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MORALITY MODELS THROUGH METAPHORS IN PUBLIC  
DISCOURSE: A CROSS-LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

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*Classical philosophical conceptions of the person have stirred our imaginations and taught us a great deal. But once we understand the importance of the cognitive unconscious, the embodiment of mind, and metaphorical thought, we can never go back to a priori philosophising about mind and language or to philosophical ideas of what a person is that are inconsistent with what we are learning about the mind...*

Lakoff and Johnson (1999, 7)

### **Introductory remarks**

**Novelty and relevance of the study.** Since 1970s the cognitive approach has widely spread and has been adopted by a variety of disciplines such as psychology, philosophy, neuroscience, linguistics etc. It has developed as a competing view to the traditional assumption of reason disembodiment and centrality in organizing human knowledge. The empirical results of the cognitive approach have demonstrated that conceptual structures arise from conflated human experiences, which are subsequently initiated in the neural structure of a human mind. This has initiated a diversity of research interest from the field of cognitive linguistics in such areas as lexical semantics, cognitive grammar, prototypes, pragmatics, narrative and discourse, computational and translation models, and metaphor etc. Metaphor has been studied in various representations of public discourse such as political speeches, elections, manifestos, media, economy and finance, medicine and treatment, academic writing, poetry etc. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Turner 2001, Fauconnier and Turner 2002, Boroditskij 2002, Coulson 2003, Palmer 2006).

The cross-linguistic and cross-cultural aspect of metaphor studies carried out in the framework of cognitive linguistics has been particularly prolific. However, in Lithuania contrastive linguistic studies of metaphor so far have been rather scarce (Cibulskienė 2005, Racevičiūtė 2002, Urbonaitė and Šeškauskienė 2007, Vaičėnionienė 2002). Even more it should be noted that the contrastive analysis of metaphor has been carried out at different levels.

Cibulskienė analysed the metaphor of election discourse in Britain and Lithuania (2005). Racevičiūtė explored the semantic motivation of English and Lithuanian idioms with lexemes denoting parts of the human body (2002). Urbonaitė and Šeškauskienė contrasted the use of the HEALTH metaphor in English and Lithuanian economic discourse (2007). Vaičenonienė analysed the WAR metaphor in the English and Lithuanian political media discourse (2002).

This study analyses conceptual metaphors in public discourse on political issues in Britain and Lithuania. It is complementary by its nature to Lakoff's elaborated system of FAMILY metaphors (2002), where he examines the moral nature of conceptual metaphors in two competing political ideologies: Conservative and Liberal. In his view, Lakoff claims that moral views of Liberals and Conservatives derive from different conceptions of morality, which are reflected in the use of FAMILY metaphor. This study, on the contrary, aims at analysing political issues from the perspective of public discourse, which provides a moral insight into political activities in general. Thus, the analysis of metaphors not only reflects on the conceptual structures of British and Lithuanian politics from the public perspective, but it also demonstrates their moral nature. Moreover, the materials of the present study are not narrowed to a specific topic area but rather cover a variety of political issues in the time span of two to four years. This is done with the purpose of identifying the general system of moral expectations governing British and Lithuanian politics.

**Aims and objectives of the study.** This doctoral dissertation is a contrastive analysis of metaphor in English and Lithuanian public discourse with the aim of identifying morality models. In the view of cognitive linguistics, metaphor is referred to as a mental structure which is established in the human brain by conflating experiences such as bodily, social, cultural etc. The analysis of conceptual metaphor in a discourse goes hand in hand with the analysis of **moral expectations** and beliefs or so-called MORALITY models, which

characterize the nature of British and Lithuanian political activities. To accomplish this, the following research objectives have been raised:

1. To identify conceptual metaphors in English and Lithuanian public discourse by analysing their representative source domains in terms of metaphorical linguistic expressions.
2. To determine cross-cultural similarities and differences of metaphor use in English and Lithuanian by classifying all metaphors following the pattern of TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN / POLITICS IS Y, where the metaphorical links between the target domain of politics and various source domains are determined and described.
3. To describe the metaphorical expressions profiling a conceptual structure in the target domain of POLITICS.
4. To examine epistemic correspondences held between the domains.
5. To determine moral consequences of the established metaphors in terms of MORALITY models, which will characterize the moral nature of British and Lithuanian politics in public discourse.
6. To identify which metaphors represent PRAGMATIC, RATIONAL and INTEGRATED approaches to moral politics.

**Data Sources.** The materials of the study consist of analytical political articles extracted from the online archives of two following websites: (1) [www.economist.com](http://www.economist.com), (2) [www.politika.lt](http://www.politika.lt). The selective criterion of the articles is their topicality, as their subject matter in both languages is political affairs and their analysis. The data consist of analytical articles on political affairs, which are found in the section of *Bagehot* in The Economist and *politika Lietuvoje >komentarai* in Lithuanian. The articles were automatically and all-inclusively selected, covering the time span of five years, i.e. from 2002 to 2007. The collected data amounts to 415, 670 words in total.

**Methods of analysis.** Three methods of analysis were applied to the collected data: qualitative, quantitative and contrastive, cf. table below:



Table 1: Research Methodology

Methodology	Steps
Qualitative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Text</li> <li>(2) metaphorical expressions</li> <li>(3) CM (conceptual metaphor) = POLITICS IS A SOURCE DOMAIN</li> <li>(4) epistemic correspondences</li> <li>(5) MORALITY models</li> </ol>
Quantitative	Manually highlighting and calculating the total number of metaphorical expressions for each CM.
Contrastive	Cross-linguistic comparison of the following aspects: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) epistemic correspondences between the conceptual domains</li> <li>(2) frequency of metaphorical expressions</li> <li>(3) MORALITY models and their representative metaphors</li> </ol>

As shown in Table 1, the qualitative method consists of five main steps of metaphor analysis. First, the metaphorical expressions in the analysed text were manually selected and classified according to their representative SOURCE domains. Next, the conceptual structure of SOURCE domains was analysed in terms of their epistemic correspondences. Finally, MORALITY models were established and contrasted in terms of their metaphorical correspondences (i.e. contrastive method). Alongside, all metaphorical expressions were manually counted for their overall frequency in the two languages (i.e. quantitative method).

**Theoretical value and practical implication of the study.** The research carried out contributes to cross-cultural studies in cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis and social sciences. For cognitive linguistics, this study enlarges the empirical data for the metaphor of POLITICS IS Y in the domain of public discourse. The analysis of the metaphor POLITICS IS Y provides new insights into the moral nature of British and Lithuanian politics. It also has practical value for applied linguistic and cultural studies. The empirical findings could be applied in teaching university students about peculiarities of

public discourse in Britain and Lithuania. The collected datum can also be used as subsidiary material in teaching collocation patterns recurring in British and Lithuanian politics. The findings of this research should also encourage the representatives of social sciences to take a cross-disciplinary approach to discourse analysis, as by analysing texts we can learn more about the people and their subject matter, especially in the domain of social sciences, where communication or language use is the key to sustaining social relations and developing social goals.

**The structure of the dissertation.** The present dissertation consists of introductory remarks, theoretical framework (Chapter 2), description of research material and methods of analysis (Chapter 3), research findings (Chapter 4), discussion of research findings (Chapter 5—Chapter 16), conclusions and references. The theoretical framework is divided into five main parts: key concepts, traditional theory of metaphor, contemporary theory of metaphor, conceptual metaphor theory, and metaphor in political discourse. It is followed by a description of materials and methodology. Next, the section on Research Findings overviews general statistical trends for recurring metaphorical expressions and their representative CMs. The discussion of the research findings is divided into 14 chapters. Each of the 13 chapters is subdivided into four sections. The first section gives a description of the use of metaphor in general, e.g. POLITICS IS MOTION metaphor. The subsequent two sections discuss the use of the same metaphor in English and Lithuanian. All the examples which are given in these sections have been extracted from the collected datum, with the precise sources indicated in the following order: title of the article, month-day-year, e.g. *The rise of the untouchable MP*. February 9, 2006. For the purposes of clarity and consistency, the Lithuanian examples were translated into English. The translation of the metaphorical meaning is given in square brackets, while the literal translation is provided in single inverted commas. The fourteen section presents MORALITY models, as based on the analysis of the discussed metaphors in the previous sections.

Chapter 17 summarizes the prevailing MORALITY models in British and Lithuanian public discourse. Finally, conclusions of the study are presented.

## 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 1.1. Key Concepts

The entire study focuses on three main concepts—**public discourse**, **metaphor** and **morality**. They are closely interrelated, which allows for maintaining a cross-disciplined perspective and implementing a multi-functional approach to language analysis in the present study. The correlation of discourse, metaphor and morality can be traced at several levels in two areas of their transgression: socio-cultural and philosophical-linguistic. Their socio-cultural correlation can be explained by adopting a top-down approach, i.e. from culture and discourse communities to the speakers and their use of metaphorical expressions. Consider Figure 1 below:

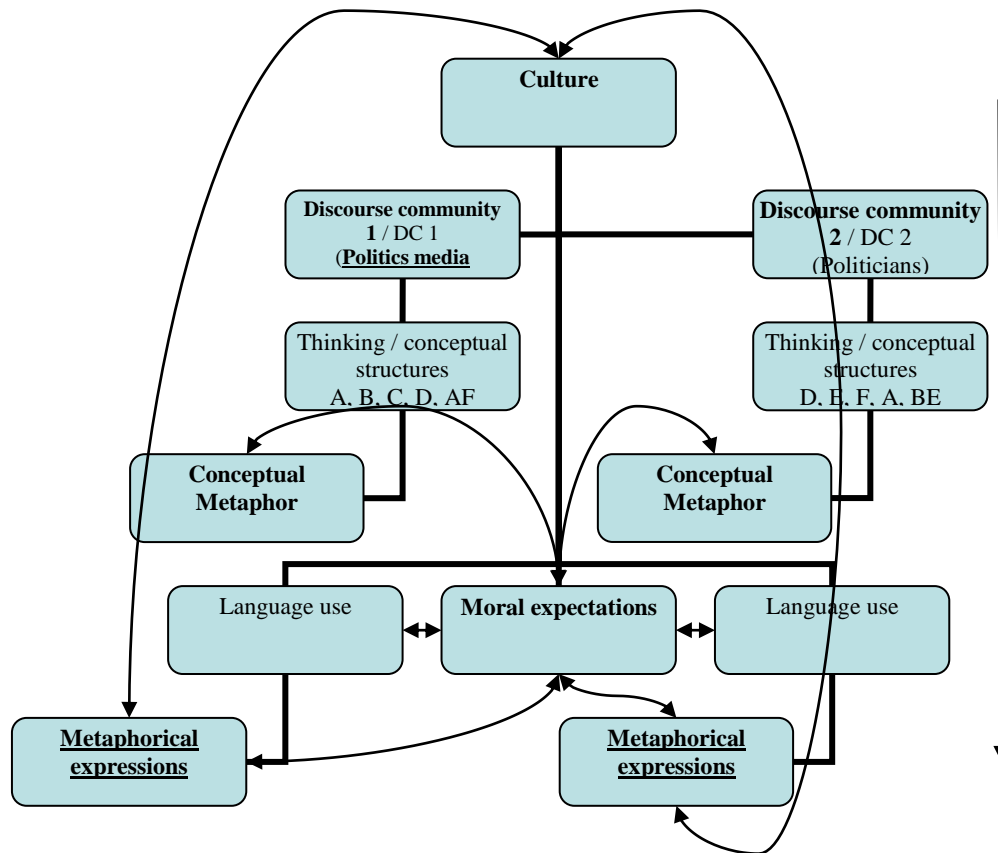


Figure 1: Top-down Approach to Discourse, Metaphor and Morality

The figure graphically demonstrates the complexity and depth of language structure, the analysis of which helps to reveal the system of moral expectations underlying a particular culture. As illustrated, the culture is represented by various discourse communities. The present research is concentrated on public discourse, or more precisely political media discourse, (Fig. DC 1), whose participants are political analysts, journalists, experts of current political affairs. They evaluate and describe the actions performed by the members of DC 2, i.e. politicians and policy-makers. The members of each discourse develop their ideas on the basis of conceptual structures, which might be either different or similar to each other. As most of the conceptual structures are organized by metaphor which, in its turn, is realized linguistically, the linguistic analysis of metaphorical expressions allows the discerning of the moral nature of their thinking patterns. Thus, culture is represented by the organized system of moral expectations which can be discriminated by applying metaphor analysis to the textual level of discourse.

In the view of the top-down approach, culture is seen as the most inclusive concept constituting discourse communities, whose members live by metaphors and morality models, which can be discerned by analysing metaphorical expressions. In this study the top-down approach was implemented while collecting the empirical data and formulating research questions, as it allowed the application of the principles of deductive reasoning, i.e. from **general** / culture : discourse community : public discourse to **specific** / metaphor : metaphorical expressions : morality models.

The bottom-up approach, when applied to explaining the correlation of discourse, metaphor and morality, assists in determining the direction of empirical analysis and establishing theoretical boundaries and philosophical assumptions. In its view, metaphorical expressions serve as a starting point of analysis and discussion, while conceptual metaphor and morality models occupy intermediary positions and discourse terminates the analytical procedure. The bottom-up approach is applied in the practical part of the study,

when the main concepts need to be defined and the collected datum analysed, cf.:

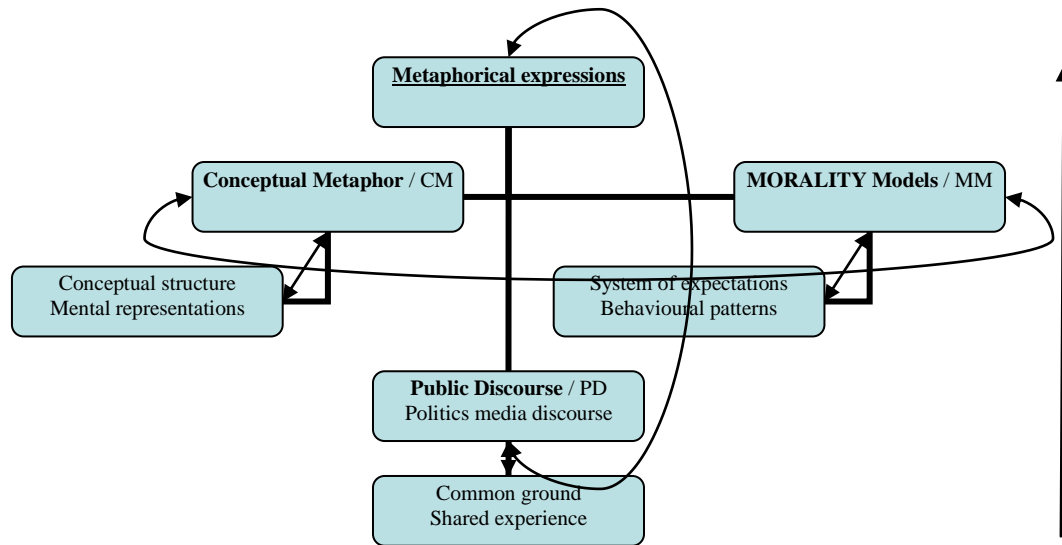


Figure 2: Bottom-up Approach to Discourse, Metaphor and Morality

As shown in the figure, the analysis involves inductive procedural steps: from specific / metaphorical expressions to general / CM : MM : PD. The bottom-up approach is instigated by the following philosophical assumptions: (1) metaphorical expressions as linguistic realizations of conceptual structures, (2) CM as a conceptual structure, (3) MM as a system of expectations determining human behaviour, (4) PD as a common ground. For the purposes of clarity and consistency each of them will be discussed in more detail.

Metaphorical expressions are linguistic units which are detected at a surface layer of analysed discourse. Their analysis provides a necessary introspection into the meanings of linguistic forms in the shared context. In cognitive linguistics most of them are compared with the introspections reported by others which lead to the process of metacognition (Talmy 2005, 2). Flavel describes metacognition as the process of thinking about thinking, which concerns one's own cognitive processes or anything related to them (1976). Thus, the analysis of metaphorical expressions is a case of introspection, as their study has to do with active monitoring and regulation of cognitive processes. Talmy states that the methodology of introspection occupies the

central position in cognitive linguistics which accesses meaning in several ways (2005, 5).

In the view of one approach, meaning has to do with individual words and their grammatical categories as reflected in the empirical studies of cognitive grammar. In metaphor analysis, however, the level of analysis extends to linguistic expressions occurring in various discourse fragments. Such linguistic expressions are identified, collected and analysed in terms of cultural metaphors, on the basis of which predictions are made and possible consequences described. For example, by analysing conceptual metaphor in business media discourse, Koller argues that metaphors of WAR and EVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE create a gender-biased working climate and suggest more positive alternatives for improving the general working atmosphere (2004, 80-120). While analysing conceptual metaphor and its linguistic representations there is an overall trend among cognitive linguists of applying a narrower approach to discourse analysis (Koller 2004, 20-35). The narrower perspective allows one to focus on the frequency of metaphors and their clusters in a variety of discourse. This is done by locating metaphorical expressions and grouping them into lexical fields by categories based upon word classes. Thus, the deeper analysis of culture-specific phenomena, textual genres, participants' identities etc. is generally avoided.

However, linguistic analysis of metaphors eventually leads to social and cultural implications that are determined by the choice of discourse, where metaphors are located. By discourse is meant what Dijk refers to as a form of social practice that constitutes society and culture (1983, 353). Hence, by analysing discourse such concepts are unravelled as power relations, ideology, class, hegemony, social order, social class etc. Considering the fact that this study is based on the analysis of metaphor in political media discourse, the ideology of power relations and hegemony will be unravelled by the use of different metaphors there. Moreover, critical approach to discourse analysis allows one to focus on social problems, which can be explained by discourse structures (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, 271-280). By drawing a parallel

between discourse and social structures, it is possible to identify social problems or the system of moral expectations underlying them. This is where morality models come into force.

Morality models or so-called moral expectations can be discerned through metaphorical expressions, which characterize the nature and status of social problems raised in political media discourse. By acknowledging Dijk's perception of discourse as a social power or a social action controlled by the human mind, one should hypothesize that most of the metaphors underlying a political media discourse will belong to the domains of POWER and HEGEMONY. However, it is of primary importance to standardize the theoretical preliminaries of metaphor analysis by differentiating between classical and contemporary theories of metaphor.

## **1.2. Traditional Theory of Metaphor**

The concept of metaphor has undergone as many evolutionary changes as has concept of language. Despite the infinite variety of metaphor theories, all of them could be characterized on two levels: linguistic and cognitive. The first, or the so-called traditional treatment of metaphor, is of entirely linguistic, where metaphor is generally recognized as a tool of language or a figure of speech.

The foundations of the traditional theory date back to the times of Plato and Aristotle, whose ideas were supported and further developed by such philosophers as Descartes and Kant. Their theoretical framework greatly contributes to the development of the traditional theory of metaphor. These philosophers established the most decisive programmes in Western philosophy that are built on theories of knowledge, which have the following underlying principles (Johnson 1987, 13-22):

- Reality is divided into categories that exist independent of the specific properties of human minds, brains, or bodies; thus, *reason is disembodied*.

- The world has a rational structure: the relationship among categories in the world is characterized by a transcendent or universal reason, which is independent of any peculiarities of human minds, brains, and bodies; thus, *reason is conscious*.
- Human concepts are the concepts of universal reason. Therefore, they characterize objective categories. The world has a unique, fixed category structure that reflects objective reality; thus, *reason is purely literal and dispassionate*.

These philosophical assumptions explain the following dichotomy: **conscious thought** vs. **literal language**. To be more precise, thinking is regarded as the process of making conscious efforts to reflect objective reality. Thus, language is an autonomous cognitive faculty that literally conveys what reality is about. Therefore, metaphorical language in the framework of the traditional school is conscious, subjective and deviant, as it refers to anything non-existent. Such understanding derives from the classical model of category structure (Croft and Cruse 2004, 76-77). The classical model establishes a clear and rigid boundary for a concept, thus metaphor deviates from the established boundary and is seen as both deviant from objective reality as well as delusive. The most general definition that dominates the traditional school is that metaphor is a tool of decorative language expressing similarities or analogy, as pioneered and developed by Aristotle.

Aristotle believed that metaphors were implicit comparisons based on the principle of analogy. The ancient philosopher and linguist was mostly interested in the relationship of metaphor to language and its role in communication in general. His discussion of these issues, mainly in the *Poetics* and in the *Rhetoric*, has remained influential to this day. The Aristotelian theory of metaphor has many correspondences with the modern view of comparison theory. In both theories metaphor is primarily viewed as an ornamental figure of speech; thus, metaphors are perceived as ambiguous and obscure in meaning (Aristotle, 1994).



Such Aristotelian assumptions underlie the works of famous language philosophers and linguists in their discussion of the nature of metaphor. Metaphor is viewed as obscure and ambiguous by nature, while most metaphorical expressions are either trivially true or trivially false, as they are not literal. Thus, the distinction of language into literal and figurative parallels the distinction of reality into objective and subjective. Therein literal language is viewed as reflection of the external world, whereas figurative language distorts reality and only serves rhetorical purposes (in Gibbs 1993, 254-255).

However, the revived interest in non-literal uses of language is especially noticed among modern linguists and pragmatists. Richards was the first to propose a theory of the so-called 'tensive' view, where he emphasised the 'tension' between the topic and the vehicle in a metaphor (1936). Grice continues Richards's tradition by claiming that metaphor is the realm of pragmatics (in Cole and Morgan 1975). Therefore, metaphorical meaning is no more than the literal meaning, which can be arrived at by some pragmatic principle. Pragmatic principles are those principles that allow one to say one thing (with a literal meaning) and mean something else (with a different, nevertheless literal meaning).

Grice's pragmatic view was further developed and discussed by Searle, who establishes the system of candidate mechanisms which correlates the sentence meaning to the speaker meaning (in Cole and Morgan 1975, 80-94). He proposes for the hearer to call to mind appropriate relating elements to link the gap between the two meanings. Furthermore, Searle distinguishes metaphors from indirect speech acts by suggesting that in the latter the speaker intends to convey both the sentence meaning and the indirect meaning, whereas in the former the intention is conveyed by the indirect meaning (ibid. 1975, 93-95). Finally, he argues that if literal interpretation is rejected, a metaphorical interpretation must be sought by means of paraphrase. By that, he means that even the metaphoric utterance can be paraphrased to reproduce truth conditions of another semantic content.

Metaphor is also viewed as the realm of pragmatics by Morgan, who calls for the need to distinguish the principles underlying different kinds of metaphor (1993, 124-137). He proposes to distinguish between two types of metaphor: stored and fresh. The former refers to a familiar linguistic expression, which is immediately recognized by the speakers and is on its way to becoming an idiom. By contrast, the latter refers to a newly established association, which has to be deciphered and needs more immediate context. The distinction between fresh and stored or dead metaphors is generally known as the underlying principle of the traditional metaphor theory.

Nonetheless, the ambiguity and triviality of metaphor has been emphasized by formal linguistic traditions. Sadock accepts mathematical logic as the most correct approach to natural language semantics (1993, 42-58). The study of metaphor, he claims, would not be a proper subject for synchronic linguistics, as it is a kind of indiscretion that is shared with non-language behaviour. Moreover, he adds that the underlying principles governing metaphor are of the psychological sort and thus not specifically linguistic (1993, 46).

To summarize, the traditional treatment of metaphor is based on the following assumptions:

- language is divided into literal and figurative;
- human reasoning reflects objective reality, thus categories are fixed and clearly defined;
- literal language corresponds to objective reality, as it refers to truth-conditions;
- figurative language is deviant, thus it distorts truth conditions; therefore, it has to be restored to the literal language;
- metaphor is a type of figurative language that can be of several kinds: fresh and dead.

### **1.3. Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: philosophical tenets**

The contemporary theory of metaphor was instigated by the philosophical school of embodied reason. According to Lakoff and Johnson, this philosophical approach was anticipated by the two philosophers of the embodied mind—Dewey and Merleau-Ponty (1999, 132). They both argued that mind and body are not separate metaphysical entities, thus human experience is entirely embodied. Such philosophic implications underlie the theoretical framework of Dewey and Merleau-Ponty (in Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Thomas 1987, Priest 1998).

Dewey particularly focused on the complex of organism-environment interactions that make up human experience. He showed that human experience is a combination of bodily, social, intellectual, and emotional factors (in Thomas 1987). Moreover, Dewey's ideas reject the dualistic epistemology and metaphysics of modern philosophy in favour of a naturalistic approach (ibid. 1987). In his view, inquiry is an active manipulation of the environment to test a hypothesis. By contemplating the environment, people adapt their organisms to various contexts, which allows for human action to proceed. Such a view rejects the atomistic understanding of society, as it emphasizes that the social construction of knowledge can only be acquired within the contexts of social habits (ibid. 1987). Thus, his main tenet that ideas cannot be separated from their social consequences supports the view of integrated experience.

The significance of integrated experience in organizing knowledge has been also developed by Merleau-Ponty. The philosopher argues that subjective and objective experience cannot be separated as independent entities; they actually arise from the integrated experience which is governed by the bodily experience (in Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Janda 2000). In this view, the human body is seen as a primary means of communication with the external world, through which equilibrium with the world can be achieved (in Priest 1998).

Moreover, he adds that embodied actions lead to perception which is largely habitual.

Thus, perceptive knowledge is achieved through imitation and responsiveness within an environment and to a community. In this view, knowledge is not only structured by bodily but also by social and cultural experiences. The construction of knowledge is established by integrating bodily, social and cultural experiences on the basis of conceptual networks, which are reflected in the uses of metaphor. Thus, metaphor serves the function of merging experiences for establishing common knowledge or ground which is shared within a specific speech community. Such integrated nature of human experience is the main theoretical assumption underlying the modern theory of conceptual metaphor (see Gibbs 1994, Boroditskij 2000, Gudavičius 2004).

Among the first to undertake and implement the ideas of the philosophical theory of embodied realism were Varela, Thompson, and Rosch (in Rosch 1978). They established the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics with the two basic tenets, which explain the crucial role of human experience in the processes of cognition and language use. First, they claim that cognition depends on the kinds of experience that originate from various sensorimotor capacities (1978). Second, they argue that these capacities are embedded in a biological, psychological and cultural context (ibid. 1978).

Subsequently, all proponents of embodied realism claim that objective reality is actually determined by a variety of factors: human sensory organs, brain, culture, interaction in the social environment. It is argued that people's perception of various situations depends on their embodied understanding (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 102). Accordingly, truth as such is not simply a relation between words and the world; the human brain and bodies interpose it. The concept of embodied realism is disclosed at three closely interrelated levels: **neural**, **conscious experience**, and the **cognitive unconscious** (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 102-104).

The first level of **neural embodiment** concerns structures that characterize concepts and cognitive operations at the neural level. For example, these aspectual concepts refer to the domains of colour and spatial relations. The second level of **conscious experience** is accessible to human consciousness. It consists of everything people can be aware of, especially mental states as well as physical and social interactions. Lakoff calls it the ‘feel of experience’, the way things appear to people, e.g. a toothache, the taste of dark chocolate or the sound of a piano, etc. (2002).

Finally, the most important level of embodied reason is the **cognitive unconscious** defined by Lakoff as the massive portion of the iceberg that lies below the surface of conscious thinking (2002). It consists of all the mental operations that structure the conscious experience and use of language. This level makes use of the perceptual and motor aspects of human bodies to categorise basic-level and spatial-relations concepts. What has been concluded on the basis of various studies of the human mind is that the cognitive unconscious is a highly structured level of mental organization and processing.

The significance of these three levels of **embodied realism** lies in the fact that they explain how categories in the human mind are shaped by bodily, individual and social experience. The main tool of organizing human experience is prototypical categorisation, by means of which people construct conceptual categories via their experience (Johnson 1993, 72). Such categories are typically conceptualised in terms of prototypes. Each prototype, according to cognitive linguists, is a neural structure that permits people to draw inferences relative to a certain category (Lakoff 2002, 8-11). Thus, every established category can be evaluated and interpreted in terms of various prototypes, such as typical-case prototypes, ideal-case prototypes, social prototypes, salient exemplars, etc.

However, it should be noted that prototype theory comes in two main generally established versions, which causes a certain confusion among linguists, as they tend not to distinguish clearly between the two versions: the feature-based approach vs. the similarity-based approach. Both versions are

based on the assumption that graded centrality and best examples verify category membership (Hampton 1997, 82). To clarify, members that are judged to be the best examples of a category, e.g. VEGETABLE, can be considered to be the most central to the category. The best examples of categories are referred to as prototypes or prototypical members of the category, e.g. CARROT, POTATO etc. However, considering varied social and cultural experience, it is natural to expect prototypical members to be specifically culture dependent. The choice of central category or prototype is influenced by the cognitive stance occupied by a linguist (ibid. Hampton 1997, 82). In the feature-based approach version, a concept is represented in terms of a list of the attributes of category members. This resembles a classical definition except that the features of a prototype representation are not required to be necessary or sufficient. Thus, the centrality of an item in the category depends on the number of features possessed.

Another version of prototype theory depends on the notion of similarity to the prototype, known as similarity approach (Hampton 1997, 85-88; Croft and Cruse 2004, 81-82). It is thought that a concept has to be represented by an ideal exemplar (e.g. VEGETABLE > CARROT), while membership and centrality of other items is defined in terms of their similarity to the prototype. Hampton argues that these two versions of prototype theory are not equivalent. Simple concepts of colour or shape are better served by the similarity approach, while complex concepts are better served by the feature-list model (Hampton 1997, 88-95). The feature-list version of prototype theory accounts for the Wittgensteinian example of the category of GAME. The membership in this category is established not by necessary and sufficient features but by family resemblance relations (see Wittgenstein 1953).

Despite their differences in organizing membership around a central category, both the similarity-based approach and the feature-list model are based on the common belief that each category is grounded in a constant mental representation. However, recently a new approach to categories has emerged that challenges this assumption. Smith and Samuelson argue that the

notion of fixed categories with permanent representation has led to little progress (1997, 159-166). They propose that categories are inherently variable and created on-line when or as needed (ibid. 1997, 163-167). Thus, category boundaries are naturally fuzzy and culture-determined. For example, the boundaries of categories of 'alive' and 'dead' vary according to the context, cf. the case of abortion: the location of the boundary between dead or alive with reference to the foetus will determine the direction of dispute—whether to support or reject abortion. In this view, meaning is seen as something people dynamically construe, using the properties of linguistic elements alongside non-linguistic knowledge derived from conflated human experiences, i.e. sensorimotor, social, cultural, historical etc. (Croft and Cruse 2004, 95-99).

To sum up, the philosophical tradition of embodied realism is based on the following assumptions (Rosch 1978, Flavel 1976, Johnson 1987 1993, Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Lakoff 1996, Turner 1995):

- human reasoning is not disembodied, but arises from the nature of **bodily experience**. Thus, to understand reason means to understand details of the human visual system, the motor system and the general mechanisms of neural binding;
- human experience is categorized by conceptual categories in terms of **prototypes**, categorical boundaries are not fixed and permanent; their **fuzziness** is determined by culture.
- reason is **not universal in the transcendental sense**; in other words, it is not part of the structure of the universe; however, it is universal in the human capacity of the embodied mind which is shared by all human beings;
- reason is mostly **unconscious**;
- reason is **not purely literal, but largely metaphorical and imaginative**, as well as emotionally engaged, as people make subjective judgements about abstract concepts.

#### **1.4. The Conceptual metaphor theory: empirical findings**

Cognitive linguists reject the so-called traditional theory of metaphor, according to which a metaphoric expression replaces some literal expression that has the same meaning. They perceive conceptual metaphor as a primary means of categorising subjective experience in terms of sensorimotor, visual and other domains of bodily experience. In the view of cognitive approach, it is argued that metaphor is pervasive in both thought and language (Grady 1997, Lakoff 1987 1993 2002, Langacker 1990, Fauconnier and Turner 2002, Kövecses 2002 2005, Palmer 1998 2006, Reddy 1993, Talmy 1988, Taylor 1995, Sweetser 1990). Moreover, the use of conceptual metaphor is mainly spontaneous, thus unconscious, as it occurs at the neural level by conflating and integrating experiences. Therefore, the analysis of the so-called conventional or every-day metaphor is the most revealing and thought-provoking.

One of the most influential books to emerge from cognitive linguistic tradition is Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; see also Lakoff 1987 1993). Lakoff and his colleagues use evidence from every day conventional language to infer the existence of metaphorical mappings between conceptual domains in the human mind. Thus, the primary goal of the conceptual theory of metaphor is to uncover those metaphorical mappings between conceptual domains. The analysis of conceptual metaphor demonstrates how human reasoning and behaviour are organized. This metaphor theory has been applied to analysing literature (Lakoff and Turner 1989), philosophy (Johnson 1987, Lakoff and Johnson 1999), mathematics (Lakoff and Núñez 2000), politics (Lakoff 1996) etc.

The central characteristic of Lakoff and Johnson's theory is that metaphor is not the property of individual linguistic expressions and their meanings, but of whole conceptual domains. Thus, metaphor is perceived as a cognitive tool which structures and organizes human experience. There are four theories established in the framework of cognitive sciences, which analyse the conventional nature of conceptual metaphor: (1) Johnson's theory of



conflation, (2) Grady's theory of primary metaphor, (3) Narayanan's neural theory of metaphor, (4) Fauconnier and Turner's theory of conceptual blending.

Johnson in his theory of conflation states that young children consistently correlate their subjective judgements with sensorimotor experiences (in Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 45-47). For example, an infant typically correlates the subjective experience of affection with the sensorimotor experience of warmth, i.e. the warmth of being held. During the period of conflation, associations are automatically and unconsciously built up between these two domains: affection and warmth. These persisting associations are the mappings of conceptual metaphor which results in such linguistic expressions as *a warm smile*, *a warm person*, *a warm welcome* (Lakoff 1994) etc.

Hence, Johnson in his theory hypothesizes that conceptual metaphor emerges in two major stages (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Johnson 1987 1993). The first is that of conflation, during which connections between two coactive domains are established, and these domains are not experienced as separate. The latter stage is that of differentiation, during which previously coactive domains are differentiated into metaphorical targets and sources. As a result, conceptual metaphor is generally defined as a conceptual mapping between two domains: **target** and **source**.

Lakoff and Johnson use the formula TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN to describe the metaphorical link between the two domains (in Croft and Cruse 2004, 196). The former refers to the conceptual domain that we try to understand; target domains are typically more abstract and subjective. The latter, on the other hand, refers to the conceptual domain that is used to understand another conceptual domain, i.e. the target domain; source domains are typically less abstract and less complex. For example, the conceptual metaphor of HUMOUR IS AN INJURY is linguistically realized by such metaphorical expressions as below (Lakoff 1994):

- (1) *That joke really slayed me.*
- (2) *She nearly died of laughter.*
- (3) *Your jokes are killing me.*

In this metaphor, HUMOUR is an abstract concept functioning as a TARGET DOMAIN, while an INJURY is a specific physical concept functioning as a SOURCE DOMAIN in the conceptual structure HUMOUR IS AN INJURY. The most systematic comprehensive survey of common sources and targets is provided by the Cobuild Metaphor Dictionary, which has been complemented by Kövecses in his book *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* (2002, 18-26), cf. below:

Table 2: Common SOURCE and TARGET Domains:

SOURCE domains	TARGET domains
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The human body</li> <li>• Health and illness</li> <li>• Animals</li> <li>• Plants</li> <li>• Buildings and construction</li> <li>• Machines and tools</li> <li>• Games and sport</li> <li>• Business (money &amp; economic transactions)</li> <li>• Cooking and food</li> <li>• Heat and cold</li> <li>• Light and darkness</li> <li>• Forces</li> <li>• Movement etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emotion</li> <li>• Desire</li> <li>• Morality</li> <li>• Thought</li> <li>• Society / nation</li> <li>• Politics</li> <li>• Economy</li> <li>• Communication</li> <li>• Time</li> <li>• Life and death</li> <li>• Religion</li> </ul>

The metaphorical link of conceptual metaphor is expressed by mapping or a set of correspondences between the two domains. Such mapping is asymmetrical, as the metaphoric expression profiles a conceptual structure in the target domain, not the source domain (Kövecses 2002). The mapping between source and target domains involves two kinds of correspondences—ontological and epistemic (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1993, Kövecses 2002). The former holds between the elements of source and target domains, while the latter holds between the relations of source and target domains, cf. metaphor of ANGER IS HEAT OF A FLUID (Lakoff 1987, 387-390) in the table below:

Table 3: Ontological and Epistemic Correspondences

ANGER IS HEAT OF A FLUID		
Ontological correspondences	SOURCE DOMAIN: HEAT OF A FLUID	TARGET DOMAIN: ANGER
	CONTAINER	BODY
	HEAT OF A FLUID	ANGER
	HEAT SCALE	ANGER SCALE
	PRESSURE IN CONTAINER	EXPERIENCED PRESSURE

	AGITATION OF BOILING FLUID	EXPERIENCED AGITATION
	EXPLOSION	LOSS OF CONTROL
	When fluid in a container is heated beyond a certain limit, pressure increases to point, at which container explodes.	When anger increases beyond a certain limit, <i>pressure</i> increases to point at which person loses control.
Epistemic correspondences	An explosion is damaging to container and dangerous to bystanders.	Loss of control is damaging to person and dangerous to others.
	Explosion can be prevented by applying sufficient force and counterpressure.	Anger can be suppressed by force of will.

As shown in the table above, the ontological correspondences are conceptual mappings between the elements of SOURCE and TARGET domain. Meanwhile, epistemic correspondences illustrate the nature and directionality of relations between conceptual domains. However, as noted by Lakoff, a conceptual metaphor cannot be reduced to a finite set of linguistic expressions, even though it is normally realized linguistically (1987, 387-345). Thus, the analysis of linguistic expressions in terms of conceptual structures is always open-ended, and it aims not at identifying the finite set of metaphorical expressions but rather at examining patterns of reasoning underlying the use of certain linguistic expressions.

It should be noted that conceptual metaphor in its formulaic expression A IS B has to be distinguished from its metaphoric linguistic realizations. Consider the following linguistic expressions of the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP IS HEALTH, where the abstract concept of social relationship is perceived through the specific concept of bodily health, as in the examples below (Lakoff 1994):

- (4) *This is a **sick** relationship.*
- (5) *They have a **strong and healthy** marriage.*
- (6) *Their relationship **went to the hospital**.*

These linguistic expressions are illustrations of the conceptual metaphor SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP IS HEALTH, where the source domain of HEALTH is mapped onto the target domain of SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP (ibid. 1994).

Thus, the origin of conceptual metaphor is clearly explained by Johnson's theory of conflation or Grady's theory of primary metaphor (Lakoff and

Johnson 1999, 49). Grady supports Johnson’s view that everyday experience is automatically and unconsciously conflated at the neural level of the human mind (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). This conflation is marked with cross-domain associations that are reflected in the use of primary metaphor. Each primary metaphor has a minimal structure and makes up a constituent part of a complex metaphor. If primary metaphors come to life at early periods of human development, i.e. infancy and childhood, complex metaphors are being constructed throughout human life on the basis of primary metaphors. Thus, primary metaphors are universal, as their SOURCE domain in most cases is BODILY experience, while complex metaphors are culture-specific, as their SOURCE domains differ from culture to culture.

Complex metaphors, according to Grady (Grady, Oakley and Coulson 1999), are formed by means of conceptual blending of primary metaphors into complex mental constructs. Moreover, he argues that universal early experiences result in universal confluents, which then develop into universal or widespread conventional conceptual metaphors. Consider Table 1 below that shows a list of four primary metaphors where each primary metaphorical mapping is followed by a linguistic expression and explained via its subjective and sensorimotor components (Grady, Oakley and Coulson 1999). Also, the description of **primary experience**, which causes the conflation of the two domains, is given in the table below:

Table 4: Representative Primary Metaphors (Grady, Oakley and Coulson 1999)

1.	<b>AFFECTION IS WARMTH</b> e.g. <i>They greeted me warmly.</i>	
	<b>Subjective judgement</b> AFFECTION	<b>Sensorimotor domain</b> TEMPERATURE
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Primary experience:</b> feeling warm while being held affectionately</li> </ul>	
2.	<b>IMPORTANT IS BIG</b> e.g. <i>Tomorrow is a big day.</i>	
	<b>Subjective judgement</b> IMPORTANCE	<b>Sensorimotor domain</b> SIZE
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Primary experience:</b> as a child finding that big things, e.g., parents, are important and can exert major forces on you and dominate your visual experience.</li> </ul>	
3.	<b>RELATIONSHIPS ARE ENCLOSURES</b> e.g. <i>We’ve been in a close relationship for years, but it’s beginning to seem confining.</i>	
	<b>Subjective judgement</b> AN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP	<b>Sensorimotor domain:</b> BEING IN AN ENCLOSURE

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Primary experience:</b> living in the same enclosed physical space with the people you are most closely related to.</li> </ul>	
4.	<b>MORE IS UP</b> e.g. <i>Prices are high.</i>	
	<b>Subjective judgement</b> QUANTITY	<b>Sensorimotor domain</b> VERTICAL ORIENTATION
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Primary experience:</b> observing rise and fall of levels of piles and fluids as more is added or subtracted.</li> </ul>	

The table illustrates the origins of conventional metaphor. Let me consider the last example of MORE IS UP in greater detail. The correlation of the physical experience of verticality with the subjective experience of quantity leads to the establishment of neural connections between these two domains. Accordingly, the words referring to verticality such as *rise, fall, plummet, high, low, peak* etc. can be metaphorically used to indicate quality, as in the sentence *Prices are high* (Lakoff and Johnson 1999).

How associations between subjective and sensorimotor domains are formed during the period of conflation are explained by Narayanan (in Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 41). He argues that associations are realized neurally in simultaneous activations that result in permanent neural connections being made across the neural networks that define conceptual domains. These connections form the anatomical basis of source-to-target activations that constitute metaphoric entailment.

Moreover, he assumes that a sensorimotor neural system has more inferential connections and thus a greater inferential capacity than the neural system of subjective experience (Johnson 1993). The factor that inferences flow in one direction only, i.e. from sensorimotor to subjective domain, results in the asymmetry of conceptual metaphor. As a result, conceptual metaphor is asymmetric by nature, as inferential connections are uni-directional. For example, the metaphor POLITICS IS WAR is based on associations deriving from the source domain of WAR structuring the target domain of POLITICS (Coulson 2003, Chilton 2004, Kövecses 2002).

As the capacity for drawing associations is essential for human existence in the world, conceptual metaphor then pervades every aspect of social life. The pervasiveness of the primary conceptual metaphor supports the argument of a

necessary distinction: metaphor vs. non-metaphor. Despite the cognitivists' claim that most human reasoning is based on metaphorical constructs, the traditional classification of language into literal and metaphorical is sustained though reinterpreted by cognitive linguists (Lakoff 1993, Fauconnier and Turner 2002). According to Fauconnier and Turner, literal meaning is 'only a plausible default in minimally specified contexts, <...> not clear that the notion of literal meaning plays any privileged role in the on-line construction of meaning' (2002, 69). In other words, from the perspective of cognitive linguistics, literal meaning is not a special meaning, as it is generally context and situations limited. Thus, the boundary between literal meaning and metaphorical meaning is fuzzy and overlapping, i.e. what is literal in one context might be metaphorical in another. This modern application of the traditional classification among cognitive linguists can be viewed as that unifying link, which allows the crossing of the established boundaries between traditional and cognitive approaches to metaphor.

Generally, the division of language into literal and metaphorical is motivated by the division of experience into physical or sensorimotor and metaphysical or abstract (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). Lakoff and his colleagues claim that all basic sensorimotor concepts are literal (ibid. 1999). Concepts of judgement and subjective experience when not structured metaphorically are also literal, cf. (Lakoff 1994):

(7) *These colours are similar.*

(8) *These colours are close.*

As seen from the examples above, sentence (7) is literal; whereas, sentence (8) is metaphorical, as it uses the metaphor SIMILARITY IS PROXIMITY. Thus, non-metaphorical concepts have only a '**skeletal**' structure (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 45). A primary metaphor, by contrast, adds sensorimotor inferential structure to the skeletal structure of the concept. Moreover, such sensorimotor inferential capacity is multiplied when two or more primary metaphors are combined to create complex conceptual metaphor (Lakoff 1983).

The theory of complex conceptual metaphor is also known as the theory of conceptual blending (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). It claims that conceptual domains can be deactivated, and under certain conditions connections across these domains can be formed. These connections will lead to new inferences or the so-called conceptual blends that can be both conventional and wholly original. The concept of conventional conceptual blends is perceived as the mechanism by which two or more primary metaphors can be brought together to form large complex metaphors (Grady, Oakley and Coulson 1999).

To illustrate, one of the most common complex metaphors that affects most people in Western culture is PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Johnson 1993). It serves as an influential folk model according to which people are supposed to have an ascribed purpose in life. If, however, a person is *purposeless*, s/he is seen as *lost* and *without direction in life*, or as *not having which way to turn* (Johnson 1993). Thus, the prerogative to have purpose in one's life encourages people to begin to set goals that they have to reach. They also have to be aware of various obstacles that may stand in their way or to overcome them if necessary in order to reach their final goal or destination.

The use of the complex metaphor system of LIFE IS A JOURNEY affects many people, which is reflected in various cultural beliefs. Johnson argues that Western people in particular are expected to have a fixed purpose in life, and to perform such actions which would eventually contribute to achieving that purpose (1993). Such cultural expectations are reflected in the use of the complex metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY, which consists of several primary metaphors: PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS and ACTIONS ARE MOTIONS. This combination accounts for the cross-mapping of the following conceptual elements (Lakoff and Johnson 1999, 63):

- JOURNEY IS A PURPOSEFUL LIFE,
- TRAVELLERS ARE PERSONS LIVING A LIFE,
- DESTINATIONS ARE LIFE GOALS,
- ITINERARY IS A LIFE PLAN.

This cross-conceptual mapping defines a complex metaphor made up of four sub-metaphors. More importantly, the analysis of the complementary elements of the JOURNEY metaphor goes beyond the conceptual, as argued by Lakoff and Johnson (1999, 60-63). They claim that metaphors and their elements have significant cultural consequences (ibid. 1999, 63). Thus, the metaphor of LIFE IS A JOURNEY explains the meaning of an important cultural document—the Curriculum Vitae, which in Latin refers to the ‘course of life’. The CV in Western culture indicates where people have been on the journey and whether they were on or behind the expected schedule. In other words, people applying for an employment position are expected to impress their potential employers with their *journey*.

As a result, the integrated theory of conceptual metaphor has overwhelming implications for linguistic studies. First, its major claim—people acquire a large system of primary metaphors automatically and unconsciously—allows one to identify the peculiarities of human unconscious and cultural expectations as reflected in the use of conceptual metaphor. The second argument—the process of metaphorisation occurs by functioning in the most ordinary ways in the everyday world from the earliest years—highlights the importance of conventional metaphor and stimulates the need for its research. Third, the argument that people acquire metaphors naturally in the process of conflation emphasizes the cognitive nature of metaphor. Thus, the analysis of metaphor discloses both linguistic and cognitive characteristics. Finally, the argument—most of primary metaphors are universal, while complex are either universal or culture-specific—allows to analyse one to foresee and compare metaphor systems in terms of their ontological and epistemic relations cross-culturally.

To conclude, the analysis of metaphor is revealing in terms of experiential and cultural aspects of human cognition, or what Dijk refers to as social cognition (1983, 248). Moreover, the analysis of conceptual metaphor in a discourse leads to the analysis of cultural models, expectations, underlying preconceptions and beliefs characteristic of discourse users (Tomasello 1999,



Musolff and Zinken 2009). By analysing metaphors, the distinct aspects of human cognition and cultural constructs can be traced and explained. Even more, the research of conceptual metaphor allows to foresee future patterns of human behaviour as reflected in the use of metaphorical mappings and their epistemic relations.

### **1.5. POLITICAL Metaphors**

Discourse and politics can be related in essentially two ways: (a) at a social-political level of description, where political processes and structures are constituted by situated events and interactions of political actors in political contexts; (b) at a socio-cognitive level of description, where shared political representations are related to individual representations of these interactions and contexts (Dijk 1983, 210). Thus, politics and political discourse are perceived as a complex conceptual structure of social and individual models, the analysis of which discloses moral expectations and subjective experience. Such political representations are constituted by metaphors, which in their turn, characterize political processes and their participants, or so called associated preconceptions governing political decision-making and behaviour patterns.

The on-going research of political discourse reveals a variable and complex nature of conceptual metaphors which structure experiences, beliefs and imaginings of a particular culture in the TARGET domain of POLITICS (Gibbs 1994, Chilton 2004, Kövecses 2002, Lakoff 1991 1995 1996 2003, Lassan 1995, Musolff 2004 2008, Turner 2002, Fauconnier 1994, Fauconnier and Turner 2002, etc.). During the last ten years different groups of conceptual metaphors were identified and analysed by their complexity and variability patterns. Among the most prominent these five metaphors metaphors have been examined in terms of their linguistic and conceptual representations, which will be described in more detail below in the following order: POLITICS IS PHYSICAL FORCE, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, POLITICS IS HEALTH, POLITICS IS BUSINESS, STATE/COUNTRY IS A PERSON.

The metaphor of POLITICS IS PHYSICAL FORCE is widely spread across cultures and thus tend to be universal (Kövecses 2002, 43). The analysis of this metaphor is based on the epistemic relations which are developed by the source domain of PHYSICAL FORCE mapped on the TARGET domain of political power. The metaphor of PHYSICAL FORCE is a complex conceptual system, which consists of other metaphors such as WAR, GAME and SPORT. Thus, Kövecses defines politics as the exercise of power due to the use of such source domains as PHYSICAL FORCE, WAR, GAME, SPORTS, which are not random but motivated (ibid. 2002, 58).

The motivated use of the POLITICS IS PHYSICAL FORCE metaphor can be explained by both the sensorimotor and cultural framework of human experience (Gibbs 1994, Lakoff 1996, Mussolf 2008). In the view of the cognitive approach, it is held that physical force constitutes a primary aspect of human existence in the world, i.e. that is only by means of applying force people are and will be. The concept of PHYSICAL FORCE includes such categories as gravitation, bodily pressure and positioning, etc (see Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Johnson 1987, Kövecses 2002). The metaphor of PHYSICAL FORCE is a complex conceptual construct, which is realized through more specified domains of human experience such as WAR and SPORTS. Cognitivists argue such specification reveals that contemporary politics is less civilized, as political problems are solved by means of forceful actions rather than negotiation and compromise (Gibbs 1994, Kövecses 2002). This leads to the following practical implications: methods of violence and coercion are morally justified for the sake of higher political goals, thus coercion in politics is seen as morally acceptable and right.

The second metaphor, which is widely used in Western political discourse, is that of POLITICS IS A JOURNEY (Chilton 2004, Kövecses 2002). Many political actions are conceptualised through the source domains of movement along a certain path towards a prescribed destination. To illustrate, the metaphor of POLITICS IS A JOURNEY is linguistically represented by such metaphorical expressions as *coming to a crossroads*, *moving ahead towards a*

*better future, overcoming obstacles on the way* etc. Moreover, the metaphor of JOURNEY is a conceptual extension of the primary metaphor of MOTION. In the view of the cognitive approach, MOTION is seen as another constituted aspect of human physical experience without which people could not exist. As a result, in many instances of human categorization, abstract concepts are structured through the domain of MOTION or its specified invariant—JOURNEY.

The third widely spread conceptual metaphor is that of POLITICS IS HEALTH. Chilton argues that this metaphor is dominant in political discourse for the purposes of justifying immoral political actions (2004 2005). For instance, Hitler's language in his speeches is structured through the metaphor of POLITICS IS HEALTH, where the Nazi leader maps the source domain of microbes and diseases onto the target domain of Jewish people (Chilton 2004, 52). Its use generates the following moral and practical implications: Jews are perceived through the concept of parasitic microbes, dangerous for human health and well-being, thus they should be removed from the human body. As a result, the use of the HEALTH metaphor indirectly provides Hitler with moral rights to expatriate Jewish people and present them as most dangerous for the German state and its people (Mussolf 2008).

The third metaphor, widely spread in political discourse, is that of POLITICS IS BUSINESS (Lakoff 2002, Kövecses 2002). This metaphor is dominant in many political activities, where efficient political management is associated with efficient business management. In other words, a well-run government is perceived through the concept of a well-run business, which is based on the accounting system of costs and benefits. Such a BUSINESS metaphor originates from Clausewitz's economic theory of the cost-benefit analysis, where accepted gains are continuously weighed against acceptable costs (Lakoff 1991). Thus, each nation or state is viewed as pursuing political gains which cannot exceed their costs. For example, such a metaphor is represented by the following decision-making: while considering the need for military actions, politicians first calculate war costs; if they exceed political

gains, there are two options: war is either not started or it is ceased. Thus, the POLITICS IS BUSINESS metaphor characterizes political activities in terms of economic management based on the cost-and-benefit analysis.

The fourth metaphor of STATE IS A PERSON particularly prevails in the discourse of international politics and diplomacy (Lakoff 1991). The use of such a metaphor is based on the following perception: a state is conceptualised as an individual engaged in social relations within the world community. Hence, states or countries are characterized in terms of various human attributes such as health, strength, weakness, laziness, peacefulness, aggression, friendliness, generosity etc. To illustrate, they are structured through the source domains of *neighbours, allies, friends* which can be *healthy, sick, friendly, aggressive* towards each other. The prevalence of the STATE IS A PERSON metaphor creates natural conditions for distinguishing between weak and strong, friendly and aggressive, good and evil countries (Lakoff 1991, Lakoff and Johnson 1999).

More importantly, the analysis of the STATE IS A PERSON metaphor allows for identification of both the political leaders' intentions and the internal structure of the state (Lakoff 1991). Many political leaders use this metaphor for the purpose of justifying their actions taken against *weaker* countries. For example, the American president G. W. Bush justified his decision to continue the war in Iraq by using the STATE IS A PERSON metaphor, which is based on the distinction of EVIL countries vs. GOOD countries (Lakoff 1991). America is conceptualised in terms of the GOODNESS metaphor or a moral hero fiercely fighting EVIL or terrorists in Iraq, thus the use of violence against evil is seen as necessary and morally appropriate.

In addition, the analysis of the STATE IS A PERSON metaphor reveals how the state is organized, i.e. its internal structure, as reflected in such elements as class hierarchy, ethnic composition, religious rivalry, political parties, etc. (Lakoff 1991 2002). As a complex conceptual network, it involves the metaphor of STATE IS A HEALTHY PERSON. The associations of the self-interested, strong and healthy individual penetrate the concept of state,

especially its economic and military strength. Thus, much political discourse is based on the concepts of strength and health, where the traditional understanding of the state is associated with a healthy economy where GDP (gross domestic product) continuously increases.

The five universal metaphors described above have also been discussed by Lithuanian linguists, who analysed their use in public and political discourse (Lassan 1995, Cibulskienė 2005, Marcinkevičienė 1995 2008, Urbonaitė and Šeškauskienė 2007, Vaičenonienė 2002).

Lassan was the first to analyse metaphor in terms of hierarchical oppositions in the ideological discourse of the Soviet Union (1995). She identified binary oppositions characteristic of the Soviet Union discourse in the 1970s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century such as the following: communism vs. anticommunism, patriotism vs. anti-patriotism, collectivism vs. anti-collectivism etc. They are referred to as text-primitives, which are identified at the lowest level in the hierarchy of text-construction. Conceptual metaphor, in its turn, is identified at a higher level of text construction. For example, the primary level of text construction expressed by the opposition of individualism vs. altruism is realised in the metaphor of INDIVIDUALISM IS AN ILLNESS OF HUMANITY. Thus, the analysis of metaphor shows that ideological discourse is based on binary oppositions, which disclose political expectations. Today Lassan stimulates research interests in cognitive linguistics and anthropological studies by investigating cultural meanings of other conceptual domains such as spatial coordinates (2007).

The cross-linguistic analysis of WAR and HEALTH metaphors has been carried out in such discursive levels as elections and media (Vaičenonienė 2002, Cibulskienė 2005, Marcinkevičienė 1995, Urbonaitė and Šeškauskienė 2007). Such metaphors have been identified and interpreted as POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IS AN ENTITY, POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE DISEASES etc. (Marcinkevičienė 1995, Vaičenonienė 2002). Recently Cibulskienė has conducted her doctoral research on the use of conceptual metaphor in election discourse, where such metaphors were

analysed as POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, and STATE IS A BUILDING (2005). The above metaphors demonstrate a universal tendency in structuring political concepts in Lithuania through such source domains as WAR, JOURNEY, CONSTRUCTION, ENTITY etc.

Another universal metaphor, which structures political and economic discourse in Britain and Lithuania, is that of HEALTH (Urbonaitė and Šeškauskienė 2007). Metaphors have been classified into seven major groups with the following two as the most prominent: PROBLEM IS AN ILLNESS and IMPROVEMENT IS MEDICAL TREATMENT. Their analysis shows that HEALTH metaphors are twice as frequent in English, however, both languages are equally prone to conceptualize political and economic difficulties in terms of health problems.

### **1.6. MORALITY Metaphors**

Metaphors in public discourse have been examined alongside MORALITY metaphors, as both politics and morality are closely interrelated. The moral nature of politics and other social domains has been discussed in cognitive science and philosophy (Johnson 1993, Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Lakoff 1996, Werth 1999). In the view of cognitive philosophy, conceptual metaphor is a complementary aspect to moral matrix. If conceptual metaphor is seen as a cultural act, its analysis is significant for identifying cultural preconceptions or morality models governing behaviour and attitudes in a particular culture.

It has been generally accepted that all MORALITY metaphors are grounded in various experiences of WELL-BEING, especially physical well-being (Johnson 1993, Lakoff 2002, Kövecses 2002). Thus, the metaphoric structure of ethical concepts is based on the source domains of elementary aspects of human well-being such as HEALTH, WEALTH, STRENGTH, BALANCE, PROTECTION, NURTURANCE etc. The dominant MORALITY metaphors in Western political discourse are those of STRENGTH, BALANCE, ORDER, and HEALTH (Lakoff 2002), each of them to be described in greater detail below.

The first generally established metaphor is that of MORALITY IS STRENGTH, which dominates the moral systems of Western societies (Lakoff 2002, Lakoff and Johnson 1999). The concept of MORAL STRENGTH is perceived as an essential condition for committing moral actions. As a complex metaphor system, it consists of several conceptual elements: BEING MORAL IS BEING UPRIGHT, wherein MORAL uprightness is understood in terms of physical uprightness, as in the following sentences below (Lakoff 1994):

(9) *He's an **upstanding** / **upright** citizen.*

(10) *She's on the **up** and **up**.*

(11) *That was a **low** thing to do.*

In addition, the MORAL STRENGTH metaphor is closely interrelated with the metaphor of MORAL BALANCE, i.e. since physical uprightness entails balance, thus BEING GOOD / MORAL is perceived through the source domains of BEING BALANCED, as in the following utterances (Lakoff 1996):

(12) *He is a **stable** and **level-headed** person.*

(13) *She's not on an **even** keel.*

The use of such a metaphor shows that unbalanced people cannot be trusted, as they lose balance in their life. The property of unbalanced behaviour is perceived critically, thus receiving negative moral evaluation.

The second metaphor, which plays a significant role in shaping moral expectations of Western culture, is MORALITY IS ORDER (Lakoff 2002, Lakoff and Johnson 1999, Kövecses 2002). The MORALITY IS ORDER metaphor derives from the folk theory of the natural order, where everything in the world is seen as based on Nature and its patterns of natural hierarchy. Thus, the use of this metaphor assists in legitimizing power relations and establishing lines of moral authority. Moreover, the MORALITY IS ORDER metaphor generates a hierarchy of moral responsibilities. For example, in the hierarchy of dominance men are seen as naturally more powerful than women. This natural order of dominance is mapped on the concept of moral order—MORAL ORDER IS NATURAL ORDER, e.g. if men are naturally more powerful than women, naturally they have moral authority over women, who

are less powerful. Finally, this metaphor also generates a hierarchy of MORAL responsibilities, in which those in authority have responsibilities towards those under authority, e.g. men naturally have responsibilities over women.

The third metaphor, structuring the system of moral expectations in Western culture, is that of MORALITY IS BOUNDARIES (Johnson 1993). As a complex conceptual network, the metaphor of MORAL BOUNDARIES consists of the following aspects: moral actions are seen as bounded movements, wherein movement is permissible in certain areas and along certain paths. Therefore, immoral action is seen as an act of motion outside the permissible area. According to this metaphor, deviant behaviour is seen as immoral and unacceptable, as it moves in unsanctioned areas.

Another widely-spread conceptual metaphor is that of MORAL ESSENCE. The MORALITY IS ESSENCE metaphor describes people's character and behaviour by mapping the source domain of ESSENCE onto the target domain of MORAL GOODNESS. Thus, the use of the ESSENCE metaphor is based on the perception that each person has a moral constitution that determines his/her behaviour patterns. It is often called moral character, which is metaphorically structured via the concept of essence, as in the utterance below (Lakoff 1994):

(14) *She has a heart of **gold**.*

(15) *He is **rotten to the core**.*

Thus, the metaphor of MORAL ESSENCE is about what people do or how they act.

By contrast, MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS is a conceptual metaphor, which characterizes what and how people do. As a complex conceptual system, this metaphor is structured through the source domains of purity and cleanliness that are mapped onto the target domain of morality. As a result, moral actions are conceived of as *pure* and *clean*, whereas immoral ones as *impure* and *dirty*, consider the following sentences (Lakoff 1994):

(16) *She's **pure** as the driven snow.*

(17) *He's a **dirty** old man, whose amoral behaviour is revolting.*

(18) *I will **clean up** this town and its people.*



Similarly, MORALITY IS HEALTH is a complex conceptual network structuring amoral people's actions in terms of diseases and infections, which have a danger of being transmitted in a society. The use of the HEALTH metaphor has an important practical implication: since diseases can spread through contact, it follows that immoral people must also be kept away and isolated from other people. The use of the MORALITY IS HEALTH metaphor is accompanied by such metaphors as IMMORAL ACTION IS A DISEASE or MORAL ACTION IS HYGIENE.

To conclude, although the afore-mentioned MORALITY metaphors define a larger part of the Western moral tradition, they are widespread around the world, since their source domains derive from basic experiences of WELL-BEING. However, the universality of metaphorical constructs, i.e. MORALITY IS HEALTH or MORALITY IS ORDER, does not necessarily imply universality of associated preconceptions. To be more precise, the conceptual construct can be found in many languages, but its application may have different moral implications. This is done by analysing ontological and epistemic relations between the SOURCE and TARGET domains.

### **1.7. Morality Models in Politics**

The language used in the conceptual system of public discourse is based on moral conceptual systems, as social issues cannot be isolated from their moral matrix (Lakoff 2002, 385). Hence, the analysis of the source domains for political metaphor reveals the underlying preconceptions of public discourse. Moreover, their analysis helps one to understand reasons for moral criticism and to identify underlying moral expectations. As much of political behaviour is criticized, the analysis of metaphors helps to reveal the set of values, which are either morally accepted or denied.

In other words, the analysis of the source domains for POLITICS metaphor will result in certain morality models, which govern political behaviour and raise certain moral expectations in their representative cultures. Generally, there are three political morality models distinguished by political philosophers

that shape the understanding of political events and raise certain moral expectations, namely: **pragmatic**, **rational** and **integrated** approaches (Stein 2004, Elshtain 2004, Slote 2004). The three approaches are metaphysical arguments which try to theoretically explain and clarify the moral nature of social and political activities.

The classical or traditional approach to politics delineated by such distinguished philosophers as Machiavelli, Dawkins, Williams, Huxley is known as the **Pragmatic Morality Model** (Elshtain 2004, Stein 2004). According to this model, all people are seen as evil and selfish by nature. Moreover, morality is understood as a human invention explicitly devised to control those combative and selfish tendencies in a society. Thus, the use of violence and force is a constituent part of political activity. Moreover, moral politics is associated with coercive and forceful behaviour. The key concepts underlying pragmatic politics are strength, force, control, order, stability, etc.

By contrast, the **rational** approach to morality, developed by Rawls, Kant, Descartes etc., is based on the maximum use of rationality and consciously calculated political actions, which are regarded as primary constituents of political decision-making (Boehm 2002). In this view, basic moral principles are perceived through the concept of explicit rules of human conduct, which enable and regulate cooperation among people. This understanding has shaped the universal understanding of duties, as reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which serves as a major principle in making universal judgements about irregularities of human behaviour. Thus, moral politics is associated with cost-benefit analysis and rational decision-making. The rational morality model is represented by the following key concepts: rationality, cost-benefit analysis, accounting, universal reasoning, universal rights and obligations etc.

Finally, the **Integrated Approach** to moral politics is based on the emotional evaluation and sentimental approach to politics (Elshtain 2004, Slote 2002, Kagan 2002). The claim that human morality is powerfully influenced by emotional responses and is not entirely governed by abstract and intellectual

rules and control was supported by Hume, Smith, Westermarck, Darwin etc. Thus, morality is not seen as a conscious and clearly delineated faculty but rather as cognitive empathy or sentiments such as sympathy, empathy, community concern, which establish a common bond between individuals. This bond is enabled by an individual's capacity to be sensitive to the emotions of others, which maximizes the power of rationality (Flack and de Wahl 2002). Hence, moral politics is associated with nurturance and empathy, which are especially characteristic of liberal democracies. The integrated approach is grounded in the use of the following concepts: emotions, sentiments, empathy, nurturance, sharing, concern etc.

These three approaches to moral politics are mental constructs or frames that are reframed in language use. Thus, by analysing language in terms of conceptual metaphor and its linguistic expressions, moral frames are evoked, thus morality models are detected. This study aims at reframing the public discourse into mental constructs or morality models underlying British and Lithuanian political activities. Moreover, as MORALITY models have already been defined and restructured by other disciplines such as philosophy and political science, this study aims at highlighting metaphors representative of these models. The three models, i.e. pragmatic, rational and integrated, are theoretical frameworks arguing about abstract metaphysical concepts such as ethics, human rights, the political state, democracy etc. Thus, their reframing can occur only by means of metaphor, which restructures abstract categories in terms of more specific concepts, i.e. SOURCE domains. The analysis of SOURCE domains and their epistemic correspondences with the TARGET domain of POLITICS will reflect on the system of moral categories which define a particular MORALITY model.

## 2. Data and Methodology

In order to identify MORALITY models governing British and Lithuanian public discourse on political affairs, electronic archives of the following two websites were accessed: (1) [www.politika.lt](http://www.politika.lt), (2) [www.economist.com](http://www.economist.com). There are several reasons why these two websites were chosen as the main sources of the research data.

There are two reasons why the Economist has been selected as the main and only source for the English data—its public status and the working principle of incognito objectivity. First, *The Economist* website, from which the articles were extracted, is an internationally recognized weekly political magazine online. Second, all *The Economist* articles are anonymous, as based on the principle of *incognito objectivity*. In other words, the message prevails over the messenger, or what is written is emphasized over who writes it. This tendency is called collective voice and accountability (Edwards 1995, 15). Hence, this international magazine covers the main political and business events as well as offering opinions and critical analysis of current political issues.

Alongside the English data, the Lithuanian political articles were extracted from the independent website of [www.politika.lt](http://www.politika.lt), which was established by the Institute of Political Science and International Relations at Vilnius University. The mission of this website is to provide readership with a wide range of opinions on political affairs in Lithuania and abroad. Its detailed coverage is provided by political analysts, journalists as well as politicians themselves. Thus, the Lithuanian source is relatively as authoritative as its English counterpart.

Both English and Lithuanian political articles were accessed via online archives, where they were automatically sorted by their subject and date as indicated in the table below:

Table 5: Research Data

	English	Lithuanian
Source	<a href="http://www.economist.com">www.economist.com</a> ➤ articles by subject: <i>Bagehot</i> ➤ <i>Bagehot</i> → <i>archive</i>	<a href="http://www.politika.lt">www.politika.lt</a> ➤ articles by subject: <i>Lithuanian political affairs / analysis</i> ➤ <i>Lietuvoje politika</i> → <i>komentarai</i> → <i>archyvas</i>
Time span	2004 - 2008	2005 - 2007
No of words	215, 085	200, 585

As the table indicates, the primary selection criterion was the subject area: the English data consists of *Bagehot* articles, which refer to a weekly column on British politics named after one of the most prominent editors of the Economist—Walter Bagehot. Likewise, the Lithuanian data consists of automatically selected articles by the subject area of commentaries on Lithuanian home affairs (Lith. *politika Lietuvoje > komentarai*).

However, the frequency of articles per week greatly varies due to the fact that the Economist is a weekly magazine, whereas the Lithuanian website provides a daily detailed analysis of Lithuanian political activities. This explains the variation in the time span of the selected data. The Lithuanian data covers the period of two years (i.e. 2005 - 2007), whereas the English samples extend to the period of six years respectively (i.e. 2004 - 2008). Though the time span is different, the total number of pages is relatively similar, i.e. up to 400 pages, which can be explained by the variability in length of the collected articles.

Finally, the collected data was analysed both in qualitative and quantitative terms in the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics and cognitive science theories. This qualitative research method refers to the analysis of the linguistic corpus in the following direction: metaphorical expressions → SOURCE DOMAINS (ontological vs. epistemic correspondences) → CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR → MORALITY models. Thus, the analysis of conceptual metaphor starts with the identification of metaphorical expressions

in the text, which have to be analysed and classified in accordance with their representative source domains. The research methodology is based on the following research steps:

- identification of metaphoric linguistic expressions in English and Lithuanian,
- classification of metaphoric linguistic expressions into their representative source domains, which are examined in terms of their ontological and epistemic relations,
- classification of metaphors into morality models.

To be more precise, metaphorical expressions were primarily located, analysed and classified in accordance with the source domains they represent. Thus, the linguistic expressions are only illustrations of one or another source domain, i.e. NATURAL DISASTER, which structures the conceptual mapping of the target conceptual domain, which is POLITICS or POLITICAL ACTIVITY. The conceptual metaphor has the following formulaic representation: A IS B, e.g. A / POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS B / NATURAL DISASTER. The linguistic representation of the A IS B conceptual metaphor is the following: B > a, b, c. For example, B / NATURAL DISASTER is represented by such metaphorical expressions as in the sentences below:

(19) *This year campaign trail **flooded** the entire area.*

(20) *The Deputy Prime Minister was **half-drowned by the hurricane** of applause addressed to his competitor etc.*

In addition to the qualitative findings, metaphorical expressions were statistically measured in terms of their frequency across conceptual domains. This is done with the purpose of identifying morality patterns in the two languages by distinguishing the overall number of metaphorical expressions representing the target domains in English and Lithuanian. However, it should be noted that the statistical analysis has been carried out manually, which allows one to relatively interpret the statistical distribution of the metaphorical expressions.

### 3. Research Findings

The research findings show that conceptual metaphors in the public discourse of both English and Lithuanian are structured by universal source domains, as indicated in Table 6 below:

Table 6: Universal SOURCE Domains and their Frequency

	<b>SOURCE domains</b>	<b>English</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Lith</b>	<b>%</b>
1	MOTION	377	32.8	316	33
2	INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP	170	14.7	78	8.3
3	STRENGTH	102	8.8	140	15
4	HEALTH	87	7.5	102	11
5	SPORTS	90	7.8	56	5.9
6	WAR	65	5.6	35	3.7
7	ESSENCE	58	5	39	4.1
8	BUSINESS	46	4	33	3.5
9	DIRT	40	3.5	38	4
10	SENSES	42	3.6	26	2.8
11	WHOLENESS	35	3	34	3.6
12	THEATRE	30	2.6	38	4
13	ANIMALS	12	1	10	1.1
	TOTAL	1154		945	

As can be seen from the table, the metaphors of MOTION, RELATIONSHIP, SPORTS, WAR, ESSENCE, BUSINESS, and SENSES are linguistically more prominent in English, while STRENGTH, HEALTH and THEATRE have a higher linguistic realization in Lithuanian. The metaphors of DIRT, WHOLENESS and ANIMALS are similarly distributed in both languages. However, their statistical distribution is relative, as metaphorical expressions were manually selected in the text, which presupposes the fact that some of them have been left out. However, this study aims at analysing MORALITY models disclosed by ontological and epistemic relations between SOURCE domains and the target domain of POLITICS, which are qualitative by nature.

#### 4. MOTION Conceptual Metaphor

The most pervasive conceptual metaphor in the political media discourse of both languages, i.e., English and Lithuanian, is that of MOTION, wherein political activity is seen as the ongoing process of moving along a certain route towards a set destination. The statistical evidence shows that there are 377 metaphorical linguistic expressions in the English data, and 316 such instances in the Lithuanian corpus.

The apparent dominance of this metaphor can be explained by the fact that another parallel metaphorical mapping, LIFE IS A JOURNEY, is central in human moral systems. Johnson argues that LIFE IS A JOURNEY is a universal conceptual metaphor, whereby people in many cultures conceive life as an ongoing journey with its various destinations, paths to destinations, impediments to motion, etc (1987, 80-88).

Thus, the epistemic relations of the POLITICAL MOTION metaphor are established by the use of such elements as JOURNEY, TRAVELLERS, MOVEMENTS, DESTINATIONS, and OBSTACLES. Thus, politics, as one of the life spheres and important human activities, is conceptualized as a journey, with politicians seen as travellers in a continuous motion along a chosen route towards a prescribed destination. The POLITICS IS MOTION metaphor has the following linguistic representation in both languages, as given in table below:

Table 7: MOTION Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	MOTION Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	377	32.8
Lithuanian	316	33

However, the prevalence of the same SOURCE across languages does not necessarily indicate the same moral evaluation of political activities, as proved by the data analysis. To be more precise, the same conceptual metaphor of POLITICS IS MOTION gives rise to a different set of moral expectations in



the political discourse of the two languages—English and Lithuanian. Different moral expectations are grounded in different epistemic relations of the source domain of JOURNEY to the target domain of POLITICS. Each of the conceptual systems will be discussed and summarized in the subsequent sections below (i.e. 4.1. MOTION CM in English, 4.2. MOTION CM in Lithuanian, and 4.3. MORALITY models in both languages)

#### 4.1. MOTION Metaphor in English

The research findings of the English data show that POLITICS IS MOTION metaphor in British political discourse is centred around such conceptual elements as MOVEMENT, PATHS, DIRECTION, TERRITORY, VEHICLE and OBSTACLES, which are linguistically realized by such metaphorical expressions, as given in the table below:

Table 8: POLITICS IS MOTION and its Linguistic Realization

<b>POLITICS IS MOTION</b>	
<b>Epistemic relations:</b>	
• MOVEMENT	<i>-squeezed the ideological space</i>
• PATHS	<i>-the government in its current <b>passing up</b> any opportunity to discomfort the government</i>
• TERRITORY	<i>-politicians <b>sticking to</b> the unheroic line</i>
• OBSTACLES	<i>-the <b>wheels</b> started <b>coming off</b> some of its madder policies</i>
• VEHICLE	<i>-<b>overcome</b> every <b>obstacle</b></i>
• BALANCE	<i>-nothing left in the <b>tank</b></i>
	<i>-the government <b>renewed purpose</b></i>
	<i>-<b>rub</b> each other <b>up the wrong way</b></i>
	<i>-<b>going through a sticky patch</b></i>
	<i>-a strong Lib Dem <b>surge</b></i>
	<i>-<b>stuck</b> for over a decade</i>
	<i>-<b>going too far in the other direction</b></i>
	<i>-public-service reform <b>taken a wrong turn</b></i>
	<i>-a good <b>backseat driver</b></i>
	<i>-being <b>grumpy</b></i>
	<i>-having no <b>reverse gear</b></i>
	<i>-<b>running out of steam</b></i>
	<i>-<b>moving towards</b> further European institutional integration</i>
	<i>-a <b>retreat</b> to Europe's <b>periphery</b> etc.</i>

As shown in the table, epistemic correspondences between the two conceptual domains POLITICS and MOTION are realized by the conceptual elements as follows: MOVEMENT, PATHS, TERRITORY, OBSTACLES, VEHICLE and BALANCE.

The first element of the MOTION conceptual network is grounded in the act of MOVEMENT, whereby British politicians are perceived as being on the move alongside a certain path. Besides, while politicians are travellers, political acts and their decisions are also conceptualised as acts of motion. The act of moving is particularly highlighted, as its description inherently characterizes the political activity as such. The motion by British politicians is expressed by such active verbs and collocations as: *get into stride, move, go, take steps, walk, trail, take a turn, stick to a course, retreat, press ahead, stalk, trot, tread, drift, sally forth, cross, make headway, depart, slow down, drive, tramp, travel, distance* etc. The MOVEMENT can be of several kinds: slow, hesitant and patchy. According to the research data, in most cases British politicians are seen as moving slowly or hesitantly or not moving at all, cf. the examples below:

- (21) *Mr Blair may be a bit tired and one or two cabinet ministers are past their sell-by dates, but the government has not exhausted itself intellectually. Indeed, some experienced ministers feel that they are **just getting into their stride**.* (The birthday boy. July 22, 2004)
- (22) *The **shaky start** made by Sir Menzies Campbell, their **slightly dodderly new leader**, in the unforgiving arena of the Commons hasn't helped.* (End of term. July 27, 2006)
- (23) *There are few complaints about the government's macroeconomic management and it has had some success combating poverty, if not inequality. Albeit **slowly and patchily**, public services are responding to a lot of money and a little reform.* (Ambivalent? Moi? April 1, 2004)

Moreover, the analysis of the POLITICAL MOTION metaphor shows that British politicians are expected to move along the prescribed route with assuredness, boldness, a sense of purpose and discipline. These qualities assist in accumulating the necessary speed to reach the final destination of their political journey. Hence, if politicians fail to reach their final destination, they are characterized as ***being stuck*** or ***not moving*** at all, consider the following below statements below:

(24) *It's one thing for the Tories to benefit from a **strong Lib Dem surge**; it's another for them to break out from their base vote in the low-to-mid 30s, where they have been **stuck for over a decade**.* (Not drowning—not quite. October 7, 2004)

The second element, which establishes epistemic relations between the conceptual domains of POLITICS and MOTION, is that of PATHS. This means that the motion of British politicians is determined by their choice of paths; moreover, the choice of paths is associated with political decision-making and political activities in general. Thus, by choosing a wrong path, British politicians are perceived as incompetent and lacking political skill. Even more, there are instances when British politicians are demonstrated as being unable to choose a relevant path. They are characterized as wandering travellers without any particular direction. Moral criticism is associated with politicians' wrong choice of a path which lead to unclear directions, as in the examples below:

(25) *Having taken an age, and **different paths**, to get there, both are now determined to fight the election on the same issue.* (That eureka feeling. June 1, 2004)

(26) *For a party desperately in need of decisive leadership and **clear direction**, Sir Menzies is not quite the reassuring choice he is cracked up to be.* (Wanted: a new leader and a new direction. January 12, 2006)

(27) *Mr Blair and Mr Brown will still rub each other up **the wrong way** and their aides will still, at times, magnify the significance of every slight, real or imagined.* (Back to basics. September 30, 2004)

It should be noted that there is a noticeable difference in the choice of paths among the parties in the British politics: the Labourites vs. the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats. The Labourites are perceived negatively for their choice and preference of **new ways**, as in the example below:

(28) *Mr Blair's attempt at "triangulation" doesn't quite wash either. It's not just the "left" that is suspicious of the prime minister's determination **to open the way to new providers in both health and education**, but ordinary, mainstream Labour MPs, too.* (For whom the school bell tolls. October 27, 2005)

The use of the metaphorical expression **new way** explains the political distinction between Old and New Labour, wherein the former is compared to other mainstream parties such as Conservatives and Liberal-Democrats, while the latter implies new, undiscovered, and thus unreliable routes to political destinations, as in the utterance below:

(29) *A vain loner who has never concealed his detestation of **New Labour** and all its works—particularly its electability—Mr Sedgemore is about as **far from the political mainstream** as it is possible to be.*(Not as nice as they look. April 28, 2005)

Another element of the conceptual frame of the MOTION metaphor, especially with reference to political parties, is TERRITORY / DISTANCE, where the territory stands for the ideological ground (left vs. centre vs. right) occupied by the parties, alongside the distance (close vs. far) signalling the ideological proximity among them, e.g.:

(30) *Mr Kennedy's preferred way of operating is **to cleave to the centre**, but even he must realise this would be a mistake when **faced with a fork in the road**.*(The Lib Dems reach a fork in the road. September 22, 2005)

The epistemic relations developed by the element of DISTANCE play an important role in defining the relationship between politicians and electorate. The closer proximity between the two guarantees better chances for the candidate to be elected; thus politicians, moving in opposite or different directions with ordinary people or being too far to be reached (e.g. *out of touch*), receive a negative moral evaluation as below:

(31) *The greatest problem for the Tories is not their policies—although some of those they took into the last election were either intellectually unconvincing or unpleasantly opportunistic—but the electorate's overall perception of them as being **grumpy**, pessimistic and **out of touch**.* (Can the Tories become the nice party? October 13, 2005)

(32) *Labour may have disappointed them in all sorts of ways, but for all that, the voters **who Mr Howard must reach** are still comfortable with it.* (High pitch, low politics. March 23, 2005)

(33) *And if he does **encroach on other areas** that Mr Brown regards as his own, could this extraordinarily successful but turbulent political partnership now be close to its end?* (Tony pushes his luck. September 9, 2004)

Moreover, the element of DISTANCE characterizes the interpersonal relationship held among politicians themselves. This is done by indicating the level of proximity held between politicians in terms of distance, which is associated with the interpersonal relationship. Thus, politicians, who are closer in their distance to each other, are also closer in their mutual collaboration, whereas those, who are further in distance, are distant in their political

relationship, as reflected in their political support and understanding, as in the statements below:

- (34) *Although the three former ministers are unlikely to play any formal role in manifesto planning, they are frequent visitors to Downing Street and remain **closer to Mr Blair's ear** than most of the cabinet.* (Mimicking Margaret. May 6, 2004)
- (35) *Adair Turner, a former employers' leader who is **close to Mr Blair**, was appointed by the government in 2002 to review the unhappy state of Britain's pensions.* (Tony pushes his luck. September 9, 2004)
- (36) *Both men (i.e. Blare and Brown) probably feel that they could do with **putting a little distance** between them right now.* (Why Gordon needs a holiday. January 13, 2005)

Another conceptual element, which constitutes the MOTION metaphor in English, is that of BOUNDARIES. The territory of political motion is perceived as a solid foundation or base, which is limited by boundaries. In this view, a political territory is associated with a solid and fixed ground, which is bounded by territorial lines. Metaphorically, political BOUNDARIES are realized in ideological positioning, generally known as **centre, left and right**. The research data shows that British politics lacks stability and order, and thus political foundation, as most politicians cross territorial lines, thus deviating from territorial boundaries, consider the following examples below:

- (37) *What should worry even those Labour MPs who would love to believe in Mr Brown's strategy is that the voters could begin to see the same **dividing line** in a rather different light.* (Warning signs. March 30, 2006)
- (38) *In contrast, when evidence mounts that he is wrong, Mr Brown still refuses to **deviate**, or at least admit that he has **deviated, from his chosen path**.* (Gordon's way. December 1, 2005)
- (39) *Mr Brown has a **licence to roam, but not to deviate**.* (Gordon spreads his wings. February 16, 2006)

Even though fixed and solid politics is associated with traditions and heritage, there are politicians who make attempts at choosing new courses for their political travel. The choice of new courses is perceived as risk-taking, and politicians as risk-takers, e.g.:

- (40) *This means that a large number of Labour MPs are willing to **embark upon a highly risky course** to achieve something of uncertain benefit just a little sooner than otherwise.* (The sands run out. September 7, 2006)

Another important component of the MOTION metaphor is that of OBSTACLES or IMPEDIMENTS encountered by politicians during their political journey. The element of OBSTACLES establishes the following epistemic correspondence: POLITICAL PROBLEMS / DIFFICULTIES ARE OBSTACLES. British politicians are seen as encountering many problems, which is indicated by the variability of obstacles, e.g. *traps, riffs, rocks, sticky patches* etc. These impediments to motion do not allow political travellers to accumulate a necessary speed level for reaching their final destination or political purposes. This contributes to the negative evaluation of political activities, as below:

(41) *Its theme of helping families and encouraging social responsibility were familiar **Cameron riffs**, but the speech resonated powerfully and was widely reported. (Something is stirring. February 22, 2007)*

(42) *At the same time, he **fell into the trap** of making himself seem hostile to reform by curbing the ability of the new foundation hospitals to borrow and signalling his disapproval of applying market disciplines to health care. (Sunny Dave v Roadblock Brown. December 8, 2005)*

(43) *Mr Brown has also helped calm things down. Some of his supporters, especially those who imagine themselves in ministerial cars when the great day dawns, become a little frenzied whenever Mr Blair is **going through a sticky patch**. (The Labour Party and the dinner party. May 20, 2004)*

In addition, the element of OBSTACLES is closely interrelated with the element of BOUNDS, as one of the obstacles British politicians encounter is associated with their inability to move in the established boundaries of political territory. Thus, the epistemic relations of the OBSTACLES metaphor extend to the metaphorical frame OBSTACLES ARE BOUNDS, which use characterizes the behaviour of politicians as negative and morally unacceptable. What is expected and morally acceptable is that each political party moves in its own territory with established and clear boundaries, as in the following utterances:

(44) *But Mr Blunkett's blindness means that he needs more than the usual amount of help to be effective, making it more difficult for both sides **to see where the dividing line should be drawn**. (The agony of David Blunkett. December 2, 2004)*

(45) *Lib Dem faith in the beneficence of public-sector producers **knows no bounds**.*  
(Kennedy's paradox. September 23, 2004)

The last example (45) shows that politicians who cross the territorial boundaries are perceived negatively. In addition, British politicians without a distinct political alignment are referred to as *outsiders* or *marginals*, consider the following statement below:

(46) *But, as John Curtice of Strathclyde University argues, by taking disillusioned, anti-war voters from Labour, the Lib Dems will also inevitably deliver **a clutch of Labour-held marginals** to the Conservatives—perhaps enough for there to be a hung parliament.* (Kennedy's paradox. September 23, 2004)

The example above shows that politicians, being referred to as *a clutch* or *a bunch*, belong to the type of those who can be easily manipulated and managed because they lack political will. Moreover, such implication reflects the nature of moral expectations—moral politicians are wilful and resistant to manipulation, and therefore strong.

Furthermore, the epistemic relations between the source domain of MOTION and the target domain of POLITICS are developed by the element of VEHICLE. There are two means of transportation by which an act of motion is performed by British politicians: they move either on foot or by a vehicle. The change from moving on foot to the use of vehicle can be explained by the urgency to achieve an increased speed level to reach the final destination on time, and outdo other political competitors, e.g.:

(47) *Mr Brown will never be **as light on his feet as Mr Blair**, but as prime minister he must learn the capacity for manoeuvre.* (The wheels on the bus. May 4, 2006)

(48) *Conservative MPs pause **before leaping aboard** what some fear may already be an **unstoppable bandwagon**.* (Doubts about Davis. June 16, 2005)

(49) *Mr Blair may have said that he now regrets not having already **gone further and faster**, but he also knows that the best does not have to be the enemy of the slightly better.* (A glimpse into the abyss. November 17, 2005)

Hence, speed is seen a necessary component in modern British politics. Many politicians are negatively evaluated for their insufficiently fast motion towards final destinations. Thus, new parties, especially the New Labour, are referred to as moving in a vehicle, mostly by bus, with the leading politicians

occupying front seats, while less influential and less powerful politicians take back seat positions.

Despite the fact that the Labour uses the vehicle in its political journey, which guarantees a speedy motion, it still receives a negative moral evaluation. The motion of the vehicle is characterized as too speedy and accident-prone, as in the examples below:

(50) *Having once boasted that he had **no reverse gear**, Mr Blair was always likely to find one. By the lights of conventional political wisdom, he has done the only thing a responsible leader could do.* (The rise of the untouchable MP. February 9, 2006)

(51) *A year from now, “triple-whammy Wednesday” may be only a distant memory—or it may be seen as the moment when **the wheels finally came off New Labour**.* (The wheels on the bus. May 4, 2006)

(52) *Sheer physical and intellectual exhaustion gets them. They become **accident-prone**, relationships fracture and a death-wish often settles on their supporters in Parliament.* (The wheels on the bus. May 4, 2006)

Finally, the element of VEHICLE is complemented in meaning by the use of the MOTION IS BALANCE metaphor. Hence, what is expected of British politicians is that they manage to achieve balance in their journey while moving. The concept of BALANCE is closely interrelated with the concept of speed. To be more precise, politicians are in danger of losing balance while moving too slowly or too rapidly. Slow motion might lead to the state of political passivity, as reflected in such a metaphorical expression as **being stuck**. By comparison, speediness results in accidents and the loss of vehicle control. This moral expectation is expressed by the use of the BALANCE metaphor, which is a complementary part of the MOTION metaphor. Politicians are expected to achieve balance in their political journey, as it guarantees political stability, thus power and control, consider the following utterances below:

(53) *In striking the balance between defiant rejection of the terrorists' nihilistic creed, refusal to be panicked into irrational measures and a powerful defence of the British Muslim community from which the bombers came, Mr Blair **combined steadiness** with empathy.* (The unexpected apotheosis of Tony Blair. July 14, 2005)



(54) *Like his predecessor, this Bagehot has neglected the Liberal Democrats. They are in the odd position of going backwards under a disappointing leader while hoping, with good reason, that they will end up **holding the balance of power** after the next general election.* (Last call. May 24, 2007)

(55) *The **political balance** is therefore held by the Liberal Democrats, with 74 peers.* (A leaping, with a vengeance. February 9, 2006)

To conclude, the use of the MOTION metaphor in English public discourse online, whereby political activity is perceived as an ongoing motion along a certain route towards a chosen destination, has a negative moral evaluation. The analysis of the constituent elements of the complex metaphor POLITICS IS MOTION shows that British politicians fail to fulfil the raised moral expectations for several reasons. First, British politicians are expected to move steadily, neither too slow nor too fast, however with boldness and sense of direction and discipline, as reflected in the element of MOTION. Second, political purposes stand for PATHS, thus the choice of a right path is a moral political priority. Moreover, movement is expected to take place along the afore-chosen route without changing the movement trajectory, thus preserving their political territory in terms of TERRITORIAL BOUNDS. By avoiding OBSTACLES and moving at a steady speed, politicians manage to keep BALANCE. However, those British politicians who fail to accomplish these moral expectations are criticized as morally unacceptable.

## 4.2. MOTION Metaphor in Lithuanian

The metaphor of POLITICS IS MOTION also prevails in Lithuanian, which makes it the most widespread in both Lithuanian and British public discourse. The category of MOTION refers to a physical domain of experience by which people conceptualize various abstract domains, especially various human activities. The MOTION metaphor is a complex metaphor system, which is represented by the following conceptual elements, as indicated in the table below:

Table 9: POLITICS IS MOTION and its Linguistic Realization

POLITICS IS MOTION	
<b>Epistemic Correspondences:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MOVEMENT</li> <li>• OBSTACLES</li> <li>• VEHICLE</li> <li>• TERRITORY and BOUNDS</li> <li>• DISTANCE</li> </ul>	<p><i>-politinių skandalų arba pasistumdymų serijos</i>  <i>-atsistatydinimas vestų į prapultį</i>  <i>-bendražygiai</i>  <i>-užkerta sau kelią į politiką</i>  <i>-vidinis tarpusavio stumdymasis</i>  <i>-kitas kelias</i>  <i>-nė per centimetrą nesitraukia nuo savo aiškių nuostatų</i>  <i>-visuomenė nepuls bėgti nuo politiko</i>  <i>-politinis nuopuolis</i>  <i>-šalis sparčiai vežasi europinį pragyvenimo lygį</i>  <i>-naujų politinių jėgų atėjimo į valdžią metai</i>  <i>-susidurdavome su nepramušama siena</i>  <i>-bet kokiomis priemonėmis prasimušti į viešumą</i>  <i>-komisija pati sulipo ant kastuvo</i>  <i>-politika žengia ne pirmyn, o atgal</i>  <i>-nomenklatūrininkai laikinai pasitraukia į paunksmę</i>  <i>-išvesti visuomenę iš dabartinės būklės</i>  <i>-atsikratyti nepatikimų pakeleivių</i>  <i>-Algirdas Brazauskas nesugeba rasti tinkamos pozicijos</i>  <i>-lengvai atsekamų valdžios mechanikos ėjimų etc.</i></p>

As shown in the table, the epistemic correspondences of the MOTION metaphor are grounded in the use of its four elements: MOVEMENT, OBSTACLES, VEHICLE, TERRITORY and BOUNDS, DISTANCE, each of them is described in more detail below.

The first element of MOVEMENT is linguistically represented in the Lithuanian data by such expressions as *juda*, *stumti politinę sistemą*, *eiti į Seimą/ į politiką*, *vilkintis uodegoje*, *pasistumdyti*, *bėgti*, *politinių jėgų atėjimas į*

valdžią, žengti į priekį, žengti dešinią žingsnį, pasitraukti, išsivaikščioti, žengti tolyn, trauktis iš politikos etc. The research data shows that political activities, such as decision-making, participation, collaboration etc., in Lithuanian politics are structured through the concept of MOVEMENT. The motion is carried out mainly on foot, with politicians just occasionally running along the chosen route or path, as in the examples below:

- (56) *Pasiūlėme Latvijai strateginę partnerystę – ji labai rimtai tai analizuoja. Kaip kadaise su Lenkija: žingsnis po žingsnio, nuo politikų iki visuomenės atstovų susitikimų bei diskusijų – taip ir čia žengiame tolyn.* [step by step, marching forward] (Lietuvos balsas pasaulyje tampa vis labiau girdimas. January 9, 2006)
- (57) *Turint galvoje savivaldybių tarybų rinkimus, socialdemokratams parlamentinės opozicijos kelias nėra pats blogiausias.* ('the pathway of Parliament opposition') (Valdančiosios koalicijos nesantaikos obuolys dvelkia nafta. December 5, 2005)
- (58) *Sąjungininkų interesai kartais būna labai painūs. Bet politika nėra lengvų kelių ieškojimas.* ('searching new ways in politics') (Demokratija aukštyn kojom. November 8, 2005)

Political decision-making is associated with the choice of a certain path or headway, meaning that it is equally as important as choosing the motion trajectory. As a result, wrong decisions made by politicians are perceived as steps backwards, whereas positive changes or judgements are referred to as steps forward, consider the following utterances below:

- (59) *Nemanau, kad yra kitas kelias – tik kiekvieno asmens individuali atsakomybė ir įsipareigojimas moraliai politikai.* [a different path] (V. Adamkus: skandaluose paskendę metai. December 28, 2005)
- (60) *Tuo tarpu politika, užuot natūraliai brendusi, kaip daug kas žadėjo pastaruosius 15 metų, kažkodėl to nedaro ir žengia ne pirmyn, o atgal.* ('politics... marches neither forward nor backward') (Trys būsenos: augimas, sąstingis, nuosmukis; verslas, žiniasklaida ir politika. December 10, 2005)
- (61) *Dar keli žingsniai atatupsta, ir Lietuvos „demokratija“ ims panašėti į Rusijos.* ('several steps backwards') (Trys būsenos: augimas, sąstingis, nuosmukis; verslas, žiniasklaida ir politika. December 10, 2005)

The quality of this political movement is shown by the metaphor AN IMMORAL ACT IS CRUSHING. To be more precise, Lithuanian politicians are perceived as acting immorally in the following way: by committing the action of their political motion they manage to crush all the moral principles

with their feet while treading along their chosen trajectory or path, as in the following examples below:

(62) *Jos balso vis dažniau pristinga, kai šie principai **paminami**. ('principles are trampled on')* (Naujosios Lietuvos nomenklatūros spindesys. March 6, 2006)

(63) *Mano projekte buvo surašyta tai, ką girdėjau bendraudamas su žmonėmis, jų lūkesčius pasikeitusiomis sąlygomis. Tiesa, sąžiningumas, padorumas buvo pamatiniai programos punktai, tačiau visa tai **paminta**. ('truth...is trampled on')* (P. Baguška: Darbo partijos narius vienija postai, karjera ir baimė. January 16, 2006)

Consequently, the so-called wrong treading leads to new obstacles that prevent politicians from moving further and is represented by the metaphor—**PROBLEMS ARE OBSTACLES**. This leads to the second element of the **MOTION** metaphor and its epistemic correspondence with the category of **OBSTACLES**. One of the major obstacles in the Lithuanian political movement appears to be the inability to move while being stuck in some kind of **hole** or **aperture**, referred to as a **moral downfall**, e.g.:

(64) *Išvada – jeigu norime **išbristi iš šalį apėmusio moralinio nuopuolio**, turi keistis ne tik politinė, bet ir žiniasklaidos elgsena. ('get out of moral downfall')* (Žiniasklaida tarp informacinės sanitarijos ir informacinio terorizmo. February 23, 2006)

(65) *Pastaroji ne tik dėl jos nemažos dalies **moralinio nuosmukio**, nenorėjimo ir nesugebėjimo tarnauti tiems tikslams, kuriems politikai yra prisiekę, bet ir dėl **nuolatinio jos žeminimo ir niekinimo turi tokį menką autoritetą**. ('moral downfall', 'constant lowering and abasement of the state/ state's authority is low')* (Žiniasklaida tarp informacinės sanitarijos ir informacinio terorizmo. February 23, 2006)

The moral downfall is very closely associated with the metaphor of **STATUS IS VERTICALITY**, whereby political and social status has a vertical representation: **highness vs. lowness**. Moreover, the low status in politics is closely linked to low moral standards, as in the statement below:

(66) *Ar begalima jau **žemiau puliti** kažkada solidžiam politikui ir pačia profesionaliausia šalyje laikytai jo partijai nei kova prieš demokratijos pagrindus? Ir ar begalima **žemiau puliti** nei būti ginamam antivakarietiško ir ksenofobinio dienraščio, iki paskutinės akimirkos gynusio R.Paksą ir visas su juo susijusias antivalstybines jėgas? ('falling low down')* (V. Landsbergis ir A. Brazauskas: du išsiskyre politikiniai likimai. December 5, 2005)

Thus, one of major obstacles in the Lithuanian political journey is politicians' low moral standards. Such low moral status prevents politicians from moving forward and keeps them motionless and passive in political decision-making.

Even while moving, politicians are still challenged by various obstacles during their political travelling such as **a blind alley**, or **an unbeaten track** or **wall**, as below:

(67) *Jei vienas visuomenei parūpęs ir opozicijos užduotas klausimas gali sukelti valstybėje «chaosą», įstumti ją į aklavietę, kaip teigia mūsų aukštieji pareigūnai, lieka tik apverkti tokį valstybės valdymą.* ('push the state to the blind alley') (Politinis elitas neberodo gebėjimų veikti demokratijos sąlygomis. November 25, 2005)

(68) *Susidurdavome su nepramušama siena, tačiau tokia yra realybė. Kaip žinome, tuo metu buvo beprasidedęs ir pirmasis karas Persijos įlankoje, tad Sausio įvykiai Vilniuje vyko to karo dūmų uždangoje.* ('facing an unbreakable wall') (A. Saudargas: nugalėjome viešumo ir savo teisumo dėka. January 9, 2006)

Obstacles, which are difficult to overcome, are associated with politicians' virtual inability to adequately deal with various political and social problems. Just as political travellers cannot reach their final destination due to unavoidable and unsurpassed obstacles, in the same way politicians cannot keep their promises and commit these to actions. Thus, some Lithuanian politicians are perceived as unable to guarantee social and political stability.

Another complementary aspect of the POLITICS IS MOTION metaphor is VEHICLE or a means of transportation. Besides moving on foot, i.e. treading along their chosen trajectories and paths, politicians also move by several types of transport in the Lithuanian data: **plane** or a **motor vehicle**, which supposedly might be either a car or a bus. The latter is illustrated by the following sentences below:

(69) *Nomenklatūra, kaip ir entuziastingai nusiteikę Sąjūdžio politiniai naujokai, vairavo Lietuvą į Vakarų pasaulį - būtų kvaila šitą neigti, nes tai faktas.* ('driving Lithuania to the Western world') (Politinio maskarado vidurnaktis. November 28, 2005)

(70) *Pasirodo, visa lietuviškos valdžios mašina ima strigti, vos garsiai priminus, kad ji turėtų laikytis elementarių demokratijos principų – viešumo, atskaitomybės tautai.* ('the entire vehicle of the Lithuanian government started sticking')

(Politinis elitas neberodo gebėjimų veikti demokratijos sąlygomis. November 25, 2005)

(71) *Trečia, intensyviai dirbama prie paties vado įvaizdžio, nes jis yra visos šios politinės mašinos ašis ir atrama.* ('political leader is an axe and base of the political vehicle') (Lapė vištidej, arba už ką balsuotų ketvirtadalis apklaustųjų. November 30, 2005)

As the examples above show, the concept of vehicle can be applied to a political party or the entire government. Moreover, the concept of vehicle is used with reference to longer distances or longer-term political goals, such as Parliamentary elections or international politics. The vehicle is usually controlled by the official leader of the party, who is referred to as its **driver**, e.g.:

(72) *Jei A.Brazauskas, 1997 metais gražiai ir išmintingai atsisveikinęs su didžiąja politika, būtų iš tiesų atidavęs vairą į rankas ateities žmonėms ir pasitraukęs, šiandien jo mitas toli pranoktų V.Landsbergio reputaciją.* ('handle the wheel to future people') (V. Landsbergis ir A. Brazauskas: du išsiskyrę politiniai likimai. December 5, 2005)

(73) *Po to, kai premjeras pats save įvarė į sunkią padėtį, ant plauko pakibo visa valdančioji koalicija.* ('the PM drove himself to a difficult situation') (Ar atsilaukys Algirdas Brazauskas. October 24, 2005)

(74) *Algirdas Brazauskas skundžiasi, kad jį skriaudžia piktos jėgos; Brazauskas aimanuoja, kad žmona verčiasi nelengvai; Brazauskas pasigenda pagarbos jo nuopelnams. Argi tai AMB, mylimas tautos visureigis, bet kokiu oru įveikdavęs pabjurusius Lietuvos politikos kelius?* ('the most lovable jeep at any weather driving the ugly roads of Lithuanian politics') (Apie valdžios netekimo skausmą. December 9, 2005)

However, as the last example (74) shows, sometimes the entire vehicle is associated with a single politician, who is the most influential. To be more precise, the image of the Social-Democratic leader Algirdas Brazauskas is disclosed by a particular car model—jeep—which demonstrates his importance in political decision-making. His political importance is structured via the concept of **size**, in this particular case—the **size of the car**. However, the grand size of the vehicle also points out such negative aspects of his movement as negligence to other moving objects on the road and an exceedingly high speed rate, which results in road accidents, thus political failures.

Besides the wheeled vehicle, Lithuanian politicians also move by **plane** towards their political destinations or goals. The plane wings are most highlighted and refer to the political alignment of left vs. right, as in the sentence below:

(75) *Suprantama, jog Lietuvos politinis orlaivis negali visą laiką skristi su vos pastebimu kairiuoju sparnu. Anksčiau ar vėliau socialdemokratinės idėjos turės atgimti. ('political Lithuanian airship flying with a hardly noticeable left wing')*  
(Socialinė demokratija Lietuvoje: praeitis, dabartis, ateitis. February 2, 2006)

As the example clearly illustrates, the left wing of the plane refers to the leftist political ideology. Moreover, the analysis of the PLANE metaphor reveals that the Lithuanian political system is perceived as lacking stronger conservative representation. Conservative ideas are associated with political balance and stability. Thus, Lithuanian politics is seen as unstable and unbalanced due to the lack of conservative ideas in political life.

Another conceptual element of the POLITICS IS MOTION metaphor is that of TERRITORY and BOUNDS. The interpretation of this conceptual combination allows to identify what kind of territorial preferences prevail in the Lithuanian politics. The analysis shows that the use of territorial concept, as developed by the concept of BOUNDS, reveals a negative moral evaluation of Lithuanian politicians and their activities. Thus, the moral expectations towards Lithuanian politicians are not fulfilled, as they continuously cross the established political boundaries. Consequently, the political behaviour is seen as boundless without any political territory preserved. As a result, it becomes unclear where politics starts, and business or individual self-interest ends, as in the following examples:

(76) *Jei Seimo Nacionalinio saugumo ir gynybos komiteto nariai į posėdį nesinešdavo mobiliųjų, tai jau tikrai „figurantų“ tinklas peržengė bet kokias ribas. [cross any boundaries]* (Saugumą—ne tik saviems. December 5, 2006)

(77) *Kalbant apie patį būdingiausią tokios teisėsaugos sistemos bruožą, matyt, galima pasakyti taip: tai yra teisėsauga, į kurios darbą žvelgiant labai sunku pravesti skiriamąją liniją tarp jos ir nusikalstamų struktūrų. ('draw the borderline')*  
(Lietuvos politinė sistema nesudaro sąlygų vadovautis moraliniais standartais. February 28, 2006)

Besides, the metaphor of TERRITORY and BOUNDS is used with reference to political ideologies and alignments, similar to the English data. However, the Lithuanian party ideologies are conceptualized negatively, as no territorial limits are observed between the political parties. Accordingly, if there is no distinct political alignment as such, the parties are only of nominative value, as party programmes are never supported by politicians' actions in practice, which leads to criticism and negative moral evaluation, as in the statements below:

(78) *Jau nebematome takoskyros tarp socialdemokratų ir „darbiečių“.* Šių partijų veikiama be jokių diskusijų, jokios vidinės demokratijos. ('the division of paths between Social Democrats and Labourists') (D. Kuolys: politinio elito elgesys kompromituoja valstybę. November 28, 2005)

(79) *Iš tiesų valdžioje nebematyti piliečių, drįstančių aiškiai nubrėžti vertybinius Lietuvos valstybės kontūrus, skirti Vilniaus ir Maskvos paradigmas.* ('to draw moral contours of the Lithuanian state') (Nevilties klausimas: kieno šita šalis? December 3, 2005)

The examples above show that the Lithuanian politics has no distinct bounds or limits, which causes a clash between political and personal interests, that eventually leads to inappropriate decision-making. To be more precise, boundaries stand for rules of behaviour which guarantee positive outcomes in political decision-making. The absence of such boundaries implies the absence of clear-cut rules and norms, thus the behaviour of politicians is seen as chaotic, unpredictable and unstable, as in the examples below:

(80) *Praėjusių savaitę koalicinė Vyriausybė susvyravo kaip dar niekad iki šiol.* ('the Government staggered') (Ar atsilaukys Algirdas Brazauskas. October 24, 2005)

(81) *Simbolinis slenkstis, leidžiantis prabilti apie šalies partinės politikos mirtį, pagaliau peržengtas.* ('the symbolic threshold, allowing to voice the death of the party politics in the country, is overstepped') (Pabaiga ar nauja pradžia? November 9, 2005)

(82) *Kaip sakė dabartinis premjeras, prasižengėliams reikia atleisti - juk gyvename krikščioniškoje visuomenėje. Matyt, krikščionybė pagal Brazauską leidžia nekreipti dėmesio į Dievo įsakymus - nevogti, negeisti svetimo turto ir nemeluoti.* ('transgressors') (Valdžia Lietuvoje: patogu pirkti. November 15, 2005)



Moreover, politicians who change parties and commit irrelevant actions are referred to as *cross-runners*, *deserters* and *transgressors*, which clearly disclose a negative moral evaluation, as in these examples:

(83) *Tai, kad iškilę įtarimai pirmiausia naudingi Darbo partijai, turėjo ypač skaudžiai užgauti socdemų lyderius, kurie po V.Uspaskicho diplomo skandalo neabejojo skilsiant Darbo frakciją ir jau skaičiavo pas juos **perbėgančius šios frakcijos narius**. ('cross-running members of the political faction')* (Ar atsilaukys Algirdas Brazauskas. October 24, 2005)

(84) *Greitai galime sulaukti dar didesnio **perbėgėlių** skaičiaus iš šios partijos.* ('cross-runners / transgressors') (Politinių turistų režimas. July 13, 2006)

(85) *Tik maža smulkmenėlė, kad principingieji su **prasižengėliu** netruko tapti **bendražygiais proveržininkais**.* ('political transgressors, marching together, cutting their way out together') (Rimta partija neišdykauja šaradomis. July 5, 2006)

Alongside the absence of boundaries in political territory, the distance factor also plays an important role in characterizing the conceptualization of the Lithuanian politics. A major feature is that there is a wide gap between politicians and the electorate. Their relationship is structured by the RELATIONSHIP IS DISTANCE metaphor—the closer the distance between the parties, politicians or ordinary people, the closer their relationship; while the proximate distance refers to aloofness or social remoteness, consider the statements below:

(86) *Pagrindinis tokios pertvarkos menamas trūkumas – valdžios **atitrūkimas** nuo paprastų žmonių.* ('government is breaking away from laypeople') (Mantas Martišius. Ką naikinsim – apskritis ar rajonų savivaldybes? May 5, 2007)

(87) *Todėl skirtingai, nei kadenciją baigiantis Prancūzijos prezidentas Jacques Chirac, kuris buvo aiškiai dešiniųjų prezidentas, V. Adamkus visuomet siekė **išlaikyti distanciją** nuo konservatorių.* ('Adamkus always targeted to keep the distance from the Conservatives') (E. Pajūris. Vienišas prezidentas. April 27, 2007)

(88) *Lietuvos politinė sistema apskritai ir **politinės partijos** konkrečiai yra absoliučiai **atitrūkusios nuo** šalies piliečių ir realiai jiems neatskaitingos.* ('political parties breaking away from citizens') (Lietuvos politinė sistema nesudaro sąlygų vadovautis moraliniais standartais. February 28, 2006)

Thus, the RELATIONSHIP IS DISTANCE metaphor also contributes to the negative moral characterization of Lithuanian politicians. To be more precise, they are portrayed as too distant from the ordinary people or electorate, as well

as too remote from other political forces. Such political remoteness points to the Lithuanian politicians' inability for cooperation and collaboration.

In conclusion, the analysis of the epistemic correspondences between the SOURCE domain of MOTION and the TARGET domain of POLITICS shows that the moral expectations of the Lithuanian political journey is grounded in the use of the following elements: MOVEMENT, OBSTACLES, VEHICLE, TERRITORY and BOUNDS, DISTANCE. Their analysis reveals that Lithuanian politicians receive negative moral judgement, as being unable to fulfil moral expectations. First, Lithuanian politicians are unable to choose a direction for their journey, thus their motion is purposeless; besides, instead of journeying forward, they continuously move backwards, as reflected in the use of the MOVEMENT metaphor. Second, their political journey is full of unavoidable obstacles which lead to political stagnation. Moreover, Lithuanian politicians move mainly by two types of transport, i.e. a motor vehicle or a plane; however, the use of transport does not contribute to accumulating the necessary speed for reaching a destination. Thus, political vehicles are described as malfunctioning and failing to reach the final destination, which indirectly refers to negative political results.

#### **4.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the MOTION Metaphor**

The analysis of the MOTION metaphor both in English and Lithuanian shows the universality of ontological (the same SOURCE domain—MOTION) and epistemic correspondences (similar conceptual elements) in the two languages. Moreover, the use of the MOTION metaphor gives a negative moral evaluation to politicians in both cultures. This is due to their inability, first, to reach their final destinations, which stand for political outcomes and results, and, second, to avoid and surpass obstacles, which refer to political problems. Besides these similarities, some differences can be observed.

The MOTION metaphor in English has the elements of PATH and

DIRECTION, which are absent in the Lithuanian data. To be more precise, PATH and DIRECTION are interrelated in a sense that DIRECTIONS stand for POLITICAL GOALS, while the choice of appropriate PATHS helps to achieve the established political goals. The absence of such elements might have several moral implications for Lithuanian politics. First, it might characterize Lithuanian politics as purposeless, devoid of political vision, with the implication of an unclear future. Second, it characterizes Lithuanian politicians as unable to plan their actions and to set and attain goals.

Despite this difference, the analysis of the MOTION metaphor results in the system of moral expectations which are reflected in the **Pragmatic Morality Model**. Such a model is disclosed by the use of the following elements: OBSTACLES, DISTANCE, TERRITORY, BOUNDS and BALANCE, whose conceptual system is based on the concepts of STRENGTH, ORDER, STABILITY and CONTROL. To clarify, both British and Lithuanian politicians are expected to have substantial strength to keep political balance, to resist various forces, and to avoid obstacles while travelling. Moreover, moral political actions are seen as a bounded movement, or movement in permissible areas and along permissible paths.

Thus, the use of the BOUNDS metaphor characterizes politicians' immoral behaviour as the transgression of prescribed routes. As a result, such political behaviour is referred to as deviant. Moreover, such deviation is perceived as the rejection of political purposes and goals. Besides, politicians are expected to resist any external or internal forces. Finally, those who are able to move along the prescribed routes and avoid obstacles and transgressions are metaphorically structured as strong and politically powerful.

To summarize, the pragmatic concepts of strength, order, control are developed by the MOTION metaphor in British and Lithuanian public discourse. This has the following practical implications: politicians are expected to enforce violent measures to control the state, and to create social stability and order; otherwise, led by their biological make-up, people will be fighting each other and creating social chaos.

## 5. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP Conceptual Metaphor

Lakoff claims that the moral views of American politics are generally expressed by the metaphor of NATION/SOCIETY IS A FAMILY (1996, 2002). In other words, society is conventionally viewed as a family with the state as a parent and citizens as children.

This study shows that besides a family relationship between the state and its citizens, there is also interpersonal relationship between politicians found in both English and Lithuanian. In other words, a political activity is structured through the metaphor of INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP. The analysis of this metaphor allows establishing moral priorities and a set of expectations governing political relationship in both languages. POLITICS IS INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor has the following linguistic representation in both languages, as in the table below:

Table 10: INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	RELATIONSHIP Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	170	14.7
Lithuanian	78	8.3

The table shows the distribution of metaphorical linguistic expressions of the INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor across English and Lithuanian. The linguistic distribution of the INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor is more prominently expressed in English, i.e. 170 linguistic occurrences, while in Lithuanian there are 78 instances. This shows that emotional aspects play a more significant role in British rather than Lithuanian politics.

### 5.1. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP Metaphor in English

The POLITICS IS AN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor as a complex conceptual system consists of several conceptual elements, the use of which characterizes the nature of political relations, cf. the table below:

Table 10: The Linguistic Realization of POLITICS IS AN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP

POLITICS IS INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP	
<p><b>Epistemic</b></p> <p><b>Correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FRIENDSHIP</li> <li>• LOVE AFFAIR</li> <li>• ENMITY</li> </ul>	<p><i>-the implications of the <b>spat</b></i></p> <p><i>-Mr Jackson has <b>fallen in love</b> with Mr Blair</i></p> <p><i>-to capitalise electorally on a <b>honeymoon</b> period</i></p> <p><i>-talking like a <b>marriage</b>-guidance counsellor about his <b>relationship with the voters</b></i></p> <p><i>-saturation <b>love-bombing</b> between now and the election</i></p> <p><i>-end in administrative <b>cock-up</b></i></p> <p><i>-occasional <b>spats</b></i></p> <p><i>-real <b>passion</b> for the EU</i></p> <p><i>-mutual <b>admiration</b></i></p> <p><i>-<b>blokeish</b> manner</i></p> <p><i>-unclubbable <b>loner</b> with few <b>political friends</b></i></p> <p><i>-a more reliable <b>ally</b></i></p> <p><i>-to <b>appeal</b> beyond their base vote</i></p> <p><i>-rare <b>harmony</b> over local-government finance</i></p> <p><i>-Mr Milburn's <b>clash</b> with Mr Brown</i></p> <p><i>-Home Office <b>cock-ups</b></i></p> <p><i>-<b>lecherous</b> old fools</i></p> <p><i>-<b>touchy-feely</b> Notting Hill modernity</i></p> <p><i>-<b>intimates</b> etc.</i></p>

As indicated in the table, the target domain of POLITICS is structured through the source domain of INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP; they are related through the use of the two conceptual elements—FRIENDSHIP and LOVE AFFAIR. Both are peripheral in meaning, as the boundary between these two categories is blurred: in one instance political relationship is associated with friendship, while in another it extends to a love affair. However, there are instances when the status of the political relationship is clearly stated. This study shows that FRIENDSHIP is more significant for the conceptual network of the RELATIONSHIP metaphors, as it is based on the ideological opposition of friends vs. enemies, which is thus complemented its opposite invariant—

## ENMITY.

Generally, the conceptual category of FRIENDSHIP implies supportive and co-operative behaviour among people; however, in public discourse, the FRIENDSHIP metaphor serves several pragmatic functions. First, British politicians are perceived as having more intimate than supportive friendship, which conveys an ironic function, as below:

(89) *Only Charles Clarke—a serial minister who is said to have been **courted by Mr Brown**—has been noisily if codedly critical of the new regime.* (The smell of Tony. February 7, 2008)

(90) *The question for both Mr Brown and Mr Balls is how they should handle the next stage of **their close relationship**.* (Will Brown have Balls? April 26, 2007)

(91) *Mr Jackson, it is safe to say, **has fallen in love with Mr Blair**, not with Labour. Therein lies a little comfort for the Tories.* (The Tories' struggle to be heard. January 20, 2005)

The examples above illustrate that a more intimate relationship between politicians is associated with closer contacts and personal preferences in political culture. This metaphor clearly shows that emotions and expression of sympathy play a significant role in British politics. Even more, the use of such expressions discloses the moral expectations underlying the attitudes to British politics. British politicians are expected to be supportive and co-operative with each other. However, they are perceived as having an intimate relationship instead, as reflected in the use of such expressions as ***courting*** and ***flirting***, which is inappropriate for serious and accountable politics.

Besides, politicians are perceived as having an interpersonal relationship with their voters. Thus, politicians are seen as objects of love or physical attraction, consider the utterance below:

(92) *Partly it is because although voters have **fallen out of love with Tony Blair**, they are not yet desperate for change.* (Issues of identity. April 21, 2005)

Thus, British political activities are about having a relationship with voters, as they *fall in and out of love* with politicians. This results in the perception of politics not in terms of ideologies, ideas or actions, but rather as politics of personalities. The more attractive a politician is, the more chances s/he has to

win the elections or receive support from ordinary people. Hence, the personal charm and charisma of a politician is of greater value than his political programme, ideology or actions, as in the utterances below:

(93) *[T. Blair's] His strength used to be his ability to **charm and seduce people into his big tent**.* (Study in Brown. March 17, 2005)

(94) *These days, the tent has shrunk and **the prime minister cuts a lonely figure** who seems almost to relish his unpopularity.* (Study in Brown. March 17, 2005)

The example (94) illustrates that T. Blair, who has lost his emotional bond with people, is *lonely* and *unhappy*. This loneliness refers to the fall of the politician's popularity as well as his inability to manipulate people by using his charm and personal charisma.

Moreover, the use of the INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor gives evidence to the fact that political activity is becoming more personalized or aimed at reaching personal benefit and goals, as below:

(95) *In effect, Mr Livingstone will become a virtually unaccountable one-man planning committee for London—a "municipal Bonaparte" according to appalled Tories, who point to the mayor's **cosy relationships** with property developers.* (The chancer. January 11, 2007)

Another type of RELATIONSHIP among politicians varies from friendliness to ENMITY. The use of this element demonstrates the intensity of British politics: those politicians who are not friends are seen as enemies. Thus, British political life is perceived as void of emotional neutrality. This is achieved by dividing politicians into friends and enemies. Moreover, this also applies to international politics, where countries are divided into friends and enemies, consider these statements:

(96) *Mr Brown's job will be to restore Britain's historic role as **the candid friend**. A humbled Mr Bush might even welcome that.* (A rough patch for the special relationship. February 1, 2007)

(97) *In politics, it is your **friends** who are more likely to bring you down than your **enemies**.* (Friendly fire. January 29, 2006)

(98) *Although the job traditionally goes to an American, George Bush might stretch a point for his old **chum** Tony.* (After Downing Street. May 3, 2007)

Moreover, the element of ENMITY is disclosed through various **quarrels** and **spats** among politicians. Such relationship negatively characterizes British politicians, as reflected in the use of such attributes as *angry*, *disrespectful* and *antagonistic* to each other, as below:

(99) *The bilious Lord Lamont, furious at being made, as he saw it, the scapegoat for Britain's ejection from the exchange-rate mechanism, was intent on exacting revenge on John Major.* (Friendly fire. January 29, 2006)

(100) *If this is right, it means that **the squabbling between Blairites and Brownites** over the manifesto that has dominated media coverage of the conference may be yesterday's story.* (Not drowning—not quite. October 7, 2004)

(101) *While a few Tory MPs were horrified by the implications of the **spat**—in particular what it said about the White House's view of Mr Howard's chances of becoming prime minister.* (Growing apart. September 2, 2004)

The examples above show that most of the disagreements among politicians are about trivial and unimportant things. In other words, the politicians' expression of negative emotions is of little value, as most of them are about insignificant issues. Thus, by arguing, politicians waste their time and efforts, which is perceived negatively, consider the sentences below:

(102) *Mr Milburn's **clash with Mr Brown** over the degree of financial freedom to be conferred on foundation hospitals, coupled with **Mr Blair's failure to stand up** to the chancellor, led to his decision to quit the cabinet, a **frustrated and disillusioned man.*** (Caught in the middle. April 6, 2006)

(103) *If this is right, it means that **the squabbling** between Blairites and Brownites over the manifesto that has dominated media coverage of the conference may be yesterday's story.* (Back to basics. September 30, 2004)

To summarize, the use of the INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor negatively characterizes British politicians. They are perceived as involved in interpersonal relationships, which are reflected in the metaphor of FRIENDSHIP. Moreover, the political friendship extends to LOVE AFFAIR, which characterizes politicians as governed by emotional rather than rational stimuli. The element of FRIENDSHIP is also based on the ideological opposition: friends vs. enemies. Finally, the FRIENDSHIP metaphor serves an ironic function, as instead of being politically committed to their state and its people, British politicians are perceived as being engaged in interpersonal relations such as FRIENDSHIP or LOVE AFFAIR.



## 5.2. INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP Metaphor in Lithuanian

The INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor structures Lithuanian public discourse by cross-mapping the source domain of INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP onto the target domain of POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. The epistemic correspondences are drawn by the use of the two elements—CONFLICTS and FRIENDSHIP, cf. table below:

Table 11: POLITICS IS INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP and its Linguistic Representation

POLITICS IS INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CONFLICTS</li> <li>• FRIENDSHIP</li> </ul>	<p><i>-Socialdemokratai rodė akivaizdžias simpatijas</i>  <i>-lengvas politiko flirtas</i>  <i>-tarpusavyje besikandžiojančios partijos</i>  <i>-partijos viduje kilo nesusipratimų bei skandalų</i>  <i>-partijos narių paklusnumo</i>  <i>-elgėsi kaip kokia aikštinga panelė</i>  <i>-meilė Rolandui Paksui</i>  <i>-bičiulių grupelės</i>  <i>-tenkinti jas valdančių partijų užgaidas</i>  <i>-kasdieniai skandaliukai</i>  <i>-konfliktuoja ir riejas</i>  <i>-prezidento gerbėjai valdančiųjų peštinės</i>  <i>-debatai ir aistros, ypač vertinami skundikai ir šmeižikai</i>  <i>-politikos santykiai, verslo ir politikos suartėjimas</i>  <i>-siekiama suvilioti rinkėjus</i>  <i>-pigiai pirкта meilė tėra politinė prostitutcija</i>  <i>-peštinės dėl Europos Sąjungos pinigų, nesugeba užmegzti ir palaikyti ryšių</i>  <i>-neištikimybė ideologiniams principams etc.</i></p>

The first element of the INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor in Lithuanian political discourse is that of CONFLICT. To be more precise, the metaphor of INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP is expressed through the concept of INTERPERSONAL CONFLICTS. Its use negatively characterizes the nature of political relations in Lithuania. First, the use of CONFLICT as a conceptual element shows that Lithuanian politicians are in a state of discord caused by contradictory needs, values, and personal interests. This state gives rise to the spread of negative feelings among politicians, which leads to tension and a stressful working atmosphere, as below:

(104) *Atsiradus nuomonių įvairovei partijoje, jos viduje kilo nesusipratimų bei skandalų. Valdžia ėmė siekti didesnio partijos narių paklusnumo.* ('misunderstandings and scandals arising in the party, the government is seeking the obedience of party members') (2005-iejį įklampino V.Uspaskicho kariauną. December 30, 2005)

(105) *Akivaizdu, kad rinkėjas gali nebalsuoti už tuos, kurie konfliktuoja ir riejasi.* ('electorate may not vote for those conflicting and arguing harshly with each other') (2007 metų rinkimų nuojautos (1). February 2, 2007)

The examples above show that conflicts are of an authoritarian nature, thus based on the concept of STRENGTH. In other words, political leaders expect obedience from other politicians, who are lower in the hierarchy of their political party. As a result, conflicts arise when politicians start challenging a political authority of the government or party leaders.

Besides, a conflict can range from a disagreement or clash to a fight or scandal, which may involve the use of forceful behaviour or language. Such conflicts also characterize Lithuanian politics as forceful and coercive, when stronger and more powerful politicians manipulate their weaker colleagues. Such manipulative behaviour is based on the principle 'survival of the fittest', which underlies the moral system of the Pragmatic Morality Model, cf. utterances:

(106) *Tai dėl ko tuomet kuriamas tas aštuonių komitetas? O dėl ko prasidėjo valdančiųjų peštynės?* ('the scuffle of the ruling') (Kompromiso šešėlis. February 28, 2006)

(107) *Tik kokia nauda iš šių pjautynių visuomenei?* ('what is the use of this scuffle for the society?') (Trojos dujos. January 16, 2006)

Such political relationship receives a negative moral evaluation, as reflected in the use of such expressions as *pjautynės* (107) and *peštynės* (106). Lithuanian political activities are perceived as disrupting and based on conflicts, thus politics is associated with a brutal exercise of power. Instead of working, politicians are continuously arguing by openly expressing their hostility towards other politicians by means of violent outbursts.

The second element of the INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor is that of FRIENDSHIP, which metaphorically structures Lithuanian politicians as close allies or friends. Despite a positive meaning in general, in

Lithuanian political discourse the use of FRIENDSHIP metaphor has negative moral implications. First, it shows that Lithuanian politicians have personal preferences in terms of their friendships, as below:

(108) *Iki tol socialdemokratai rodė akivaizdžias simpatijas Ūkio ministerijai vadovaujančiam Kęstučiui Daukšiui, vidaus reikalų ministrui Gintarui Furmanavičiui bei teisingumo ministrui Gintautui Bužinskui.* ('the Social Democrats showing clear signs of affection to the Minister of the Department of Economic Affairs') (Darbiečiai per premjerą sprendžia savo problemas. July 10, 2006)

(109) *Ne patys draugiškiausi veidai premjerui.* ('far from most friendly faces for the PM') (Turniškių demokratija: paskutinė stadija. March 21, 2006)

Thus, emotional expressions of FRIENDSHIP are important aspects of Lithuanian politics, as their use illustrates how individual or group preferences determine political priorities and behaviour.

However, it should be noted that sometimes FRIENDSHIP extends to expressions of LOVE, which serves an ironic purpose. The love affair mainly involves two groups of people: politicians and business people, or politicians and their voters, cf. statements:

(110) *Atsakomybės mastai ir pasiskirstymas priklauso nuo to, kokiais teisingumo kriterijais vadovaujamės vertindami žiniasklaidos, verslo ir politikos suartėjimo bei neskaidraus bendradarbiavimo aplinkybes.* ('the intimacy of business and politics') (Trys būsenos: augimas, sąstingis, nuosmukis; verslas, žiniasklaida ir politika. December 10, 2005)

(111) *Besiklausančiojo pareiga, o gal veikia visuomenės interesas, yra pačiam suprasti, kur politiko kalboje slypi tiesa, kur kalbama apie rimtus visuomenės pertvarkymo užmojus, o kur tik pažadai, kuriais siekiama **suvilioni rinkėjus.*** ('to allure electorate') (Politikams esame atlaidesni. December 21, 2005)

One of the reasons for criticism is a deceitful nature of politicians-voters' relationship. Political declaration of love to voters and ordinary people is perceived through the concept of a conscious and calculated action of emotional stimulation, as in the statement below:

(112) *Šis politikas, ilgą laiką demonstravęs rafinuotą panieką žmonėms, kalbėjęs visiškai nesąmones į akis, pirkęs palaikymą už ledų porciją ir sykiu kalbėjęs, kad lietuviai neverti būti savarankiški, pajuto, jog **pigiai pirқта meilė tėra politinė prostitucija, trumpalaikė emocinė būseną, kuri kinta, kai palieti rimtus dalykus.*** ('easily bought love is a political prostitution, which is a short-lived emotional state') (2007 metų rinkimų nuojautos (2). February 9, 2006)

The example above shows that the politicians' declaration of love to ordinary people is based on the principle of consumerism, which is expressed not by sincere emotions but petty acts of bribery. Such commercial bribery is reflected in the political practice of buying votes, linguistically represented in terms of *political prostitution*, as in the example (112).

To summarize, the INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor as a complex conceptual network is represented by the use of two conceptual elements in the Lithuanian data: CONFLICTS and FRIENDSHIP. Their analysis discloses a negative moral evaluation of Lithuanian politicians. First, Lithuanian politicians' behaviour is perceived as conflicting and coercive. Second, the politicians' declarations of love or other emotional bondage with voters are insincere and based on pretensions for the purpose of gaining political, economic and personal advantages.

### **5.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the RELATIONSHIP Metaphor**

The RELATIONSHIP metaphor, which is based on the cross-mapping of the two domains of POLITICS and INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP, structures both British and Lithuanian political discourse. Its metaphor allows one to identify the governing relationship model and the moral expectations of political life in Great Britain and Lithuania. The analysis of the POLITICAL INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor shows a negative moral evaluation of politicians and their activities. This is reflected in the use of the conceptual elements structuring the metaphor of POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP and their epistemic correspondences.

In English, the INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor is reflected in the use of the three elements—FRIENDSHIP, LOVE AFFAIR and ENMITY. The use of the first two characterizes British politicians' behaviour as based on personal likes and subjective preferences, whereas the latter

divides politicians into friends and enemies. Moreover, the use of such elements allows one to perceive British politics as based on emotional rather than objective selective criteria. This gives evidence to moral values as developed by the Integrated Morality Approach, according to which political activities are determined by emotions and sentiments. Moreover, emotions are perceived as necessary in political decision-making. Politicians decide on the basis of their personal likes and dislikes. They also manipulate voters by emotionally appealing to them. However, such behaviour is strongly criticized, thus morally unacceptable. Even more, the use of the ENMITY element demonstrates emotional extremes in the British political context, when non-friends are seen as enemies, and thus dangerous and callous.

By comparison, the use of the INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor in Lithuanian political discourse consists of such conceptual elements as CONFLICTS and FRIENDSHIP. Their use also results in negative moral evaluation. First, Lithuanian politicians are portrayed as ever arguing and fighting with one other. Moreover, the CONFLICTS metaphor is based on the concept of moral strength and power, which underlies the moral system of the Pragmatic Morality Model. According to this model, Lithuanian politics is seen as the activity of the powerful, who exercise their strength by controlling and manipulating the weak. Finally, the element of FRIENDSHIP characterizes Lithuanian politics as based on manipulation, coercive actions, and emotional pretence.

To conclude, although the RELATIONSHIP metaphor is used in both British and Lithuanian political discourse, it is represented by different conceptual elements. The variable nature of these elements determines different morality models. In English, the use of the RELATIONSHIP metaphor reflects moral values underlying the Integrated Morality Approach. In this view, emotions and sentiments are perceived as complementary to any political activity, especially in political decision-making. By contrast, in Lithuanian the use of the RELATIONSHIP metaphor discloses the moral system as reflected in the Pragmatic Morality Model. According to it, politics

is perceived in terms of coercive acts and forceful behaviour, which are necessary to maintain stability and order in the country.

## 6. STRENGTH Conceptual Metaphor

Another frequent conceptualization of POLITICS in both languages is realized through the source domain of STRENGTH, which results in the following metaphor: POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS THE EXERTION OF PHYSICAL STRENGTH, wherein a moral politician is conceived as a strong and tough person. Moreover, the use of this metaphor results in serious political consequences, which are reflected in the following conceptual mappings:

Table 12: Constituents of the MORAL STRENGTH Conceptual Metaphor (Lakoff 1996)

POLITICS IS THE EXERTION OF STRENGTH			
(1) POLITICIANS	(2) MORALITY	(3) ACTIONS	
MORAL POLITICIANS ARE STRONG PERSONS	STRENGTH IS GOODNESS	DOING GOOD IS BEING IN UPRIGHT POSITION	BEING GOOD IS BEING HIGH
IMMORAL PPOLITICIANS ARE WEAK PERSONS	WEAKNESS IS EVIL	DOING BAD IS FALLING	BEING BAD IS BEING LOW

As shown in the table above, the use of the STRENGTH metaphor in politics is based on the following epistemic correspondences: politicians are divided into strong and weak; their strength is seen as moral goodness; thus by being strong they are being good; this is reflected in their upright position and their attempts to confront evil (i.e. other weak politicians or other enemies).

Despite the fact that the STRENGTH metaphor linguistically structures the public discourse of both languages, its frequency varies across languages, as indicated in the following table:

Table 13: STRENGTH Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	STRENGTH Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	102	8.8
Lithuanian	140	15

As illustrated in table 13, the metaphor of STRENGTH is more frequently realized in the Lithuanian data. Even more, the use of the STRENGTH metaphor determines different MORALITY models in the two languages.

### 6.1. STRENGTH Metaphor in English

POLITICAL STRENGTH is another complex metaphor, structuring a variety of British public discourse—analytical political articles. It is represented by the conceptual elements of TOUGHNESS, EXERTION OF FORCE, and WEAKNESS / STRENGTH, cf. the table below:

Table 14: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS THE EXERTION OF STRENGTH

POLITICS IS THE EXERTION OF STRENGTH	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TOUGHNESS</li> <li>• FORCE</li> <li>• WEAKNESS / STRENGTH</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <i>insufficiently <b>tough</b></i></li> <li>- <i>a <b>tough</b> negotiation</i></li> <li>- <i><b>wreckers</b> of public services</i></li> <li>- <i><b>merciless</b> politicians</i></li> <li>- <i>to <b>save</b> Europe</i></li> <li>- <i>the <b>brute size</b> of Mr. Brown's majority</i></li> <li>- <i>the Blair-Brown <b>tussle</b></i></li> <li>- <i>emerge from the campaign politically <b>stronger</b></i></li> <li>- <i>the <b>fragility</b> of Prime Minister's position, <b>titans</b></i></li> <li>- <i>bumbling <b>bullies</b></i></li> <li>- <i><b>fearsome</b> beasts, political <b>weakness</b></i></li> <li>- <i><b>fall into</b> the Tory <b>trap</b></i></li> <li>- <i>a <b>tough</b> and experienced operator</i></li> <li>- <i>Mr Blair's <b>tough stance</b> and political positioning</i></li> <li>- <i>a party loses the habit of <b>discipline</b></i></li> <li>- <i>sheer <b>force</b> of personality</i></li> <li>- <i><b>forcing</b> bills etc.</i></li> </ul>

The table shows that in the STRENGTH metaphor the epistemic correspondences are developed by the use of such elements as TOUGHNESS, FORCE, WEAKNESS / STRENGTH.

The most characteristic element of the STRENGTH metaphor in British public discourse is TOUGHNESS. The concept of political strength is associated with the politicians' tough behaviour, as in the examples below:

(113) *Unlike Mr Hague and Iain Duncan Smith, he is **a tough** and experienced operator who has prepared himself for the job over many years.* (Doubts about Davis. January 16, 2005)

(114) *Mr Brown strongly supported Mr Blair's **tough stance and political positioning**, if not his highly confrontational tactics.* (This time, Gordon is not a problem. November 10, 2005)

(115) *Mr Davis has his strengths. He is **tough**, ambitious and more strategic than any of his recent predecessors.* (David Davis has a fight on his hands. October 6, 2005)

As the examples above illustrate, TOUGHNESS is a complementary attribute of political strength thus constitutive of any political activity. In this view, political activities involve the exercise of strength and toughness as reflected in the metaphor—BEING POLITICALLY ACTIVE IS BEING TOUGH / STRONG. The concept of toughness is associated with strength, firmness and strictness. First, the association of political toughness with strength and firmness is based on two oppositions: 1) strong vs. weak, and 2) hard vs. soft. It should be noted that the latter epistemic correspondence of HARDNESS / SOFTNESS is also developed by the ESSENCE metaphor, which is discussed in section 10. Both metaphors of STRENGTH and HARDNESS are based on the concept of STRENGTH. In other words, political activities are closely associated with strong politicians thus STRENGTH, due to which they manage political problems and make appropriate decisions, as in the statements below:

(116) *It has, he <Mr. Brown> believes, been **insufficiently tough** in negotiation and disingenuous over the treaty's importance.* (Plenty of risk, not much reward. April 22, 2004)

(117) *What is not in doubt is that Mr Brown has emerged from the campaign **politically stronger** than ever before.* (Together again. May 5, 2005)

Hence, TOUGH politicians are able to deal with any difficulties they might encounter. This leads to the following moral implication: to be politically strong is to be tough, thus toughness in politics is a moral advantage.

The reason why the concept of strength has a positive evaluation in the political discourse can be explained by the metaphor MORALITY IS



STRENGTH (Johnson 1993). According to Johnson, most Western cultures perceive morality or moral behaviour through the concept of strength (1993, 32). In other words, moral people are seen as strong in character and behaviour, and immoral people as weak and unreliable. Accordingly, weak people cannot be trusted and should be avoided, while strong ones possess the necessary powers for establishing order and stability in the naturally unstable and chaotic world. The same model is applicable to public discourse, where morally good politicians are tough and strong in their political decision-making. Strength, in its turn, is demonstrated by the exertion of FORCE, which is another constitutive element of the STRENGTH metaphor, to illustrate consider the statements below:

(118) *Though the Lords can't **strike bills down**—the government can ultimately **get its way by forcing bills through** under the Parliament Act—their alterations are often successful.* (A-leaping with a vengeance. February 9, 2006)

(119) *Even if Britons can be persuaded to think more fondly of Europe by the time of the referendum, the government may still be unpopular enough for voters to want **to give it a kicking** when they can do so without the risk of getting a Tory government.* (Lessons from Maggie. February 10, 2005)

(120) *On January 31st, the former Conservative chairman laced up his rhetorical Doc Martens and **stuck the boot firmly** into the new Conservative leader's rump.* (With your permission. February 2, 2006)

As seen from the examples above, those politicians who do not exert physical force or lack strength are portrayed as weak and lacking in character. Thus, strength is also seen as a complementary part of human character. In the view of the metaphor MORAL CHARACTER IS A STRONG CHARACTER, politicians are also divided into two types: either strong or weak in their character. The strong political character is closely associated with strictness and discipline; hence, politicians lacking discipline in political decision-making are perceived as weak, as in the following examples:

(121) *Mr Brown knows all too well that a party that **loses the habit of discipline** may struggle to regain it.* (This time Gordon is not the problem. November 10, 2005)

(122) *For all his moral passion and intellectual strength, the belief that the chancellor is **a flawed character** has taken hold.* (They'll miss him. September 28, 2006)

(123) *Because the government has broken its promises to them, many peers feel released from normal constitutional discipline.* (Billy Bragg's modest proposal. March 11, 2004)

The element of FORCE is further developed by the element of BOLDNESS. To be more precise, strong politicians are perceived as bold and determined in their behaviour, which is achieved through the use of forceful actions, e.g.:

(124) *Until now the main effect of the police investigation has been to feed the public's debilitating cynicism about politics. It is, however, an opportunity for Gordon Brown to push ahead with reform.* (A sad, sad business. November 16, 2006)

(125) *The majority of them are not so self-destructive that they can't see a deeply unattractive risk/reward ratio in forcing Mr Blair out.* (Prepared to wound but not to strike. May 11, 2006)

Thus, forceful actions are used in solving political problems or reaching political goals. Moreover, they contribute to bold and strong politics, which is seen as a moral priority. Politicians' boldness and strength are perceived as essential characteristics, which contribute to sustaining stability and order in a state.

To summarize, the STRENGTH metaphor in English consists of such elements as TOUGNESS, STRENGTH and WEAKNESS, and the EXERTION OF FORCE. Their analysis reveals moral expectations underlying British political life, which are associated with the concept of MORAL STRENGTH. In other words, British politicians are expected to be tough and strict in their political actions. Political toughness and strictness can be achieved by exerting physical force. Thus, the use of force, sometimes leading to brutal behaviour in politics, is justified and is morally acceptable. On the basis of the STRENGTH metaphor, British politicians are divided into strong and weak with the latter lacking in character and discipline.

## 6.2. The STRENGTH Metaphor in Lithuanian

This metaphor is another significant cross-mapping of the two conceptual domains, i.e. POLITICS and STRENGTH, structuring Lithuanian public discourse in the collected data. The analysis of the STRENGTH metaphor reveals that it consists of such elements as STRONG WILL, STRENGTH and WEAKNESS, EXERTION OF PHYSICAL FORCE, VERTICALITY and EVIL, cf. the table below:

Table 15: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS THE EXERTION OF FORCE

POLITICS IS THE EXERTION OF FORCE	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• STRONG WILL</li> <li>• STRENGTH and WEAKNESS</li> <li>• FORCE</li> <li>• VERTICALITY</li> <li>• EVIL</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-<i>stipri</i> kairioji partija</li> <li>-<i>turėti pakankamai jėgų</i></li> <li>-<i>stiprinti</i> savo pozicijas</li> <li>-<i>pagrindiniai galios</i> centrai</li> <li>-<i>partijų silpnumas</i></li> <li>-<i>grumtis</i> su korupcija</li> <li>-<i>galingesnės</i> nematomos rankos</li> <li>-<i>trūksta</i> politinės <i>valios</i></li> <li>-<i>puolimas</i> prieš pilietines organizacijas</li> <li>-<i>stiprus</i> socialdemokratinis mentalitetas</li> <li>-<i>solidi</i> partija</li> <li>-<i>įtvirtinti</i> nuostatas</li> <li>-<i>sutelkti</i> valdžios <i>jėgas</i></li> <li>-<i>telkiamos jėgos</i></li> <li>-<i>partijos jaučia</i> kitų <i>silpnumą</i></li> <li>-<i>politinės valios</i> stoka</li> <li>-<i>valdžios išpuoliai</i></li> <li>-<i>Paulauskas buvo nuverstas</i></li> <li>-<i>smūgis</i> laisvai pilietinei visuomenei</li> <li>-<i>sėkmingos ir nenugalimos bestijos</i> etc.</li> </ul>

As shown in the table above, on the epistemic correspondences between the target domain of POLITICS and the source domain of STRENGTH are established by the use of the five elements: STRONG WILL, STRENGTH and WEAKNESS, FORCE, VERTICALITY and EVIL. Each of them is given a more detailed description below.

The conceptual element of STRONG WILL has been discussed by Lakoff and Johnson in the context of conservative moral views (Lakoff 1996, Lakoff and Johnson 1999). In their view, moral people are perceived as people in possession of an unbent, strong and free will, which cannot be broken. Hence,

the political ideology of the Conservatives is based on the moral principles of tradition, heritage, authority, order, forceful behaviour, and strong will. The latter is perceived as a central characteristic feature of conservative outlook in a social network, especially of Western cultures.

Similarly, in the analysed data the concept of strong will is associated with a force influencing human body and its actions. Thus, politicians who possess a strong will are able to exert a necessary force to control their actions. By contrast, politicians who lack strong will are perceived as weak and unable to resist various passions and to control situations and to solve political problems, e.g.:

- (126) *Deja, ne tik šiai, bet ir kitoms partijoms Lietuvoje trūksta politinės valios.* ('Lithuanian parties lacking political will') (Darbo partijos lyderio diktatui – jo pavaduotojo atkirtis. December 12, 2005)
- (127) *Istatymų leidyba užsiima Seimas. Kas jam trukdo pakeisti įstatymą? Greičiausiai baimė, kad įtarimai gali būti pareikšti bet kuriai partijai arba politinės valios stoka.* ('the shortage of political will') (Darbo partija prieš VRK. Kas laimės? November 29, 2006)

By lacking political will, Lithuanian politicians are seen as being unable to control political situations; consequently, this leads to inadequate decision-making. In other words, by lacking a strong will, Lithuanian politicians cannot make sound decisions, which leads to weak political system.

In addition, political will is closely associated with the exertion of physical FORCE, as will is conceptualised in terms of a forceful mind exerting influence on a human body. Hence, a stronger will assists in resisting external negative forces. This conceptual model applies to the frame of Lithuanian politics, as the concept of strength is highlighted as the central attribute of a political action, as in the following utterances:

- (128) *Galima būtų sutikti su šiais vertinimais, nes pasitikėjimas teismais iš tiesų ne be tam tikro pagrindo yra kritęs. Teismai per menkai prisideda prie mūsų respublikos viešojo intereso, intereso tiesai ir teisingumui įtvirtinimo.* ('consolidation / strengthening of justice') (Teismai ir politika. February 9, 2006)
- (129) *Darant rimtų ir atsakingą politinį žingsnį, reikia turėti pakankamai jėgų jam įgyvendinti iš tikrųjų arba, priešingu atveju, geriau nedaryti nieko.* [while making serious and responsible political decisions, sufficient strength is needed] ('by taking serious and responsible steps, sufficient strength is needed') (Lietuvos politinė sistema nesudaro sąlygų vadovautis moraliniais standartais. February 28, 2006)
- (130) *Telkiamos jėgos ten, kur jos stipriausios.* ('recruiting the strongest forces') (Kodėl R. Paksas netaps revoliucionieriumi. January 26, 2006)

The examples above illustrate that the possession and use of strength has positive moral implications. The epistemic correspondence between MORALITY and STRENGTH gives rise to the following conceptual frame: strong politicians are seen as morally right in their actions, whereas weak politicians are perceived as morally wrong in their decision-making. Moreover, reference to politicians as *weak* implies a negative moral attitude to them, due to their lack of strength in dealing with political problems, consider the statements below:

(131) *Atgimimo pradžioje buvęs gana stiprus socialdemokratinis mentalitetas gana greitai blėso. [the strong intellectual abode of Social Democrats was wiping away]*(Socialinė demokratija Lietuvoje: dabartis, praeitis, ateitis. February 2, 2006)

(132) *Deja, ir viršpartinis valstybinis veikimas, net jei juo subjektyviai siekiama pašalinti valstybės valdymo bėdas, kylančias dėl partijų silpnumo, jų interesų savanaudiškumo ir partikuliarumo, partinės sistemos fragmentiškumo ir nestabilumo, demokratijos požiūriu negali būti vertinamas pozityviai.*(‘weak parties’) (Apie žodį „valstybininkas“. November 27, 2006)

(133) *Gyvename silpnoje valstybėje, kuri nesugeba apginti viešojo intereso, nesugeba apginti savo piliečių.* (‘weak state, being unable to defend national interests, is unable to defend citizens’ interests’) (Viešojo intereso gynimas dar netapo valdžios prioritetu. January 30, 2006)

Moreover, the metaphor of POLITICS IS THE EXERTION OF FORCE characterizes Lithuanian politics as pragmatically-oriented, which is reflected in a brutal approach to solving political problems. This brutality is associated with Lithuanian politicians acting forcefully and coercively, for which much physical strength is required, e.g.:

(134) *Pokalbis apie tai ir šios savaitės aktualiją – Seimo daugumos „buldozerio“ sutraiškytą opozicijos iniciatyvą sudaryti parlamentinę komisiją premjero Algirdo Brazausko šeimos interesams iširti.* (‘the initiative of the opposition was crushed by the bulldozer of Parliamentary majority’) (A. Kubilius: nostalgiją praeičiai išgydys laikas. November 15, 2005)

(135) *Nežinau, gal kas nors Lietuvoje dar grąžins vasariui pirmąją pasaulio galybę – vesti prieš srovę, griauti šio pasaulio galybes, svaiginti laisvę.* (‘the primary mission of leading against the mainstream, destroying world powers, intoxicating freedom’) (Toks vasaris. Praradęs savo burtus. February 14, 2006)

The source domain of forceful actions performed by Lithuanian politicians is closely related to the concept of VERTICALITY. The concept of verticality is disclosed through the metaphor of POLITICAL AUTHORITY IS VERTICALITY; in other words, politicians in authority are perceived through the concept of HIGHNESS, whereas the source domain of LOWNESS is

mapped onto the concept of less authoritative politicians. The aspect of vertically in the language of politics is a frequent phenomenon across languages (see Lakoff and Johnson 1999). In the analysed data, the metaphor of VERTICALITY is closely interrelated with politicians' moral status:

- (136) *Kalbant konkrečiau, valstybininkas – tai nacionalinio masto politikas ar aukštas valdžios pareigūnas, kuriam valstybės interesai yra aukščiau asmeninių ir grupinių interesų, <...>* ('high government official') (Apie žodį „valstybininkas“. November 27, 2006)
- (137) *Jau ir taip V. Uspaskichas pavertė A.M. Brazausko politinę senatvę nuolatiniu pažeminimu.* ('Uspaskichas turned Brazauskas's political old age into constant moral downfall') (Turniškių demokratija: paskutinė stadija. March 21, 2006)

The examples above clearly show how Lithuanian politicians' social and moral status is disclosed through the VERTICALITY metaphor. Morally right and strong politicians are linguistically referred in terms of HIGHNESS, while their amoral behaviour is associated with LOWNESS. As a result, one of the principal goals in Lithuanian politics is associated with reaching high positions, which will eventually guarantee political power and authority, as in the statement below:

- (138) *Visi tie, kurių V. Uspaskichas iš tiesų prisibijojo ir kurių rankos jėgą jis daugiau ar mažiau buvo pajutęs, šiuo metu jau galutinai arba sukompromituoti, arba nuleidę rankas stebi, kaip Darbo partijos lyderis pamažu, bet užtikrintai vėl ropščiasi į galios viršūnes.* ('the leader of the Labour party is climbing to the top of political power') (Išlaisvintas kelias Kėdainių „kniaziui“. December 3, 2005)

However, the analysis of the STRENGTH metaphor reveals that in some cases Lithuanian politicians are criticized for their forcefulness, especially when it comes to violence and coercion, e.g.:

- (139) *Kad būtume nelyginant šuneliai, kuriems galima numesti kaulą, jei klauso, o jei neklauso, pagrūmoti lazda. Arba kumščiu. Kaip kad padarė premjeras nepatenkintos Kazokiškių bendruomenės atveju.* ('shake one's stick or fist') (Anestezija tautai. February 20, 2006)
- (140) *Paprastai šnekant, iš sėkmingų ir nenugalimų bestijų kyla ne tik institucijos, bet ir politinės etikos normos bei politinio elgesio standartai – o juk tai buvo parašyta trys šimtai metų iki Friedricho Nietzsche's!* ('the political and ethical norms of unconquerable beasts arising') (Knygos po lova. May 10, 2007)

These examples show that politics in the Lithuanian language is closely associated with the exertion of physical force, which results in the outbursts of violence and cruelty. There are practising politicians that are referred to as *beasts* (140). The use of such conceptual elements is grounded in the moral expectations that derive from the metaphor MORALITY IS GOODNESS,

whereby immoral people are associated with evil. Thus, politicians' violent behaviour is characterized as evil that has to be stopped or fought with. Even more, such beastly politicians are seen as led by their instincts and biological make-up, i.e. being void of rationality, as in the following statements:

(141) *Bet šiandien niekada neklystantis galiuos instinktas jiems kužda, kad buvę šeimininkai atgauna jėgas.* ('the instinct of power, the former masters regaining political strength') (Politinio maskarado vidurnaktis. November 28, 2005)

(142) *Turėjo praeiti dešimt metų, kai mastodontai pradėjo trauktis.* ('mastodons retreated / sloped backward') (Apie valdžios netekimo skausmą. December 9, 2005)

(143) *Taigi siekdama pilietinės emancipacijos, regis, mūsų visuomenė neišvengiamai turės grumtis su demokratiškos instinkto stokojančia Lietuvos valdžia.* ('our society will inevitably have to fight with the Lithuanian government, lacking democratic instincts') (Politinis elitas neberodo gebėjimų veikti demokratijos sąlygomis. November 25, 2005)

Hence, the metaphor of STRENGTH performs a two-fold function in Lithuanian political discourse. First, it raises moral expectations grounded in the metaphor MORALITY IS STRENGTH, whereby politicians are expected to be strong, wilful and determined in their political actions. By contrast, another aspect of this metaphor gives rise to moral expectations reflected in the metaphor IMMORALITY IS EVIL, whereby amoral politicians are seen as evil, which has to be stopped. Otherwise their violence and cruelty can destroy the entire social order.

To summarize, the epistemic correspondences of the STRENGTH metaphor in Lithuanian public discourse are developed by the use of the following elements: POLITICAL WILL, STRENGTH and WEAKNESS, STATUS VERTICALITY, FORCE and EVIL. Their analysis reveals that Lithuanian politicians are expected to have a strong political will, determination and strength in solving political problems. However, continuous exertion of force also leads to outbursts of violence, which are morally evaluated as evil thus morally unacceptable.

### **6.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the STRENGTH Metaphor**

The constitutive parts of the MORAL STRENGTH metaphor illustrate the following set of moral implications:

- the political world, and the world in general, is divided into good and evil;
- to remain good, a politician must be morally strong;
- a politician who is morally weak cannot stand up to evil and will eventually commit evil;
- moral weakness is a form of immorality.

Despite insignificant variability in epistemic relations between SOURCE and TARGET domains, the STRENGTH metaphor in both English and Lithuanian represents the morality system underlying the **Pragmatic Morality Model**. Pragmatic politics is based on such moral priorities as strength, toughness and forcefulness in political decision-making. All three elements are closely interconnected: TOUGHNESS is closely associated with a strong (STRENGTH) political will which governs desires and controls external forces (FORCE). Thus, weak politicians are criticized for lacking political will to control a situation and solve problems; furthermore, instead of controlling a situation, weak politicians are seen as being controlled by situations or FORCES. Such understanding is grounded in the system of moral expectations of the Pragmatic Morality Model, which sees all people, including politicians, as evil by nature. Thus, the use of violence is justified as a means of reaching political ends and establishing social order and stability.

## **7. HEALTH Conceptual Metaphor**

Recently Urbonaitė and Šeškauskienė carried out the cross-linguistic analysis of the HEALTH metaphor in the economic discourse (2007). According to their findings, both English and Lithuanian metaphors were classified into seven major groups with the following two as the most dominant: PROBLEMS ARE ILLNESSES and IMPROVEMENT IS MEDICAL TREATMENT. The present study complements their findings by showing that both British and Lithuanian public discourse is structured by the metaphor of POLITICS IS HEALTH.



As a complex conceptual network, the epistemic correspondences of the HEALTH metaphor are established by the metaphors of STATE IS A HEALTHY INDIVIDUAL and POLITICIANS ARE DOCTORS. The personification of the target domain of POLITICS allows of the structuring of political activities in terms of the source domain of HEALTH. Moreover, the analysis of the HEALTH metaphor shows that *political health* depends on the moral behaviour of politicians, which results in the following conceptual elements:

- POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE ILLNESSES,
- WRONG POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR IS HEALTH-DAMAGING,
- POLITICIANS / PARTIES ARE PATIENTS / DOCTORS.

Though the source domain of HEALTH is universal across cultures (Kövecses 2002), its use gives rise to different cultural and moral expectations. The findings suggest that the use of the HEALTH metaphor is more linguistically prominent in Lithuanian than in English as indicated in the following table:

Table 16: HEALTH Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	HEALTH Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	87	7.5
Lithuanian	102	11

The table above illustrates that there are more instances of the HEALTH in Lithuanian than in English. The epistemic correspondences of the HEALTH metaphor are usually established by the elements of RADICAL MEASURES and ORDER, which presuppose a more conservative outlook to politics. Thus, the higher prevalence of metaphorical expressions in the Lithuanian data might indicate the presence of more conservative views in Lithuanian politics.

## 7.1. HEALTH Metaphor in English

The analysis shows that the epistemic correspondences between the target domain of POLITICS and the source domain of the HEALTH metaphor are established through the use of such conceptual elements as STATE IS A HEALTHY INDIVIDUAL, POLITICIANS ARE DOCTORS /PATIENTS, POLITICAL PROBLEM ARE BODILY/MENTAL ILLNESSES and GOOD POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE RECOVERY, cf. the table below:

Table 17: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS HEALTH

POLITICS IS HEALTH	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• STATE IS A HEALTHY INDIVIDUAL</li> <li>• POLITICIANS ARE DOCTORS / PATIENTS</li> <li>• POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE BODILY/MENTAL ILLNESSES</li> <li>• GOOD POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE RECOVERY</li> </ul>	<p>-party would fail to <b>recover</b>            -the fall of Mr Blunkett's is an emotional <b>handicap</b> shared by many ministers            -the best way to <b>hurt</b> Labour            -a <b>dying</b> party            -the <b>febrile</b> mood of Labour MPs            -political <b>nightmare</b> for Mr Blair            -the party's <b>rehabilitation</b>            -the new <b>intake</b> of MPs            -<b>inflict lasting damage</b> on the government            -Mr Blair has become an <b>adrenaline junky</b>            -a <b>revived</b> Tory party            -the party's <b>erogenous zones</b>            - recent <b>self-inflicted wounds</b>            -<b>myopic</b> Tory MPs            -putting Mr Brown's <b>nose out of joint</b>            -<b>chronic</b> indiscipline            - political <b>hypochondria</b>            -premiership never <b>recovered</b>            -the party in <b>poor shape</b>            -Labour <b>recovered</b> its desire for unity and discipline            -the <b>prescriptions</b> that are now emerging are quite <b>strong medicine</b>            -the Senator swooning over the <b>wretched</b> Blair            -<b>lunacy</b> that gripped parts of the Labour Party etc.</p>

The central metaphor in the conceptual network of POLITICAL HEALTH is that of STATE IS A HEALTHY INDIVIDUAL. It is based on the personification of STATE, to which the attributes characteristic of a healthy or sick individual are attached. This metaphor has very important implications, as Johnson (1993, 185) claims that the concept of well-being, especially health, is

one of the most important aspects in human life. Therefore, the use of the HEALTH metaphor in public discourse reveals the moral evaluation of political activities. The analysed data shows that British politics experiences various health problems or is in critical condition, consider the utterances below:

(144) <...> *the febrile state of British politics that a barely audible remark made by Tony Blair in an interview on Australian radio was enough to send Westminster into a **paroxysm** of conjecture and rumour.* (Warning signs. March 30, 2006)

(145) *But it is **short-sighted, unhealthy for democracy and wrong in itself.*** (In defence of the young. October 26, 2006)

Besides personifying the concept of STATE, the HEALTH metaphor is realized through the metaphorical mapping of PARTY IS A PATIENT. Thereby, political parties are conceptualised as patients encountering various health problems. The analysis shows that British politicians encounter both physical and mental illnesses. However, it should be noted that some of the illnesses mentioned refer to serious health damages, i.e. with fatal consequences, e.g.:

(146) *Since Mr Brown's chances of winning an election will, to a large extent, hang on his ability to persuade voters that Labour is better at getting value from public services, that could prove a **crippling handicap.*** (The real Labour funding crisis. February 8, 2007)

(147) *There is also serious work that can be done with even **this crippled president.*** (A rough patch for the special relationship. February 1, 2007)

The examples above illustrate that such damage to British political health such as handicaps or crippling are unrecoverable cases or unsolvable political problems, which require immediate attention and response. In addition, British political health is associated with various mental disturbances such as *lunacy, nightmare, paroxysm, insanity, paranoia* etc., which, in their turn, mainly concentrate on emotional stress, especially excessive anxiety or delusion, as in the statements below:

(148) ***Paranoid Brownites** immediately suspected the prime minister of trying to wriggle out of his promise.* (Warning signs. March 30, 2006)

(149) *That would bring Gordon Brown's views into closer alignment with those of the prime minister, thus saving both **Mr Hutton's sanity** and, quite possibly, his career.* (Caught in the middle. April 6, 2006)

(150) *The **lunacy** that gripped parts of the Labour Party and even more of the media late last week has abated.* (The real Labour funding crisis. February 8, 2007)

Hence, by drawing a parallel between Johnson's (1997) proposed universal MORALITY metaphor MORALITY IS WELL-BEING / HEALTH, it

becomes obvious that British politics is criticized in public discourse. This is reflected in the use of the BRITISH STATE IS UNHEALTHY THUS AMORAL metaphor. Even more, the nature of illnesses, which are mental in most cases, might imply that immediate changes are expected in British political life, especially in terms of political decisions and actions. To be more precise, the MENTAL ILLNESS metaphor characterizes political actions as void of rationality but full of anxiety, delusion and other emotional disorders. Such expectations are raised by the use of the RECOVERY element.

Even more, the use of the RECOVERY aspect characterizes positively the nature of moral expectations and future changes in British politics. The use of such concepts as RECOVERY and HEALING not only implies the temporary nature of political problems, but also their tendency for improvements, along with adequate political thinking and decision-making, e.g.:

*(151) When John Major succeeded Margaret Thatcher, Tory MPs briefly lost their appetite for rebellion, but **they quickly recovered** it with catastrophic consequences for Mr Major and his successors. (This time, Gordon is not the problem. November 10, 2005)*

*(152) Meanwhile the diplomatic damage done by the Iraq war has been partially **healed by the decline in the fortunes** of Mr Chirac and Gerhard Schröder and the need to rebuild transatlantic bridges. (The good European. December 14, 2005)*

However, such recovery is usually possible at the expense of other politicians' misfortunes. To be more precise, the frame of political recovery epistemically corresponds to the frame of moral balance: politicians' rights are compensated by other politicians' wrongs. Those politicians, managing to improve their political health, do that at the expense of other politicians. This leads to the metaphor of BALANCED RECOVERY, which underlies the metaphor of HEALTH.

To summarize, though the HEALTH metaphor in English political discourse is mostly realized through the aspects of damaged health and illnesses, whether physical or psychological, it also involves the conceptual component of recovery, which implies the temporary nature of political problems and hope for a better and healthier political future.

## 7.2. The HEALTH Metaphor in Lithuanian

The HEALTH metaphor is linguistically represented by 152 metaphorical expressions. The data analysis shows that the HEALTH metaphor consists of such elements as STATE IS A HEALTHY INDIVIDUAL, POLITICIANS ARE PATIENTS, POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE ILLNESSES, and POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE TREATMENT, which linguistically are realized in the following way, as shown in the following table:

Table 18: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS HEALTH

POLITICS IS HEALTH	
<b>Epistemic correspondences:</b>	- <i>atsidūrusi gilioje krizėje</i> - <i>sukėlė partijoje krizę</i> - <i>sveikos jėgos</i> - <i>Vidinės ir išorinės finansinės injekcijos galybę</i> - <i>reikia atgaivinti</i> - <i>neatspari prorusiškas vertybes platinančioms jėgoms</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>STATE IS A HEALTHY INDIVIDUAL</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>POLITICIANS ARE PATIENTS</li> </ul>	- <i>krečiami ypač nemalonių skandalų</i> - <i>kalbės blaiviai</i> - <i>pykčio priepuoliai</i> - <i>atsitokėjęs ir pergrupavęs jėgas politikas</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE ILLNESSES</li> </ul>	- <i>liūdnas simptomas</i> - <i>sveikos politinės būsenos atstatymas</i> - <i>prablaivėjimo metai, politinės ir moralinės reabilitacijos pradžių Lietuvoje</i> - <i>elgiasi kaip pamišę</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE TREATMENT</li> </ul>	- <i>galvoti apie prevenciją ir profilaktiką</i> - <i>nesuprantami įvykiai Liberalų ir centro sąjungoje tampa ydinga tendencija</i> - <i>didesnių ar mažesnių negalių</i> - <i>politinė depresija etc.</i>

The primary element of the HEALTH metaphor is the personification of political parties or politics in general, just as in English, which results in the following conceptual mapping: STATE IS A HEALTHY INDIVIDUAL. However, in Lithuanian public discourse its negative counterpart is used—STATE IS AN UNHEALTHY / SICK INDIVIDUAL. The source domain of HEALTH has moral implications: unhealthy politics is perceived as wrong and immoral, which results in the metaphor UNHEALTHY POLITICS IS IMMORAL POLITICS, as in the utterances below:

- (153) *Šios naujos, net prezidentą papiktinusios institucijos sukūrimas išryškina vieną didžiausių šiandienos Lietuvos valdžios negalių.* ('ailments of the Lithuanian government') (Atsakomybės jausmas: kaltų nėra. March 14, 2006)
- (154) *Mes turėsime su kuo eiti į rinkimus, jeigu liberalų partija bus sveika ir skaidri.* ('Liberal-Democrats will be healthy') (Atsakomybės jausmas: kaltų nėra. March 14, 2006)
- (155) *Taigi artėjama prie "stabilumo", kurio neįmanoma pavadinti kitaip, kaip savotiška visos partinės sistemos komos ar net mirties būseną.* ('the party system in coma or even in the state of death') (Pabaiga ar nauja pradžia? November 9, 2005)

Thus, Lithuanian politics is perceived as wrong and immoral due to its unhealthy condition, which in some instances is referred to as being unrecoverable as in example (155). Moreover, the unhealthy condition of Lithuanian politics, likewise in the British political discourse, is reflected in the metaphor POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE ILLNESSES. However, the most noticeable difference lies in the nature and specificity of illnesses. The illnesses encountered in Lithuanian politics are mainly of three types such as (1) physical ailments, (2) mental disturbances, and (3) infectious diseases.

First, the mentioning of physical ailments is not as numerous as the references to psychological disturbances or viral diseases. Despite that, most of the diseases refer to very complicated health conditions with unrecoverable or fatal consequences such as *tumours, brain disorders* or even *coma*, as in the utterances below:

- (156) *Lisabonos strategijos priminimas kai kuriems politikams daro tokį įspūdį, lyg jie kuris laikas sirgtų Alzheimerio liga ir apie šią strategiją girdėtų pirmą kartą.* ('politicians suffering from Alzheimer's disease') (Kaip gintis nuo savo piliečių. March 6, 2006)
- (157) *Valdžios kurtumas tokioms problemoms, vangumas jas spręsti tik didina dalies visuomenės apatiją ir netikėjimą valdžia, politikais, partijomis ir demokratijos vertybėmis.* ('deafness of the government, its sluggish disposition to social problems') (Politikos devalvacija, arba berno mitologija. December 2, 2005)

The epistemic correspondence between illnesses and political problems has a significant negative moral interpretation. Lithuanian politics is seen in an unrecoverable or severely damaged condition, thus political activities are causing harm to the general health of the state. This requires immediate treatment or radical measures, which would revert Lithuanian politics to a healthier state of being.

The element of PHYSICAL ILLNESSES is closely related to and complemented by the element of MENTAL ILLNESSES. Both disclose Lithuanian politics as malfunctioning and problematic. In addition to that, the element of MENTAL ILLNESSES implies emotional instability and disorder. Political activities are characterized as unpredictable, causing uncertainty and disorder, as in the statements below:

(158) *Kita vertus, šis politikas žlugdo ne tik save, bet ir partiją, kuriai vadovauja jau kelerius metus. Nesugebėdamas demokratiškai ir tvarkingai organizuoti partijos veiklą, jis sukėlė partijoje krizę ir sužlugdė jos įvaizdį visuomenėje. ('the party leader has caused / provoked crisis in the party')* (Likdamas Vilniaus meru A. Zuokas tik dar žemiau kris. January 30, 2006)

(159) *Antra, nepasitiki savo politine galia. Šių duomenų pagrindu paskelbta apibendrinta mūsų visuomenės būklės diagnozė: politinė depresija. ('political depression')* (Vasario 16-oji. Tikėti ir veikti. February 21, 2006)

(160) *Kai kuriuose valdžios kabinetuose psichologinė įtampa dar pašoko, kai Seimas nepritarė laikinosios parlamentinės komisijos, tyrusios EBSW veiklą, išvadoms, kurios būtų paslėpusios visas valdžios nusikaltimų gijas. ('psychological tension rose in the cabinets')* (Turniškių demokratija: paskutinė stadija. March 21, 2006)

Besides the element of MENTAL DISTURBANCES, there is another epistemic correspondence, as reflected in the conceptual mapping PROBLEMS ARE VIRAL DISEASES. The use of the VIRAL DISEASES element is a culture-specific feature of Lithuanian public discourse, as no instances of the PROBLEMS ARE VIRAL DISEASES metaphor were located in the English data. The element of VIRAL DISEASES has several negative moral implications for Lithuanian politics.

First, the epistemic correspondences of the VIRAL DISEASE metaphor are grounded in the mapping of the source domain of contaminated transmission onto the target domain of POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. To be more precise, viruses spread in human bodies. Similarly, wrong political actions spread in politics by thus contaminating social life. Thus, wrong political actions have contaminating effects, as they are perceived through the concept of disease-bearing organisms or viruses. This metaphor results in the negative moral evaluation of Lithuanian politics, consider the utterances below:

(161) *Ar šia aistra užsikrėtė ir visa valdančioji dauguma? Klausimas retorinis – į jį nebūtina atsakyti. ('majority government has been infected with this passion')* (Ką daliju, tai ir turiu. March 8, 2006)

(162) *Šių dalykų neugdanti ir nepalaikanti politika virsta parazitine ir nenusipelno tolimesnio egzistavimo. ('parasitic politics')* (Viruso vardas – užmirštasis ir sugrižtantis paksizmas. January 23, 2006)

(163) *Iš politikos traukiasi švelnus autokratas-ūkininkas, kuris daugiau nei dešimt metų sėkmingai koketavo su demokratija ir kartkartėmis buvo užsikrėtęs valstybingumo bacila. ('the politician infected with the bacterium of minding the state')* (Apie valdžios netekimo skausmą. December 9, 2005)

Moreover, the use of the POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE VIRAL DISEASES metaphor discloses conservative values prevailing in Lithuanian politics. To be more precise, this metaphor is based on the concept of STRICT MEASURES and OBEDIENCE TO AUTHORITY, which are perceived as a necessary means of tackling the spread of viruses or wrong political actions. Thus, its use emphasizes the importance of strict measures and radical actions as necessary for eradicating amoral behaviour and achieving political goals, as below:

(164) *Juk už kritišką žodį gali būti pasmerktas valdžios pareigūnų. O juk tokie valdžios recidyvai turėtų būti griežtai tramdomi. ('such government's relapses should be strictly suppressed')* (D. Kuolys: „politinio elito elgesys kompromituoja valstybę“. November 28, 2005)

(165) *Atsiradus nuomonių įvairovei partijoje, jos viduje kilo nesusipratimų bei skandalų. Valdžia ėmė siekti didesnio partijos narių paklusnumo. ('striving for greater obedience among party members')* (2005-ieji įklampino V. Uspaskicho kariauną. December 30, 2005)

As the examples above illustrate, Lithuanian politics is governed by the metaphor of MORAL STRENGTH, which is attributed to the Strict Father morality (see Lakoff 2002). This model is based on such concepts as respect and obedience to authority, the establishment of strict rules and behavioural norms etc. Moreover, it implies punishment as a moral means of keeping order and eradicating wrong behaviour. The use of such metaphor, which is grounded in the elements of POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE ILLNESSES, legitimizes government as the highest authority in the state, which has moral rights to control, reprimand and use punishing methods when it is found necessary.

Another element, which provides sufficient evidence for the strict morality model and governs Lithuanian political discourse is that of DEFECTS / VICES. This metaphor has been found only in the Lithuanian data, which gives



a negative moral characteristic to Lithuanian politics. Thus, the metaphor of POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE DEFECTS implies the presence of disorders or anomalies interfering with the established standards of political lifestyle. The epistemic correspondence is established by the source domain of DEFECTS, whereby the feature of inborn anomalies is mapped onto political decisions, which can transfer from one person to another. Thus, the concept of defects is associated with negative political actions, which spread from one politician to another, as in the following statements:

(166) *Nesunku pakeisti vieną pareigūną kitu. Gerokai svarbiau **įžvelgti sistemos ydas ir kurti tokią tvarką**, kuri mažintų klaidų tikimybę.* ('it is more important to **discern the defects of a political system and establish such an order**, which will decrease the probability of mistakes') (Tikra, visa ir paprasta tiesa. December 1, 2006)

(167) *Tokia **praktika** yra **ydinga**. Kai politikai nusprendžia, kad kas nors yra kuo nors, tai tikrai netoleruotina.* ('such political practice is defective') (Valdančiosios koalicijos nesantaikos obuolys dvelkia nafta. December 5, 2005)

Hence, as various congenital disorders require immediate action of taking precautions to avoid side-effects, similarly Lithuanian politics requires urgent changes for preventing the spread of contagious symptoms.

Finally, the HEALTH metaphor in the Lithuanian public discourse, differently from English, has an element of TREATMENT. This element underlies the metaphor of POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE MENTAL ILLNESSES / ADDICTION, as in the following:

(168) *R.Pakso prezidentavimo metu paskirtųjų teisėjų veiksmai, leidžiantys konstatuoti sovietinės sistemos **politinės ir moralinės reabilitacijos pradžių Lietuvoje**, teisėsaugos demoralizacija, politikos degradacija...<>* ('the beginning of political and moral rehabilitation in Lithuania') (Viruso vardas – užmirštasis ir sugrįžtantasis paksizmas. January 23, 2006)

(169) *Todėl tokio pobūdžio **politiniai skandalai** yra viso labo savotiškos dvaro intrigos, jie yra organizuojami siekiant šiek tiek pakenkti politiniams konkurentams ir yra priemonė **ne gydyti šalies politinę sistemą, bet tiesiog būdas sustiprinti savo pozicijas artėjančių rinkimų išvakarėse.*** ('political scandals do not give treatment to the system but rather strengthen politicians' positions in forthcoming elections') (Lietuvos politinė sistema nesudaro sąlygų vadovautis moraliniais standartais. February 28, 2006)

The TREATMENT metaphor is complementary by its nature to the Strict Father Morality Model. It has the following moral implication: the moral

nature of political activities, if associated with the TREATMENT metaphor, can be restored by diagnosing and eradicating negative causes. Thus, the use of the TREATMENT metaphor demonstrates that Lithuanian politics is in an unhealthy state, which has to be improved; otherwise, it will collapse. The TREATMENT metaphor also implies the importance of restrengthening political system. The concept of STRENGTH underlying the TREATMENT metaphor frames the moral expectation of the Pragmatic Morality Model.

To conclude, the HEALTH metaphor in Lithuanian public discourse is developed by the use of such conceptual elements as POLITICIANS ARE PATIENTS, PROBLEMS ARE ILLNESSES/DEFECTS, PROBLEM-SOLVING IS TREATMENT. The epistemic correspondences established between the source domain of HEALTH and the target domain of POLITICS demonstrate a negative moral evaluation of Lithuanian politics. To be more precise, the presence of various illnesses and defects in Lithuanian public discourse indicates that Lithuanian politics is in need of long-lasting treatment and other restrengthening measures to restore political balance and social stability. The concept of restrengthening measures discloses the Strict Father Morality model, which implies both obedience to political authority and establishment of strict rules.

### **7.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the HEALTH Metaphor**

The analysis of the research data reveals that the HEALTH metaphor is used in both English and Lithuanian political discourse. However, the variability of cross-domain correspondences that established its elements results in different morality systems. Both English and Lithuanian HEALTH metaphors are based on the morality metaphor – MORALITY IS HEALTH. Thus, both English and Lithuanian political systems are criticized, as in both languages political problems are perceived through the concept of various illnesses, e.g. bodily malfunctions, psychological disturbances, congenital defects etc. This results

in the metaphor POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE ILLNESSES, which is realized through the metaphor of IMMORAL POLITICS IS UNHEALTHY. However, despite the negative moral evaluation in both languages, the analysis of the HEALTH metaphor results in different moral expectations, thus different morality models respectively.

The use of the HEALTH metaphor in English shows the moral system underlying the Integrated Morality Approach, which is due to the element of RECOVERY in English public discourse. The problems in British politics are perceived through the concept of illnesses; however, no reference to any radical measures or obligatory treatment has been found. Even more, ILLNESSES are perceived as unavoidable, which will naturally disappear in the future. Thus, the element of RECOVERY implies that political problems are unavoidable in politics; however, they are perceived as temporary. The RECOVERY metaphor holds an epistemic correspondence between a placebo effect and hope for a better future. Thus, positive emotions play a significant role in determining the positive outcomes of various political processes. This understanding supports the system of moral expectations underlying the Integrated Morality Approach to politics.

By contrast, the analysis of the Lithuanian HEALTH metaphor shows that Lithuanian politics is governed by the classical approach to morality, known as the Pragmatic Morality Model. According to it, people are perceived as evil and self-interested by nature, thus they have to be controlled and given orders. This model is reflected in the use of the element POLITICAL PROBLEM-SOLVING IS TREATMENT, which refers to strengthening measures as mandatory in Lithuanian politics.

## **8. SPORTS Conceptual Metaphor**

The use of the SPORTS metaphor has been discussed by Howe and Gibbs (in Gibbs 1994). Howe claims that American politics is typically conceived either as a sports event or as war (in Gibbs 1994). The SPORTS metaphor describes politics as a rule-governed contest between two opponents. Gibbs illustrates

the tendency by analysing Reagan’s speeches during the 1984 campaign (1994, 140). There Reagan frequently employed the SPORTS metaphor, in particular, emphasizing the aspect of team in political contests. Moreover, American politicians tend to use BOXING metaphors, which aim at conveying a necessary image of toughness (ibid. 1994, 141).

This study shows that public discourse in both English and Lithuanian is structured by the conceptual source domain of SPORTS, which results in the metaphor—POLITICS IS A SPORTING EVENT, as indicated in the following table:

Table 18: SPORTS Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	SPORTS Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	90	7.8
Lithuanian	56	5.9

Thus, the POLITICS IS SPORTS metaphor has been identified in both languages. Nevertheless, this metaphor has a different conceptual representation in English and Lithuanian. In other words, the metaphor of POLITICS IS SPORTS consists of different elements, as indicated in the table below:

Table 19: POLITICS IS SPORTS in English and Lithuanian

English	Lithuanian
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• RACE</li> <li>• GAMBLING</li> <li>• WRESTLING</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TEAM GAME</li> <li>• GAMBLING / CARDS</li> <li>• HUNTING</li> </ul>

The table shows that such conceptual elements as RACE, GAMBLING and WRESTLING are characteristic of the SPORTS metaphor in English; whereas, HUNTING, GAMBLING and TEAM GAME constitute the frame of the SPORTS metaphor in Lithuanian.

### 8.1. SPORTS Metaphor in English

As a complex conceptual network, the SPORTS metaphor consists of such elements as RACE, GAMBLING and WRESTLING, which are reflected in the use of the following metaphorical linguistic expressions, as in the table below:

Table 20: The Linguistic Representation POLITICS IS A SPORTING EVENT

POLITICS IS A SPORTING EVENT	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• RACE</li> <li>• GAMBLING</li> <li>• WRESTLING</li> </ul>	<p><i>-the politicians' <b>team</b> is too young</i>  <i>-a flashy <b>lightweight</b></i>  <i>-politicians <b>running out of puff</b></i>  <i>-to <b>play well</b> with the voters</i>  <i>-a desperate <b>gamble</b> Blair embarked on</i>  <i>-<b>front-runners</b></i>  <i>-the <b>race</b> between Labour and the Tories</i>  <i>-well-known political <b>heavyweights</b></i>  <i>-put the Tories <b>back in the game</b></i>  <i>-Labour government <b>ran out of energy and time</b></i>  <i>-<b>play a blinder</b></i>  <i>-effective <b>champion</b> of the poor</i>  <i>-Labour <b>cheered</b></i>  <i>-<b>play fast and loose</b></i>  <i>-<b>playing the race card</b></i>  <i>-a safe <b>bet</b>, to <b>bat away</b> accusations</i>  <i>-<b>fair play</b></i>  <i>-party's more <b>talented players</b></i>  <i>-strongest <b>cards</b> etc.</i></p>

The major element of the SPORTS metaphor in English is that of RACE, as represented by the metaphor of POLITICS IS A RACE. Such cross-conceptual mapping structures political activities, especially elections, in terms of a sport contest where high speed is a decisive factor to win a POLITICAL RACE, such as follows:

- (170) *Mr Clarke's poll ratings as due to nothing more than name recognition and the loud splash of publicity when **he plunged into the race** last week. (Reasons not to be cheerful. September 8, 2005)*
- (171) *Worse, ICM revealed that **Labour is well ahead of the Conservatives** on seven out of the eight issues that voters say are most important to them. (High pitch, low politics. March 23, 2005)*
- (172) *Over the next few weeks there will be lots of polls and some of them—such as a Populus survey in the Times of April 5th—will suggest that **the race between Labour and the Tories** has become too close to call; a few may even give the Tories a narrow lead. (Why the system favours Labour. April 7, 2005)*

Thus, the epistemic correspondences between the source domain of RACE and the target domain of POLITICS are established by the framing aspects of speed and time onto the manner of political performance. In other words, to

attain political purposes politicians are expected to achieve the necessary speed to reach the final destination more quickly. Moreover, a political race requires certain competitive skills such as energy to cope with time and distance factors, consider the utterances below:

(173) *As a discredited Labour government **ran out of energy and time**, he said, the office would beckon for the Lib Dems sooner rather than later. (Kennedy's paradox. September 23, 2004)*

(174) *Mr Davis is a plausible candidate who has proved to be an effective shadow home secretary. With a well-organised campaign team around him, he is clearly, **by some distance, the front-runner**. (Doubts about Davis. June 16, 2005)*

Finally, the overall description of the RACE frame characterizes British political activities as competitive and dynamic. The research data shows that British politicians are characterized negatively due to their inability to cope with time and distance factors in the political race. Even more, the absence of strict rules negatively influences politicians' competitive performance, as in the statements below:

(175) *But with **no ground rules** as to how he should behave in the situation he finds himself in, Mr Brown has concluded that until Mr Blair names the day...<...> (Mr Brown's awfully big year. January 4, 2007)*

(176) *Fearful that he is **running out of time** and liberated from having to face the voters again, Mr Blair says he is determined to do the things in the two or three years remaining to him that he wishes he had done before. (A Blunkett judgement. November 3, 2005)*

Hence, the analysis of the SPORTS metaphor shows that politicians receive a negative moral evaluation due to the following reasons: they are unable to manage time and distance factors, and there are no distinct rules are enforced about how to compete in the race appropriately.

Another constitutive element of the SPORTS metaphor in English political discourse is that of GAMBLING. Generally, gambling is seen as a competitive game of taking chances and winning with probability, which involves risk-taking. In public discourse, politicians are perceived as gamblers and risk-takers. Such perception implies gerrymandering and horse-trading. Moreover, in the process of gambling political activities are associated with more risk of losing than winning, as in the examples below:

(177) *Belatedly, Mr Cameron realised that he had **dealt himself some lousy cards**. When he realised just how **lousy**, he sensibly **followed the first rule of bridge, which is to get rid of them quickly**. (A foolish promise. July 13, 2006)*

(178) *It was another **gamble** to fly to Singapore on the eve of the G8 summit in a last ditch attempt to haul London's Olympic bid over the line.* (The unexpected apotheosis of Tony Blair. July 14, 2005)

Thus, British political actions are associated with risk-taking, which might lead to more losses than gains, as reflected in the GAMBLING metaphor. This metaphor applied a negative moral characteristic to British politicians for taking unnecessary risks in political decision-making.

Finally, the third element of the SPORTS metaphor is that of WRESTLING, which is based on the use of physical strength, toughness, and violence while competing with other politicians. This metaphor indicates the use of strength and physical potency as necessary attributes in political activities. Hence, politicians are divided into two types of wrestlers—*lightweights* and *heavyweights*. The former are referred to as lacking in stamina and physique in political wrestling, while the latter are associated with optimal virility in competitive politics, as in the following utterances:

(179) *The chancellor thinks the ardently Blairite Mr Milburn is **a flashy lightweight** with ideas above his station: namely, that he, rather than Mr Brown, should one day succeed Mr Blair.* (Tony pushes his luck. September 9, 2004)

(180) *There are strong arguments both for and against Mr Clarke. On the positive side, he is the only authentic **political heavyweight** left in Conservative politics and he is still by far the most recognisable Tory to voters.* (The bruiser returns to the ring. September 1, 2005)

Accordingly, the conceptual element of WRESTLING implies the physical and biological nature of political activities. In other words, political accomplishments are associated with toughness, which is reflected in the use of the subsequent conceptual metaphor: THE USE OF PHYSICAL STRENGTH IS A DISTRIBUTION OF POWER.

To summarize, the conceptual metaphor of POLITICS IS SPORTS in English public discourse is framed by the following elements:

- POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS A COMPETITIVE RACE,
- POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS A WINNING PROBABILITY / GAMBLING,
- POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS WRESTLING.

The prevalence of RACE and GAMBLING aspects over the element of WRESTLING in the SPORTS metaphor render such moral expectations as:

political attainment is associated with such qualities as **speediness**, **strategic** planning, **risk-taking**, **toughness** and **strength**. Thus, modern political power in Britain has the following objectives: using time effectively and reaching political goals strategically, and having sufficient physical potency, virility and toughness while dealing with political opponents and solving political problems.

Hence, British politics is ascertained through the concept of a strategic and risky sports game, where certain rules have to be followed by all the competitors, i.e. politicians. Moreover, the domain of PHYSICAL SPORTS, as reflected in the element of WRESTLING, shifts its position to INTELLECTUAL / STRATEGIC SPORTS, as realized through the metaphors of RACE and GAMBLING. The INTELLECTUAL SPORTS in British public discourse is a culture-specific metaphor, which highlights the culture-specific features of British political life such as rationality, strategic policies, risk-taking and adherence to rules.



## 8.2. SPORTS Metaphor in Lithuanian

The conceptual network of the SPORTS metaphor consists of such framing elements as TEAM, GAMBLING and HUNTING, which are linguistically realized by the following metaphorical expressions, as in the table below:

Table 21: The Linguistic Realizations of POLITICS IS SPORTS

POLITICS IS A SPORTING EVENT	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TEAM</li> <li>• GAMBLING</li> <li>• HUNTING</li> </ul>	<p>-<i>politinė arena</i>            -<i>žaidimo taisyklės būtina keisti</i>            -<i>būtina užsiauginti raumenis</i>            -<i>medžioklės su žiniasklaidos varovais</i>            -<i>politinės kortos</i>            -<i>parengtų naujus žmones ir laimėti</i>            -<i>galutinai atidengti savo kortas</i>            -<i>žaidžiama pagal vidaus užsakymą ir vietos taisyklės</i>            -<i>nešvarūs triukai</i>            -<i>žaisti ir koalicijas sudarinėti</i>            -<i>rimti ir energingi žaidėjai</i>            -<i>partinis fanas</i>            -<i>sulaukti civilizuoto žaidimo taisyklių ir jų laikymosi</i>            -<i>rungtis</i>            -<i>dalyti medžiojamą grobį</i>            - <i>azartiškas biurokratų žaidimas</i>            -<i>čempionai kaitina varžybų dėl dalybų aistras</i>            -<i>politinio kortavimo žaidynės</i>            -<i>nepagauto briedžio dalybos</i>            -<i>medžioklės varovas etc.</i></p>

One of the conceptual elements, structuring the SPORTS metaphor in the Lithuanian data, is that of TEAM. To be more precise, it is represented by such mapping as POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS A TEAM GAME. This metaphor consists of several other conceptual elements such as PARTY AS A TEAM, DOING IS PLAYING, DOING WELL IS PLAYING BY THE RULES etc. Moreover, the analysis of these aspects shows that the use of the GAME metaphor characterizes Lithuanian politics negatively, due to the absence of strict rules regulating political games, consider the utterances below:

(181) *Rizika yra susijusi su galimybėmis ir šansais, bet žmonės, kurių šalis kone kasdien neatpažįstamai keičiasi jau šešiolika metų, paprasčiausiai pavargo laukti ir nebetiki, kad joje gali sulaukti civilizuoto žaidimo taisyklių ir jų laikymosi, stabilumo, tikrumo, aiškumo ir saugumo. ('following the rules of a civilized game')* (Emigracija netikrumo ir nesaugumo laikmetyje. February 20, 2006)

(182) *Ačiū jiems ir už tai, kad ateina ir informuoja STT apie susiklosčiusią padėtį. Tai mums padeda suprasti, **kokias žaidimo taisykles būtina keisti.*** ('which game rules must be changed') (STT agentai jau šnairuoja į valdininkus. December 19, 2005)

Thus, Lithuanian politicians, instead of playing their *games* by generally recognized or established regulations, create and follow their own rules, which are known only to the party members. Accordingly, if the rules are not explicitly drawn, non-party members are unaware of what to expect from political games, e.g.:

(183) *"Yra alternatyva - atkurti Lietuvos liberalų partiją. Atėjo laikas pažvelgti realybei į akis - negalima **užsižaisti vidiniuose partiniuose žaidimuose**", - sakė E. Masiulis.* ('playing for too long the internal party games') (E. Masiulis pasiryžęs atkurti Lietuvos Liberalų partiją. November 16, 2005)

(184) *Ten, kur vis dar **žaidžiama pagal vidaus užsakymą ir vietos taisykles** - ypač akademinėje sferoje ir mokslo politikoje, - nematyti jokių prošvaisčių.* ('playing by the internal orders and local rules') (Optimizmo šansai 2006-aisiais. January 9, 2006.)

Another aspect, which also reveals the implied criticism, is reflected in the metaphor PARTY IS A TEAM. The use of this metaphor shows that Lithuanian political parties cannot function as a complex cooperative unit, for they are lacking a professional leader or a captain with mass appeal. This eventually leads to game losses, as in the following statement:

(185) *Akivaizdu, kad realaus lyderio nebuvimas paverčia visus lygiais, todėl, kaip ir bet kokia **komanda be lyderio**, liberalai **negali žaisti rimto komandinio žaidimo** – jų nesimato.* ('any team without a leader cannot play a serious team game') (Užsitęsios Liberalų ir Liberalcentristų skyrybos. November 23, 2005)

Besides the absence of a team leader, political teams are perceived as lacking autonomy and proficiency in their game. Instead of being independent in choosing actions for their next move in a political game, Lithuanian political parties are seen as manipulated, thus less autonomous, e.g.:

(186) *Vis **mažiau savarankiškais žaidėjais** tampa ir socialdemokratai, kurie taip pat pradeda įgyvendinti svetimus scenarijus.* ('and Social Democrats are becoming less autonomous players') (D. Kuolys: „politinio elito elgesys kompromituoja valstybę“. November 28, 2005)

However, it should be noted that the metaphorical linguistic expression of *žaidimas* in Lithuanian public discourse is used not only in the context of a sports game but also in the context of amusement or recreation, which covers

the aspects of infantilism, irresponsibility and pretence, as in the examples below:

(187) *"Negalime dalintis atskirais pareiškimais, kas turi atsistatydinti, kas neturi, - piktinosi V. Adamkus. - Mes žaidžiame praktiškai visos valstybės stabilumo klausimu. ('playing with a stability issue, which concerns practically the entire state')* (Prezidento klausimas: ar Vyriausybė pajėgi toliau dirbti? October 29, 2005)

(188) *Didžiosios, t.y. sisteminės, partijos, išgąsdintos ir demoralizuotos libdemų triumfo bei R.Pakso pergalės Prezidento rinkimuose, nutarė, kad nuo šiol žaisti ir koalicijas sudarinėti galima su bet kuo. ('since now it has become possible to play and establish coalitions with anyone')* (Viruso vardas – užmirštasis ir sugrįžtantis paksizmas. January 23, 2006)

Hence, due to the absence of generally accepted rules and autonomous, strong and proficient team leaders etc., Lithuanian politicians prefer *exercising strength* to *playing games*. This category shift from playing a game to just exercising their strength characterizes Lithuanian politicians as infantile, irresponsible and unable to make serious and sound decisions for the state and its people.

In addition to the TEAM GAME, the conceptual element of GAMBLING is widely spread in Lithuanian public discourse. To be more precise, political activity is metaphorically structured through the concept of GAMBLING, likewise in the English data. However, in the Lithuanian language GAMBLING is more associated with card-playing rather than winning probability games, i.e. gambling itself. Consider the following examples below:

(189) *Nedavė jokio rezultato, o ir būti jo negali. Vienas veiksmas, tuojau pat paleidžiamas kitas – nesibaigiančios politinio kortavimo žaidynės: tai pasjansas, tai „durnius“, tai „tūkstantis“, tai kiaulių ganymas. ('unceasing political card games such as the Fool, the Thousand, or Grazing the Pigs')* (Užkalbėjimų įkalinti. February 22, 2006)

(190) *Lietuvos ateities juodąjį scenarijų (ar kontrscenarijų) kuriantys - o gal viso labo tik instrumentų ir statistų vaidmenis jame atliekantys - veikėjai jau dabar galutinai atidengė savo kortas. ('characters, creating black scenarios for Lithuanian bleak future, eventually opened their cards')* (Optimizmo šansai 2006-aisiais. January 9, 2006)

(191) *Libdėmai šantažu, bendro neapykantos objekto sufabrikavimu arba kitomis politinėmis kortomis greičiausiai būtų pasiekę pergalę ir apkalta būtų sužlugusi skilusių socialdemokratų dėka. ('political cards')* (Viruso vardas – užmirštasis ir sugrįžtantis paksizmas. January 23, 2006)

The examples above illustrate that card playing in Lithuanian politics is associated with the use of dirty tricks and cheating, whereas the conceptual frame of gambling in British politics highlights the concept of risk-taking.

Another aspect of the CARD-GAME metaphor is that party leaders or other important politicians are associated with a trump-card, as in the following:

(192) *Bet vienas dalykas yra planuoti ir strateguoti, kai turi tokį **kozirį kaip Brazauskas**, ir kitas dalykas - tokio kozirio nebeturėti. Tad, manau, per būsimus Seimo rinkimus situacija iš esmės keisis. ('Brazauskas as a trump-card')* (Prieš rinkimus vėl lauksime gelbėtojų? November 11, 2005)

The epistemic correspondence held between an influential politician and a trump card provides another significant insight into Lithuanian politics: politicians are manipulated for the purposes of card games. By fulfilling the role of a trump card, stronger politicians are used for the purpose of beating weaker politicians. Thus, the element of the TRUMP CARD metaphor testifies to the hierarchical dominance, manipulation and forcefulness in the Lithuanian politics. All these originally derive from the Pragmatic Morality Model which is governed by the concept of STRENGTH.

The last element of the SPORTS metaphor is that of HUNTING. Political activities in the Lithuanian politics are metaphorically structured through the concept of HUNTING, which results in the cross-conceptual mapping of POLITICS IS HUNTING. This metaphor is based on the following epistemic correspondences: POLITICIANS ARE HUNTERS vs. POLITICIANS ARE PREY. Such framing is grounded in the concept of STRENGTH, thus politicians are divided into strong and weak. Hence, the concepts of physical strength and toughness tend to prevail in Lithuanian politics such as follows:

(193) *A. **Zuoko medžioklė**, ar partijos vietos po politine Lietuvos saule užtikrinimas?* ('the hunting of Zuokas') (Užsitęsusių Liberalų ir Liberalcentristų skyrybos. November 23, 2005)

(194) *Kol vyks **to nepagauto briedžio dalybos**, tauta dūsaus, piktinsis, o paskui kaip įprasta nutars, kad atsibodo ta politika ir kad visi jie tokie, iki nauji skandalai, sensacijos, skaitalai bei plepalai užgoš įkyrėjusių temą.* ('sharing the uncaught elk') (Ką daliju, tai ir turiu. March 8, 2006)

As the examples above show, the concepts of strength and toughness are developed through the use of the HUNTING metaphor, which covers the conceptual aspects of both the hunter and the prey, as well as the process of hunting. The metaphor of POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS HUNTING implies the

biological nature of interpersonal relationship as based on the Darwinian model—SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST. Therein the use of physical force and violence is morally justified for the sake of reaching political goals and surviving in politics.

To summarize, the analysis of the SPORTS metaphor in the Lithuanian data shows that it is framed by such conceptual elements as:

- POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS A TEAM GAME,
- POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS A CARD GAME,
- POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS HUNTING.

Their use gives a negative moral evaluation to Lithuanian politicians and their activities. By the use of the SPORTS metaphor, they are presented as gamblers, cheaters and players lacking a professional team leader, which leads to continuous political blunders and arguments. Moreover, Lithuanian politicians are portrayed through the metaphor of HUNTING, which is based on the concept of physical strength and toughness.

To conclude, the SPORTS metaphor in Lithuanian public discourse has a blurred category structure, as it consists not only of a strategic game such as cards or gambling, but also has an element of physical province, which is reflected in the use of such concepts as hunting and team-games. This category extension characterizes Lithuanian politics as based on the use of physical strength and violence in political decision-making. Moreover, violent and coercive behaviour is justified as appropriate and morally right for the purposes of achieving political stability and establishing political order.

### **8.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the SPORTS Metaphor**

The analysis of the SPORTS metaphor in both languages, i.e. English and Lithuanian, reveals that it has different conceptual and metaphoric representation. In English, the SPORTS metaphor consists of such elements as RACE, GAMBLING and WRESTLING. Their analysis shows that British politicians are perceived as RACE competitors, who fail to win political competitions due to their inability to cope with the time and tempo of the

political race. Moreover, political power is perceived through the concept of risk-taking, as reflected in the use of the GAMBLING element. Thus, British politics is associated with a strategic and risky sports game, where certain rules have to be followed by all the competitors, i.e. politicians. In this view, the concept of PHYSICAL SPORTS, as reflected in the element of WRESTLING, shifts to the concept of INTELLECTUAL / STRATEGIC SPORTS. Hence, the prevalence of the INTELLECTUAL / STRATEGIC SPORTS metaphor implies that British politics is governed by the Rational Morality Model (in Paul, Miller and Paul 2004), wherein rationality and calculated political actions are at the centre of political activities.

By comparison, in Lithuanian the complex metaphor of SPORTS consists of the following conceptual elements: TEAM GAME, CARD GAME and HUNTING. Their analysis discloses that the metaphors of TEAM GAME and HUNTING dominate in Lithuanian public discourse. The established epistemic correspondences provide the central feature governing Lithuanian politics—PHYSICAL STRENGTH. It is seen as a necessary attribute of political decision-making. Thus, Lithuanian politics is structured by the Pragmatic Morality Model (Black 2004, Elstain 2004), which characterizes the nature of politics as based on the use of forceful and combative behaviour to control the state and its people and to create an authoritative order.

## **9. WAR Conceptual Metaphor**

Many social activities are structured through the conceptual metaphor of WAR, such as elections, education, argumentation etc. (Lakoff and Johnson 1999). This metaphor is based on the cross-mapping of two conceptual domains—the source domain of war is mapped onto the target domain of social activities. In other words, various social activities are perceived through the concept of physical fighting or war. The basic implication of the WAR metaphor is that politics is associated with confrontational and uncivilized means of solving political problems. Moreover, politicians are categorized into

good and evil, and the former have moral rights to fight and manipulate the latter by using coercive means.

The analysis of the research data shows that the WAR metaphor is distributed in both English and Lithuanian data in the following way:

Table 22: WAR Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	WAR Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	65	5.6
Lithuanian	35	3.7

As shown in the table, the distribution of metaphorical expressions varies in English and Lithuanian. The WAR metaphor is more prevalent in English by 30 occurrences. Even more, the WAR metaphor is represented by different conceptual elements across the two languages. Despite the difference in their components, the use of the WAR metaphor uncovers moral expectations which underlie the Pragmatic Morality Model in British and Lithuanian public discourse.

## 9.1. WAR Metaphor in English

The WAR metaphor in English public discourse consists of such conceptual elements as POLITICS IS A BATTLEGROUND, and POLITICIANS ARE SAVIOURS / ENEMIES, as reflected in the following expressions, consider the table below:

Table 23: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS WAR

POLITICS IS WAR	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• BATTLEGROUND</li> <li>• SAVIOURS / ENEMIES</li> </ul>	<p><i>-face barricades</i>  <i>-wound</i>  <i>-claim a ministerial scalp</i>  <i>-frontline politics</i>  <i>-the aftermath of a defeat</i>  <i>-the real battleground of the general election</i>  <i>-to snipe from the sidelines</i>  <i>-old war-horse</i>  <i>-fight on the front</i>  <i>-to armour themselves against such attacks</i>  <i>-fight shoulder-to-shoulder</i>  <i>-march the troops</i>  <i>-move on multiple fronts</i>  <i>-mobilise, leading disciplined troops into battle</i>  <i>-little room for manoeuvre</i>  <i>-to be attacked from both sides, scarred and grizzled veteran</i>  <i>-battling in the trenches, launch a stinging attack</i>  <i>-confront the world's evils</i>  <i>-the Tories' effective guerrilla tactics etc.</i></p>

One of the principal elements of the WAR metaphor in the English data is that of POLITICS IS A BATTLEFIELD, where political activities are seen through the concept of an organized military action, where politicians perform fighter or warrior roles. Thus, its use allows one to perceive politicians' behaviour as confrontational, violent and combative. The element of BATTLEFIELD frames more than epistemic correspondences onto the target domain of political activities. The first cross-association is based on the concept of battle, i.e. political activities are structured through the conceptual frame of a battle, e.g.:



(195) *But it is also because Michael Howard reckons that Tony Blair's prescriptions for the NHS and schools are closer to Tory thinking than they are to Labour's. Mr Blair, he thinks, has inadvertently **shifted the battleground into Tory territory**.* (That eureka feeling. July 1, 2004)

(196) *Whether the Davis **battleplan** survives the excitement of Blackpool is another matter.* (David Davis has a fight on his hands. October 6, 2005)

The second cross-mapping is based on the concept of military camps, i.e. politicians are divided into camps. Each camp is seen as having its own commanders-in-chief and generals, i.e. party leaders. The conceptual element of POLITICAL PARTIES ARE CAMPS serves as a conceptual ground for categorizing politicians into HEROES / SAVIOURS and ENEMIES, as in the examples below:

(197) *To see **an enemy brought low** while simultaneously gaining a new lease on one's own political life would be sweet indeed.* (Tony Blair's battle for Europe. May 26, 2005)

(198) *David Cameron, the Tory **leader**, is said to be interested and the chancellor, Gordon Brown, who wants to show he is not the top-down micro-manager depicted by his **enemies**, could be too.* (People power. February 15, 2007)

(199) *Extraordinary as it seems, he is also serenely confident that he will be remembered as the **man who saved** Britain's beloved National Health Service.* (Safe in their hands? January 25, 2007)

Consequently, the WAR metaphor in English public discourse testifies to the fact that the use of violent actions and confrontational tactics are necessary attributes of political life. Thus, many political decisions are associated with forceful actions aimed at defeating or weakening the enemy, and winning the so-called *political war*, consider the utterances below:

(200) *It would be wrong to say that **the knives will be out for Mr Cameron** if the results are bad next Thursday.* (It's the party, stupid. April 27, 2006)

(201) *This is not just because Mr Cameron will suddenly find himself **pitched into gladiatorial combat with Tony Blair on the floor of the House of Commons**.* (Now comes the hard part. November 24, 2005)

(202) *A few years ago it would have seemed inconceivable that the Tories might **win on this battleground**, but since 2006, when headlines about health-service cash shortages first appeared, it is no longer.* (David Cameron scents a change in the wind. March 29, 2007)

Besides the confrontational tactics, the WAR metaphor discloses the assumption that war tactics are an indispensable and meaningful part of political life. For example, the British two-party system is generally found in

the process of the on-going confrontation between the present government and the opposition. Thus, various ideological conflicts are associated with physical fighting, accompanied by all the necessary war arsenal such as generals, troops, flags and drums, e.g.:

(203) *They **marched their troops to the top of the hill, flags flying, drums beating to defeat the government's deeply flawed anti-terror bill.*** (Out of order. March 3, 2005)

(204) *But with **a famous victory in sight, Tory generals promptly marched them down again.*** (Out of order, March 3, 2005)

In addition, political actions and decisions are associated with weapons, as reflected in the metaphor DECISIONS ARE WEAPONS. This conceptual element emphasizes the significance of political decisions, since they might have destructive effects, as in the example below:

(205) *Compare that, say the Brownites, with Mr Blair's tendency **to drop policy bombs from a cloudless sky on to a bewildered party and a sceptical public.*** (The man with the plans. December 7, 2006)

In addition, the WAR metaphor is used in the context of political elections. Hence, the elections are structured through the concept of fighting, whose participants primarily aim at winning over their opponents. Moreover, this conceptual element characterizes elections as a process that requires strong will and sufficient energy to defeat an opposing party, as in the following utterances:

(206) *That being so, Mr Howard was wise, in the aftermath of election results that were only slightly less dismal for him than for Tony Blair, to turn his febrile party's attention to **the real battleground of the general election**—not Europe, not Iraq, not even immigration and asylum, but the public services. (Howard's choice. June 17, 2004)*

(207) *It demonstrates that the Tories have **rediscovered the will and energy to fight a ruthlessly effective campaign**, but that they are not yet thinking or behaving like a government-in-waiting. (Reading between the lines. April 14, 2005)*

To conclude, the WAR metaphor shows a tendency for the moral system which underlies the Pragmatic Morality Model. The epistemic correspondences established by the use of the conceptual elements of the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor correspond to the major principles underlying pragmatic morality. To

be more precise, the WAR metaphor consists of such elements as POLITICS IS A BATTLEFIELD, POLITICIANS ARE ENEMIES, and DECISIONS ARE WEAPONS. Hence, politicians' behaviour is associated both with their strong will and forcefulness.

Moreover, in the view of the Pragmatic Morality Model, all people are contemplated as evil by their biological make-up; thus, fighting is an unavoidable political means that helps to control the forceful nature of humanity and to establish order and stability. Moreover, this model is based on classifying politicians into strong and weak. The former have a natural prerogative to lead and control the latter due to their strong will and character. Thus, the use of force and violence is justified as a necessary means of achieving balance and stability in the state. As a result, the use of the WAR metaphor perceives politics as confrontational and forceful by nature.

## 9.2. WAR Metaphor in Lithuanian

The WAR metaphor has also been found in the Lithuanian data with similar tendencies in its use and variability of the framing elements. Likewise in the English data, the WAR metaphor is based on the cross-mapping of two domains: the source domain of PHYSICAL FIGHTING/WAR is mapped onto the target domain of POLITICS. However, the analysis of the WAR metaphor in the Lithuanian data shows that the most significant conceptual elements are ATTACK and FIGHTING, which are reflected in the following metaphorical linguistic expressions:

Table 24: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS WAR

POLITICS IS WAR	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• ATTACK</li> <li>• FIGHTING</li> </ul>	<p><i>-nukentėti politinėse kovose</i>  <i>-kritikos strėles</i>  <i>-generolas kasa apkasus, atviras karas su parlamentu</i>  <i>-paskutiniai mūšiai</i>  <i>-politinis karas</i>  <i>-greita ir besąlygiška kapituliacija</i>  <i>-Valdžios karas, ešelono politikai</i>  <i>-politinis kamufliažas</i>  <i>-mobilizuoti</i>  <i>-puolimas</i>  <i>-uždelsto veikimo bomba</i>  <i>-išsirikiavę aukščiausi valstybės pareigūnai</i>  <i>-skydas</i>  <i>-einama į mūšį</i>  <i>-pasiekti pergalę</i>  <i>-laimėti mūšį</i>  <i>-pralaimėti karą</i> ir t.t.</p>

The first element of the WAR metaphor in Lithuanian allows one to perceive political activities through the concept of ATTACK. The use of the ATTACK metaphor associates Lithuanian politicians with merciless and violent attackers, whose main aim is to hurt or kill their political opponents. Thus, violence is perceived as a characteristic feature of political tactics implemented by Lithuanian politicians in their political struggle, e.g.:

(208) Algirdas Brazauskas ne veltui stebisi, kad dabar jis **puolamas plačiu frontu**. Reikia pridurti – keista, kad tik dabar. Ganėtinai puolamas jis buvo ir anksčiau, **bet kritikos strėlės nuo jo plačios krūtinės atšokdavo nesužeisdamos**. ('A. Brazauskas being **attacked on wide front, arrows of criticism sprang back from**

*his wide chest without wounding him*') (Antrosios Lietuvos patriarcho ruduo. December 1, 2005)

(209) Viktoro Uspaskicho **puolimas prieš V. Adamkų** yra dėsningas, nes V. Uspaskicho politinės sėkmės pagrindas yra dideli ir labai dideli pinigai. ('V. Uspaskich's attack against V. Adamkus') (Rinkimuose svarbiausia ne pinigai. December 7, 2005)

Besides the element of POLITICAL ATTACK, the element of BATTLE or FIGHTING is highlighted in the analysed data. The analysis of the research data shows that both ATTACK and BATTLE are the key elements of the WAR metaphor in the Lithuanian data. The absence of such conceptual elements as DEFEAT, SURRENDER or VICTORY, characterizing the final phase of war activities, might indicate that the actions of attacking an opponent and the process of battling are more significant than the final or resultative phase of a political war, e.g.:

(210) *Tačiau bėda ta, kad valdančioje koalicijoje kova įsiplieskė ne dėl to, kaip ir kam, t.y. kokioms valstybės ir visuomenės gyvenimo sritims plėtoti, panaudoti iš ES struktūrinių fondų ateisiančius pinigus, o dėl to, kas juos turi skirstyti.* ('the fight in the governing coalition has started') (Siekimas gauti naudos patiems. February 27, 2006)

(211) *Šią savaitę tęsiasi krašto vidaus politinis karas. Prasidėjo paskutiniai mūšiai, kurie nulems valdančiosios koalicijos ir A. M. Brazausko Vyriausybės likimą, – „taip“ arba „ne“ Gamtinių dujų įstatymui.* ('political war, the last battles') (Trojos dujos. January 16, 2006)

In addition, the conceptual element of POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE BATTLE uncovers another metaphor of POLITICAL MEANS IS AMMUNITION, with the latter being a complementary of the former. To be more precise, the proper battle is not possible without proper ammunition in the fight against political enemies. Consequently, various political means are perceived through the concept of war ammunition. This results in the metaphor POLITICAL MEANS IS AMMUNITION, reflected in such metaphorical expressions as *strėlės, skydas, bomba, kamufliažas, apkasas, šūviai* etc., as in the statements below:

(212) *Todėl jokio pavidalo neturintis ir tik neapykantos bei politikos liumpenizacijos varomas paksizmas gali rinktis kokį tik nori politinį kamufliažą.* ('political camouflage') (Viruso vardas – užmirštasis ir sugrįžtantis paksizmas. January 23, 2006)

(213) *Kritikos strėlės pradėjo skrieti dar prieš A. Stancikienei tampant parko direktore. ('arrows of criticism')* (Pasaulis, kuriame gyvename (II): žmonių medžioklė su varovais. November 29, 2006)

Hence, the WAR metaphor in the Lithuanian public discourse as a complex conceptual system consists of the following elements: ATTACK, BATTLE, and WAR AMMUNITION. Moreover, the use of the ATTACK and BATTLE metaphors shows that the process of WAR is prioritized over its result or the final outcome, due to the absence of VICTORY / DEFEAT / SURRENDER elements in the analysed data.

To conclude, the WAR metaphor in Lithuanian, similarly as in the English data, testifies to the use of the Pragmatic Morality Model. This model is associated with the belief that political actions consist of confrontational tactics and violent measures for achieving political goals. They are necessary as people are evil by nature, and thus need to be controlled by their government. The use of the WAR metaphor not only discloses the nature of pragmatic morality in Lithuanian politics, but also justifies the use of violence and confrontational tactics as a necessary means of attaining political goals.

### **9.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the WAR Metaphor**

The analysis shows that the WAR metaphor structures both English and Lithuanian political discourse, as reflected in the following conceptual mapping: POLITICS IS WAR. The use of this metaphor results in the moral expectations underlying pragmatic morality. In its view, politics is perceived as confrontational by nature, due to the inborn wickedness of people, who have to be controlled by means of violent and radical measures, if necessary.

While comparing the use of the WAR metaphor in English and Lithuanian, it can be seen that the POLITICS IS WAR metaphor consists of various conceptual elements across the two languages. The WAR metaphor in the English data is a complex conceptual system, which is framed by the elements

of BATTLEFIELD, HEROES / ENEMIES, and WEAPONS. The first element structures POLITICAL ACTIONS through the concept of BATTLEFIELD, where politicians are fighting against each other. As a result, politicians are divided into camps. Finally, political decisions are associated with the concept of WEAPONS, illustrating seriousness and the deadly nature of political decisions, which can injure or kill.

In Lithuanian, the WAR metaphor is framed by the elements of ATTACK, BATTLE and AMMUNITION. Their use highlights the importance of a military process (i.e. ATTACK and BATTLE) and means (i.e. AMMUNITION), by which political aims are achieved. Despite the variability of its components, the use of the WAR metaphor in both languages discloses a system of moral expectations underlying the Pragmatic Morality Model. The Pragmatic Morality Model, as reflected in the WAR metaphor, characterizes both English and Lithuanian politics in terms of confrontational and aggressive actions, which are morally justified as a necessary means of surviving political chaos and social instability as well as fighting evil.

## **10. ESSENCE Conceptual Metaphor**

Another conceptual metaphor found in the analysed data of English and Lithuanian political discourse is that of POLITICAL ESSENCE. This metaphor consists of epistemic correspondences derived from the domain of ESSENCES. Lakoff states that human character is one of the central notions in understanding morality (2002). Human character is metaphorically understood as a kind of substantive material that is developed in childhood and subsequently lasts a lifetime (Johnson 1993). Thus, the concept of human character is associated with essence, and its substance characterizes human character, and thus morality.

To be more precise, the mapping of substance onto human character is motivated in terms of physical experience, as physical objects are made of substances, and how they behave depends on what they are made of (Lakoff

2002). Thus, Lakoff claims that it is common to understand people metaphorically as if they are objects made of substances, which determine their behaviour. The metaphor ESSENCE consists of the following elements (Lakoff 2002):

- PERSON IS AN OBJECT,
- HIS/HER ESSENCE IS THE SUBSTANCE THE OBJECT IS MADE OF.

Moreover, the analysis of the ESSENCE metaphor determines the kinds of substances which attribute moral evaluation to people's character. For example, Lakoff argues that the Trait Expert Theory in the field of social psychology is based on the metaphor ESSENCE, where the collection of virtues and vices attributed to a person are called that person's character (1996, 87). Accordingly, the use of various SUBSTANCE domains with reference to people reflects moral qualities determining their behaviour. For example, such an expression as *the heart of gold* is an illustration of the metaphor GOODNESS / MORALITY IS GOLD, whereby the concept of goodness is metaphorically realized through the substance of gold. Thus, by using the metaphor of ESSENCE, people not only associate various character traits with various substances, but they also make moral judgements.

The ESSENCE metaphor, structuring English and Lithuanian public discourse, is based on the cross-conceptual mapping of two domains: the target domain—POLITICIANS' ESSENCE and the source domain—SUBSTANCE THEY ARE MADE OF, which are linguistically represented in the following table:

Table 24: The ESSENCE Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	ESSENCE Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	58	5
Lithuanian	39	4.1



As indicated above, the distribution of metaphorical expressions in both English and Lithuanian is relatively similar. The analysis of the ESSENCE metaphor shows which character traits constitute moral judgement in the public discourse of each culture, and which SUBSTANCE source domains are used to structure it.

### 10.1. ESSENCE Metaphor in English

The ESSENCE metaphor, as a complex conceptual network, consists of the following elements: SOFTNESS / HARDNESS and CONSTRUCTION. These elements make up the conceptual metaphor of POLITICAL ESSENCE, as reflected in the following metaphorical expressions:

Table 25: The Linguistic Realization of POLITICS IS ESSENCE

POLITICS IS ESSENCE	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SOFTNESS / HARDNESS</li> <li>• CONSTRUCTION</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-the <b>hard</b> right</li> <li>-the <b>soft</b> left</li> <li>-a lack of <b>substance</b> in policy-making</li> <li>-David Cameron went a little <b>wobbly</b> on Iraq</li> <li>-Mr Clarke is a bit of a <b>softy</b></li> <li>-Labour's reputation for being <b>soft</b> on crime</li> <li>-home secretary of leadership <b>timber</b></li> <li>- domestic policy achievements are more <b>fragile</b></li> <li>-to exert some <b>leverage</b></li> <li>-the party's <b>solid</b> performance</li> <li>-the whole enterprise has a distinctly <b>fragile</b> feel</li> <li>-good at mood but hopeless at <b>substance</b></li> <li>-<b>steely</b> intelligence</li> <li>-<b>unbending</b> principles</li> <li>-intellectual <b>sloppiness</b></li> <li>-no real political <b>base</b> there</li> <li>-<b>restore</b> their reputation for economic competence</li> <li>-to <b>rebuild</b> transatlantic <b>bridges</b></li> <li>-<b>wrecked</b> the British economy</li> <li>-the Conservative <b>base</b></li> <li>-Mr Brown's reassuring <b>solidity</b></li> <li>-Number 10 imposes its views without first preparing <b>the ground</b></li> <li>- intellectually of <b>no fixed abode</b> etc.</li> </ul>

First, the metaphor of ESSENCE is linguistically realized through the source domain of SUBSTANCE, on the basis of which the epistemic correspondences between the target domains of politicians' character and the source domain of what it is made of are drawn. Nonetheless, British politicians are perceived as

lacking in substance, thus lacking in character, which is a necessary attribute of confrontational tactics in solving political problems. Thus, the element of SUBSTANCE has a moral value in British politics, and politicians lacking it are criticized and negatively evaluated, as in the following utterances:

(214) *No wonder Mr Blair's "legacy" is **less substantial** than he would wish after a decade of power.* (The man with the plans. December 7, 2006)

(215) *As he demonstrated again this week, in his first big speech since his ousting, Mr Kennedy is good at mood but **hopeless at substance**.* (Still in the game. September 21, 2006)

Besides its general use, the concept of SUBSTANCE is specified through the use of such elements as SOFTNESS and HARDNESS. The former gives British politicians negative moral characteristics, while the latter characterizes them positively. In other words, the concept of SOFTNESS frames the politicians' character on the concepts of hardness / softness and firmness / flexibility. Hence, political HARDNESS is associated with strength, strictness and resistance to various external forces such as manipulation, influence, corruption etc. As a result, the use of the SOFTNESS metaphor discloses the politicians' disposition to be lenient and inconsistent in making political decisions, consider the statements below:

(216) *Though it is hard to distinguish precise ideological shades, among **Labour backbenchers the soft left** is almost certainly more numerous than true-believing Blairites and Brownites.* (How much is left on the left? May 17, 2007)

(217) *Despite his thuggish appearance, Mr Clarke is a bit of **a softy whose grip** leaves something to be desired.* (Friendly Fire. June 29, 2006)

Moreover, the metaphor of SOFTNESS is realized through the conceptual element of FRAGILITY, whereby the lack of political strength and strictness are associated with the quality of being easily broken or destroyed, e.g.:

(218) *Margaret Thatcher might have taken perverse satisfaction from the disasters that overtook her party after she had gone. But Mr Blair's domestic policy achievements are slighter and more **fragile** than hers.* (The unexpected apotheosis of Tony Blair. July 14, 2005)

Hence, the metaphor of SOFTNESS in British political discourse characterizes British politicians as weak by character, susceptible to changes, thus breakable into parts.

By comparison, the element of HARDNESS gives a positive moral characteristic to British politicians. To be more precise, political HARDNESS is associated with strength and strictness, which are seen as necessary moral

aspects of political behaviour. The conceptual frame of the HARDNESS metaphor is developed by the epistemic correspondences held by such elements as *solidity*, *leverage*, *timber*, *zing* etc. Consider the following examples below:

(219) *Their view is that the **party's solid performance** last May overstated its underlying strength.* (The Lib Dems reach a fork in the road. September 22, 2005)

(220) *Mr Blair cannot be blamed for seeing in this an opportunity **to exert some leverage**.* (Gordon spreads his wings. February 16, 2006)

(221) *An exception is John Reid. The home secretary is unquestionably of **leadership timber**.* (The charming Mr Johnson. September 14, 2006)

Various *hard substances*, such as *timber* (as in 221), or other metaphorical linguistic expressions of HARDNESS are associated with political strength and strictness, which British politicians are expected to exert. However, politicians, lacking HARDNESS, are criticized and receive negative moral evaluation.

In addition, the ESSENCE metaphor is realized by the element of CONSTRUCTION, which results in the metaphor of POLITICS IS A CONSTRUCTION. The use of this metaphor characterizes such moral priorities in British politics as stability and strength, which are necessary in the process of constructing. The most significant elements in the frame of the CONSTRUCTION metaphor are BASE and SOLIDITY, consider the utterances below:

(222) *He was alienating **the Conservative base** and could be one poorly conceived stunt away from disaster...<>* (UKIP if you want to. January 18, 2007)

(223) *What mattered was **Mr Brown's reassuring solidity**, his utter confidence and his tank-like momentum.* (Study in Brown. March 17, 2005)

As the examples above illustrate, BASE and SOLIDITY are closely interrelated, as the former refers to a principal layer of political substance, due to which steadiness, stability and firmness can be guaranteed.

To summarize, the ESSENCE metaphor in English public discourse is based on the epistemic correspondence developed by the use of the following conceptual elements: SOFTNESS / HARDNESS and the element of CONSTRUCTION. Their use characterizes British politicians either as weak and unsure of their actions, or as strong, strict and powerful. Thus, the ESSENCE metaphor results in the following moral implication: hardness is a moral priority, whereas softness is a moral wrong. This is also supported by the

use of the CONSTRUCTION element, which emphasizes the importance of strength, stability and firmness in political decision-making.

## 10.2. ESSENCE Metaphor in Lithuanian

The ESSENCE metaphor in Lithuanian is a complex conceptual network, which consists of the two elements CONSTRUCTION and SUBSTANCE. In other words, various political activities are perceived through the experiential frame of CONSTRUCTION and SUBSTANCE, which are metaphorically realized by such linguistic expressions as in the table below:

Table 26: The Linguistic Realization of POLITICS IS ESSENCE

POLITICS IS ESSENCE	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CONSTRUCTION</li> <li>• SUBSTANCE</li> </ul>	<p>-ideologinio <b>pagrindo</b> nebuvimas            -partijos su politiniu <b>stuburu</b>            -svarbu <b>neištūti</b>            -opoziciją <b>molinėmis</b> kojomis            -<b>sugriuvus</b> dabartinei koalicijai            -<b>griauti</b> lengviau nei statyti            -<b>nuversti</b> Vyriausybę            -politinės kultūros <b>pamatai</b>            -įstatymas stabdantis <b>griuvimą</b>            -politinis <b>gaisras</b>            -koalicijos <b>monolite</b> atsivėrė pirmieji <b>plyšiai</b>            -sąmoningas Seimo Statuto <b>laužymas</b>            -<b>suardyti</b> liberalų ir socialliberalų koaliciją            teisėjų <b>korpusą</b> formuoja politikai            -konstitucinė sistema <b>braška</b>            -teisėsauga <b>nepersitvarkė iš pagrindų</b> etc.</p>

The most highlighted element of the CONSTRUCTION metaphor is that of RUINS in Lithuanian political discourse. To be more precise, many political actions are associated with fragments of a destroyed structure, downfall or collapse. Thus, politicians' inability to preserve their construction characterizes them negatively, and their decisions are given a negative moral value. Moreover, as the concept of CONSTRUCTION is associated with firmness and stability, its downfall discloses a complete lack of stability in Lithuanian politics, as in the statements below:

(224) *Lietuvos konstitucinė sistema braška. Politinė kultūra – griuvėsiuose.* ('the constitutional system is cracking, political culture is in ruins') (Kodėl partijos – krizėje? – politikų tribūna. June 28, 2006)

(225) *Šalies politinės sistemos vos nesugriovusiam ir prieš Lietuvos valstybę atvirai veikusiam asmeniui, Migracijos departamento išsiųstam iš šalies, leidžiama joje pasilikti...*(*the one who has almost destroyed political system of the whole country*) (Optimizmo šansai 2006-aisiais. January 9, 2006)

In addition, various political problems are perceived through the concept of DAMAGE in the CONSTRUCTION metaphor. To be more precise, just as petty damage challenges the stability of the entire building, similarly, small political problems might lead to the serious downfall of the entire political system. Moreover, any damages put at risk the firmness of the construction, which signals the presence of political weaknesses and irregularities, consider the statement below:

(226) *Dėl Gamtinių dujų įstatymo pataisų jau praėjusį pavasarį prasidėjo tylus nepaskelbtas A.M. Brazausko ir V. Uspaskicho karas, dėl kurio koalicijos monolite atsivėrė pirmieji plyšiai.* (*the monolith construction of coalition started cracking*) (Trojos dujos. January 16, 2006)

Another element of the CONSTRUCTION metaphor is that of BASE that serves as a main supporting element of an entire construction. Thus, the use of BASE is associated with firmness and foundation, which is a characteristic feature of Lithuanian politics. Consider the following examples, where the concept of BASE metaphorically structures the concept of Lithuanian politics:

(227) *Net jei politikai mano, kad jų veikla nukreipta į kitus tikslus, jie suvokia, kad sėkmei rinkimuose jau šiandien klojami pamatai.* (*today foundations are laid*) (2007 metų rinkimų nuojautos (1). February 2, 2006)

(228) *Antra, sprendimas skirti siūlomą sumą parodytų, jog Lietuva laikosi duotų tarptautinių įsipareigojimų ir kad jos skelbiami užsienio politikos tikslai bei ambicijos turi nors kažkokį realų pagrindą.* (*authentic foundation*) (Lietuvos užsienio politikos beieškant. December 1, 2006)

Besides, the metaphor ESSENCE is realized through the conceptual element of SUBSTANCE. In other words, political activities are seen as made of substance, which can consist of both liquidity and softness. Lithuanian politicians and their actions are criticized for being *liquid-like* or *soft* in their decision-making. *Softness* is mainly expressed through the concept of *breakability*, as in the example below:

(229) *Kalbintas „žalasis“ pasakojo, jog direktorius A. Portapas darbo pradžioje stengėsi daug ką pakeisti, tačiau vėliau buvo atrastas būdas jį palaužti.* (*A. Portapas was broken down / fractured*) (Pasaulis, kuriame gyvename (II): žmonių medžioklė su varovais. November 29, 2006)

Another political weakness, as revealed by the ESSENCE metaphor, is that of *going liquid*, which is closely related to the metaphor of SOFTNESS. Both

LIQUIDITY and SOFTNESS refer to a state of substance with a high level of incompressibility; hence, both reflect on the negative moral evaluation of Lithuanian politicians and their activities, as in the following utterance:

(230) *Todėl negailėkim orių pastangų ir geros valios bet kuriomis aplinkybėmis. Neištižkim.* ('let's not become soft / let's not melt') (Vytautas Landsbergis. Grėsmių Lietuvai matome gana daug. March 11, 2006)

As the examples above illustrate, LIQUIDITY and BREAKABILITY are associated with political weaknesses and amoral behaviour. Moreover, the use of the ESSENCE metaphor, as reflected in the elements of CONSTRUCTION, SUBSTANCE and LIQUIDS, indicates the prevalence of such qualities as strength, strictness and stability as moral priorities in Lithuanian politics.

### **10.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the ESSENCE Metaphor**

The use of the ESSENCE metaphor is associated with such moral priorities as strength, toughness, stability and strictness, which underlie the Pragmatic Morality Model in both languages, i.e. English and Lithuanian. In its view, politics is understood as an exercise of power, with politicians using their strength and other strict or radical measures to achieve social stability and order, and thus progress. The use of strength and tough tactics is perceived as a necessary means of achieving political stability and consolidating political power. These moral views are developed by the use of the ESSENCE metaphor in the public discourse of both languages.

The concepts of strength and stability are reflected in the use of such conceptual elements as CONSTRUCTION and SUBSTANCE. The element of CONSTRUCTION is more prominent in the Lithuanian data, whereas the element of SUBSTANCE is more highlighted in the English data. The element of CONSTRUCTION is associated with firmness and stability, which are seen as a necessary means of sustaining political development and order. By comparison, the element of SUBSTANCE characterizes politicians' behaviour, as reflected in the metaphors of SOFTNESS IS WEAKNESS and HARDNESS IS STRENGTH.

To conclude, the use of the ESSENCE metaphor reflects on the system of classical moral values which are generally known as pragmatic morality. Thus, both British and Lithuanian politicians are expected to exert strength in order to achieve stability and order. Moreover, the ESSENCE metaphor demonstrates that the use of coercive actions (i.e. *breaking, damaging, wrecking, collapsing* etc.) in politics is morally justified for the purpose of sustaining authority and order (*fixing, preparing, solidifying the ground / abode / base* etc.).

### **11. BUSINESS Conceptual Metaphor**

Another conceptual metaphor structuring the public discourse of both languages is that of BUSINESS. Political activities are perceived through the concept of various **business transactions**, which is reflected in the use of the POLITICS IS BUSINESS conceptual metaphor. BUSINESS is one of the most frequent source domains, which structures the target domain of politics, especially in Western cultures (Kövecses 2002, 62). Moreover, Lakoff claims that the BUSINESS metaphor allows one to perceive politics as rational by nature, which results in the MORAL system based on the use of ACCOUNTING schemes (2002, 27).

However, moral expectations of the BUSINESS metaphor might differ across languages, as morality models are determined by the use of the conceptual elements structuring the BUSINESS metaphor. The study shows that the BUSINESS metaphor has different epistemic correspondences between domains in English and Lithuanian. However, the BUSINESS IS POLITICS metaphor is linguistically realized in both languages with a similar density of use, as indicated in the table below:

Table 27: BUSINESS Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	BUSINESS Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	46	4
Lithuanian	33	3.5

The Table shows that the linguistic distribution of metaphorical expressions is very similar in both English and Lithuanian. Nevertheless, it is represented by different conceptual elements.

### 11.1. BUSINESS Metaphor in English

The POLITICS IS BUSINESS metaphor structures English public discourse via the cross-mapping of the two conceptual domains: BUSINESS as a source domain, and various POLITICAL ACTIVITIES as a target domain. The BUSINESS metaphor is a complex conceptual network, which consists of such elements as POLITICAL CAPITAL, DECISION-MAKING IS CALCULATIONS, POLITICS IS TRADE, which are linguistically represented by the following linguistic expressions, cf. the table below:

Table 28: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS BUSINESS

POLITICS IS BUSINESS	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• POLITICAL CAPITAL</li> <li>• DECISION-MAKING IS CALCULATING</li> <li>• POLITICS IS TRADE</li> </ul>	<p><i>-business of government has been <b>transacted</b></i>  <i>-this government has been a <b>partnership</b></i>  <i>-making political <b>capital</b></i>  <i>-a weary and slightly <b>shopsoiled</b> government</i>  <i>-political <b>trade</b></i>  <i>-the politician <b>has sold out</b></i>  <i>-to have a <b>freer hand</b> to run political affairs</i>  <i>-to <b>outbid</b> the Lib Dems</i>  <i>-a <b>price to be paid</b> for the fleeting</i>  <i>-the <b>dividends</b> from Mr Kennedy's opposition</i>  <i>-<b>spend nearly all</b> his political <b>capital</b></i>  <i>-the <b>market</b> for votes</i>  <i>-power is such a precious <b>commodity</b></i>  <i>-Blair's <b>calculations</b></i>  <i>-<b>investing</b> much in the national <b>interest</b></i>  <i>-disciplined <b>strategist</b></i>  <i>-high political <b>stakes</b></i>  <i>-a new leader in whom to <b>invest</b> new hope etc.</i></p>



The underlying conceptual element of the BUSINESS metaphor in English public discourse is that of POLITICAL CAPITAL. The use of such a conceptual element allows one to perceive British politics as an ongoing process of acquiring and distributing wealth owned by politicians. Moreover, all human resources are then associated with economic value and profit, while politicians are seen as investors, as in the statements below:

(231) *It is how much of the **business of government has been transacted**. (After he is gone. May 10, 2007)*

(232) *Those who are now criticising him for misjudging the national mood would have been among the first to have accused him of **making political capital** from the suffering of victims. (Why Gordon needs a holiday. January 13, 2005)*

Therefore, the element of POLITICAL CAPITAL is very closely related to the conceptual system reflected in the use of the metaphor POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE CALCULATIONS. In other words, political actions are associated with procedural estimation, which involves careful planning and forecast. Despite careful calculations, British politicians are seen as taking unnecessary risks in their political decision-making. In many cases, inappropriate management of political capital leads to losses of dividends and other political capital, e.g.:

(233) ***Tony Blair's calculations** are more complicated than Mr Kennedy's, but they too have been affected by Mr Cameron's ascent. (Exciting times. January 5, 2006)*

(234) *When Mr Blair surprised everyone by announcing eight months before the last election that it would be his last, he did so because, having **spent nearly all his political capital** on an unpopular war, he felt vulnerable and hoped that he would win some breathing space. (A Blunkett judgement. November 3, 2005)*

(235) *A part of Mr Blair believes **power is such a precious commodity that it should never be given up willingly**. (End of term. July 27, 2006)*

As the last example (235) illustrates, political power is perceived as one of the most precious commodities to be acquired. Hence, the association of political power with a commodity leads to some important implications: first, political power can be bought and sold; second, political power has a commodity value.

Such implications are also developed by the metaphor of POLITICS IS TRADE, which underlies the metaphor of POLITICS IS BUSINESS. The element of TRADE is reflected in the use of such categories as *commodity, prices, selling and buying, spending, investing* etc. All these disclose the nature

of British politics as a transactional exchange stimulated by politicians' rational self-interest in accumulating political wealth. One of the means of attaining political affluence is through investing in the national interest or voters, as in the examples below:

(236) *Political parties, which are **in the market for votes**, cannot be entirely blamed for putting the claims of the elderly before those of the young. (In defence of the young. October 26, 2006)*

(237) *On one side will be a Brown-led Labour government committed **to investing as much as it sensibly can in the national interest**; on the other, Conservatives who are still intent on denying cherished public services the resources they need to better the lives of every citizen. (Warning signs. March 30, 2006)*

The analysis of the POLITICS IS TRADE metaphor discloses the importance of such factors as time and risk. The aspects of time and risk-taking are perceived as inseparable from the overall political success. Moreover, those politicians, who show their ability to handle time and take risks, are seen as optimists, e.g.:

(238) *But in politics **timing is everything** and all around there are signs that the so-called West Lothian question, first raised by the member for that part of the world, Tam Dalyell, nearly 30 years ago, can no longer be ignored. (A question that can no longer be avoided. July 6, 2006)*

(239) *Because Mr Blair optimistically believes that force can be used to achieve humanitarian ends, he is prepared **to take large risks** that pessimists would not. (The hopeful interventionist. May 25, 2006)*

The implications uncovered by the BUSINESS metaphor in British politics correspond to the moral system represented by the Rational Morality Model. According to this model, politics is seen a rational activity, with politicians calculating all their actions in advance. Moreover, the Rational Morality Model is based on the perception that political self-interest encourages selective competition, which maximizes political capital. These moral expectations are reflected in the BUSINESS metaphor, where politics is seen as a transactional exchange of commodities among politicians to obtain and enlarge political capital.

## **11.2. BUSINESS Metaphor in Lithuanian**

In the POLITICS IS BUSINESS metaphor in Lithuanian public discourse, the source domain of business maps onto the target domain of politics. The BUSINESS metaphor as a complex conceptual system consists of such

elements as POLITICAL TRADE and POLITICAL CAPITAL, which are realized by the following linguistic expressions, as given in the table below:

Table 29: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS BUSINESS

POLITICS IS BUSINESS	
<p><b>Epistemic correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• POLITICAL TRADE</li> <li>• POLITICAL CAPITAL</li> </ul>	<p><i>-kokybiškas valdymas kainuoja</i>  <i>-teikti politines paslaugas</i>  <i>-susikrauti politinį kapitalą</i>  <i>-politikos turgus</i>  <i>-taip elgtis politikams pelninga</i>  <i>-iššvaistyti sunkiai pelnytą politinį kapitalą</i>  <i>-politinės sąnaudos, politiniai dividendai</i>  <i>-siekti siaurų ekonomiškai naudingų interesų</i>  <i>-vertingiausia paksizmo valiuta</i>  <i>-užsidirbti daugiau politinių dividend</i>  <i>-tiesioginės arba paslėptos subsidijos</i>  <i>-derybos</i>  <i>-įtraukti į tarpininkavimą</i>  <i>-bendruomenės interesus parduodantis politikas</i>  <i>be nuostolių išvairuoti į kitus Seimo rinkimus</i>  <i>etc.</i></p>

The BUSINESS metaphor in Lithuanian public discourse is based on mostly negative moral evaluation. It is reflected in the Lithuanian politicians' irrational, selfish and amoral in behaviour.

The negative moral evaluation is traced in the use of the two conceptual elements TRADE and CAPITAL. The element of TRADE characterizes Lithuanian politics in terms of the commercial exchange of political services, which aims at satisfying politicians' needs by neglecting national interests. Thus, the POLITICS IS TRADE metaphor is based on the perception of state-neglecting politics, with politicians seeking their own individual interests, consider the statements below:

(240) *Visus uždirbtus iš kitų nesėkmių politinius dividendus vėjais paleido Darbo partijos deleguotas kultūros ministras V. Prudnikovas, su prašmatnių damų svita surengęs pasitarimą Londone – bene kurs Lietuvos kultūros ministeriją emigracijoje? ('political dividends earned from others' misfortunes')* (Turniškių demokratija: paskutinė stadija. March 21, 2006)

(241) *Politika – nes įstatymus ar bendruomenės interesus parduodantis politikas žlugdo pasitikėjimą ir teisingumą, ir demokratija. ('politician selling community interests')* (Korupcija žiniasklaidoje – be tabu? December 20, 2005)

As the last example (241) shows, politicians are perceived as traders of national interest by seeking individual gains. As a result, their trade damages and betrays state politics and social life in general.

Besides the element of SELF-INTEREST, the BUSINESS metaphor consists of the element of POLITICAL CAPITAL, which also receives a negative moral evaluation. The metaphor of POLITICAL CAPITAL is a cross-mapping of the two conceptual domains: POLITICAL ACTIVITIES and POLITICAL CAPITAL. To be more precise, various political activities are associated with obtaining financial gains and personal profit. Thus, politics is seen as a profitable activity for those seeking economic benefits at others' cost.

However, one of the main problems is that Lithuanian politicians are unable to adequately control their political capital, and hence waste it. Moreover, as political capital is associated with political power, by losing or wasting their political capital, politicians lose their credibility and authority, consider the utterances below:

(242) *A. Brazauskas pats iššvaistė savo sunkiai pelnytą politinį kapitalą.* ('A. Brazauskas wasted his political capital earned through hardship') *Visiška devalvacija.* ('absolute devaluation') (V. Landsbergis ir A. Brazauskas: du išsiskyrę politiniai likimai. December 5, 2005)

(243) *Konservatorių veiksmus galima traktuoti dviprasmiškai: kaip bandymą susikrauti politinį kapitalą, pakelti reitingus, kita vertus, galbūt toje krizėje jie mato ir galimybę sugrįžti prie „vaivorykštės“ koalicijos, nors apie tai ir nekalba.* ('amass political capital') (Valdančiosios koalicijos nesantaikos obuolys dvelkia nafta. December 5, 2005)

Thus, one of the political goals of Lithuanian politicians is to obtain political capital, which guarantees power, authority and recognition. However, Lithuanian politicians are unable to hold their political capital, due to their selfish and greedy nature.

### **11.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the BUSINESS Metaphor**

The POLITICS IS BUSINESS conceptual metaphor, which is present in both English and Lithuanian, discloses moral views reflected in the Rational Morality Model. According to this model, politics is viewed as a rational activity, based on calculations and rational decision-making. Thus, the dominance of individual interests over collective benefits and goals is justified

as motivated and rational. By maximizing their individual prosperity, politicians feel motivated to concentrate on the collective good as well.

Such elements of the BUSINESS metaphor as POLITICAL CAPITAL and TRADE have been found in both languages. Their analysis shows that politics in both countries is associated with obtaining political capital, by means of various trade actions such as selling, buying, investing etc. However, the BUSINESS metaphor receives moral justification only in English public discourse. Some British politicians are portrayed as facing challenges and taking risks to increase the general productivity of the political capital for collective social needs.

By contrast, Lithuanian politicians are seen as seeking purely their own personal interests by neglecting collective demands. Consequently, many of them waste their political capital, which leads to the eventual loss of political face and credibility. Besides, the BUSINESS metaphor in Lithuanian public discourse is not associated with risk-taking or new strategy-drawing as in the English data. Finally, the element of CALCULATION is not found in the Lithuanian data, which might imply that Lithuanian politicians lack rationality in their decision-making.

Despite the differences, the use of the BUSINESS metaphor discloses the system of moral expectations underlying the Rational Morality Model in both languages, which is reflected in such conceptual elements as POLITICAL CAPITAL, POLITICAL TRADE, and DECISION-MAKING IS CALCULATING.

## **12. DIRT Conceptual Metaphor**

Another conceptual metaphor structuring both English and Lithuanian public discourse is that of DIRT. To be more precise, political activities are perceived through the source domain of DIRT, which results in the metaphor of POLITICS IS DIRT. This metaphor has moral implications, which are rooted in the metaphor MORALITY IS CLEANLINESS. Thus, POLITICS IS DIRT,

as a complex metaphor, includes the component of AMORAL POLITICS IS DIRT.

The conceptual element of AMORAL BEHAVIOUR IS DIRT is considered to be universal across cultures (see Johnson 1993, Kövecses 2002, Lakoff 2002). To be more precise, most amoral behaviour is conceptualised through the concepts of *uncleanliness* and *dirt*. Such cross-conceptual mapping also frames the Lithuanian and English public discourse, in which political amorality is associated with the concept of dirt. The metaphor of POLITICS IS DIRT has the following frequency of linguistic occurrences, as in the table below:

Table 30: DIRT Conceptual Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	DIRT Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	40	3.5
Lithuanian	38	4

As can be seen from the table, the DIRT metaphor has a similar linguistic representation in both languages, which might indicate its universality across languages (Johnson 1993, Kovecses 2002, Lakoff 2002).

### 12.1. DIRT Metaphor in English

The conceptual metaphor of POLITICS IS DIRT in English public discourse is a complex conceptual system that consists of the following structural elements:

- POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE DIRTY,
- IMMORAL POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE FILTHY,
- IMPROVEMENT IS CLEANING.

Such aspects of DIRT metaphor are linguistically realized through the following metaphorical expressions, as in the table below:

Table 31: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS DIRT

POLITICS IS DIRT	
<p><b>Epistemic Correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PROBLEMS ARE DIRTY</li> <li>• IMMORAL ACTIVITIES ARE FILTHY</li> <li>• IMPROVEMENT IS CLEANING</li> </ul>	<p><i>-the mess the government has got itself into</i>  <i>-the government needs to <b>find a way out of the jam it is in</b></i>  <i>-unsleazy by international standards</i>  <i>-messy policies</i>  <i>-parties <b>tarnished</b> by rows</i>  <i>- <b>dirty tricks</b></i>  <i>-do the <b>dirty work</b></i>  <i>-<b>spoil the view and make a mess</b></i>  <i>-<b>dig up dirt</b> on politicians</i>  <i>-to tackle Britain's pensions <b>mess</b></i>  <i>-keep the party <b>uncontaminated</b></i>  <i>-<b>dirty</b> little secrets</i>  <i>- <b>messy</b> transition of power etc.</i></p>

The first element of the DIRT metaphor in English is that POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE DIRTY, where political actions are perceived through the source domain of dirt. This cross-domain mapping characterizes political activities as dirty, filthy or unclean. As Lakoff (2002) claims anything concerning DIRT implies amoral behaviour, thus the metaphor of POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE DIRTY has negative moral implications, as follows:

(244) *Because Iraq is a much more potent issue for the Lib Dems than for the Tories, Charles Kennedy, their leader, may be allowing Michael Howard **to do his dirty work** for him in accusing Mr Blair of having lied in taking Britain to war. (Not as nice as they look. April 28, 2005)*

(245) *Think of **the muddled mess** of the prime minister's schools white paper last year which ran into trouble with Labour MPs before the ink on it was dry, they say, raising their eyes heavenwards. (The man with the plans. December 7, 2006)*

Moreover, POLITICS IS DIRT is disclosed through the structural element of DIRTY PROBLEMS. In other words, various political problems, decisions and actions are structured through the concept of DIRT. Certain political activities are referred to as *dirty*, *filthy* and *unclean*, which demonstrates a negative moral evaluation and criticism towards politicians and their decision-making, as in the following sentences:

(246) *Yet even though the reforms seem to have made the Lords bolder, **the system looks anachronistic and untidy.*** (What the Lords are for. February 8, 2007)

(247) *Nearly everyone who knows anything about pensions (outside the Treasury) agrees the current policy is a **mess.*** (Tony pushes his luck. September 9, 2004)

Even more, UNCLEANLINESS in many cases is linguistically realized through the concept of MESS, which holds the epistemic correspondence between a disorderly heap or jungle of dirt and the size of political problems. Thus, if a political situation is in a *mess*, it requires a considerable time to clean it. To be more precise, English politics is perceived through the concept of mess, which implies long-lasting negative effects of political actions as well as bleak future prospects, as in the examples below:

(248) *But the determination to tackle **Britain's pensions mess** and change the incapacity benefit rules comes directly from Number 10.* (Blairism triumphs, Gordon waits. February 3, 2005)

(249) *That is not to minimise the sheer awfulness of **the mess Charles Clarke, the home secretary, has got himself and the government into.*** (The wheels on the bus. May 4, 2006)

Another conceptual element of the DIRT metaphor is that of IMPROVEMENT / PROBLEM-SOLVING IS CLEANING. By this metaphor, CLEANING is perceived as a necessary action to solve political problems. The concept of cleaning is linguistically realized through the use of such metaphorical expressions as *cleaning things up, to find a way out of the jam, wash, to tackle the mess, scrap etc.* Moreover, what is noticeable is that the concept of CLEANING is highlighted with reference to much dirt. This implies the seriousness of political problems and a need for radical measures to be undertaken, as in the following utterance:

(250) *It is time they realised that **the more tarnished Mr Brown has become, the more urgently he needs the purifying fire** that only a proper contest can provide.* (Time for a fight. April 4, 2007)

As the example above shows, CLEANING is perceived through the concept of *purifying fire*. The epistemic correspondence is developed by the combination of two concepts—purity and fire. Both refer to cleaning, though in its most contradictory sense. If *purity* highlights the conceptual aspect of



complete cleanliness and goodness, then fire suggests the component of complete destruction. Thus, the metaphorical expression of *purifying fire* leads to the following implication: clean and moral politics can be achieved, if *dirt* [political problems] is completely removed.

To summarize, the DIRT conceptual metaphor in English public discourse structures various political activities through the source domains of DIRT and MESS. Their use characterizes British political activities as amoral and socially unacceptable.

## 12.2. DIRT Metaphor in Lithuanian

Lithuanian public discourse is also marked by the conceptual frame of POLITICS IS DIRT, whereby Lithuanian politicians, their actions or decisions are structured through the concept of DIRT. The DIRT metaphor is linguistically represented by such conceptual elements and metaphorical expressions as in the table below:

Table 32: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS DIRT

POLITICS IS DIRT	
<p><b>Epistemic Correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE FILTHY</li> <li>• POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE ROTTEN</li> <li>• POSITIVE CHANGES ARE CLEANING</li> </ul>	<p>- <i>iškuopti</i> koalicijos <i>griuvėsius</i>  - <i>partinės sistemos supuvimas</i>  - <i>balos</i> atmosfera  - <i>susitepę</i> politikai  - <i>purvina</i> politika  - <i>politinės sistemos dumblas</i>  - <i>valdančiąja dauguma ir jos baltinių skalbimas</i>  - <i>nusiplauti</i> “abonento” etiketę  - <i>apvalyti</i> sąmonę  - <i>pūvantį ir merdinti</i> šalis  - <i>rinkimai skatins iš palovio</i> traukti vis naujas <i>nešvarias kojines</i>  - <i>principų švarumas</i>  - <i>suskaldyti liberalus į švarius</i>  - <i>visi aplink aptapšnoti</i>  - <i>moralinis apšivalymas</i>  - <i>sistema galėtų išsivalyti ir atsinaujinti iš vidaus</i>  - <i>neskaidrus sprendimas</i> etc.</p>

The analysis of these metaphorical expressions reveals that the POLITICS IS DIRT metaphor consists of such conceptual elements as POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE FILTHY, POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE ROTTEN, and POSITIVE CHANGES ARE CLEANING. Similarly to the English data, the main conceptual element is that of POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE FILTHY, which shows a negative moral judgement of Lithuanian politics.

The negative moral judgement is reflected in the conceptual frame of AMORAL POLITICS IS DIRTY POLITICS. Thus, those political actions and decisions, which are structured through the concept of FILTH, are perceived as morally wrong and politically ineffective. Moreover, the concept of FILTH is linguistically realized not only by the adjective *dirty* but also in various other instances of political dirt such as *dirty spots, mud, puddles, swamp, sludge, waste basket* etc., as in the utterances below:

(251) *Dabar yra tarsi **balos atmosfera**. Partija gaus pinigų iš biudžeto, todėl skyrių pirmininkai, norėdami gauti savo dalį iš būstinės, vargu ar norės atvirai konfliktuoti su partijos pirmininku. ('swampy atmosphere')* (E. Masiulis pasiryžęs atkurti Liberalų partiją. November 16, 2005)

(252) *Dabartinis mūsų **politinės sistemos dumblas** yra tobula terpė paksizmo regeneracijai ir sugrįžimui. Todėl kova prieš paksizmą ir turi būti ne žmonių ar visuomenės dalių, o idėjų ir laikysenų kova. ('the swamp of political system')* (Viruso vardas – užmirštasis ir sugrįžtantis Paksizmas. January 23, 2006)

(253) *Mūsų politinis elitas pasauliniu mastu yra nereikšmingas ir **dėmes plaunasi** tada, kai gauna signalą iš užsienio, arba išvis nesiplauna, nes nespėja susivokti. ('stains are washable')* (Ką Jūs turite omeny, drauge mielas? December 16, 2005)

Moreover, the political amorality of Lithuanian politics is disclosed by the conceptual element of ROTTENNESS. The metaphor POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE ROTTEN also covers the element of DIRT, by uncovering the aspects of *progressive rot* and *putrefaction*. Thus, the element of ROTTENNESS reveals the progressive nature of amoral political processes, which might lead to irreversible damage or the final collapse of political system, as below:

(254) *Visa tai reiškia, kad politikų pražangas vertinantis etikos sargas pats yra **supuveis iki šaknų**. ('rotten to the core')* (Šventa politinė dvejybė. December 12, 2005)

(255) *Dvasiškai ir moraliai pūvanti ir merdinti šalis nublokšta toli atgal, iš esmės į priešąjūdinius laikus. ('a morally rotten and putrefied / decomposed state')*  
(Pabaiga ar nauja pradžia? November 9, 2005)

The last conceptual element of the DIRT metaphor is that of CLEANING, similarly to the English data. This element results in the conceptual metaphor POSITIVE CHANGES ARE CLEANING. This metaphor is linguistically realized through the use of two source domains – CLEANING and WASHING, with the latter being a variety of the former. Both CLEANING and WASHING refer to necessary but complicated processes of removing corruption and amorality from Lithuanian politics, as below:

(256) *A.Zuokas ir jo šalininkai liks su oficialiai prikabinta "abonento" etikete, kurią nusiplauti bus kur kas sunkiau nei dar metams išsaugoti mero pareigas. ('label, which cannot be washed away easily')* (Kas geresnis – Zuokas ar Uspaskichas? December 5, 2005)

(257) *Jau ne vienas komentatorius yra konstatavęs akivaizdų faktą, kad šalies politinis elitas prarado unikalią progą apsivalyti ir reformuoti mūsų politinę sistemą. ('clean oneself')* (Viruso vardas – užmirštasis ir sugrįžtantis Paksizmas. January 23, 2006)

(258) *Moralinis apsivalymas liko viso labo tik skambi frazė. ('moral cleaning')*  
(Viruso vardas – užmirštasis ir sugrįžtantis Paksizmas. January 23, 2006)

Hence, as the examples above show, CLEANING or WASHING is perceived as one of the most significant political actions, which assist in developing moral and well-calculated politics. Such political decisions and actions will never damage the general social good.

To conclude, the DIRT metaphor is similarly structured in both English and Lithuanian political discourse. In both languages the POLITICS IS DIRT metaphor consists of such elements as POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE DIRTY and POSITIVE CHANGES ARE CLEANING. However, there is a culture-specific metaphor of POLITICAL ACTIONS / DECISIONS ARE ROTTEN in the Lithuanian data. The use of the ROTTENNESS metaphor shows that amoral political actions have long-lasting effects on Lithuanian political life.

### 12.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the DIRT Metaphor

The conceptual metaphor is based on the mapping of the source domain of DIRT onto the target domain of POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. The DIRT metaphor has a similar conceptual representation in both languages. As a complex metaphor, it consists of such conceptual elements as POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE DIRTY / FILTHY / MESSY and POSITIVE CHANGES ARE CLEANING. To be more precise, in both languages political activities are structured through the concepts of FILTH, DIRT or MESS. The use of the DIRT metaphor results in a negative moral evaluation of the political life in both countries. Both British and Lithuanian politicians are criticized for their inappropriate decision-making and actions, as reflected in the use of the DIRT metaphor.

However, besides similarities, there are several differences as well. First, the metaphor of DIRT in English public discourse consists of the element of MESS, which implies the seriousness of political problems. In other words, the element MESS uncovers the epistemic correspondences established by the concept of the entangled mass of dirt, which takes considerable time to clean it. Similarly, *messy politics* implies the existence of deeply rooted and complex problems, which require immediate attention and urgent actions.

By comparison, the Lithuanian DIRT metaphor comprises the component POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE ROTTEN, which uncovers not only the aspect of serious political problems but also their durability, which has caused their rottenness. Moreover, the metaphor POLITICAL ACTIONS/DECISIONS ARE ROTTEN characterizes Lithuanian politics as very problematic and inactive, as no actions are taken to remove the dirt which eventually leads to its rotten condition.

Despite these differences, the use of the DIRT metaphor in both languages shows that both British and Lithuanian public discourse are governed by the Rational Morality Model. According to this model, politics is seen as a purely rational activity, wherein all political decisions and actions are calculated in

advance. Nevertheless, the use of the DIRT metaphor in both languages shows that both British and Lithuanian politics are criticized for lacking a rational approach, which leads to *messy* and *rotten* politics.

### 13. SENSES Conceptual Metaphor

Another metaphor structuring the political discourse of both English and Lithuanian is that of SENSES. The POLITICS IS SENSES metaphor is a cross-mapping of two conceptual domains: POLITICS and SENSES. The source domain of SENSES refers to any of the five faculties of bodily perception such as SIGHT, HEARING, TOUCH, SMELL or TASTE. To be more precise, various political activities are perceived and linguistically structured through the faculties of bodily perception.

The use of the SENSES metaphor is motivated by the embodiment hypothesis, according to which, most abstract concepts are structured through more specific domains, especially various bodily experiences. The POLITICS IS SENSES metaphor is similarly distributed in both languages, as in the table below:

Table 33: SENSES Conceptual Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	SENSES Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	42	3.6
Lithuanian	26	2.8

As seen from the table, linguistic expressions have a relatively similar density of use in both English (i.e. 42 instances) and Lithuanian (i.e. 26 instances). The analysis of the SENSES metaphor reveals which bodily perceptions are linguistically activated, highlighted and prioritized in the political processes of two different cultures. In other words, the analysis of this metaphor discloses

which senses govern political life, and what kind of moral expectations underlie them.

### 13.1. SENSES Metaphor in English

In English the SENSES metaphor mainly covers such perceptive faculties as **taste**, **smell**, and **sight**, with **taste** as the most linguistically supported. The metaphor has the following linguistic representation, as given in the table below:

Table 34: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS SENSES

POLITICS IS SENSES	
<p><b>Epistemic Correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TASTE</li> <li>• SMELL</li> <li>• SIGHT</li> </ul>	<p>-have quite <b>a lot on his plate</b>            -ten years of having been <b>gobbled up</b> by Mr Blair            -the <b>scent</b> of Tony still <b>pervades</b> British politics            -<b>invisibility</b> of the cabinet            -<b>to spot</b> a political opportunity            -<b>fresh</b> faces            -to <b>dish</b> the Tories            -politicians' sheer <b>appetite</b> for power            -the <b>hunger</b> for power            -politicians <b>hungry</b> for new techniques and winning ideas            -<b>sniffing out</b> the mood of the electorate etc.</p>

The prevailing conceptual element of the SENSES metaphor in English is that of TASTE. Many political actions are associated with the perceptive faculty of TASTE which is expressed through the elements of HUNGER and APPETITE, as illustrated below:

(259) *As Labour found after 1994 and the Tories after 1945, **the hunger for power** eventually overcomes the sentimental attachment to outdated ideological arguments. (With your permission. February 2, 2006)*

(260) *With increasing numbers of Labour MPs demanding that he name the date of his departure, every time Mr Blair demonstrates **his undiminished appetite for power** the mutinous rumblings grow louder. (The wheels on the bus. May 4, 2006)*

Besides, there are elements reflecting on the process of eating. The processes of eating and tasting respectively involve the use of necessary tools such as plates or the reference to eating places such as a kitchen. As the plate is used for serving food, thus the amount of food on the plate stands for the amount of stress or problems politicians encounter, e.g.:

(261) *Mr Brown also has quite a lot on his plate in carrying through the reforms laid out by Sir Peter Gershon, his efficiency adviser.* (The birthday boy. July 22, 2004)

Even more, teams of politicians are referred to as *kitchen cabinets*. The use of kitchen as a source domain in the TASTE metaphor implies a cosy relationship between politicians, as usually kitchen is the place where family members gather and spend their time together, as in the utterance below:

(262) *Mr Howard's own small kitchen cabinet includes two openly gay men.* (Issues of identity. April 21, 2005)

Another conceptual element of the SENSES metaphor is that of FLAVOUR, which characterizes politicians' actions. Political activities are referred to as *fresh* or *stale*, where the former has the meaning of newness, while the latter implies uselessness and the lack of originality, as in the examples below:

(263) *Next week, after a stint of over five years, this Bagehot will hand over to a fresh new one a month before the arrival on the scene of a fresh (well, sort of) new prime minister.* (Last call. May 24, 2007)

(264) *Worryingly for Mr Brown, they found him stale and too Scottish.* (They'll miss him. September 28, 2006)

The conceptual element of TASTE is complemented by the metaphor of SMELL, which use characterizes various political activities negatively. In other words, the metaphor of SMELL has the conceptual representation of POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE SMELLING. Thus, various political actions and decisions are associated with the concept of SMELL. Politicians' political heritage is seen as a long-lasting smell, which does not disappear even after their departure from the political arena, as in the utterance below:

(265) *In a literal way they are right; but on another, atmospheric level, **the scent of Tony** still pervades British politics.* (The smell of Tony. February 7, 2008)

Even more, the faculty of SMELL is used as a necessary attribute in effective and constructive politics, as politicians are expected to smell the mood and needs of their voters, consider the following statement:

(266) *But Mr Blair, with his unrivalled knack for **sniffing out the mood of the electorate**, believes that much as people want an efficient health service and good schools, they are more than ever fearful of terrorism, crime and mass immigration.* (A hard road ahead for Mr Nice Guy. October 5, 2006)

Another perceptive faculty structuring the domain of politics in the English data is that of SIGHT. The use of the SIGHT metaphor is reflected in various political activities, where it is perceived as a necessary attribute in achieving political goals by spotting opportunities. Politicians are expected to possess a well-developed faculty of sight, which helps them to spot various opportunities at the right time in the right place, as in the following:

(267) *The odd thing is that Mr Blair, who is normally so **quick to spot a political opportunity**, has not woken up to this one.* (This time, Gordon is not a problem. November 10, 2005)

This example also shows the irony which underlies the metaphorical linguistic expression *to spot a political opportunity*. Here the metaphor SEEING is used in reference to the former Prime-minister Tony Blair, who uses the faculty of sight only for widening the spectrum of his personal vision at the expense of social goodness.

Another conceptual aspect, highlighted by the use of the SIGHT metaphor, is that of VISIBILITY. Politicians are expected to be visible or in sight, otherwise they lose their political importance. Thus, invisibility refers to political insignificance or the loss of political face, as in the example below:

(268) *Still, the cabinet does have a problem: **its invisibility**.* (Kindergarten cabinet. January 31, 2008)

To summarize, the analysis of the SENSES metaphor shows that British politicians are criticized for their inappropriate behaviour and political blunders. The criticism is reflected in the following conceptual elements of the



SENSES metaphor: TASTE, SMELL and SIGHT. To be more precise, various political activities are structured through the use of the perceptive faculties. First, British politicians are perceived as having too much appetite for power, thus being very hungry. Second, they are seen as having a bad and long-lasting smell. Finally, politicians are criticized for lacking vision and being unable to spot political opportunities, as well as being invisible to laypeople.

The use of the perceptive faculties, while framing the concept of politics, shows the tendency for the Pragmatic Morality Model in British political life. According to it, politics is governed by human biological make-up that is complemented by perceptive faculties. The use of the SENSES metaphor in public discourse shows that British politics is governed by the moral expectations underlying the Pragmatic Morality Model.

### 13.2. SENSES Metaphor in Lithuanian

A cross-mapping of two conceptual domains—SENSES and POLITICS—establishes the epistemic correspondences which are represented by the metaphor of POLITICAL ACTIVITIES ARE PERCEPTIVE FACULTIES. As a complex conceptual network, it consists of three conceptual elements: TASTE, SIGHT and SMELL, which are reflected in the following metaphorical linguistic expressions, consider the table below:

Table 35: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS SENSES

POLITICS IS SENSES	
<p><b>Epistemic Correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TASTE</li> <li>• SIGHT</li> <li>• SMELL</li> </ul>	<p>-valdžios <i>apetitas</i>            -šviežias nesuteptas lyderis            -tramdyti politikų <i>apetitą</i>            -atsireikti kuo didesnį iki šiol socdemų turėto elektorato <i>gabalą</i>            -valdžios <i>pyragas</i>            -Lietuvos valstybė ir jos diplomatija <i>nesnaudžia</i>            -politikai <i>užmerkia akis</i>            -moraliai susidėvėjusį blogį keičia <i>šviežesnis</i>            -pasisavinti šalies ūkio augimo <i>pyragą</i>            -maitinamas <i>šaukštu</i> elektoratas            -politinių partijų <i>lovis</i>            -fašizoidinis libdemų <i>kvapelis</i>            -valdžios <i>virtuvę apdergusi košė</i> etc.</p>

The element of TASTE dominates in Lithuanian public discourse. Mainly it is disclosed through the concept of food-sharing. To be more precise, political power is perceived through the concept of *pie*-sharing, which cannot be equally distributed due to the Lithuanian politicians' mean and stingy nature. As a result, politics is associated with *a sweet taste*, which attracts politicians, as in the example below:

(269) *Tai tik keli pavyzdžiai, liudijantys, kad saldu valdžios skonį pajutusieji pasirengę daryti bet ką, kad tik ta valdžia jiems neišsprūstų iš rankų. ('the sweet taste of power')* (Politikams esame atlaidesni. December 21, 2005)

Moreover, Lithuanian politicians are perceived as being unable to resist the sweet taste of political power and authority. The use of the SWEET TASTE

element negatively characterizes Lithuanian politicians and their ravenous appetite for power.

In addition to the element of SWEET TASTE, there are other political actions associated with eating, as reflected in the following expression: *having juicy / fat / much food or much food*. This tendency for over-extensive eating gives a negative moral evaluation to Lithuanian politicians' actions, e.g.:

(270) *Bet dabar jau aišku: valdžia norėjo apdovanoti žmones, bet apdovanojo save – valdininkus, kurių riebiai apmokamos sočios atostogos dar labiau pailgėjo. Lietuvoje visuomet taip nutinka. ('the government presented itself with a gift of a well-paid nourishing vacation')* (Valdžios dovanos po eglute. December 27, 2005)

Finally, the concept of TASTE is mainly disclosed through the domain of *pie-sharing* among politicians. This conceptual element characterizes Lithuanian politicians as being unable to collectively share and distribute political power as well as to make collective decisions, e.g.:

(271) *Todėl ir darbiečiams, siekiantiems prieš savivaldybių rinkimus atsiriėkti kuo didesnį iki šiol socdemų turėto elektorato gabalą, ir konservatoriams apsimokės užbaigti pradėtą darbą skambiu akordu. ('slice the biggest piece of electorate')* (Penki būdai, kaip prarasti valdžią ir reputaciją. October 31, 2005)

(272) *Ta mintis pasirodė esanti tokia baisi, jog valdžios perdalijimo pradėjo bijoti net prezidentas Valdas Adamkus. ('the distribution of power')* (Ko bijo politikos elitas? November 23, 2005)

In addition to food sharing, there is an element of eating habits found in the analysed data of Lithuanian political discourse. Even more, politicians are perceived as ravenous eaters. Such specified meaning negatively evaluates Lithuanian politics, as politicians' eating habits are associated with their ravenous appetite for power, consider the utterances below:

(273) *Stebėtinai gerai suplanuota viešųjų ryšių ataka, siekiant nuvainikuoti ir sumenkinti kovotojus, primenant (ar primetant) jų nuodėmingumą: visi jie vienodi, terūpi lovys. ('trough is the only things that matters')* (Politikos devalvacija, arba berno mitologija. December 2, 2005)

(274) *Ak, tiesa, bus prabudę ir socdemai – jie susizgribo pareikšti, kad jų partinis mohikanas daugiau nebetvers opozicijos antpuolių: pagrasinimas išėiti iš koalicijos, regis, adresuojamas didelio apetito partneriams. ('partners with a big appetite')* (Politikos devalvacija, arba berno mitologija. December 2, 2005)

Another conceptual element of the SENSES metaphor is that of SIGHT, which is disclosed by the metaphor POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE SEEING. Thus, SEEING is associated with positive political actions and decisions, whereas UNSEEING / CLOSING ONE'S EYES is closely associated with wrong and inappropriate political decisions. Even more, in some cases UNSEEING becomes an intentionally committed act, when politicians *close their eyes*, as in the example below:

(275) *Neabejoju, jei A. Stancikienė būtų užmerkusi akis dėl nelegalių statybų, gyventų ji Nidoje ir vargo nematytų. Gal dar meras vietą rinkimų sąraše pasiūlytų. [A. Stankuniene turned a blind eye to illegal construction] (Pasaulis, kuriane gyvename (II): žmonių medžioklė su varovais. November 29, 2006)*

In addition to UN/SEEING, there is the conceptual element of SMELL, which metaphorically structures the domain POLITICS in Lithuanian. Hence, politicians who have a bad smell are perceived as amoral wrong-doers. Even more, in some instances the bad smell is associated with morally unacceptable political beliefs such as **fascism**, as below:

(276) *Žinoma, tokie politikai kaip Aloyzas Sakalas, Bronislovas Genzelis ir Julius Sabatauskas elgėsi kaip šimtaprocentiniai vakarietiško sukirpimo socialdemokratai, kurie fašizoidinį libdemų kvapelį pajuto iškart ir piestu stojo prieš R.Paksą. ('the sense of fascizoid smell')* (Viruso vardas – užmirštasis ir sugrįžtantasis Paksizmas. January 23, 2006)

To summarize, the SENSES metaphor consists of such conceptual elements as TASTE, SMELL and SIGHT in the Lithuanian data. The analysis of POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE THE USE OF SENSES metaphor shows that Lithuanian politics receives a negative moral evaluation for several reasons. First, Lithuanian politicians are criticized for being too ravenous in their appetite for power. Second, they are negatively perceived due to their inability to clearly see various political problems. Finally, the bad smell pervading political life characterizes politicians' actions and decisions as morally inappropriate.

### **13.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the SENSES Metaphor**

The use of the SENSES metaphor in both languages is based on the cross-mapping of two conceptual domains: POLITICS and SENSES. The latter refers to the use of perceptive faculties such as SIGHT, HEARING, SMELL and TASTE while metaphorically structuring the target domain of politics. The use of the SENSES metaphor in the public discourse of both languages reveals moral expectations underlying the Pragmatic Morality Model.

In both languages English and Lithuanian, the POLITICS IS SENSES metaphor consists of three elements: TASTE, SMELL, and SIGHT. Their use characterizes politicians from a negative perspective by portraying them as always hungry for power, smelling bad and being unable to resist negative influences and solve political problems.

Thus, the use of such elements shows that both British and Lithuanian politicians are described as guided by their bodily instincts rather than rational or moral ideals. Their political instincts are disclosed through the use of such elements as hunger and ravenous appetite, bad and long-lasting smell, and finally conscious avoidance of noticing problems. Such perception corresponds to the Pragmatic Morality model, which states that all people, including politicians, are guided by their biological make-up, or perceptive bodily faculties as in this case.

### **14. WHOLENESS Conceptual Metaphor**

Another conceptual metaphor which structures the public discourse of both languages is that of UNITY or WHOLENESS. This is a complex conceptual network, which consists of a cross-mapping of two domains: the source domain of UNITY is mapped on the target domain of POLITICS. To be more precise, various political activities or bodies are perceived through the concept of WHOLENESS. The WHOLENESS metaphor has the following linguistic realization, as indicated in the table below:

Table 36: WHOLENESS Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	WHOLENESS Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	35	3
Lithuanian	34	3.6

This metaphor has been analysed by Lakoff (1996, 90), who claims that the POLITICS IS UNITY metaphor is the most characteristic of the conservative moral values. Lakoff states that the conceptual network of the WHOLENESS metaphor reflects the system of conservative moral values, which is supported by the use of such concepts as STABILITY and SOLIDITY (2002). Moreover, he argues that the POLITICS IS WHOLENESS metaphor entails the conceptual elements of **homogeneity** and **unity of form**, which make the entity stronger and more resistant to various external pressures.

Accordingly, the use of the WHOLENESS metaphor in politics emphasizes such moral values as stability and resistance to pressure and solidity. Hence, when an object or a certain political entity starts to crumble, tear or fall apart, it is in danger of not holding together, therefore unable to function. To be more precise, POLITICAL UNITY is perceived as a moral value, whereas any attempts to influence that unity are regarded as immoral and politically unacceptable. As a result, the POLITICS IS WHOLENESS metaphor leads to the conceptual element of MORAL UNITY.

### 14.1. WHOLENESS Metaphor in English

The POLITICS IS WHOLENESS metaphor in English is linguistically realized by the following conceptual elements and their representative metaphorical expressions, as below:

Table 37: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS WHOLENESS

POLITICS IS WHOLENESS	
<p><b>Epistemic Correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• POLITICS IS AN ENTITY</li> <li>• POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A UNIFIED WHOLE</li> </ul>	<p>-Labour history <i>falling apart</i>            -a <i>broken</i> coalition            -a <i>fractious</i> state            -Brown sitting on top of a <i>smoking ruin</i>,            -Mr Blair and Mr Brown <i>bound together</i>            -to <i>pick up the pieces</i>            -the prime minister as a man of <i>parts</i>            -<i>fractious</i> cabinet            -<i>fractious</i> government            - to <i>destabilise</i> Mr Blair            - a disciplined and <i>united</i> party            -to snatch the best <i>bits</i> of Mr Blair's legacy            -policies decided by a small, <i>tight-knit group</i> of arrogant men            -<i>cluster</i> near the centre            -<i>stitch-up</i>            -to <i>break apart</i> the Blair electoral coalition            -to <i>unpick the bits</i> of New Labour            -<i>broken</i> politics etc.</p>

The underlying epistemic correspondence is drawn on the basis of framing the domain of ENTITY onto the domain of POLITICS. Moreover, politics or the political system is viewed as a unified whole or an entity which is expected to consist of homogenous components. POLITICAL WHOLENESS is a complex metaphor system which frames British politics as **fractious** and **unbalanced**. The fragmentary nature of British politics is reflected in the following action verbs: *falling apart*, *breaking*, *falling out* etc. Thus, the abstract entity of politics is perceived as breakable into parts. This breakability is associated with the loss of political stability and solidity, as below:

(277) *The progressive (anti-Tory) coalition that made Mr Blair the most effective election-winner in Labour history has all but **fallen apart**.* (After he is gone. May 10, 2007)

(278) *A **broken coalition** is not Mr Blair's only legacy to his would-be heirs.* (After he is gone. May 10, 2007)

(279) *The Labour Party itself is in a fractious state.* (After he is gone. May 10, 2007)

Moreover, the seriousness of political problems is reflected in the element of SERIOUS DAMAGE, which consequently leads to a *ruinous* state or being *broken beyond repair*, as in the following statements:

(280) *But the blast and the fallout would do so much damage to the government and the party that Mr Brown would find himself sitting on top of a smoking ruin.* (Fingers on the button. May 12, 2005)

(281) *The upshot is that the present system of financing politics in Britain is broken beyond repair—something that all the parties are now quietly agreed on.* (A broken system. March 23, 2006)

The fractious state of the British government is also linguistically disclosed by the use of such elements as BITS, PARTS and PIECES etc. As the unity of the structure is supported by the unity of its parts and bits, the political strength and stability are also realized by the unity of its various components. Accordingly, when the bits start breaking off, political unity collapses alongside with its strength, stability and potency. Consider the following examples below:

(282) *Sooner rather than later, goes this version of the way things will unfold after the election, Mr Blair will have departed, leaving his successor to unpick the bits of New Labour of which he has always disapproved.* (Reading between the lines. April 14, 2005)

(283) *All long-lived governments have a natural lifespan before the bits start falling off.* (The wheels on the bus. May 4, 2006)

As the examples above illustrate, the political wholeness is perceived as a natural and essential prerogative of well-organized and effective political processes. Thus, the government that loses unity also loses its political face and credibility. The loss of political unity, in its turn, implies the loss of stability and strength. The political unity is reflected in such unified political categories as a party, team, cabinet, coalition, government etc. As soon as these political bodies lose unity, they start losing their credibility and political importance.



## 14.2. WHOLENESS Metaphor in Lithuanian

In Lithuanian the WHOLENESS metaphor is based on the same principle of correlation between the two conceptual domains: the source domain of WHOLENESS is mapped on the target domain of POLITICS. This results in the following perception: politics, as an abstract entity, is perceived through the concept of wholeness. This allows one to see politics as homogenous by its nature, which consists of complementary parts. The POLITICS IS WHOLENESS metaphor is a complex metaphor system, which is represented by two conceptual elements: POLITICS IS A UNIFIED ENTITY and PROBLEMS ARE FRACTURES; they are linguistically realized by such metaphorical expressions as in the table below:

Table 38: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS WHOLENESS

POLITICS IS WHOLENESS	
<p><b>Epistemic Correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• POLITICS IS A UNIFIED ENTITY</li> <li>• PROBLEMS ARE FRACTURES</li> </ul>	<p>-<i>sulipdyti</i> koaliciją            -<i>suskaldyti</i> liberalus            -<i>politinės sistemos suardymas</i>            -<i>tikroji vienybė politikų gretose</i>            -<i>koalicija galėtų būti suburta</i>            -<i>suskilusių liberalcentristų tarpusavio priešprieša</i>            -<i>byranti</i> demokratija            -<i>politinis skilimas</i>            -<i>suskaldyti</i> frakciją, <i>skilsianti</i> Darbo frakcija            -<i>partinės sistemos fragmentiškumas ir nestabilumas</i>            -<i>iškuopti koalicijos griuvėsius</i>            -<i>dešinės susiskaldymas etc.</i></p>

First, effective politics is perceived through the concept of a UNIFIED WHOLE, the constituent elements of which are expected to work simultaneously. Thus, any fall-out or distraction leads to breakages of the entire political system, due to which various political problems or malpractices emerge, as in the following statements:

- (284) *Darbo partija, kuri savęs ideologiškai niekaip neapibrėžė, susidūrusi su sunkumais, pradėjo byrėti.* ('when the Labour party encountered difficulties, it started falling to pieces') (Politinių turistų režimas. July 13, 2006)
- (285) *Per dvejus metus, praėjusius nuo Vilniaus tarybos rinkimų, beveik visos jos frakcijos subyrėjo ir nebeturi to aiškaus politinio stuburo, kuris matėsi 2003 metų viduryje.* ('factions fell to pieces') (Kas geresnis – Zuokas ar Uspaskichas? December 5, 2005)

Moreover, political parties or even individual politicians encountering problems are referred to as *broken* or *crumbled*. Thus, politics is perceived as a breakable entity, which can lose its components and overall unity, if politicians make wrong decisions and take improper actions. This conceptualization leads to another metaphor: POLITICAL WHOLENESS IS MORAL POLITICS. To be more precise, politics which is perceived as unified receives positive moral evaluation, whereas fragmented politics is seen as morally wrong and unacceptable, as below:

(286) *Didelė bėda – dešinės susiskaldymas, pasibaigęs LKDP žlugimu. Konservatoriai neteko platesnio konteksto ir galimų koalicijos partnerių. ('the Right was disunited')* (Kodėl dešinieji pralaimi? March 14, 2006)

(287) *Deja, ir viršpartinis valstybinis veikimas, net jei juo subjektyviai siekiama pašalinti valstybės valdymo bėdas, kylančias dėl partijų silpnumo, jų interesų savanaudiškumo ir partikuliarumo, partinės sistemos fragmentiškumo ir nestabilumo, demokratijos požiūri negali būti vertinamas pozityviai. ('weak parties, fragmentation and instability of the party system')* (Apie žodį „valstybininkas“. November 27, 2006)

The examples above clearly illustrate the nature of the MORAL WHOLENESS metaphor, where the element of POLITICAL WHOLENESS is associated with stability and strength. As the data analysis shows, these aspects are of primary importance in Lithuanian politics. Lithuanian politicians are expected to preserve POLITICAL WHOLENESS by being *united*, *strong* and *stable*.

### 14.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the WHOLENESS Metaphor

The POLITICS IS WHOLENESS metaphor has been found in the public discourse of both languages, which gives evidence to the presence of moral conservative values (Lakoff 2002). Moreover, the use of the WHOLENESS metaphor corresponds to the moral ideas advocated by the Pragmatic Morality Model for several reasons.

First, the WHOLENESS metaphor is a complex metaphor system, which consists of the following conceptual elements: UNITY, STABILITY and STRENGTH. In other words, politicians are expected to be unified and not fragmented in their actions and decision-making. This political unity

guarantees strength and solidity. Otherwise, if politicians are unable to preserve that unity or collective political responsibility, they lose their political power and credibility.

In addition, conservative values are reflected in the element of HOMOGENEITY, which is disclosed by the WHOLENESS metaphor. Politicians are expected to have similar collective intentions and political interests, otherwise they are perceived as perpetrators or destroyers of political wholeness. Hence, the POLITICAL WHOLENESS metaphor discloses the system of the moral expectations grounded in the Pragmatic Morality Model, as reflected in the use of the such conceptual elements as unity, strength and stability. Moreover, this model justifies the use of violence for manipulative purposes, which assist in reaching political stability and social order.

### 15. THEATRE Conceptual Metaphor

Another conceptual metaphor structuring both English and Lithuanian public discourse is that of THEATRE. To be more precise, the target domain of POLITICS is structured through the source domain of THEATRE, resulting in the metaphor of POLITICS IS THEATRE. The metaphor has the following linguistic realization:

Table 38: THEATRE Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	THEATRE Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	30	2.6
Lithuanian	38	4

The linguistic distribution of the THEATRE metaphor in both languages is similar. The analysis of this metaphor indicates that it is represented by similar conceptual elements, which shows negative moral evaluation in both languages.

The metaphor of THEATRE has had a strong influence on American political discourse (Terry 1997). Terry claims that politicians often invoke this

metaphor when they enact political dramas or assume the image of a leader (1997). Thus, the conceptual network of the THEATER metaphor might consist of such elements as CHARACTERS and PERFORMANCE. Characters, in their turn, are usually divided into heroes and villains. The use of such cross-mapping allows for the justification of violence in the fight against the so-called villains.

### 15.1. THEATRE Metaphor in English

The use of the THEATRE metaphor allows one to characterize British politicians and their activities in terms of dramatic acts. Thus, the use of the THEATRE metaphor supports political theories which perceive politics as a performing art. However, the analysis of the THEATRE metaphor in English shows that British politics is associated with the following aspects of THEATRE: DRAMA and PERFORMANCE, as reflected in the cross-conceptual mapping POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE A DRAMATIC PERFORMANCE. These conceptual elements are realized by the following linguistic expressions, as in the table below:

Table 39: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS THEATRE

POLITICS IS THEATRE	
<p><b>Epistemic Correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DRAMA</li> <li>• PERFORMANCE</li> </ul>	<p><i>-sound a trumpet for politics</i>  <i>-daring tricks</i>  <i>-putting on a decent show of unity</i>  <i>-a slowly unfolding tragedy</i>  <i>-some usefully new faces but enough old stagers</i>  <i>-a big personality leaves the scene</i>  <i>-complete the final part of his own metamorphosis</i>  <i>-put on a decent show of unity</i>  <i>-whistles all the other traditional Tory tunes</i>  <i>-too stage-managed</i>  <i>-a few diehards to play their roles</i>  <i>-a sprinkling of the stardust on Tory leader</i>  <i>-greaterbehind-the-scenes professionalism</i>  <i>-the New Labour playbook</i>  <i>-potential stars etc.</i></p>

The first aspect of the THEATRE metaphor is that of DRAMA. Its use designates political activities or decision-making in terms of a dramatized

performance with politicians as stage actors. The dramatic nature of their play is linguistically realized through such metaphorical expressions as below:

(288) *But to convince the voters that change is real, it is essential for **a few diehards to play their roles**.* (A hard road ahead for Mr Nice Guy. October 5, 2006)

(289) *There's a real whiff of excitement in the Westminster air as MPs file back after the Christmas break. The thing that British politics has been missing for a decade or more is back: **suspense**.* (Exciting times. January 5, 2006)

(290) *They resent seeing Mr Blair strutting **the world stage** and many of them instinctively recoil when Mr Bush and Mr Blair bang on preachily about spreading liberty and democracy.* (The end of the affair. February 17, 2005)

Also, the dramatic nature of British political life is reflected in the use of intensified emotive categories, e.g. *suspense, diehards, tragedy* etc. In addition, politicians are seen as performing on the stage, which suggests that their political status is of a demonstrative and entertaining nature rather than that of serious dedication and achievements. Hence, political performance is associated with dramatic and theatrical roles, as in the statements below:

(291) *That Mr Blair, usually **an instinctive thespian**, should get the timing of his exit so wrong is not surprising.* (After Downing Street. May 3, 2007)

(292) *In a packed amphitheatre at the Sorbonne on January 31st he **pulled all the old hammy tricks: the shrugs and raised eyebrows; the "let us pray" hand gesture; the studied frankness; the refusal to compromise with imaginary enemies; the heroic vocabulary of "change" and "modernisation"**.* (The smell of Tony. February 7, 2008)

As the examples above show, politicians are perceived through the concept of dramatic actors, the use of which, in most cases, serves a purely entertaining function. Thus, the main purpose of politicians is to emotionally manipulate their audience by using various dramatic means such as *hand gesture, hammy tricks, heroic vocabulary* etc.

The second element of the THEATRE metaphor is that of PERFORMANCE, which results in the metaphor of POLITICS IS PERFORMANCE. To be more precise, political activities are perceived through the concept of dramatic entertainment or a blissful show. As a result, political activities are described as taking place on the stage and being divided into scenes, with politicians performing various roles, consider the utterances below:

(293) *Helped by the fact that nobody in his right mind could contemplate the purgatory of another leadership contest before the next election, the Lib Dems put on a decent show of unity at their party conference in September.* (Ming's reasons to be cheerful. March 1, 2007)

(294) *A further danger of this approach is that it will all seem too stage-managed, too carefully worked out in a different time and place.* (Mr Brown's awfully big year. January 4, 2007)

(295) *Labour's autumn conference in Manchester is certain to be the scene of a big row over Mr Blair's third-sector plans.* (The fight over a big idea. July 20, 2006)

Hence, the use of the THEATRE metaphor in British public discourse characterizes British politics not as a serious social activity but rather as an entertaining show with dramatic effects, the purpose of which is to emotionally manipulate laypeople. Moreover, politicians are seen as performers of various dramatic roles, thus politics is about role-playing and emotional involvement. The use of the POLITICS IS DRAMA metaphor testifies to the presence of intensified emotions in British political life.

## 15.2. THEATRE Metaphor in Lithuanian

The POLITICS IS THEATRE metaphor, similarly to the English data, is a complex cross-conceptual network, which consists of such elements as PERFORMANCE and CHARACTERS / ACTORS, that are metaphorically reflected in the use such linguistic expressions as in the table below:

Table 40: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICS IS THEATRE

POLITICS IS THEATRE	
<p><b>Epistemic Correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• PERFORMANCE</li> <li>• CHARACTERS / ACTORS</li> </ul>	<p>-<i>Parlamentarizmo tragedija</i>            -<i>užkulisiniai susitarimų būdai</i>            -<i>pirmu smuiku griežia privatus asmuo Viktoras Uspaskichas</i>            -<i>veikėjų ar herojų statusas</i>            -<i>siužeto tipai</i>            -<i>populizmo balalaikos stygos</i>            -<i>lietuviškos politikos personažai</i>            -<i>suvaidinti, šalies politikos užkulisiai</i>            -<i>nežinėlio vaidmuo</i>            -<i>suvaidinti vaidmenį</i>            -<i>premjero amplua</i>            -<i>matuotis togas, politinis maskaradas</i>            -<i>tragedija, politiniai spektakliai</i>            -<i>žongliravimas žodžiais</i>            -<i>parodija, politinio spektaklio režisieriai</i>            -<i>kaukės</i> etc.</p>

First, the POLITICS IS THEATRE metaphor in Lithuanian public discourse is developed through the concept of PERFORMANCE. This leads to the cross-conceptual mapping of the two domains: the source domain of A THEATRE PERFORMANCE is mapped onto the target domain of POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. Due to the use of the THEATRE metaphor, Lithuanian politics is associated with dramatic acts. Even more, dramatic performance is specified in terms of a *parody* or a *tragedy*. Consider the following examples below:

(296) Lietuvos **parlamentarizmo tragedija** – didžiulė parlamentarų kaita. ('the tragedy of parliamentarism') (Renta parlamentarams – žingsnis link kokybiškesnio valdymo. June 21, 2007)

(297) Demagogija yra apeliuoti į teisinės valstybės principą, jei įstatymų ir teisėtvarkos sistema leidžia klestėti korupcijai. Tiesą sakant, **tai jokia teisinė valstybė – tik apgailėtina ir netoleruotina jos parodija**. ('the parody of the legal system in the state should not be tolerated') (Ar sugebėsime peržengti Rubikoną. March 15, 2006)

The examples above show that political performance is associated with a farcical imitation or a dramatic composition, which eventually leads to an

unhappy or catastrophic ending. The use of such concepts not only intensifies the emotional state of Lithuanian politics, but also gives a negative moral evaluation to the strategies of the Lithuanian politicians' policy-making. Lithuanian politicians are criticized for lacking seriousness and are shown as being ridiculous and absurd in their political decision-making.

In addition to the politicians' ridiculous and absurd behaviour, the use of the THEATRE metaphor highlights the lack of honesty and sincerity in Lithuanian politics. The political frivolity is disclosed by the element of ENTERTAINMENT, as reflected in the use of expressions such as *carnival*, *masquerade*, *choir* etc.

By comparison, the ENTERTAINMENT aspect in English is mainly developed by the source domain of SHOW, whereas in Lithuanian it extends to A MASK CARNIVAL. Generally, the mask carnival is known as a festival marked by merrymaking and processions or a travelling show led by loud music and much noise. Along similar lines, Lithuanian politicians are associated with various characters wearing different masks and playing musical instruments, e.g.:

(298) *Ir be ypatingų analitinių sugebėjimų galima suprasti, kad IAE tėra viena iš vienos ir tos pačios populizmo balalaikos stygų.* ('the policies of IAE are balalaika stringed with populism) *Ja pakaitomis mėgsta vis dažniau pagroti nemaža dalis lietuviškos politikos personažų.* ('it [the balalaika] is played by many characters of Lithuanian politic') (Lietuvos politikai pamėgo populizmo melodijas. January 31, 2006)

(299) *Taigi buvo Artūras, skrajojo Rolandas, linksmo Viktoras.* ('Rolandas was flying, Viktoras was entertaining') (Užkalbėjimų įkalinti. February 22, 2006)

(300) *Politikai anksčiau ar vėliau turės priiimti atsakomybę už viešąją erdvę, o ne dalyvauti joje kaip politiniame maskarade.* ('political mascarade') (Viruso vardas – užmirštasis ir sugrižtantis Paksizmas. January 23, 2006)

Thus, the use of the THEATRE metaphor, whereby politics is perceived through the concept of entertaining performance, discloses negative moral implications. First, Lithuanian politics lacks seriousness, earnestness and sincerity. Second, Lithuanian politicians are perceived as entertainers and show-people, wearing masks and creating much noise, instead of taking serious actions. By using the THEATRE metaphor, the emotional context of political life is emphasized. Moreover, emotions governing politics are not earnest and natural but rather scripted and manipulative.



### **15.3. MORALITY Models as reflected in the THEATRE Metaphor**

The POLITICS IS THEATRE metaphor is a complex metaphor system, which in both languages is developed through the use of several elements. The THEATRE metaphor in English public discourse is centred around two closely interrelated elements—DRAMA and PERFORMANCE. Similarly, in Lithuanian the epistemic correspondences between the source domain of THEATRE and the target domain of POLITICS are established by the use of the two conceptual elements—PERFORMANCE and ACTORS. Thus, the element of PERFORMANCE is found in both languages, while DRAMA is highlighted more in English, and ACTORS in Lithuanian.

Despite the differences, the use of the THEATRE metaphor in both languages is based on moral judgement as reflected in the Integrated Morality Model. According to it, emotions play an important role in political activities, as reflected in the use of the THEATRE metaphor. For example, Lithuanian politicians are associated with entertaining performers, trying to manipulate public opinion in their favour. In English, the THEATRE metaphor characterizes British politics as a dramatic act containing much emotional involvement among politicians.

However, it should be noted that the THEATRE metaphor is based on negative moral evaluation, as both British and Lithuanian politicians are criticised for using dramatic and entertaining methods in politics. Thus, emotions are seen as a factor which has negative moral and political consequences. In other words, politicians in both cultures are expected to be less emotional but more rational and pragmatic, as has been supported by the analysis of other metaphors.

## 16. ANIMALS Conceptual Metaphor

The last conceptual metaphor to be discussed in this paper is that of POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS. This cross-conceptual mapping is based on symmetrical blending, as the two domains belong to the same conceptual category of animateness. Despite that, the use of the POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor attributes certain non-human qualities to politicians. This allows politicians to be perceived as less human and more animal-like. The linguistic frequency of the ANIMALS metaphor in both languages is illustrated in the table below:

Table 41: ANIMALS Metaphor in English and Lithuanian

LANGUAGE	ANIMALS Metaphor (linguistic expressions)	%
English	12	1
Lithuanian	10	1.1

As shown in the table above, the ANIMALS metaphor is twice as frequent in Lithuanian than it is in English. The variability in frequency is supported by the variability in MORALITY models as well. To be more precise, MORALITY models are represented by different conceptual elements in the two languages.

### 16.1. ANIMALS Metaphor in English

Despite the fact that the POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor is not so frequently realized in terms of linguistic expressions (9 instances), its use still has influence on the overall system of moral expectations in British politics. The POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor is linguistically realized by such metaphorical expressions as in the table below:

Table 42: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS

POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS	
<p><b>Epistemic Correspondences:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR IS A RESPONSE TO EXTERNAL STIMULI</li> <li>• CATS</li> <li>• DOGS</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-<i>Big beasts</i></li> <li>-<i>dog-whistle politics</i></li> <li>-<i>Tory instincts</i></li> <li>-<i>a catfight</i></li> <li>-<i>the prime minister cried wolf over Iraq</i></li> <li>-<i>whistling up his most faithful hounds</i></li> <li>-<i>lets Mr Blair off the hook</i></li> <li>-<i>the chancellor's bullishness</i></li> <li>- <i>to change their colours at any time etc.</i></li> </ul>

As the examples above illustrate, the POLITICAL ANIMALS metaphor is used with the purpose to negatively characterizing politicians; thus, its use gives a negative moral evaluation to their behaviour.

First, the use of the ANIMALS metaphor in British political discourse characterizes politicians as led by natural instincts, which results in the politicians' brutal behaviour towards each other. Thus, politicians are seen as governed by reactive behavioural instincts, in response to various external stimuli. Such association is disclosed by the use of the metaphor: POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR IS A RESPONSE TO EXTERNAL STIMULI. The epistemic correspondences between the domains are based on the concepts of strength and toughness, as politicians are expected to resist external forces, consider the statements below:

- (301) *For all the chancellor's **bullishness** on such occasions, nothing could conceal the reality of forecasts missed <...>* (Sunny Dave v Roadblock Brown. December 8, 2005)
- (302) *That is Mr Howard's opportunity. He claims that because choice fits more comfortably with **Tory instincts**, he can go further and faster than Mr Blair.* (That eureka feeling. July 1, 2004)

(303) *One is with Tony Blair's cabinets. The retirement of **the big beasts** —Charles Clarke, John Reid and so on—of the Blair era is now widely lamented. (Kindergarten cabinet. January 31, 2008)*

The ANIMAL metaphor is also used to characterize British politicians as being led by instinctive rather than cognitive qualities. As a result, politicians are associated with several species of animals, mainly CATS and DOGS. The POLITICIANS ARE CATS / DOGS metaphor gives a negative moral evaluation to their interpersonal relationship. The use of the POLITICIANS ARE CATS metaphor reflects the behavioural aspects of spitefulness, viciousness and roughness in a political relationship, as below:

(304) *MPs say they are horrified by the prospect of six months of “paralysis” and they dread that the party conference in October will be **a catfight** between competing candidates rather than an inspirational re-launch under a new leader. (Mr Howard’s rotten exit strategy. June 2, 2005)*

By comparison, the use of the DOG element frames political behaviour through the action verbs of *following around* and *hounding*. Thus, some of the British politicians are seen as *hound dogs* following the party leader’s or other senior politicians’ line, as below:

(305) *Yet maybe Mr Howard is merely **whistling up his most faithful hounds**. The challenge for the Tories hasn't changed. (High pitch, low politics. March 23, 2005)*

Besides, the element of DOG is associated with political decisions in general, as reflected in the use of such a metaphorical linguistic expression as *dog-whistle politics*. The expression occurs in the context of making a *high-pitched dog-whistle*, which is audible only to those at whom it is directly aimed at. To be more precise, certain political messages are understood only by selected politicians, but are inaccessible to other people.

To summarize, the use of the ANIMALS metaphor in English public discourse gives a negative moral evaluation to British politicians for several reasons. First, they are perceived as intensively exerting force and power with the purpose of manipulating and establishing order and control. Second, much of the political behaviour is governed by animal instincts, due to which they react to various external stimuli. Finally, British politicians are mainly associated with two types of animals—CATS and DOGS, as reflected in their rough, spiteful and vicious behaviour.

## 16.2. ANIMALS Metaphor in Lithuanian

The ANIMALS metaphor in Lithuanian is also realized through the mapping of the source domain of ANIMALS onto the target domain of POLITICIANS and their activities. Thus, the POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor is linguistically realized by such metaphorical expressions as in the table below:

Table 43: The Linguistic Representation of POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS

POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS	
<b>Epistemic Correspondences:</b>	- <i>Alkanų žiurkių grumtynės</i> - <i>ES lovio dalybos</i>
• DOGS	- <i>priminti uodegą kuri vizgina visą tautą</i> - <i>didžiajame Tvarte</i>
• SHEEP	- <i>ganomos avelės</i> - <i>pagarsėjęs kovotojas raudonasis stumbras</i>
• PIGS	- <i>nuolatinių sarginių šunų užtvaras</i> - <i>kiauliški įpročiai</i>
• RATS	- <i>Tvarto didieji vedliai</i> - <i>Didžiojo tvarto rinkinei veislei etc.</i>

As the examples clearly illustrate, the source domain of ANIMALS in Lithuanian political discourse varies from DOGS to SHEEP to PIGS to RATS. Despite this variability, politicians are given an entirely negative moral characterization. First, Lithuanian politicians are perceived as domesticated animals such as SHEEP and PIGS, whose main concern is to satisfy their basic needs, especially their eating habits. For example, the use of the PIGS conceptual element characterizes Lithuanian politicians as greedy, selfish and vulgar. By comparison, the use of the SHEEP element discloses the Lithuanian politicians' negative attitude to their voters: voters are perceived in terms of sheep, which are weak, silly and too slow by their nature, thus easily manipulated by politicians. Consider the following examples:

(306) *Tebus toks vaizdelis: gerai pažįstamo kraštovaizdžio žemė, jos centre – Didysis tvartas, tai šios žemės smegenys, valdžia ir jos galybė. Visa, kas yra aplinkui, jam tėra ganomos avelės. ('grazing sheep')* (Gyvulėlių ūkyje, arba nesibaigianti antiutopija. January 19, 2006)

(307) *Vargu ar ji šiandien įmanoma: ten, kur tėra kiauliški įpročiai, viskas neturi pabaigos. ('piggy habits')* (Gyvulėlių ūkyje, arba nesibaigianti antiutopija. January 19, 2006)

(308) *Atpažįstate prie ES lovio dalybų nuosekliai, be skrupulų besiveržiantį herojų, tokį lyg ir čempioną, užkaitinusį varžybų dėl dalybų aistras? ('heroes distributing the EU trough')* (Ką daliju, tai it turiu. March 8, 2006)

The last two examples (307) and (308) clearly illustrate the negative attitude to Lithuanian politicians and their political decision-making. Amoral political behaviour is associated with the behaviour of PIGS, especially their ravenous appetite for food, which is mapped on the politicians' ravenous appetite for power and money.

In addition, Lithuanian politicians are also metaphorically structured through the concept of DOGS. The cross-mapping of POLITICIANS ARE DOGS reveals such aspects of Lithuanian politicians' behaviour as their disagreeable and greedy nature, as in the utterances below:

(309) *Tačiau Seimas gal pajėgs sutelkti paskutinius savigarbos ir politinės valios likučius ir, tvirtindamas į Nacionalinio saugumo ir gynybos komiteto išvadas, primins uodegą, kuri vizgina ir visą tautą, ir jos atstovybę.* ('the Prliament will manage to trample the tail, wagging the entire nation and its representatives') (Uodega vizgina seimą. November 28, 2006)

(310) *Visai aptilęs buvo ir nuolatinių sarginių šunų užtvaras: susilaukė neamsėjęs, nes ir jam kaulas didesnis bus tekęs.* ('watchdogs attracted to the bigger bone and thus kept silent and refrained from barking') (Gyvulėlių ūkyje, arba nesibaigianti antiutopija. January 19, 2006)

The last source domain structuring the metaphor of ANIMALS in the analysed data is that of RATS, which results in the metaphor POLITICIANS ARE RATS. To be more precise, some Lithuanian politicians are associated with RATS, which discloses such negative aspects of their behaviour as betrayal and greed. Moreover, the use of RAT as a source domain characterizes politicians' behaviour as most unpleasant, even despicable, e.g.:

(311) *Gal tai tik dviejų grobuoniškų interesų grupių, nelyginant alkanų žiurkių grumtynės?* ('the fight of hungry rats') (Trojos dujos. January 16, 2006)

Finally, the use of the ANIMALS metaphor in Lithuanian public discourse reveals that STRENGTH and FORCE are indispensable elements of Lithuanian politics. Both elements of STRENGTH and FORCE are reflected in the use of the ANIMALS metaphor, which characterize politicians as continuously showing determination to obtain more political power and authority. The use of the ANIMALS metaphor gives a negative moral evaluation to Lithuanian politicians, as they are attributed the qualities of greed, selfishness and vulgarity.

### **16.3. MORALITY Models as Reflected in the ANIMALS Metaphor**

The last conceptual metaphor found in both languages is that of POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS. The metaphor is based on the cross-mapping of two domains: the source domain of ANIMALS / ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR is associated with POLITICS / POLITICIANS / POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR. However, the epistemic correspondences held between the domains are developed by the different conceptual elements in the two languages.

In English the use of the ANIMALS metaphor is represented by such elements as CATS and DOGS, or ANIMALS in general. Their use discloses such aspects of political behaviour as spitefulness, viciousness and roughness, which contribute to the metaphors of STRENGTH and FORCE. Moreover, British politicians are perceived as led by their instincts rather than rational decision-making. As a result, British politicians' behaviour is referred to as brutal and imposing. By comparison, the ANIMAL metaphor in Lithuanian political discourse is represented by such concepts as DOGS, SHEEP, PIGS, and RATS. Their use also gives a negative moral evaluation to Lithuanian politicians. Lithuanian politicians are assigned such qualities as being greedy, vulgar, disagreeable and despicable in their behaviour.

Besides the negative aspects, the use of the ANIMALS metaphor in public discourse discloses the system of moral expectations underlying the Pragmatic Morality Model. This morality model is governed by the two major aspects of STRENGTH and FORCE. In other words, all people are perceived as evil by their biological make-up and led by responsive instincts, thus they have to be forcefully controlled by politicians. Politicians are expected to possess enough strength to control other people, and to fight external forces and influences, when necessary. Moreover, by being indecisive and unable to resist external forces, both British and Lithuanian politicians are characterized as weak and unreliable, thus morally unacceptable.

However, it should be noted that the negative moral evaluation is motivated, as both British and Lithuanian politicians are criticized for being excessively brutal, greedy, and ravenous for power. Politicians in both cultures are

perceived as lacking rationality but opting for forceful and stimuli-responsive behaviour. Such criticism might imply moral expectations underlying the Rational Morality Model, which emphasize the importance and need of well-calculated political decision-making.

### 17. Prevailing MORALITY Models in English and Lithuanian Public Discourse

This study shows that the prevailing MORALITY models can be determined by the analysis of epistemic correspondences established between the conceptual domains. Despite the fact that both languages are represented by similar conceptual metaphors, the variability of epistemic relations discloses different MORALITY models. In other words, the use of the same metaphor across languages does not necessarily imply the same system of moral expectations. Thirteen metaphors have been identified in both languages; however, their composition and use vary, consider the figure below:

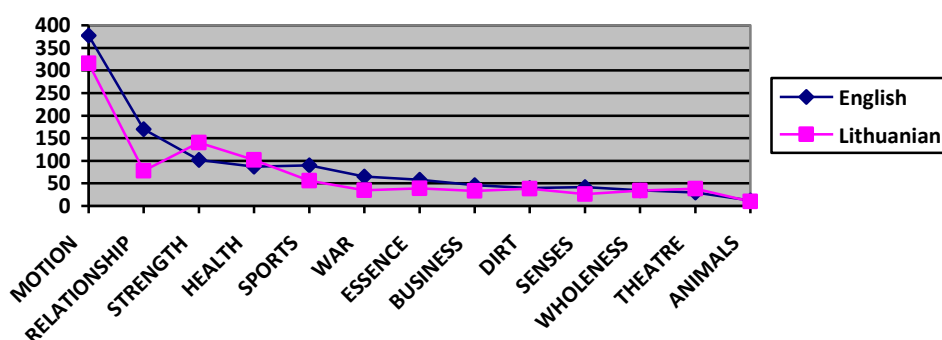


Figure 3: Variability Patterns of Conceptual Metaphors in English and Lithuanian

As the figure above illustrates, the distribution of conceptual metaphors is relatively similar. There are some tendencies of prevailing metaphors across languages, which gives both positive and negative moral evaluation to political life in Britain and Lithuania. For example, the metaphor of MOTION is more linguistically supported in English, which might imply that British politics is more dynamic by nature. Similarly, the prevalence of the RELATIONSHIP



metaphor in English characterizes British politics as more complex. To be more precise, besides the aspects of STRENGTH and RATIONAL decision-making, EMOTIONS and SENTIMENTS play a more significant role in British political life. Finally, the metaphors of STRENGTH, HEALTH, WAR, SPORTS, BUSINESS and ESSENCE are more linguistically highlighted in Lithuanian than English. Thus, such framing aspects of political culture as STRENGTH, AUTHORITY, ORDER and HIERARCHY are more prominent in Lithuanian rather than British politics.

Despite the fact that thirteen metaphors have been found in two languages, their analysis demonstrates that they are represented by different conceptual elements and different morality models in English and Lithuanian. The analysis of the metaphors in English public discourse shows that they are governed by the Complex Morality Model, which is a combination of several approaches to morality such as Pragmatic, Rational and Integrated, as given in the figure below:

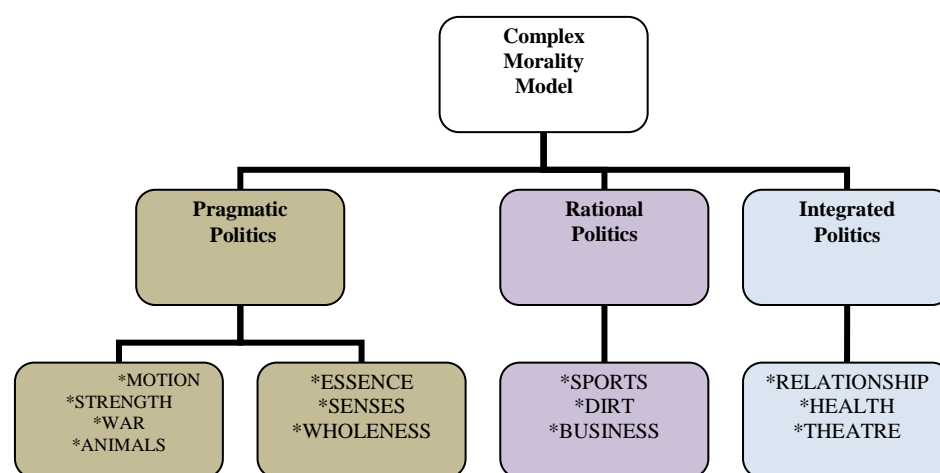


Figure 4: Complex Morality Model in British Public Discourse

The Complex Morality Model subsumes three different approaches to morality in politics—pragmatic, rational and sentimental. Each of them is represented by the metaphors found in the English data. Pragmatic politics is demonstrated by the use of such metaphors as MOTION, STRENGTH, WAR, ESSENCE, SENSES, WHOLENESS and ANIMALS. Their analysis shows that politicians are divided into strong and weak, where the former have influence on the latter. Thus, the concept of STRENGTH is perceived as an

important aspect of political life; moreover, the framing concepts of stability and order are disclosed by the use of the metaphors in the pragmatic approach to moral politics. In other words, any means to achieve stability and order in the state are justified for pragmatic purposes. This frame allows one to differentiate between good and bad countries, or good and bad politicians. Thus, those representing goodness are expected to stand up against wrongdoers. The authority of good politicians is not questioned, and their orders serve the purpose of higher moral goodness. Finally, pragmatic politics prioritizes political results, while the process is viewed as less significant. Such an approach morally justifies the use of any measures if this contributes to obtaining the final goal.

By contrast, the rational approach to moral politics is based on the concept of well-calculated actions. In British public discourse it is reflected in the use of such metaphors as SPORTS, BUSINESS and DIRT. The analysis of their elements shows that political decision-making is perceived in terms of calculated actions, where political costs cannot exceed political gains. Thus, British politics is expected to be rational and well-organized. As a result, the SPORTS metaphor is mainly structured through the concept of INTELLECTUAL / STRATEGIC sports, where the importance of rules is emphasized. Similarly, BUSINESS and DIRT metaphors also highlight the concept of rationality and calculated actions through the use of such elements as POLITICAL CAPITAL, TRADE, CLEANING etc.

Finally, the Integrated Morality Model (IMM) is based on the concept of emotions and sentiments, which is reflected in the use of such metaphors as INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP, HEALTH and THEATRE. Their analysis shows that emotions and sentiments play a significant role in political decision-making. However, at the same time politicians are criticized for being both intensely or moderately emotional and empathic. For example, the analysis of the INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP metaphor shows that political decisions and actions are based on personal disposition and attitudes. Hence, British politicians are divided into FRIENDS and ENEMIES. In the

HEALTH metaphor, by comparison, the emotional component is present in the elements of DISEASES and TREATMENT. To illustrate, political problems are associated with PSYCHOLOGICAL DISEASES and EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCES, while the element of TREATMENT is developed through the concept of NATURAL RECOVERY. The element of NATURAL RECOVERY reveals a positive attitude to British politicians. Finally, the THEATRE metaphor discloses sentimental components by the use of such metaphors as POLITICIANS ARE ACTORS and POLITICAL ACTIVITY IS A DRAMATIC PERFORMANCE.

The prevailing morality model in Lithuanian public discourse is governed by pragmatic values, which are reflected in the use of such metaphors as MOTION, RELATIONSHIP, STRENGTH, SPORTS, HEALTH, WAR, ESSENCE, SENSES, WHOLENESS and ANIMALS. The epistemic correspondences, developed by the cross-mapping of the conceptual domains, are based on the concepts of FORCE, AUTHORITY, STABILITY and ORDER. In other words, politics is associated with the contest and survival of the strongest, whose forceful behaviour helps to regulate the state order and to create political stability, as indicated in the following figure:

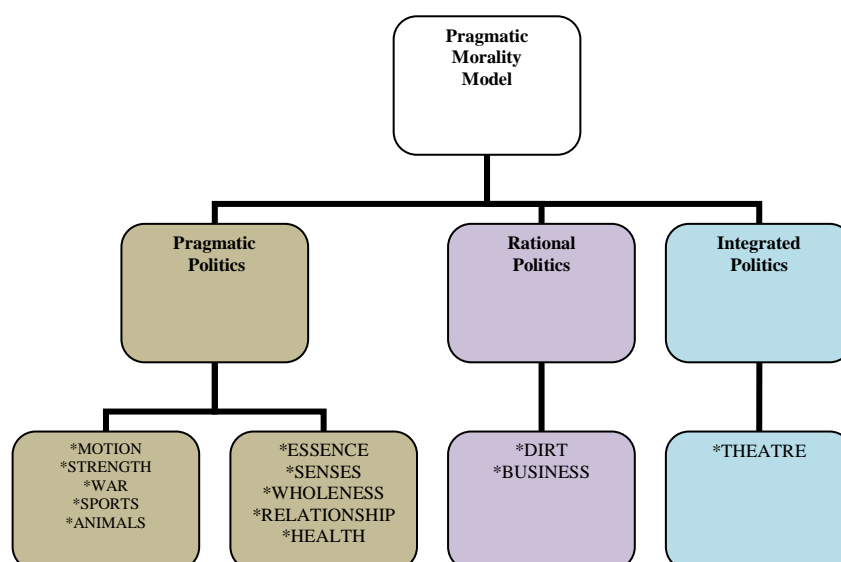


Figure 5: Pragmatic Morality Model in Lithuanian Public Discourse

As shown in the Figure above, the prevailing morality model in Lithuanian political discourse is mainly based on the pragmatic moral principles which are supported by the use of such metaphors as STRENGTH, TOUGHNESS, FORCE, STABILITY and ORDER. However, there are several metaphors referring to other moral systems. The metaphors of BUSINESS and DIRT constitute the Rational Morality Model, which is based on the principles of rational politics and well-calculated actions, where political costs are expected not to exceed political gains.

By contrast, the THEATRE metaphor consists of such elements as POLITICIANS ARE ACTORS and POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE A THEATRE PERFORMANCE. Their use discloses the moral expectations underlying the Integrated Morality Model. Lithuanian politicians are perceived negatively for their emotional intensity, which is seen as disruptive, irrelevant and threatening to the general political order and stability. Thus, Lithuanian politicians are disclosed as very emotional in their political activities, which are seen as inadequate and morally wrong. In other words, Lithuanian politicians are criticized for lacking pragmatism, i.e. being unable to resist external forces and control political situations. As a result, the THEATRE metaphor has a two-fold function: emotional and critical. The former characterizes Lithuanian political performance as overflowing with emotion, while the latter gives such political behaviour a negative moral evaluation.

## CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the MORALITY models in both English and Lithuanian public discourse in terms of conceptual metaphor and its representative elements allows identifying several major major features of English and Lithuanian public discourse:

1. The analysis of public discourse in English and Lithuanian reveals that political affairs in both cultures are framed by the same conceptual metaphors. The structural composition of the conceptual metaphors has been examined in terms of the following thirteen SOURCE domains: MOTION, RELATIONSHIP, STRENGTH, HEALTH, SPORTS, WAR, ESSENCE, BUSINESS, DIRT, SENSES, WHOLENESS, THEATRE, and ANIMALS. The analysis of the SOURCE domains shows that the cross-mapping of the SOURCE and TARGET domains is held by different epistemic correspondences, which are reflected in different conceptual elements. This leads to the variability of MORALITY models across the two languages, i.e. English and Lithuanian.
2. The most frequent SOURCE domain in both languages is that of MOTION, which results in the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS MOTION. Despite the fact that this metaphor is centred around the source domain of MOTION in both languages, it is represented by different conceptual elements. The POLITICS IS MOTION metaphor in English public discourse consists of such elements as MOVEMENT, PATHS, DIRECTION, TERRITORY, VEHICLE and OBSTACLES. Their analysis reveals a negative moral evaluation of British politics. This is due to politicians' inability to fulfil the following moral expectations: steady motion in the appropriate political territory, commitment associated with a sense of direction, political boldness and discipline. The POLITICS IS MOTION metaphor in Lithuanian public discourse is represented by such conceptual elements as MOVEMENT, OBSTACLES, VEHICLE, TERRITORY and DISTANCE. Their

analysis discloses a negative moral evaluation, which is reflected in the following aspects of political behaviour: political motion is seen as purposeless, as politicians are unable to choose a direction, thus much of the Lithuanian political journey consists of many encounters and trespassing, which eventually leads to political stagnation. The use of the MOTION metaphor in both languages is based on the system of moral expectations underlying the Pragmatic Morality Model. The key concept governing pragmatic politics is STRENGTH, which is seen as a moral prerogative in political activities. Thus, both British and Lithuanian politicians are expected to be strong enough to resist any external forces during their political journey, as well as to avoid obstacles and other political encounters. Moreover, STRENGTH is perceived as a key element of political character, which allows for the sustaining of the political order and balance in the state.

3. The second conceptual metaphor is that of POLITICS IS AN INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP, which gives a negative moral evaluation to both British and Lithuanian politics. As a complex conceptual network, it consists of the elements of FRIENDSHIP, LOVE AFFAIR and ENMITY in English, and FRIENDSHIP and CONFLICTS in Lithuanian. The use of the FRIENDSHIP metaphor characterizes British politics as governed by emotions and subjective preferences, as reflected in the moral system underlying the Integrated Morality Approach. By contrast, the use of the FRIENDSHIP and CONFLICTS elements in Lithuanian public discourse discloses the moral system underlying the Pragmatic Morality Model. According to it, Lithuanian politics is perceived as the activity of the powerful, who exercise their strength by controlling and manipulating the weak. As a result, much of politics is perceived as confrontational and competitive.
4. The POLITICS IS STRENGTH metaphor is a complex conceptual system based on the moral expectations underlying the Pragmatic Morality Model in both languages. In English this metaphor is

represented by the elements of TOUGHNESS, EXERTION OF FORCE, and WEAKNESSES / STRENGTHS. Their analysis shows that British politicians are expected to be tough and strict in their political decision-making. Thus, the use of force is justified as morally right and acceptable, which is reflected in the moral system of the Pragmatic Morality Model. Similarly, in Lithuanian the STRENGTH metaphor consists of such elements as STRONG WILL, EVIL, EXERTION OF FORCE, STATUS VERTICALITY and STRENGTH / WEAKNESS. Their use discloses the moral system underlying the Pragmatic Morality Model, as reflected in such moral expectations as strong political will, determination, and political hierarchy based on power and influence shared by politicians.

5. The metaphor of POLITICAL HEALTH in both languages is realized by the following conceptual elements: POLITICIANS ARE DOCTORS / PATIENTS and POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE ILLNESSES. In English, the HEALTH metaphor also involves the conceptual element of RECOVERY, which implies the temporary nature of political problems and hope for a *healthier future*. Thus, the element of NATURAL RECOVERY corresponds to the moral expectations underlying the Integrated Morality Approach, which is based on the concept of sentiments and emotions. In other words, in the context of the HEALTH metaphor positive emotions and hope for a better future have a placebo effect on political problems. By contrast, in Lithuanian public discourse political problems and difficulties are structured through the concept of anomalies and infectious diseases, which require radical measures and on-going supervision. Thus, establishing strict rules and obedience to authority are seen as moral attributes of political life in Lithuania. This is due to the moral principles governing the Pragmatic Morality Model. According to it, radical measures, order and obedience to authority are seen as a mandatory means for maintaining political health in Lithuania.

6. The metaphor of SPORTS is represented by different conceptual elements in both languages. In English, it has such components as RACE, GAMBLING and TEAM, which lead to the following moral expectations: British politics is associated with the qualities of risk-taking, toughness, strength, speediness, and strategy-making. Thus, the prevalence of the INTELLECTUAL / STRATEGIC SPORTS metaphor implies that British politics is governed by the Rational Morality Model, wherein rationality and calculated actions underlie political activities. By comparison, the SPORTS metaphor in Lithuanian is represented by such elements as TEAM, GAMBLING and HUNTING. Their use gives negative moral evaluation to Lithuanian politicians, as they are seen as gamblers, cheaters and players lacking a professional team leader. Moreover, the importance of physical province, as reflected in the elements of toughness, strength, and competitiveness, is realized through the metaphor of HUNTING. Hence, the SPORTS metaphor is based on the moral expectations which underlie the Pragmatic Morality Model. This model characterizes Lithuanian politics in terms of forceful and combative behaviour, aiming to control the state and its people.
7. Despite the fact that the WAR metaphor is represented by different conceptual elements in English and Lithuanian, their use is based on the same system of moral expectations. In English, the WAR metaphor consists of such elements as BATTLEGROUND and SAVIOURS /ENEMIES. In comparison, the WAR metaphor in Lithuanian is realized through such framing elements as ATTACK, BATTLE and ARSENAL. Both metaphor systems support the moral expectations of the Pragmatic Morality Model, which characterizes politics as confrontational and aggressive, aiming at fighting external evil and establishing political order and stability.
8. The metaphor ESSENCE is realized in a similar way in both languages, though with a different emphasis on the structural components. In English and Lithuanian the POLITICS IS ESSENCE



metaphor consists of two main elements: CONSTRUCTION and SUBSTANCE. The former is more emphasized in Lithuanian, while the latter is more prevalent in English. In both languages the use of the ESSENCE metaphor is similarly associated with such political attributes as strength, stability and strictness, which underlie the Pragmatic Morality Model. According to it, the use of force is perceived as a necessary means of achieving political stability and consolidating political power.

9. Another metaphor in English and Lithuanian public discourse is that of POLITICS IS BUSINESS. The BUSINESS metaphor is a complex conceptual network, which consists of such elements in English as POLITICAL CAPITAL, DECISIONS ARE CALCULATIONS, and POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE TRADE. Similarly, in Lithuanian this metaphor is realized through the following two elements: POLITICAL TRADE and POLITICAL CAPITAL. Their use in both languages corresponds to the moral system underlying the Rational Morality Model, which discloses the rational nature of politics.
10. The metaphor of DIRT in both languages is reflected in the use of such conceptual elements as POLITICAL ACTIONS ARE DIRTY and IMPROVEMENT IS CLEANING. The use of the DIRT metaphor gives a negative moral evaluation to both English and Lithuanian politics for lacking a rational approach, as reflected in the Rational Morality Model.
11. The metaphor of SENSES in both languages is realized through the use of perceptive faculties, which structure the concept of political actions. Namely, TASTE, SMELL and SIGHT dominate both English and Lithuanian political discourse. The use of the SENSES metaphor discloses the instinctive rather than rational nature of political processes, as reflected in the moral system underlying the Pragmatic Morality Model.
12. Another conceptual metaphor in English and Lithuanian is that of MORAL WHOLENESS. The use of the WHOLENESS metaphor is

based on the conservative moral system advocated by the Pragmatic Morality Model, which emphasizes the importance of homogeneity, stability and strength in political processes.

13. The POLITICS IS THEATRE metaphor is a complex conceptual network, which is realized through several conceptual elements in both languages. Namely, in English this metaphor consists of such elements as DRAMA and PERFORMANCE, while in Lithuanian it is realized by the elements of PERFORMANCE and CHARACTERS. The use of the THEATRE metaphor in both languages is based on the moral expectations of the Integrated Morality Approach. According to it, politics is seen as based on emotions and sentiments. However, in both English and Lithuanian metaphors, politicians are criticized for using dramatic and entertaining methods.
14. Finally, the POLITICIANS ARE ANIMALS metaphor in both languages is realized through the source domain of ANIMALS; namely, in English politicians are perceived in terms of CATS and DOGS, while in Lithuanian these are DOGS, SHEEP, RATS and PIGS. Despite different types of animals, their use is based on the metaphor of POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR IS A RESPONSE TO EXTERNAL STIMULI. This metaphor derives from the set of moral expectations underlying the Pragmatic Morality Model.
15. The analysis of the conceptual metaphors reveals that British politics tends to be more varied in its moral expectations. In other words, the moral expectations derive from three types of Morality Systems: Pragmatic, Rational and Integrated. The Pragmatic Morality Model, which is also known as the Classical Approach to politics, is counterbalanced by two other models—Rational and Integrated. Such representation allows for perceiving British politics in terms of the following moral principles: STRENGTH, STABILITY, ORDER, TOUGHNESS, RATIONALITY and EMOTIONS. Thus, the moral expectations governing British political discourse are based on the

Complex Morality Model. By contrast, Lithuanian politics is predominantly governed by the Pragmatic Morality Model, which allows for perceiving Lithuanian politics in terms of such moral principles as STRENGTH, FORCE, STABILITY, ORDER and INDIVIDUAL SELF-INTEREST.

16. However, what should be noted is that despite rapidly spreading democratic values, much of contemporary political life both in Britain and Lithuania still remains classically pragmatic. In this view, the division of states and people into strong and weak implies that it is the strong who should govern and dictate rules, while the weak should follow and obey the formers' regulations. Moreover, the prevalence of pragmatic views also implies the importance of confrontational tactics in solving political problems. At the same time, the combination of pragmatic, rational and sentimental values in public discourse shows that British political culture is becoming more varied and constructive, as the presence of different moral views instigates compromising and empathic politics, where concern for others is viewed as moral goodness. By contrast, Lithuanian politics seems to be governed by pragmatic values, which actuate obligations over rights, rules over experience, and forcefulness over empathy.

The present study has attempted the analysis of public discourse and its moral expectations through metaphor at a contrastive level in the theoretical framework of cognitive linguistics. While this research aims at bridging a gap between such disciplines as linguistics and social sciences, it is not intended to be politically engaged. However, political scientists and politicians can apply the study results for interpreting political theories in the framework of linguistic analysis.

The research of public discourse in terms of MORALITY models through metaphor has implications for political sciences, cultural studies, applied linguistics, philosophical ethics, and philosophy. The distinguished

MORALITY models in public discourse describe the peculiarities of British and Lithuanian political culture. The collected metaphorical expressions can be used as supplementary to teaching political vocabulary and collocation patterns for students of English philology and political sciences. The distinguished MORALITY models, as reflected in the use of conceptual metaphor, provide a linguistic account of their categorization and meaning proper, which is expected to contribute to the theoretical framework of political ethics and philosophy.

However, it should be noted that the present study is by no means complete in the scope of future research. One looks forward to the further development of these themes:

- diachronic analysis of conceptual metaphor in public discourse, which will provide a deeper insight to historical changeability of metaphor patterns;
- variability of data sources, i.e. print press vs. online press;
- contrastive analysis of discourses, i.e. public, political, academic etc.;
- corpus-based approach to analysing conceptual metaphor.

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