and the function of the preposition are completely neglected. Thus, a strong version can be formulated in which the preposition is included. The suggested notation will be A prep B, and the conceptual metaphor will emphasize the function of

the preposition. These multiple conceptual domains may be a relevant justification to use the Conceptual Integration Theory to describe how mental spaces invoked by the preposition and the related entities are blended. The emergent blend can explain how features from the source domain and their counterparts from the target domain, as well as the Part-Whole image schema, and the meaning of the preposition are all integrated. For example, “the voice of the nation” can be interpreted in two ways based on the strong and weak versions. The first interpretation ignores the preposition *of* and emphasizes the correspondence between a nation and a person, and it, therefore, leads to the A is B metaphor type. The second interpretation focuses on the preposition and emphasizes the correspondence between the concrete voice, as an intrinsic part of humans, and the nation’s imaginary voice. While the first interpretation highlights the correspondence between the WHOLES, the second interpretation highlights the correspondence between the intrinsicness of the PARTS.

Third, metaphor-related prepositions mix well with each other as well as with metaphors based on other parts of speech. This coherence is partly due to the “schematic integrations” (Mandler & Cánovas, 2014, p. 528) by which image schema are combined. The overall effect is that of coherence rather than a clash of metaphors.

Fourth, findings also suggest that the seemingly unrelated metaphorical senses of the prepositions can result in a coherent cognitive model. This model can be considered as a “political topology” in which political concepts and institutions are systematically characterized via prepositions in two major areas: conceptual identity and conceptual space. The first area deals with abstract entities defined by their salient features via the intrinsic relationships of prepositions such as *of* and *with*, and it aims to specify their identity, according to “qualification by means of relations” (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 157). The second area characterizes abstract

entities via the prepositions' schematic relationships by localizing them in a conceptual space within three different frames of reference, namely location, direction, and extent. The tentative cognitive model suggested by the current thesis is based on the assumption that there are "cognitive associations in the minds of language users", (Schmid & Küchenhoff, 2013, p. 532).

The fifth and final remark goes to the diachronic dimension of the metaphors in question. The findings have observed five factors of stability and five factors of change. Factors of stability include the following: (1) prepositions as a closed group stabilize the members of this group; (2) the meanings of the prepositions are constant because of their image schema; (3) the inter-system mapping creates inertia by which stable mapping persists; (4) the inaugurals are mainly about rehearsing the same timeless principles, and (5) the generic properties of the inaugurals. Incentives of change are created by the following factors: (1) the changing relationship between American presidents and their people; (2) the paradigmatic shifts; (3) the potential of the prepositions to create new parameters; (4) the idiosyncratic style and character of each president and their passion for distinction, and (5) the impact of cultural and historical circumstances.

The findings of the thesis will be summarized and discussed in some more detail in the following chapter. The implications of these findings for the cognitive enterprise will also be discussed. The chapter will also discuss the thesis' limitations and end up making recommendations for future research.

Chapter Six: Concluding Remarks

It can be said not that the chief is a man who speaks, but that he who speaks is a chief. (Clastres, 1989, p. 41)

The purpose of the thesis was to investigate the instances of metaphorical usages of prepositions in the Inaugural Corpus, their conceptual mappings, and their diachronic variations. To attain this purpose, the thesis combines quantitative and qualitative approaches within an interdisciplinary framework, following the requirements of the Cognitive Commitment. This chapter includes a concise summary of the major findings and their relevance to the thesis's objectives. A discussion of the significance of these findings and their implications for Cognitive Linguistics and related fields is also included. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the study and recommendations for future research.

6.1. The main research findings

The present thesis was an attempt to examine the usages of metaphor-related prepositions in the inaugural addresses of American presidents and explore their potential metaphor patterns and diachronic variations. Metaphors were studied according to the preposition, trajectors, landmarks, and their conceptual domains. Diachronic variations were analyzed in terms of individual prepositions and throughout the historical timeline.

The most prominent finding is that a set of 11 prepositions makes 91% of all the occurrences of prepositions in the Inaugural Corpus. It seems that neither diachronic nor idiosyncratic factors have been influential enough to affect the high frequency of this specific

set. A likely explanation is that these 11 prepositions meet the communication needs of presidents.

In addition, the use of prepositions is not even in the corpus. There are different sets of prepositions ranging from the extremely frequent *of* to the marginal and even the absent ones. The prevalence of the preposition *of* raises questions about the internal structure of prepositions as a category. It is important to know which prepositions are prototypical and which are peripheral. Due to its high frequency, can *of* be considered a prototypical member of prepositions?

Textbooks and even some scientific research treat prepositions as a homogenous group without specifying their frequencies in corpora. However, the findings of this corpus-based study have reported a different picture. Interestingly, prepositions showed sharp inequality in the three types of “distributional frequency” (frequency lists, co-occurrences, and dispersions) (Gries, 2010, p. 269).

Additionally, the findings show that there has been a steady decline in the use of prepositions. The ratio used to be one preposition in five words in the 18th and 19th-century addresses, but, in the 21st century, it has become one to eight words.

In terms of their conceptual basis, prepositions combine metaphor and metonymy. In all the linguistic metaphors based on PART-WHOLE image schema, metaphors co-exist with metonymies. For example, a salient body organ stands for a person, as a metonymy interacts with A NATION IS A PERSON metaphor. As outlined in the previous sections, the corpus abounds with this type of construction. Metaphor-related prepositions are able to ensure “metaphorical and metonymic coherence” (Barcelona, 2009, p. 1). A tentative analysis of such coherent constructions reveals two metonymies and one metaphor. They are arranged as follows:

- The first metonymy is in the concrete domain. (A concrete hand for the person).
- The second metonymy is in the emergent blend. (An abstract hand for the nation).
- A metaphor that maps a person onto a nation.

This tentative analysis, which highlights the metonymic basis of the metaphor-related prepositions, is consistent with that of Goossens (1990), who coined the term “metaphtonymy” to describe “metaphor from metonymy” and “metonymy within metaphor”. It is also in line with the view that “the metonymy-based metaphor” is one category along the “literalness, metonymy, metaphor continuum” (Radden, 2002, p. 431). This interaction between metaphors and metonymy is also supported by extensive research conducted by Barcelona (2003) on “metonymy-motivated metaphors”.

Among the set of the highest 11 prepositions, *of* stands out as the most frequently used preposition in both literal and figurative senses. Given its primary sense of intrinsic relationship, it seems that the inaugurals attach higher prominence to the definition of abstract entities by means of PART-WHOLE image schema and its intrinsic relationships. The concrete PART of an abstract WHOLE pattern tends to recur through the inaugurals’ history along with the conceptual domains to which parts and wholes belong. In short, the metaphorical *of* naturalizes political institutions and principles by creating affinities between the political system and the natural system. The landmarks are eventually conceptualized as timeless truths with a taken-for-granted seal. They are also supported by a modernist outlook based on the supremacy of reason as a producer of absolute truths and universal values. Additionally, the conceptual mapping of such metaphors suggests a cross-system mapping in which the inherent properties of a natural or human-made system are mapped onto a political system.

In general, prepositions establish a relationship between a specific trajector and a specific landmark in a way that invokes “collocational frameworks” (Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2008, pp. 534–540). In this way, metaphor-related prepositions impose their relative frames through two different means. First, the source domain imposes its conceptual structure on the target domain. Second, the image schema of the preposition itself imposes its schematic structure on the relationship between the two conceptual domains. It is self-evident that the choice of source and target domains is not arbitrary as the internal organization of these conceptual frames imposes its structure on the semantic domains involved in the metaphor-related prepositions. These conceptual patterns are the outcome of a construal from presidents’ perspective and for the benefit of their interests.

Concerning the third research area, most of the metaphor-related prepositions tend to appear in a coherent cluster of metaphors. These clusters are of two types. The first type includes more than one preposition, such as the FROM-TO construction, while the second type includes a metaphor-related preposition with another metaphor expressed by another part of speech. In both types, the tendency is towards coherence more than clash. As the inaugurals are well-drafted texts, it seems that their writers are aware that “mixed metaphors are cognitively successful” (Kimmel, 2010, p. 110), and they, therefore, devote sufficient time and effort to mix metaphors and verify their coherence. In terms of image schemas, the coherence of metaphors and metonymies could be attributed to the “schematic integrations”, as Mandler & Cánovas (2014, p. 528) explained.

The fourth research area yields a tentative cognitive model within which metaphor-related prepositions are part of a coherent and purposeful construal. In general, this model “extracts certain features and relations from whatever it’s representing” (Tversky, 2018, p. 59).

As the metaphor-related prepositions are (part of) the presidents' representations of reality, a cognitive model can be deduced in which a coherent conceptualization of the state and other political entities is activated in terms of their conceptual identity and conceptual space (direction, location, and the extent of their progress). The presidents' conceptualization of the world and their ideal model of politics are expressed through metaphors based on both the intrinsic and schematic relationships of the prepositions. The identity of abstract concepts and high principles is characterized by their salient and integral features, while other concepts are defined and evaluated through their direction, location, and the progress they have achieved.

As far as the diachronic dimension is concerned, the findings reveal that both stability and change factors have an impact on metaphor variations. In other words, the inaugurals combine "continuity with provocation, endorsing established ideas while simultaneously advancing new ones" (Martin, 2015, p. 28).

In terms of the stabilizing factors, the inaugurals have established generic conventions during its 228-year history. The inaugural address is a genre with stabilizing effects because "routine social interactions suppress the appearance of alternatives through repeated performances" (Turnbull, 2017). The replication of these conventions is likely to establish consistent patterns and increase a "cumulative effect" of the constant and recurring conceptual mappings (Bybee, 2007). "Nationality is a continuous process of construction", as E. Thompson (2003, p. 196) argued. The cumulative character of presidential communication faces the challenge of making successive generations of people believe that the President's words are their ultimate references and their source of political knowledge. It is also likely that the entrenchment of certain metaphors eventually results in "stable mapping templates" (Canovas, 2014, p. 296).

In terms of factors of change, metaphor-related prepositions include instances of creative usages of metaphor-related prepositions. New conceptual mappings are prompted by significant cultural and historical circumstances. For example, wartime events would cause politicians not only to employ war metaphors but also to employ them more frequently than other metaphors. In times of peace, the war metaphors would disappear, and peace-promoting metaphors would take the lead.

As a genre, the inaugurals are caught between these stabilizing factors and the provocative change factors. In one way, an inaugural address can be considered as the speech of the victorious who writes history. A president writes a new history, but he reinforces the timeless history. In both cases, it is the history of the nation, the state, the political system, the people, and the character of the victorious president. Campbell & Jamieson (1985) contended that “presidents invite us to see them, the presidency, and the country’s role in specific ways”. In this mission, presidents face the challenge of appealing to all these components in a limited amount of time. One of the challenges is how to legitimize the political system and convince the public of its efficiency. Political legitimization started with the early presidents in their debates on the central government’s authority and the rights of the individual states. Another critical challenge is how to keep these political thoughts alive throughout history and to give the impression that they are widely shared and so obvious that they can be taken for granted.

6.2.The implications for the field of knowledge

Taken together, these findings suggest that prepositions are much more than space indicators, and they “cannot be characterized solely in terms of spatial configuration” (Langacker, 2010b, p. 1). Instead, metaphor-related prepositions can incorporate various non-spatial elements coherently thanks to their intrinsic and schematic relationships. As relators,

these prepositions serve to dissolve the semantic tension caused by the seemingly incompatible entities in the metaphorical relationship. They reconcile the incongruity created out of combining two entities in an unfamiliar relationship. The outcome is a “new congruence”, or “new semantic pertinence”, to borrow Ricœur’s words, which may reflect some features of “la Métaphore vive”. The new relationships created by the preposition-based metaphors reveal our capacity for conceptual integration. The emergent blends are coherently structured by a conceptual model that accounts for the major concepts and issues of the political system. This model holds together and provides coherent meaning to the diverse array of prepositions examined throughout this thesis. Furthermore, the model incorporates culture and cognition to situate conceptual mappings in their sociocultural contexts.

Along similar lines, these findings show that American presidents “have the opportunity to persuade us to conceive of ourselves in ways compatible with their views of government and the world” (Campbell & Jamieson, 1990, p. 8). These findings raise intriguing questions about the nature and extent of language in political discourse. “It is language that evokes most of the political “realities” people experience” (M. Edelman, 1977, p. 3), and it is politicians who use language not to describe those realities but rather to manipulate them in a way that serves their interests. However, this is not an easy task because these realities are deeply embedded in people’s shared representations. The findings of this thesis demonstrate how presidents have systematically used metaphor-related prepositions to influence the political cognition of their people. This finding is consistent with the view that metaphors are more likely to “evoke mythic cognitive structures in people’s minds” (M. Edelman, 1977, p. 16).

In addition, recurring metaphors demonstrate, at least partially, that political language is an integral part of political reality. By replicating metaphors of the political system, politicians

craft reassuring messages to the public concerning their shared interests, expectations, and future. In these messages, judgments are passed through “ideologically attitudinal” prepositions (Goatly, 2006, p. 16), empowered by the modern state’s coercive authority via the coercive voice of its president, or the modern Peitho, the goddess of persuasion according to Greek mythology. The overall outcome is a prescriptive discourse that promotes the state’s supremacy and presupposes the people’s obedience. The tools of this coercive power are naturalizing arguments and fatalist realism hammered by preposition-based metaphors and metonymies. Their conceptual mapping relies on naïve realism to emphasize normalization and naturalization and give the impression that the state is organic and, therefore, part of the prevailing doxa. Metaphor-related prepositions, especially *of* and other similar prepositions, show a tendency to activate source domains that propagate “a supposed naturalness” (Chilton & Schaffner, 2011, p. 321) whenever political concepts are either defined or described.

The underlying conceptual structure of any metaphor “reflects and affects thinking” (L. Cameron et al., 2009, p. 73). Various issues may arise in reaction to the recurring preposition-based metaphors, such as the long-term and pragmatic impact of replicating the same metaphors on our sociopolitical attitudes. Do these replications confirm the postmodernist concepts of originality vs. simulacra, according to Jean Baudrillard?

6.3. The significance of the findings

The inaugurals are the stories of the victors. The metaphor-related prepositions are formulated to serve a single purpose: to boost the image of the country and its presidents. More specifically, they are used to characterize the American political system’s main components, its theoretical guidelines, progress achieved, and future plans. These metaphors gain extra rhetorical weight because they are delivered by the leaders of the nation. It can be argued that some

metaphor-related prepositions may have lost their metaphorical power while maintaining their rhetorical power, according to Trim's distinction between the metaphorical and rhetorical power (Trim, 2018b, p. 11). The significance of these metaphors also gains a cumulative weight as these leaders keep replicating these metaphors and reinforcing their entailments. These findings contribute to the body of research related to metaphorical patterns in presidential rhetoric. Current research on political thoughts can learn how metaphor-related prepositions maintain the underlying structure of political concepts.

In addition, metaphor-related prepositions and their image schemas are activated in a way that reinforces national cohesion in terms of both foundations and vision. These notions are significant to researchers interested in the "efficacy of presidential communication" (Scacco & Coe, 2016, p. 2017). The notion of unrestrained rhetorical presidency may be tamed in favor of more responsible leaders who use rhetoric to maintain national unity and sustain growth and prosperity. At the basic level, good politicians have to "consider the potential benefit (or cost) of delivering more (or fewer) speeches" (Eshbaugh-Soha, 2010, p. 2). More studies are needed to predict which metaphors will prevail throughout the 21st century.

6.4. The limitations of this study

This thesis is based on specific choices that affected its theoretical foundations, methodologies, and findings. These choices also contributed to its limitations.

The findings are limited by the inaugurals' generic properties. Though it examined all the inaugurals, the findings cannot be applied to all political discourse. As a genre, the inaugurals have their own limitations. For example, by emphasizing common and unproblematic values, the inaugurals are likely to represent "a rhetoric of obviousness" (Meyer, 2010, p. 414) while election campaigns, for example, highlight axiological representations and raise controversial

issues. In other words, the inaugurals are among the genres that lack the argumentation of other political texts, such as those extracted from debates, election campaigns, and interviews. This limitation is in line with Collier (2014, p. 23), who argued that modern speech writing practices are more “suited to producing safe speeches than great speeches”. Rorty (1995) supported this view and asserted that political language must reflect common sense to emphasize common truths and boost communal solidarity.

The scope of this study was also limited by the nature of the corpus itself. The Inaugural Corpus gives the impression that it is the entire corpus while it is not. Instead, the findings are limited by the “unfinished and unclosed state of the corpus” (Rissanen, 2018, p. 10)

The explanatory potential is limited by the scope of the thesis itself. A proper understanding of the factors that affected metaphor variation requires a thorough investigation of the correlation between all the variables and not merely the “time-order relationship” (Marczyk et al., 2005, p. 21). The inaugurals are just one of the narratives of reality and one of the many construals in the political arena. Sociocultural events, historical circumstances, and individual experiences are essential variables that shape discourse in terms of its grammar, lexis, and metaphors. Other variables consist of the constant ideals which often lead politicians to impose order on the chaos of political situations and their conflicting interpretations. Furthermore, these variables get more complex due to the interconnection between a particular text and other texts within the arbitrary intertextuality of modern digital discourse.

The current investigation is also limited by the lack of information on the response of the large public to the inaugurals. We cannot imagine any communication without the interaction between two participants: a sender of a message and its receiver. Although presidents often claim that they talk to the whole nation, a consensual, unified, and stable response is definitely not

possible. B. C. Taylor (2005, p. 128) affirmed that “consent is often grudging, partial, inauthentic, and temporary”. From a postmodernity perspective, “consensus is only a particular state of discussion, not its end” (Lyotard, 1984, p. 65). The totality, coherence, and stability of concepts such as one nation, “organic whole”, and one homogenous people have been repeatedly challenged in favor of a discourse that recognizes minorities and voiceless groups. From a paradigmatic perspective, presidents stand at the crossroads of modernity and postmodernity, oscillating between their roles as the classical symbols which embody the nation and as the progressive spokespersons who reflect their pluralistic society. Finally, limitations may also be invoked by the “presence of absence”, to borrow Derrida’s words. In this sphere, various prepositions have never been used. Their absence cannot be arbitrary and with no constraints, whether textual or pragmatic.

6.5. Recommendations for further research work

These findings yield the following insights for future research: First, studies on inaugural addresses have to be sustained as new addresses will be added to the list at a “predictable frequency”, to use Beasley’s words. Second, “the Internet with its wild packs of bloggers and commentators” (Collier, 2014, p. 22) and their impact on the themes and style of the inaugurals need a thorough investigation. Third, further research is needed to characterize the metaphorical usages of prepositions in other discourses and genres. Gamson et al. (1992, p. 381) argued that “a whole set of texts may have an even more invisible metamessage”. Individual texts are more likely to reveal only a part of the usages of metaphor-related prepositions, especially with the increasing fragmentation of reality, as propagated by postmodernism. Fourth, corpora in languages other than English are also valuable areas of exploration and sources of knowledge. Comparative studies are required to check hypotheses of universal principles against cultural

variations. New meanings will keep emerging out of the “recurring patterns of engagement between organism and environment” (M. Johnson & Lakoff, 2002, p. 248). Consequently, new studies are required to explore “the culturally-defined metaphoric language in contrast to the kinds of universal trends” (Trim, 2007a, p. 49). Fifth, the meanings conveyed by the metaphor-related prepositions can be checked from the perspectives of their receivers, which consist of “an increasingly diverse, segmented, and disinterested set of audiences” (Scacco & Coe, 2016, p. 2018). Further research could also be conducted to determine whether the audience is paying attention to these tiny particles and grasping their figurative senses and their short and long-term impact on public opinion.

“All significant events and deeds are, in this way, opened to this kind of practical interpretation through present praxis”, as Ricœur (1973, p. 103) put it. Since 1789, American presidents, like other heads of their states, have not only delivered addresses full of metaphors, but they, themselves, have become metaphors for their nations. Their power has been a blend of the weight of their personal styles, the rhetorical impact of their metaphors, and the cumulative effect of these metaphors' diachronic evolution. Further work needs to be done to support and enrich these aspects as long as “postmodern theory reminds us that meaning is never universal, total, neutral, or permanent” (B. C. Taylor, 2005, p. 131) and within the continuous investigation of “the Western philosophical tradition concerning meaning, conceptualization, reason, knowledge, truth, and language” (M. Johnson & Lakoff, 2002, p. 245), and, most importantly, within our efforts to preserve the vitality of language, and to generate “*la Métaphore vive*”, as Ricœur wrote.

With the advances in digital texts, public political discourse may undergo more transformations in its content and format by the ever-growing information technologies.

Classical concepts such as author, authoring, reader, reading, and space are about to be redefined, and “a global or delocalized circulation of discourse” has become commonplace (A. Kirby, 2015, p. 76). How will the presidential inaugurals survive the tension between the delocalization of discourse and the placelessness of cyberspace and the constraints of the nation-state-geography localism will remain contested and in need of further investigation. Within the same futurist line of thought, we may wonder whether there will be a political discourse without metaphors in the future. This futurist remark is not a new hypothesis. Instead, it is built on the comment of Dobuzinskis (1992, p. 355), who wrote that rhetoric is “an unfortunate obstacle to the articulation of a truly ‘scientific’ language”. It is also built on the warning drawn from the “fallacy of misplaced concreteness”, as posited by Alfred North Whitehead. Instead of deciphering political metaphors and making sense of politics, metaphorical extensions may obscure the complexities of political realities through excessive or shallow concreteness. With the increasing emphasis on efficiency, political discourse may tend towards the factive rather than the fictive. “When emptied of “the realism of this earth,” discourse becomes opaque, it loses its purposiveness and rooting in reality” (E. Thompson, 2003). The post-postmodernist patterns are likely to disturb the inaugurals’ tendency to their inertia and push them, instead, to develop new images of themselves via new metaphors or probably fewer or no metaphors at all.

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Appendices

A: Inaugural addresses, their presidents, and their word counts

YEAR	President	COUNT
1789	George Washington	<i>1431</i>
1793	George Washington	<i>135</i>
1797	John Adams	<i>2321</i>
1801	Thomas Jefferson	<i>1730</i>
1805	Thomas Jefferson	<i>2166</i>
1809	James Madison	<i>1177</i>
1813	James Madison	<i>1211</i>
1817	James Monroe	<i>3375</i>
1821	James Monroe	<i>4472</i>
1825	John Quincy Adams	<i>2915</i>
1829	Andrew Jackson	<i>1128</i>
1833	Andrew Jackson	<i>1176</i>
1837	Martin Van Buren	<i>3843</i>
1841	William Henry Harrison	<i>8460</i>
1845	James Polk	<i>4809</i>
1849	Zachary Taylor	<i>1090</i>
1853	Franklin Pierce	<i>3336</i>
1857	James Buchanan	<i>2831</i>
1861	Abraham Lincoln	<i>3637</i>
1865	Abraham Lincoln	<i>700</i>
1869	Ulysses S. Grant	<i>1127</i>
1873	Ulysses S. Grant	<i>1339</i>
1877	Rutherford B. Hayes	<i>2486</i>
1881	James A. Garfield	<i>2979</i>
1885	Grover Cleveland	<i>1686</i>
1889	Benjamin Harrison	<i>4392</i>
1893	Grover Cleveland	<i>2015</i>
1897	William McKinley	<i>3968</i>
1901	William McKinley	<i>2218</i>
1905	Theodore Roosevelt	<i>984</i>
1909	William Howard Taft	<i>5434</i>
1913	Woodrow Wilson	<i>1704</i>
1917	Woodrow Wilson	<i>1526</i>

1921	Warren G. Harding	3329
1925	Calvin Coolidge	4055
1929	Herbert Hoover	3672
1933	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1880
1937	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1808
1941	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1359
1945	Franklin D. Roosevelt	559
1949	Harry S. Truman	2273
1953	Dwight D. Eisenhower	2459
1957	Dwight D. Eisenhower	1658
1961	John F. Kennedy	1366
1965	Lyndon Baines Johnson	1507
1969	Richard Milhous Nixon	2128
1973	Richard Milhous Nixon	1803
1977	Jimmy Carter	1229
1981	Ronald Reagan	2427
1985	Ronald Reagan	2561
1989	George Bush	2320
1993	William Clinton	1598
1997	William Clinton	2155
2001	George W. Bush	1592
2005	George W. Bush	2071
2009	Barack Obama	2395
2013	Barack Obama	2096
2017	Donald Trump	1433

B: The frequencies of the prepositions in the Inaugural Corpus

Prepositions	Observed Occurrences	Normalized Frequency
of	7115	51.04
to	4541	33.65
in	2794	20.37
for	1201	9.13
by	1086	7.67
with	958	7
as	949	6.82
from	574	4.11
on	536	4.09
upon	374	2.46
at	348	2.48
under	198	1.36
without	140	1.1
before	130	1.11
into	129	0.95
against	114	0.82
through	111	0.9
among	108	0.76
between	97	0.55
out	97	0.74
within	95	0.61
over	88	0.66
up	66	0.54
like	62	0.44
toward	60	0.56
since	60	0.41
beyond	57	0.38
until	44	0.34

about	43	0.46
after	42	0.26
throughout	39	0.32
during	29	0.35
away	29	0.25
across	27	0.25
down	26	0.22
around	22	0.16
above	21	0.17
except	19	0.11
off	18	0.13
along	14	0.1
near	10	0.07
concerning	9	0.06
behind	9	0.06
ahead	7	0.05
amid	7	0.04
amidst	5	0.03
aside	5	0.04
besides	5	0.16
amongst	4	0.02
apart	4	0.04
outside	4	0.04
below	3	0.03
beneath	3	0.02
till	3	0.03
close to	2	0.02
inside	2	0.02
onto	2	0.02
unlike	1	0

alongside	1	0.01
next to	1	0.01
opposite	1	0.01
outward	1	0.01
underneath	1	0.01
towards	1	0.01
TOTAL:	22551	

C: Historical eras and their corresponding inaugural addresses

Era	Period		Inaugural address
	From	To	
Federalist Era	1788	1801	<i>Washington 1789, Washington 1793, Adams 1797</i>
Jeffersonian Era	1801	1817	<i>Jefferson 1801, Jefferson 1805, Madison 1809, Madison 1813</i>
The Era of Good Feelings	1817	1825	<i>Monroe 1817, Monroe 1821, Adams 1825</i>
Jacksonian Era	1825	1849	<i>Jackson 1829, Jackson 1833, Van Buren 1837, William Harrison 1841, Polk 1845</i>
Civil War Era	1850	1865	<i>Taylor 1849, Pierce 1853, Buchanan 1857, Lincoln 1861</i>
Reconstruction Era	1865	1877	<i>Lincoln 1865, Grant 1869, Grant 1873, Hayes 1877</i>
Gilded Age	1877	1895	<i>Garfield 1881, Cleveland 1885, Harrison 1889, Cleveland 1893</i>
Progressive Era	1896	1916	<i>McKinley 1897, McKinley 1901, Roosevelt 1905, William Taft 1909, Wilson 1913</i>
World War I	1917	1919	<i>Wilson 1917</i>
Roaring Twenties	1920	1929	<i>Harding 1921, Coolidge 1925</i>
Great Depression Era	1929	1940	<i>Hoover 1929, Roosevelt 1933, Roosevelt 1937</i>
World War II	1941	1945	<i>Roosevelt 1941, Roosevelt 1945</i>
Post-war Era	1945	1964	<i>Truman 1949, Eisenhower 1953, Eisenhower 1957, Kennedy 1961, Johnson 1965</i>
Civil Rights Era	1965	1980	<i>Nixon 1969, Nixon 1973, Carter 1977</i>
Reagan Age	1981	2008	<i>Reagan 1981, Reagan 1985, Bush 1989, Clinton 1993, Clinton 1997, W. Bush 2001, W. Bush 2005</i>
Current Era	2009	2017	<i>Obama 2009, Obama 2013, Trump 2017</i>

D: Historical eras and their main events

	Era	Period		Major events
		From	To	
1	Federalist Era	1788	1801	<p>The Bill of Rights was ratified</p> <p>The national army was established.</p> <p>Neutrality was adopted amidst the rivalries between France and Great Britain</p>
2	Jeffersonian Era	1801	1817	<p>The addition of Louisiana doubled the size of the U.S. and created new economic opportunities</p> <p>The Republican Party and its ideals started to gain popularity</p> <p>The U.S. declared war on Great Britain in 1812.</p>
3	The Era of Good Feelings	1817	1825	<p>Missouri Compromise, by which Missouri was declared a slave state.</p> <p>The Monroe Doctrine by which Europeans were prevented from interfering in the Americas.</p>
4	Jacksonian Era	1825	1849	<p>Indian Removal Act was passed</p> <p>Lower tariffs and free trade were advocated</p> <p>Texas was annexed, and slavery expanded.</p> <p>The panic of 1837 because of the controversy over the status of the Bank of the U.S.</p> <p>Mexican War and Gold Rush</p>
5	Civil War Era	1850	1865	<p>The split between the North and the South over slavery could not be reconciled.</p> <p>In 186, the Confederate States of America is formed amidst the Civil War</p>

				The Emancipation Proclamation was declared in 1863
6	Reconstruction Era	1865	1877	Civil Rights Act was passed in 1866, forbidding discrimination against African Americans.
7	Gilded Age	1877	1895	The economic depression of 1893
8	Progressive Era	1896	1916	The Spanish-American war in 1898
9	World War I	1917	1919	World War I
10	Roaring Twenties	1920	1929	laissez-faire ideology and relative prosperity
11	Great Depression Era	1929	1940	On "Black Tuesday", the New York stock market collapsed in 1929
12	World War II	1941	1945	World War II
13	Post-war Era	1945	1964	The Cuban Missile Crisis The Vietnam war
14	Civil Rights Era	1965	1980	Watergate Scandal
15	Reagan Age	1981	2008	Rise of conservatism End of Cold War Gulf Wars and the war on terrorism
16	Current Era	2009	2017	The legacy of the Wall Street collapse and the world economic crisis

E: List of trajectors and landmarks related by OF by alphabetical order

Trajectors	Prep	Landmarks
admonition, admonitions, advancement, angel, arm, arms, artillery, asylum, avenue, bar, bastion, blotches, body, book, bosom, bridges, builders, burden, call, cancers, career, cement, chains, chalice, chorus, climate, collision, strength, confidence, conscience, considerations, contest, cultivation, cup, dark, allies, dark corners, dark hour, dark powers, dark realities, dawn, day, dimness, din winter, disciples, doors, flow, ebb, enemies, enemies, engine, eve, eyes, face, faith, family, father, fathers, fever, fiber, fire, forefront, fountain, fountains, friendship, fringe, furnace, gaze, gratitude, hand, hands, happiness, head, health, heart, hearts, hearthstone, heat, hopes, hour, infancy, journey, jungle, lesson, lessons, life, light, lights, lives, luster, members, mind, moral climate, music, night, ocean, office, feelings, opinions, pain, pall, parent, parent, path, paths, pathway, pile, pillars, portion, price, prisoners, ranks, reins, repose, road, rock, ruins, sapping, seat, seeds, shackles, shipwreck, shoulders, skirts, smiles, song, soul, spark, spirit, stars, strangers, sunlight, sunset, sunshine, swill, sword, symptom, tempest, temple, convulsions, throes, tide, tides, urge, valley, valleys, verdict, vibrations, vigor, visitation, voice, voices, walls, waters, wave, way, weed, weight, wheels, will, winds	OF	age, America, American spirit, anguish, authority, battle, being, bondage, centuries, century, chance, change, character, children, citizen, citizenship, civilization, class, communism, confidence, Congress, contentment, Convention, conviction, cost, country, danger, dawn, day, department, despair, despot, despotism, destruction, disaster, Democrats, duty, education, efforts, Europe, executive, expense, experience, experiment, family, father, fear, fire, firmament, free, freedom, future, Government, growth, happiness, hardship, heart, Heaven, history, honor, hope, hostility, humanity, illiteracy, industry, inevitability, infirmity, influence, injustice, institutions, interests, jealousy, justice, land, leaders, legions, legislatures, liberty, life, lives, man, mankind, mind, moment, nation, national life, nations, opinion, opportunity, oppression, partisan, party strife, past, paternalism, patriotism, peace, people, poverty, power, Presidency, press, progress, prosperity, relations, renewal, Republic, responsibility, Revolution, safety, science, sea, segregation, self- government, sentiments, slavery, society, spirit, states, strife, struggle, suspicion, sympathies, task, taxation, time, tribunal, turmoil, uncertainty, understanding, Union, usefulness, voices, war, weight, whole, will, words, years