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**Metaphorical Framing of Animal Welfare in the USA Media: The Perspective of  
the Democrat and Republican Political Parties**

MA thesis

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## Abstract

This master thesis analyzes the metaphorical framing of animal welfare in Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets. The animal welfare is a controversial issue largely covered in media discourse. The views on the matter by various political groups differ, therefore, their discourse differs too. This study aims to analyse how US Democrat and Republican media frames animal welfare through metaphors. In order to achieve the aim the corpus was constructed which consists of two sub-corpus of opinion articles from Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets. The analysis of the collected articles was conducted within the framework of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) combining Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2014), frame analysis (Linström & Marais, 2012). CMA procedure was employed: metaphor identification, metaphor interpretation and metaphor explanation, however only the metaphorical expressions related to animal welfare were taken into consideration. This paper focuses on the source domains, which were later categorized into frames. The analysis revealed that Democratic-leaning media outlets use the source domains of OBJECT, MOVEMENT, CONTAINER, DIRECTION, CONFLICT, PERSON, VISIBILITY, FLUID, NATURAL PHENOMENON, FORCE and other and Republican-leaning media outlets use OBJECT, MOVEMENT, CONTAINER, CONFLICT, DIRECTION, VISIBILITY, HEALTH, PERSON, BUILDING, LANGUAGE, HIDING and other. 4 frames were evident, namely, economics, morality, powerlessness and conflict, which revealed that there are some significant differences between the two political parties regarding the framing of animal welfare, animal rights activists and animal abusers but on some issues they are in agreement.

**Keywords:** Animal welfare, frame, source domain, Republican and Democratic-leaning media outlets

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## Introduction

The issue of animal welfare has been a prevalent topic in media discourse for a long time. At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, up until 1971, when the first modern animal rights movement took place, animal rights activists were seen as irrational and overreaching. Peter Singer's "Animal Liberation: A New Ethics for Our Treatment of Animals", one of the movement's foundational documents, helped to raise the question to public discourse: Should the interests of humans and the interests of animals be given equal consideration? Now the majority of people agree that animals should have rights too, but the views on the matter by various political groups differ, therefore, their discourse differs too.

Fairclough (1992) defines discourse as "language as a social practice determined by social structures" and "an ensemble of verbal and non-verbal practices of large social communities and their power relations". He also highlights that "orders of discourse are ideologically shaped by power relations in social institutions and society as a whole". According to O'Keeffe (2011), media discourse refers to "interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener, or viewer". It is a way of understanding cultural and social processes. The discourse is shaped by frames that reveal the underlying ideology and social aspects.

The analysis of animal welfare framing so far has been done several times focusing on popular magazines, newsmagazines, and television (Maynard, 2018), (Kruze, C. R., 2010), however, no such analysis was conducted on newspapers leaning towards a certain political ideology. This study focuses on two major political parties of USA: Democratic and Republican political parties. Such comparison is worth examining because Democrats and Republicans have different views on animal welfare: Democrats/political liberals are significantly more concerned about farm animal well-being than their conservative counterparts" (Deemer, R. 2009). Also, democrats view animal fur, and medical testing on animals more as morally unacceptable than Republicans do. It would also give more insight into how journalists shape audiences' perceptions and engagement according to the beliefs they adhere to.

The framing of animal welfare can be analyzed from different theoretical approaches. This paper adheres to the cross-fertilization of Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor studies in particular, with Critical Discourse Studies. Cognitive Linguistics is "a linguistic theory which analyzes language in its relation to other cognitive domains and faculties such as bodily and mental experiences, image-schemas, perception, attention, memory, viewing frames, categorization, abstract thought, emotion, reasoning, inferencing, etc." (Geeraertz, Dirven, 2005), in other words, the relationship between language and thought, how they are influenced by one another. Cognitive linguistics sees metaphor as "a prime

example of embodied meaning”, that is, they are related to experience, from which they are built. (Panther, Thornburg, 2017). Critical Discourse Studies views language as a social practice. Fairclough (1994) states that “orders of discourse are ideologically shaped by power relations in social institutions and in society as a whole”. By applying these approaches, the underlying beliefs of different groups of people through the use of language can be detected, as well as the metaphorical language's effect on the world. The following research question is raised: how do US Democrat and Republican media frame animal welfare through metaphors and how does it differ?

This study aims to analyse how US Democrat and Republican media frames animal welfare through metaphors. To achieve the aim, the following objectives are set:

To achieve the aim, the following objectives are set:

1. At the linguistic level, to identify animal welfare-related metaphors in Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets;
2. At the conceptual level, to relate animal welfare-related metaphors to the underlying source domains in Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets.
3. At the ideological level, to determine the frames exhibited through metaphors and if they adhere to the beliefs of Democrat and Republican political parties regarding animal welfare and to identify differences and similarities between them.

The structure of this paper is as follows: an introduction, a theoretical part, an empirical part, conclusions, references, sources and an appendix.

First, the introduction presents the aim, subject, objectives and the research question of the paper. The next section focuses on literature review on Conceptual Metaphor Theory, framing, metaphorical framing, animal welfare, and the views on animal welfare of the Democrat and Republican political parties, followed by methodology and empirical part, that consists of quantitative analysis of metaphorical framing, conceptualisation of animal welfare in Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets, categorization of source domains into frames and ideological peculiarities of Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets, followed by the conclusions, references, sources, and the appendix.

# 1. Literature review

## 1.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The interest in metaphor dates back to ancient times. Metaphor is an object of study in various disciplines including psychology, philosophy, history, anthropology, discourse studies, etc., therefore, understanding and approaches to it vary. The classical approach to metaphor states that metaphor is just an ornamentation of the language, a way of expression (Innes 2003). This is illustrated by Aristotle, who in his works *Poetics* and *Rhetoric*, defined metaphor as “the application of an alien name by transference either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or by analogy, that is, proportion” (Aristotle 2008, 23). In simpler terms, carrying the name of one thing to another and therefore making the language more poetic. However, according to Kirby (1997), a number of Greek philosophers and rhetoricians used metaphors, one of them being Homer. It should be noted that Homer used similes which according to Aristotle, are slightly different metaphors (Aristotle 2004, 73). Also, the author argues that Aristotle was not the first one to coin the term metaphor, in fact, Isocrates and Plato did it before him and they placed metaphor in semiotics, in the sense that metaphor works as signs representing objects (Kirby 1997, 342).

Such an approach was later contradicted by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their influential work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). They proposed the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The authors argue that contrary to the prior belief that metaphor is viewed solely as a matter of language, in fact, it is prevalent in everyday life, affecting thought and action as well. Furthermore, they state that concepts structure our way of thinking, perception, and action. In their work metaphor is defined as “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another“, which differed from Aristotle’s definition that concentrated on naming, turning from language to mind, suggesting that human thought processes are metaphorical and that the “human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined“ (3-6).

Kövecses (2010) defines conceptual metaphor similarly to Lakoff and Johnson, that is, conceptual domain A is conceptual domain B. For instance, ARGUMENT IS WAR. The argument is understood as a war. This metaphor is evident in such expressions in our daily discourse as:

(1) *Your claims are **indefensible**.*

*He **attacked every weak point** in my argument.*

*His criticisms were **right on target**.*

*I **demolished** his argument.*

*I've never **won** this argument.*

Other examples of conceptual metaphors are LOVE IS A JOURNEY, IDEAS ARE PLANTS, etc. Conceptual metaphors manifest with the help of metaphorical linguistic expressions that come from the terminology of the more concrete conceptual domain, called source domain, for example, JOURNEYS, WAR, PLANTS, FOOD, etc. Metaphorical expressions are drawn from the source domain in order to understand the target domain, examples of which are LIFE, ARGUMENTS, IDEAS, LOVE, etc. One is made explicit by the other. The principle of unidirectionality is important as well: the metaphorical process goes from the more concrete to the more abstract concept but not vice versa. For example, it is not possible to talk about the journey in terms of love (Kövecses 2010, 4).

Kövecses (2010) refers to the “understanding” of the metaphor as mappings. The author describes it as “a set of systematic correspondences between the source and the target in the sense that constituent conceptual elements of B correspond to constituent elements of A”. In order to illustrate it he provides the example of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. In the sentence *We aren't going anywhere*, the linguistic expression *we* indicates travellers, *going* – journey to some destination, and *somewhere* – destination. This sentence is interpreted as referring to love, consequently, travellers as lovers, journey as events in the relationship, and destination as goals in the relationship according to the context. As presented in Figure 1 below these mappings characterize the aforementioned conceptual metaphor (Kövecses 2010, 8):

| <i>Source: JOURNEY</i>          |   | <i>Target: LOVE</i>             |
|---------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| the travelers                   | ⇒ | the lovers                      |
| the vehicle                     | ⇒ | the love relationship itself    |
| the journey                     | ⇒ | events in the relationship      |
| the distance covered            | ⇒ | the progress made               |
| the obstacles encountered       | ⇒ | the difficulties experienced    |
| decisions about which way to go | ⇒ | choices about what to do        |
| the destination of the journey  | ⇒ | the goal(s) of the relationship |

Figure 1. Mapping of Conceptual Metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY

The author claims that to understand a metaphor is to know the systematic mappings between a source and a target and that this knowledge is unconscious. Although, by using linguistic expressions reflecting the conceptual metaphor the user tries not to violate the conventionalized

mappings in the linguistic community. Further knowledge of the source domain mapped onto the target is called metaphorical entailment. Kövecses provides such an example of it:

(1) PEOPLE ARE PLANTS.

*A: You look like a healthy apple.*

*B: I hope it's not rotten inside.*

The additional knowledge is that fruits can be rotten even though the outside may look healthy. Consequently, through metaphorical entailment, it can be inferred that there is a possibility for an apple to be rotten, which is an additional piece of information about fruits entailed by general knowledge of the second speaker, who proceeded to give an answer based on the previous metaphor used by the first speaker (Kövecses 2010, 122). According to Stöckl (2010), CMT because of mappings is “more economical to be able to process a metaphorical expression by retrieving underlying metaphorical representations which come equipped with a whole set of mappings” and metaphor understanding can be viewed as an analysis of their semantic components following conceptual mappings (Stöckl 2010, 197).

Scholars admit that the boundaries between metaphorical and non-metaphorical are fuzzy and metaphoricity is a gradable phenomenon (Warpakowski & Jensen, 2023). The scholars Turner and Littlemore (2023) in their study of metaphoricity in intense emotional experiences provide the following example of blurred boundaries between literal and non-literal meaning while talking about pregnancy loss:

(3) *Then he did the injection to stop his heart. I just felt so **empty** cause he'd been moving around and he wasn't.*

(4) *We're all sort of left, like, with this **emptiness** inside of us which is very physical as well as emotional.*

In this case, emptiness can be understood both in a physical and metaphorical sense. The researchers suggest that metaphoricity is always decided by the hearer, analysts might view it as metaphorical, while the speaker meant it literally (Turner & Littlemore 2023, 42). Since some difficulties in assigning metaphoricity to linguistic expressions can occur, to make the process easier Pragglejaz Group came up with MIP (metaphor identification procedure), and later it was updated to MIPVU (metaphor identification procedure Vrije Universiteit) (Urbonaitė 2015). MIP consists of the following steps: reading the text to establish a general understanding of the meaning, determining the lexical units in the text (establishing its meaning in context and determining whether it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts), and deciding whether the contextual meaning



contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it. MIPVU is the updated version of MIPVU and it differs from MIP in the following aspects. First, MIPVU implements metaphor at the conceptual level, assessing whether concepts, rather than specific words, are employed indirectly. Secondly, MIPVU not only considers metaphor in its indirect forms but also includes direct expressions (such as similes and analogies) as well as implicit expressions (via substitution and ellipsis) as instances of metaphor. Also, MIPVU focuses on contemporary language use, leaving out historical metaphors or metaphors in morphology or syntax (Nicolae 2011, 340).

## **1.2 Framing**

Metaphors are frequently employed in media discourse because of their ability to shape the audience's opinion. The concept of framing is studied in numerous different disciplines, such as sociology, communication studies, psychology, media studies, and political science. Sociologist Goffman (1974) introduced the framing concept and defined it as the organization of experience. Gamson and Modigliani refer to it as "a central organizing idea, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue" (1989, 3). They call frames interpretive packages. As summarized in Reese's definition "Frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (2001, 5). Furthermore, from the media studies' perspective, framing can be regarded as a process that involves the following stages: frame-building, that is the factors (interaction between journalists and news organizations; between journalists and elites and social movements) that influence the structure of news frames, frame-setting, which refers to the interaction between news frames and individual's previous knowledge, and lastly, consequences of framing on individual and societal level, such as changed attitudes on the issue and political socialization, decision-making as well as collective action (de Vreese 2015, 52). Since this paper is concerned with media studies the latter approach is adopted.

De Vreese (2015) states that there are two types of news frames, namely, issue-specific frames concerned with only certain topics or events, and generic frames, typical to a variety of issues and topics, not tied to a specific one.

The author also pointed out that there are two approaches to identifying news frames in media: inductive and deductive. Employing an inductive approach includes finding the frames during the analysis with no prior list of them, deductive, on the contrary, analyses frames that are defined before the analysis of media. An example of the deductive approach is Semetko & Valkenburg's (2006) study of newspaper stories and television news, who carried out their research having 5 news

frames identified in previous studies: attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences, and morality. Dooremalen (2021) applied the inductive approach to study the case of 9/11 in American, French, and Dutch national newspapers (2001–2015) in order to examine the amount of attention given to 9/11, to what issues it was linked, and what implications were attributed to it.

The news frames are identified by the presence of certain keywords or choice of language. Alozie (2005) suggests three steps, namely, general reading of the article multiple times taking notes about the content, then reading again to identify recurring themes, frames, values, and topic categories, and lastly, deep interpretation of the articles. Linström and Marais (2012) proposed a methodology of qualitative news analysis. It consists of seven steps: choosing a medium/topic, determining a time frame, drawing a sample, identifying a unit of analysis, selecting the frame typology, providing operational definitions of selected news frames, and identifying news frames.

Chong and Druckman (2007) discuss the framing effects. They state that small alterations in the presentation of an issue and an event can result in large changes of opinion. Frames can be construed in positive and negative terms, for example, they can be viewed as a device to deceive people or to get people to share common beliefs and agree on how best to proceed. The frame's effect depends on these factors: its strength and persuasiveness, i.e. whether it aligns with the values of the people, attributes of the frame's recipients (their values and party identification), and political context (Chong and Druckman 2013, 2).

Gamson and Modigliani (1989, 3) point out five framing devices: metaphors, exemplars (historical examples), catchphrases, depictions, and visual images. Linström and Marais (2012) divided framing devices into two categories, namely, rhetorical devices and technical devices. Rhetorical devices, similar to Gamson and Modigliani, consist of word choice, metaphors, and exemplars. The presence or absence of keywords, stock phrases, sources of information, and sentences providing thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments can be analyzed too. The author cites Gamson and Lasch (1983) commenting on metaphors that they consist of two parts, namely, "the principal subject that the metaphor is intended to illuminate and the associated subject that the metaphor invokes to enhance the reader's understanding". Technical devices include headlines, subheadings, photo captions, leads, source selection, quote selection, and concluding statements and paragraphs.

Thompson and Hunston (2000, 5) define evaluation as an expression of a speaker's/writer's attitude or stance, viewpoint, and feelings about the entities or propositions that they are talking about. They state that attitude may relate to certainty, obligation, desirability, or other sets of values. Bednarek

(2006) calls these sets of values the evaluative parameters. She claims that speakers or writers can evaluate aspects of the world along the parameters of emotivity (good or bad), importance (important or unimportant), expectedness (expected or unexpected), comprehensibility (comprehensible or incomprehensible), possibility/necessity ((not) possible/necessary) and reliability (genuine or fake). Speakers can also evaluate propositions in terms of the level of reliability (low, medium, high), and can make evaluative comments on the language used (style), other social actors' mental states, and the source of knowledge (evidentiality).

Thompson and Hunston (2000) argue that it is important to study evaluation because it performs these three functions: expresses the speaker's or writer's opinion and therefore reflects the value system of them and their community, constructs and maintains the relationship between the speaker/writer and hearer/reader, organizes the discourse. The authors claim that the evaluation act expresses and builds a communal value system, which is a part of the ideology behind the text. Studying the evaluation of the writer or speaker allows one to uncover their ideology. Howarth (2002) states that "Ideologies are simply a type of discursive practice, co-existing with other practices in a society" or "systems of political thinking, loose or rigid, deliberate or unintended, through which individuals and groups construct an understanding of the political world they, or those who preoccupy their thoughts, inhabit, and then act on that understanding" (Freeden 1996, 3) as cited by Howarth (2002, 122). Therefore, the audience or society's perception and attitude, values are shaped by ideologies present in discourse.

### **1.3 Metaphorical framing**

Burgers, Konijn, and Steen (2016) state that metaphorical framing "can foreground a particular problem definition, give a causal interpretation, address a problem evaluation, and/or promote a possible problem solution" (2016, 6). Boeynaems et. al. (2017) argue that metaphors are important in political communication due to the reason that they can explain a certain policy stance, persuade people to adopt a particular viewpoint, affect people's opinions about policy issues, help understand daily issues, and, as a consequence, affect people's choice on how best to solve them. There are two perspectives from which metaphorical framing effects can be studied, namely, CDA (Critical Discourse Approach) and REA (Response Elicitation Approach). CDA studies the relationship between language and social structure, the metaphorical language effect on the world. For example, Charteris-Black (2004) claims that the usage of metaphor helps to transfer inequality because it foregrounds certain aspects while backgrounding others as well as evoking emotional connotations and giving moral evaluation. REA, rather than focusing on linguistic means, studies people's responses after encountering a metaphorically framed issue. The manner of people's responses and

under what conditions they are affected by metaphors are studied by creating scenarios and experiments, where participants respond to metaphors. However, REA is criticized because some CDA approach scholars say that it is best to analyze the effects of metaphors in a natural context due to the reason that artificially created texts lack social context, issues are unlikely to happen in real life, and not look like a natural language. On the other hand, CDA is critiqued for depending solely on linguistic evidence and making claims that are too general, for instance, one metaphor can affect each individual differently depending on their cultural background, age, and prior knowledge of the issue. This paper employs the Critical Discourse Approach.

#### **1.4 Animal welfare and its framing in the media**

Media discourse plays a huge role in shaping public opinion on various issues by using different frames. The issue of animal welfare in particular due to the reason that it has a broad target audience who have conflicting viewpoints and values. Before turning to frames, it is important to define what animal welfare is. Carenzi and Verga (2009, 9) state that the broad definition of animal welfare should include “the comprehensive state of the organism, considering the body and mind together along with everything that links them”. According to the researchers, three main approaches contribute to defining and assessing animal welfare. First, the emphasis on the biological functioning of an organism (growth, reproduction, health, behaviour), in other words, coping with the environment. The second approach takes into consideration the mental states of animals too, their feelings and emotions. The third approach concerns natural living, that is animals’ way of life should be dictated by their natural attitudes and behaviour, “developing and using their natural adaptations” (2009, 7). Dockès and Kling-Eveillard (2006) in addition to these suggested to include into the definition the role that animal takes in human society and the communication between them.

The framing of animal welfare has been studied by numerous scholars. Sullivan and Longnecker (2010) identified the common frames in animal welfare activists discourse and their efficiency. The first frame they talked about was the shock frame. Although it is widely used by animal activists to attract attention, prompt action and attract new members to their group, it can alienate some people due to its shocking nature and have the opposite effect because people may avoid such images and find them offensive. The second frame is framing animals as intelligent beings. It has been noted that people were less likely to support animal exploitation because the intelligence signals that animals can comprehend pain, however, this frame is not effective because it is a new concept to most people and clashes with their beliefs, which fails to meet the criteria of effective frame, namely, easy accessibility and resonating with the already existing beliefs of the audience. The third frame is animal welfare as a social norm. It is the most effective frame, because, as the authors

noted, social norms are crucial in building relationships with others and constructing self-identity, it is easily accessible and relevant. The fourth frame, which is related to social norms, is the celebrity-based frame, which is accessible and relevant as well.

Regarding multimodal discourse and metaphors, Xiaoben (2022) conducted comparative research on metaphors and metonymies used in advertisements and political cartoons in the discourse of whaling focusing on source domains. The author established that both advertisements and political cartoons used WAR/ATTACK/FIGHT metaphors, the central theme of the advertisements is the interactions between humans and whales, in political cartoons it is the anti- and prowhaling interactions. The enemy frame is prevalent. The enemy in ads is the human, in the cartoons, it is whaling nations and prowhaling camps. Political cartoons present prowhaling camps as the “out-group” in the WAR scenario. In the cartoons, the dominant metaphors are JOURNEY and EATING.

Metaphorical framing of animal welfare has been studied through such frames as War, Place, Victim, Value, Sentience, Threat, Natural, and Sentience in research articles and was proved to be negative (Randall and van Veggel, 2020), however, it can be framed positively too through such frames as Positive experiences, Free from negatives, Good Husbandry, Proactive welfare improvement, Animal’s point of view (Vigors, 2019).

### **1.5. The views on animal welfare of Democrat and Republican political parties.**

According to Kneeland (2016), Democrats generally believe that animals have fundamental rights that ought to be protected by law, they agree that using animals in laboratory research that causes them harm or death should be stopped, wish for more laws protecting animals from inhumane industry practices, are for hunting regulations in order to provide better protection to endangered species and wish to regulate the use of animals in the entertainment industry, such as zoos or circuses. Although Republicans want to ensure the welfare of all animals as well, they reject the idea of animal activists that animals and humans are morally equivalent, they support the use of animals in laboratory testing, are in favour of the right to farm using traditional practices, and are against the idea to restrict or ban hunting or fishing (2016, 21).

## 2. Data and methodology

In order to achieve the set aim the corpus was compiled. The compilation of the corpus consisted of choosing the news outlets corresponding to the political views they adhere to, and the selection of the topic-related articles. First, the media outlets were chosen according to the readership and their political leaning indicated by Pew Research Center (<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2020/04/01/americans-main-sources-for-political-news-vary-by-party-and-age/>) and Statista ([U.S. most visited conservative & right-wing websites 2023 | Statista](#)). The articles related to animal rights were collected by using the keywords such as “animal rights, animal abuse, animal cruelty”. Another factor taken into consideration while choosing the articles was the type of the article. Different types of articles such as editorials, guest essays, letters to the editor, and discussion, perspective, and advice sections were included but mostly opinion articles expressing the political views of the authors prevail.

Table 1. *Research data*

|                        | <b>The Democrat sub-corpus</b> | <b>The Republican sub-corpus</b> |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <b>No. of articles</b> | 48                             | 84                               |
| <b>No. of words</b>    | 50,398                         | 50,267                           |
| <b>Time span</b>       | February 2017 - March 2024     |                                  |

As seen from Table 1, the corpus consists of 100,665 words. The corpus is composed of two parts corresponding to USA political parties: Democratic and Republican. Regarding the Democrat sub-corpus, which includes 50,398 words, the following news sources were chosen: the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. Out of 48 articles, 33 were chosen from the *New York Times*, and 15 from the *Washington Post*. The majority of the articles were opinion articles (32), where the political views of the authors would be most evident, however, editorials (3), guest essays (2), letters to the editor (8), discussion, perspective, and advice sections (3) were included too to make the sub-corpus larger. Opinion articles were written by 20 different authors, not counting guest essays or letters to the editor. Regarding The *New York Times*, 7 articles by Nicholas Kristof were included due to his interest in human rights and health as stated in his bio. In the case of the *Washington Post*, the reoccurring author was Sydney Page, to be exact, 3 articles by her were chosen. Moving on to the Republican sub-corpus, it consists of 50,267 words. The data was taken from four media outlets: *Fox News*, the *Washington Examiner*, the *New York Post*, and the *Washington Times*. In total, 84 articles were chosen, 3 from

*Fox News*, 18 from the *Washington Examiner*, 20 from the *New York Post*, and 44 from the *Washington Times*. The majority of the articles were opinion articles (66), and the rest were letters to the editor (11) and editorials (7). The articles were written by 44 different authors, some of the articles were written by the Editorial Board and some were letters to the editor or the author was unknown. The reoccurring authors were Richard Berman (6 articles), and Rich Lowry (3 articles). The time span of the articles ranges from February 2017 to March 2024, in order to reveal the views of the recent years. However, 16 articles, that were published earlier than 2017, were included as well due to the lack of data, the earliest being November 2009. The majority of the articles were published between 2017-2024 so the data is relatively new.

As Table 2 indicates, there is a substantial difference between the number of articles between the two sub-corpora. This is due to the reason that the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* articles were longer than those of the Republican sub-corpus, 685 and 381, approximately.

To achieve the set aims, the analysis was conducted within the framework of Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) combining Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black, 2014), frame analysis (Linström & Marais, 2012)

The following CMA procedure was employed:

### **Step 1. Metaphor identification.**

In order to identify metaphorical expressions used in Republican and Democrat-leaning USA media outlets focusing on animal welfare Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) suggested by the Pragglejaz group was employed. This method of identifying metaphorically used words in discourse consists of the four following steps: first, a careful reading of the entire text to acquire the general meaning of it, second, determining the lexical units, followed by the third step that is establishing the lexical units' contextual meaning, determining its basic contemporary meaning in other contexts, as they tend to be more concrete, related to bodily action, more precise, historically older), next, deciding if the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning. The last step is marking the lexical unit as metaphorical if it conforms to the conditions set above.

Two online dictionaries were used to determine the basic meaning of the lexical units, the Cambridge Dictionary and the Merriam-Webster Dictionary. Only the lexical units related to animal welfare, animal abuse and animal right activists were taken into consideration.

A metaphorical count was conducted to count the metaphorical expressions identified by following the MIP procedure.

### **Step 2. Metaphor interpretation.**

After the metaphorical expressions were identified, the following step was metaphor interpretation. Conceptual metaphors are defined as conceptual domain A is conceptual domain B (target and source domain). Target and source domains were identified, however, this paper focuses on the analysis of the source domains. For the metaphor identification and interpretation Excel was used. Metaphors were assessed following Thompson and Hunston's (2000) evaluation parameter of emotivity: either positive or negative, where it applied. As mentioned in the literature review, evaluation serves these functions: expresses the speaker's or writer's opinion and therefore reflects the value system of them and their community, constructs and maintains the relationship between the speaker/writer and hearer/reader, and organizes the discourse. The metaphorical count was used to determine the frequency of source domains and the qualitative method to assess whether the metaphors were evaluative or not by employing evaluation by Thompson and Hunston (2000).

### **Step 3. Metaphor explanation.**

Regarding the metaphor explanation, the Critical Discourse Approach and qualitative frame analysis were employed. Critical Discourse Approach (CDA) to metaphorical framing effects studies the relationship between language and social structure. In other words, how the selected metaphorical frame affects the audience's choices and views regarding the framed issue.

The methodology for qualitative frame analysis suggested by Linström & Marais (2012) involves the following steps: choosing a medium and a topic, determining a time frame, drawing a sample, identifying a unit of analysis, selecting a frame typology, providing operational definitions, and identifying news frames. According to the researchers, identifying news frames requires searching for devices in the text that are used to frame the issue. There are two types of such framing devices. Namely, rhetorical devices, such as word choice, metaphors, and exemplars, and technical devices, such as headlines, subheadings, photo captions, leads, source selection, quote selection, and concluding statements and paragraphs. This paper is concerned with rhetorical devices, metaphor, to be exact. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argues that metaphor affects thought and action in everyday life and that concepts structure our way of thinking, action, and perception. Using the qualitative approach, the identified source domains were categorized into frames suggested by Linström & Marais (2012). Their rhetorical effects were determined in order to see how the source domains were framed by journalists and audiences with different political views, that is Democrat and Republican. Both political parties were compared to determine similarities and differences between the frames they used and whether they adhered to their beliefs.



### 3. Quantitative analysis of metaphorical framing

As seen in Table 2, the total number of metaphorical expressions found in the Republican and Democrat corpus is 364: in the Democrat sub-corpus, consisting of 50,398 words. 195 instances of metaphorical expressions were identified, in the Republican sub-corpus (50,267 words) 169 metaphorical expressions were found. It should be mentioned that the total number of metaphorical expressions was bigger in the corpus but only the metaphorical expressions related to animal welfare were taken into consideration, the cruelty experienced by animals, the way animal rights activists were framed, as well as the reaction of people exposed to animal cruelty. The number of source domains identified in both of the corpora is 57. Some of the source domains have only a few instances, so due to this reason only the most frequent ones and reoccurring in both sub-corpora were analyzed in detail. Table 2 illustrates the source domains found in the corpus:

Table 2. *The source domains identified in Democrat and Republican sub-corpora*

| Democrat corpus              |                                    | Republican corpus |                                    |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| Source domain                | Number of metaphorical expressions | Source domain     | Number of metaphorical expressions |
| OBJECT                       | 42                                 | OBJECT            | 46                                 |
| MOVEMENT                     | 19                                 | MOVEMENT          | 18                                 |
| CONTAINER                    | 16                                 | CONTAINER         | 16                                 |
| DIRECTION                    | 14                                 | CONFLICT          | 14                                 |
| CONFLICT                     | 12                                 | DIRECTION         | 9                                  |
| PERSON                       | 9                                  | VISIBILITY        | 7                                  |
| VISIBILITY                   | 7                                  | HEALTH            | 6                                  |
| FLUID                        | 6                                  | PERSON            | 5                                  |
| NATURAL PHENOMENON           | 5                                  | BUILDING          | 4                                  |
| FORCE                        | 5                                  | LANGUAGE          | 4                                  |
| OTHER                        | 35                                 | HIDING            | 4                                  |
|                              |                                    | OTHER             | 22                                 |
| Total no. of source domains: | 47                                 |                   | 33                                 |

The data presented in Table 2 shows only the most frequent source domains found in both of the sub-corpora, the rest are included in the category titled OTHER, in the case of the Democrat sub-corpus with less than 5 occurrences, and, in the case of the Republican sub-corpus, less than 4. They will be discussed in the following section.

According to Table 2, both Republican and Democrat-leaning media outlets tend to use similar metaphorical framing devices, in this case, source domains of conceptual metaphor. In total, Democrat-leaning media outlets analysed used 47 different source domains, while Republican-leaning media outlets used 33. The majority of them are the same, however, the frequency of them differs. Some source domains are typical to each of the sub-corpora too. Out of 57 different source domains, 22 occurred in both of the sub-corpora. 23 source domains were unique to Democrat-leaning

media outlets, while 11 were typical to Republican-leaning media outlets, though they are used less frequently.

The following section is devoted to the analysis of metaphors with a special focus on source domains in the Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets in order to establish the similarities and differences between their usage and to determine whether the political views are reflected in the texts they produce.

#### 4. Conceptualisation of animal welfare in Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets

As Table 2 indicates, the most frequent type of source domain used by Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets is OBJECT. It comprises a large portion of the identified source domains in both sub-corpora. It is used both for abstract and concrete target domains, though the abstract target domains are prevailing. The examples of concrete target domains include animal, body and the other ones are abstract with a wider variety, for instance, state of mind, morality, suffering, right, life, etc. In addition to that, there is a variety of subdomains of the source domain OBJECT. Their frequency is shown in Table 3 below:

Table 3. *Subdomains of the source domain OBJECT*

| Democrat sub-corpus | Number of instances | Republican sub-corpus | Number of instances |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Goods               | 10                  | Goods                 | 4                   |
| Possession          | 17                  | Possession            | 16                  |
| Physical properties | 7                   | Physical properties   | 4                   |
| Placing             | 3                   | Fragile object        | 7                   |
| Burden              | 1                   | Showing               | 2                   |
| General             | 4                   | General               | 13                  |
|                     |                     |                       |                     |
| Total:              | 42                  | Total                 | 46                  |

Each of the subdomains of the source domain OBJECT is discussed in the following part.

##### 4.1. The source domain of OBJECT

To begin with, in both sub-corpora, the animals are seen as goods.

(1) *The 10 other states that ban chickens **packed** in cages.* (NYT, Feb. 9, 2024)

In example (1), the animals are referred to as things or objects. The basic meaning of the verb *to pack* is “to put something into a bag, box, etc.” (Cambridge Dictionary). In this case, this verb refers to the fact that cages are overcrowded and animals are stuffed in there as inanimate objects. Such usage of source domain OBJECT evokes negative feelings and compassion for the abused animals condemning this practice. Therefore, the evaluation is negative.

(2) *In past eras, we didn’t have the antibiotics and sanitation chemicals needed to keep so many animals crowded so closely together, nor the preservation and transportation technologies needed to **ship them en masse**.* (NYT, Dec. 16, 2021)

(3) *This ensured that **truckloads** of unwanted animals (or the desirables, for that matter) would not have to be **shipped** long distances.* (NYT, July 11, 2019)

Examples (2) and (3) similarly frame animals as goods transported in large quantities. The basic meaning of the word *to ship* is “to send something, usually a large object or a large quantity of objects or people, to a place far away” (Cambridge Dictionary) further reinforcing the idea that animals are just goods or packages in the view of people who exploit them. The evaluation is negative.

(4) *Sick workers mean plant shutdowns, which has led to a **backlog** of animals.* (NYT, May 21, 2020)

Example (4) frames animals as an abundance of objects that need to be dealt with. *The backlog* means “a large number of things you have to do or deal with that has increased over a period of time” (Cambridge Dictionary), however, the primary meaning is “a large log at the back of a hearth fire” (Merriam-Webster), which frames animals as a particular object somewhere in the back of people minds or an inconvenience or a problem, which needs to be solved. The article from which example (4) is taken is aimed at persuading people to stop eating meat and provides an instance of a meat factory that had to put down the animals because their workers contracted coronavirus. The abusers again are portrayed negatively.

Moving on to the Republican sub-corpora, the conceptual metaphor ANIMAL IS AN OBJECT is also prevalent. Similar to Democrat sub-corpora, the animals are portrayed as goods or a means to achieve profit.

(5) *Puppy mills exist to **churn out** puppies for the pet market, selling them online and through pet stores nationwide.* (WE, April 23, 2019)

Same as in Democrat sub-corpora animals in example (5) are portrayed as goods not having any value except for the money. The basic meaning of **to churn out** is “to produce something automatically, without much thought, and in large amounts” (Cambridge Dictionary) reinforcing the image of the factory producing low-quality goods. Animals are not seen as living beings by abusers.

(6) *The reason these horses are **breaking down** and dying is the constant grinding of these immature bodies.* (NYP, Dec. 6, 2021)

In example (6) animals are portrayed as fragile objects capable of breaking down. In this case, the focus of such framing is not to highlight the wrong behaviour of abusers towards the animals but rather to draw attention to the suffering of animals, and portraying them as objects does not diminish them, on the contrary, it focuses on the fact that animals are sensitive.

Republican-leaning media outlets also use the fragile object subdomain in other contexts. For instance, as example (7) illustrates, stopping a practice is framed as an object, which is capable of breaking.

(7) *USDA must do more to **crack down** on abusive puppy mills.* (WE, April 23, 2019)

(8) *Approximately 13,000 retired thoroughbreds are **packed off** to slaughterhouses.* (NYP, May 23, 2019)

As in the Democrat sub-corpus case, the framing of animals as objects, to be more precise, goods, capable of being packaged and sent away portrays them as not able to have feelings and lacking agentivity, as example (8) illustrates.

Next, both Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets use the subdomain of possession, as in giving an object, for the target domain of morality or feelings.

(9) *We as a society often do not **extend** this empathy to unseen farm animals, especially poultry.* (NYT, July 11, 2020)

(10) *Children trained to **extend** justice, kindness, and mercy to animals become more just, kind, and considerate in their [interactions] with each other.* (WE, Feb. 22, 2018)

As shown by examples (9) and (10), empathy, kindness, and mercy to animals are framed as an object that can be given to animals. Morality is seen as an object in possession of humans and therefore it is a decision made by people whether to give it to animals or not.

Similarly, abstract objects like *time, chance, advantage, care* are framed as a possession that can be given as well. By doing this, the fact that animals depend on humans and their fate lies in human hands is highlighted. However, in example (11) giving pets a second chance is portrayed positively, supporting animal research and emphasizing the fact that continuing animal research can save the lives of animals. In example (12) the unfair advantage given to horses is portrayed negatively because of the very fact that it is unfair and the means of achieving that advantage harms the horses.

(11) *Animal research **gives** sick pets a second chance – and lays the groundwork for treatments that could save others down the line.* (FN, Dec. 2, 2017)

(12) *Administering drugs shortly before a race can mask the warning signs and symptoms that precede a horse's catastrophic breakdown, while **giving** equine athletes an unfair competitive advantage.* (WE, Sep. 25, 2019)

Furthermore, the abuse and harm to animals is portrayed as an object in possession that is given to animals, a gift in a sense as evident from examples (13) and (14):

(13) *As one of my former Senate colleagues recently alerted me, the VA has been using taxpayers' money to buy beagles and other hound puppies, **give them heart attacks**, drill into their skulls, addict them to methamphetamine, and collapse their lungs in deadly experiments.* (WE, April 12, 2018)

(14) *The animals are anesthetized and then **given wounds** the medics and doctors are likely to see in combat, and the medics perform the appropriate procedures to treat them.* (WT, May 25, 2010)

On the other hand, rights are portrayed as a possession that can be given to animals by humans. However, it differs between the two different political parties leaning outlets.

(15) *Countries are starting to **give** wild animals legal rights* (WP, Aug. 26, 2023)

(16) *A recent filing from PetSmart states that “defendant PETA is a militant, activist organization headquartered in Norfolk, Virginia, using its cloak as a nonprofit organization to commit criminal wrongdoing to further its fundraising activities and fund its litigation war chest to advance its two goals: ending private ownership of animals and **bestowing human rights upon animals.**”* (WT, May 15, 2019)

As seen in example (15), the act of giving animal rights is seen as a positive thing by Democrats while in example (16), it is portrayed negatively. *Bestow* means “to give something as an honour or present” (Cambridge Dictionary). The verb *bestow* in this context is used as an exaggeration, not something they deserve but as an award or honour. Here, the same frame is used to downgrade PETA conforming to the Republican belief that animal rights are not equal to human rights.

In addition to giving the object in possession, it can be taken as well, as example (17) found in Democrat sub-corpus illustrates:

(17) *Let’s leave aside all fundamental questions of whether human beings have the right to **take** another animal’s life.* (NYT, Nov. 18, 2019)

Example (17) frames animal life as an object in their possession to be taken from them by force. Clearly, it is portrayed negatively because animals again are presented as being weak and helpless, while humans are portrayed as being capable of robbing them of their lives.

The animal abuse itself is seen by Democrats as taking away the possession.

(18) *Mother cows have their calves **ripped from them** before weaning, resulting in acute distress we can hear in their wails and empirically measure through the cortisol in their bodies.* (NYT, May 21, 2020)

Example (18) portrays the body of animals as the possession of their own and harming animals is taking something away from them by force. *To rip out something* is “to remove it” (Cambridge Dictionary). The abuse is presented as a violation of property rights.

Rights are also portrayed as possession held in hand by Democrat-leaning media outlets, for instance, “those who are **holding** rights at the time”. Republicans, on the other hand, use this subdomain for more abstract things like *attention*, *amount*, usually referring to animal activists as presented in example (19) below:

(19) *In May, the Humane Society and a **handful** of other radical animal-rights groups had to write a \$15.8 million check to the Ringling Bros* (WT, Sep. 30, 2014)

As seen in example (19), framing an amount as an object in possession held in a hand, as well as calling them radicals, diminishes the animal rights activists showing that there is a very small amount of them. A handful is “an amount of something that can be held in one hand” or “a small number of people or things” (Cambridge Dictionary).

Democrat-leaning media outlets frame feelings as taking an object out and placing it on someone as shown in example (20) below:

(20) *The stressed-out workers tend to **take out their frustration on** animals* (NYT, Aug. 5, 2023)

Feelings are framed as an object contained somewhere and it can be taken out of a container and put on the animals. It is framed negatively because the abusers, in this case the workers of a farm, abuse the animals, “placing” their feelings on them, which evokes the feeling that animals are helpless and abusers have the upper hand using animals as something to relieve their frustration on.

Next, the subdomain *physical properties* in the case of Democrat sub-corpus is used to denote the seriousness of crimes against animals (***volume and extent of crimes***), getting rid of unpleasant or unwanted behaviour (***reduce** your pet’s anxiety and barking*), morality (*an **ounce** of decency*). Republican sub-corpus focused on law (***strengthening** the laws against animal cruelty*) and penalties (*the **strongest** penalties possible in cruelty-to-animals cases*), morality (*mercy for animals is a **measure** of our humanity*).

Moving on, Democrat-leaning media outlets present responsibility as an object, its subdomain is a *burden* as example (21) illustrates.

(21) *I’ve never forgotten what Coman-Hidy said when I asked him how he could **bear** to spend his days negotiating over the finer points of chicken slaughter.* (NYT, Dec. 16, 2021)

In example (21) responsibility is presented as a heavy object which must be carried. In this case, animal rights activist Coman-Hidy, who advocates for the humane treatment of animals, is portrayed positively as doing the hard work that cannot be done by just anyone. Animal rights activists are portrayed positively emphasizing their strength.

Republican sub-corpus uses the subdomain *showing* to frame morality.

(22) *How could anyone quarrel with Mr. Limbaugh’s message that we should work with law enforcement to end the cruel and criminal dog-fighting rings that plague our communities and that we should **show** kindness and mercy to God’s creatures?* (WT, Dec. 29, 2009)

Regarding example (22) morality is framed as an object, which can be shown. *To show* means “to make it possible for something to be seen” (Cambridge Dictionary). Therefore, humans are given the

upper hand in this example as well, having an object in their possession and given the ability to show it to animals.

#### 4.2. The source domain of MOVEMENT

The second most prevailing source domain in the corpus is MOVEMENT. It is used for more abstract target domains such as progress, taking action, and stopping the practice, which are rather conventional, however, some less common can be seen too, like support, death, problem, etc.

To begin with, in both sub-corpora progress is seen as a journey. In the Democrat sub-corpus progress is framed as a movement whose subdomain is a journey towards a better treatment of animals, for example, *a positive step, lead the way, has moved toward*. Regarding Republican sub-corpus, a similar framing can be found, for instance, *can lead, moved toward, led us* marking the movement towards a better treatment of animals, however, as seen from example (23), it is also used to diminish animal rights activists:

(23) *Lately it seems as though HSUS donations **have gone not toward** prevention of animal suffering, but to funding the political agendas of the organization's executives — at a cost to the animals it claims to protect. (WT, Oct. 31, 2016)*

As shown in example (23), the donations made to help prevent animal suffering were not used for the mentioned purpose, which was their intended path, but went somewhere else, denoting the change of a movement course orchestrated by animal rights activists. In this way, animal rights activists are portrayed negatively.

Next, taking action is framed as a movement in terms of a journey too by both Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets. For instance, *go to that length, go too far*, to show the excessive cruelty of animal abusers.

(24) *In the United States, the vast majority of these products come from factory farms, which 8 in 10 Americans agree **go too far** in their harmful treatment of animals. (WP, Jan. 29, 2024)*

(25) *Finally **standing up** to the horrors of horse racing. (NYP, May 23, 2019)*

In example (25), taking action to stop the abusive practices of horse racing is portrayed as starting to move, leaving the stationary position. Not taking action, on the other hand by Democrat-leaning media outlets is portrayed as not moving, e.g. *stand by*.

Republicans again denote animal rights activists in a negative light by portraying careful action as a slow movement in example (26):

(26) *So, they **move in inches**, waging wars both culturally and legally. (WE, March 9, 2023)*

Framing animal rights activists as moving slowly and carefully evokes the feeling of threat and seeing them as meaning to harm, in a sense, as predators.



Both Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets frame problems and their solving as a movement too, but in different ways.

Democrat sub-corpus frames problems as an obstacle in a journey, e.g. *turbulence*, *bumping up* (against an issue), *creating barriers* to adoption. Republicans, on the other hand, depict the problem-solving as getting close to it, as example (27) illustrates:

(27) *Wrong **approach** to animal rights.* (WT, Nov. 11, 2011)

Here, taking into account the context of the sentence, animal rights activists are critiqued again as taking the wrong measures to solve the abuse of animals, in this case, wanting to ban circuses. **An approach** is “the fact of getting nearer in distance or time” (Cambridge Dictionary). Moving towards a problem and getting closer to it is seen as solving it, however, the adjective *wrong* modifying the noun *approach* turns the framing into a negative one forming the attitude held towards animal rights activists.

Also, problems that the pets might have are framed as an obstacle to motion by Democrat-leaning media outlets as shown in example (28):

(28) *What I find notable, however, is how you are quick to point fingers at the new neighbors for not changing their own actions — off your property! — to accommodate your pet, instead of you trying to train or help your pet to **get over** her excessive barking around strangers.* (WP, April 6, 2022)

Here, the dog’s excessive barking is shown as an obstacle in the path that needs to be passed by going above it.

The suffering and experience of animals can be framed through the source domain of movement too. For instance, in Democrat-leaning media outlets, some examples of subdomain journey are found, like *go through slight discomfort*, or *what she’s been through*. Framing the suffering and experience of animals in this way serves as a means to highlight that it has been an ongoing process, not a one-time thing.

### 4.3 The source domain of CONTAINER

The third most prevalent source domain is CONTAINER. It is used for abstract target domains, such as state, feelings, conditions, environment, threat, life, and taking action, some concrete domains can be found too, e.g., animal, however, abstract target domains prevail.

To begin with, it is mostly used to denote feelings or states in both sub-corpora. Examples include *screamed in pain*, *chew the metal bars in apparent frustration*, *flap and squawk in terror*, *howl in terror*, *fled in fear*, *vocalizing in pain*. There is no distinct difference between the two sub-corpora in

this regard. The feelings and experiences of animals are portrayed as a container, in which animals are trapped, highlighting the helplessness and terror they experienced, creating the feeling that they were surrounded by it.

Conditions and environment are presented as being in a container as well. For instance, *keep animals in deplorable conditions, raised and killed in conditions with no analogue, in crowded and inhumane conditions, kept in a healthy and safe environment.*

Danger or threat is framed by Democrat-leaning media outlets as a container too. As example 31 indicates, to be in danger of something is to be put inside a container:

(29) *After all, overcrowding at shelters **puts more animals at risk** for euthanasia.* (NYT, June 29, 2019)

Republican-leaning media outlets frame morality as a container by employing another subdomain:

(30) *The group takes a worthy cause, protecting animals from abuse, and then uses manipulation and outrageous tactics to an extreme that **goes well outside** decency and fairness and may be even illegal.* (WT, May 15, 2019)

As shown in example (30), morality, in this case, decency and fairness, is a container, and being outside its limits is to be immoral (not fair and not decent).

(31) *But animals born **into captivity** don't know how to take care of themselves.* (NYP, March 7, 2020)

Captivity is also framed as a container, *into* means “to the inside or middle of a place, container, area, etc.” (Cambridge Dictionary). Being born into it implies that as soon as animals are born they are locked into captivity, a container, that prevents them from gaining survival skills.

#### 4.4 The source domain of CONFLICT

The fourth most prevalent source domain is CONFLICT. Democrat-leaning media outlets tend to frame animal abusers as an enemy:

(32) *The agricultural industry is **a mighty foe** with immense political influence.* (NYT, Oct. 18, 2022)

In example (32) the agricultural industry is framed as a powerful enemy in a conflict. Such framing negatively portrays animal abusers, depicting them as a threat, that needs to be eliminated.

Republican-leaning media outlets, on the contrary, frame animal activists as enemies:

(33) *More recently, vegans have **invaded** restaurants and grocery stores to yell and harass the public who want to enjoy a BLT or buy some pork loin.* (WT, January 16, 2017)

Example (33) is taken from an article that focuses on animal activists who oppose animal slaughter for meat and propagate veganism. In this example, they are framed as invaders in a foreign country during a conflict. To invade means “to enter a country by force with large numbers of soldiers in order to take possession of it” (Cambridge Dictionary). By framing them as enemies, animal activists are portrayed as an army, having large numbers, entering restaurants and grocery stores by force and seeking to take over and disrupt the ordinary days of people who prefer to eat meat. They are presented as being dangerous.

Taking action in order to stop animal cruelty is presented as being in a conflict, for instance, animal rights activists are *putting themselves on the line, has been at the forefront* in protecting pets, *fight, oppose* animal cruelty. Animal cruelty is framed as an enemy, that needs to be conquered, and animal activists are framed as fighters, taking a position in the army, and going into danger. Such framing by Democrat-leaning media outlets is positive because animal rights activists are seen as heroes. However, Republican-leaning media outlets frame the animal rights activists as enemies to them, because their beliefs do not adhere to theirs or they want to change their behaviour, for instance, *took an aggressive turn, target, attacked*:

(34) *Unfortunately, radical climate activists are **taking aim** at their diet preferences.* (WE, March 9, 2023)

In example (34) the metaphorical expression *taking aim* denotes the fact that activists are seen as aggressors in a conflict with people who eat meat in this case.

The enemy can also be ideas, as example (35) taken from Democrat subcorpus suggests:

(35) *The dog training industry needed to **confront** its “misogyny”.* (NYT, December 24, 2023)

In example (35) the dog training industry’s enemy is its own beliefs. Abandoning misguided beliefs is facing and fighting them.

(36) *The interior columns are rounded to **protect** animals **from** bruising.* (NYT, Jan. 15, 2022)

Example (36) abuse or injury is presented as an enemy from which the animals must be protected.

#### 4.5 The source domain of DIRECTION

As Table 2 indicates, another one of the most frequent types of source domains used by Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets is DIRECTION, either UP or DOWN. It is more prevalent in Democrat sub-corpus than in Republican and is used for abstract target domains such as importance, making known, conditions, amount, not being able to cope, etc. To begin with, Democrat-leaning media outlets frame importance as being higher in the vertical line, for instance, *top priority, top recommendation* while talking about animal needs. Republican-leaning media outlets, on the

contrary, frame animals as being lower in a vertical line and, therefore, less important, as seen in example (37):

(37) *Animals are of a **lower** order, which makes them legitimate subjects for medical research.*  
(WT, Jan. 31, 2018)

The source domain UP is also used by Republican-leaning media outlets to denote importance but with a different subdomain, that is being above. Such framing is usually used to diminish animal rights activists, in a sense, that their priorities are not in the right order, for example, *place the needs of dogs **above** veterans, put their anti-meat and -dairy agenda **above** protecting animals, putting the lives of animals **above** those of our troops. puts pigs **over** people.* Such framing conforms to the Republican view that animals' and people's lives are not equal.

The subdomain of being under by Democrat-leaning media outlets is used to express an inability to cope or an excessive amount, for instance, *overwhelming feelings. overwhelming majority of these animals, overrun with other dogs.* Over means “above or higher than something else, sometimes so that one thing covers the other; above” (Cambridge Dictionary).

Democrats frame care for animals as DOWN, subdomain being under as indicated in example (38):

(38) *I told the jurors that a not-guilty verdict would encourage corporations to treat animals **under their care** with more compassion and make governments more open to animal cruelty complaints.*  
(NYT, Oct. 18, 2022)

It frames animals as being below something, in this case, the care of corporations, implying that animals are weaker (being under them) and their responsibility.

Moving on, the death is also framed as being down. For instance, *handle dogs that would otherwise be put down for aggression.*

(39) *But in most of those instances, the abuse of animals **arises** out of deep poverty and a loss of identity.* (NYP, March 7, 2020)

Republicans frame the reason for something as going up from the source as presented in example (39).

#### 4.6 The source domain of PERSON

Another source domain found in both sub-corpora is PERSON. There are some differences between the Republican and Democrat-leaning media outlets. First, the latter tend to attribute human qualities to animals, such as having *distinct personalities, stronger personalities*, or being *intelligent*, in this way giving them agentivity and reinforcing their view that animals and humans should have equal

rights. However, Republican-leaning media outlets give animals human qualities just as a possibility in the future due to science advances and more as a satire, as shown in example (40):

(40) *Researchers could soon be growing a human kidney in a pig for implantation, and perhaps a generation from now man's best friend could be **endowed with the mental ability** to, say, **serve in Congress** (perhaps there's not so far to go). (WT, Aug. 10, 2017)*

Democrat sub-corpus frame animal abuse or problems they have as a person too.

(41) *Mr. Tetrick had been an animal rights activist since high school, and he started Hampton Creek in part, he said, to save farm animals from **short, brutal lives** as flesh-and-blood cogs in a global supply chain. (NYT, Feb. 9, 2024)*

Here animal life in abusive treatment is framed as a living creature that threatens the animals themselves and the animals require protection. Such framing highlights the suffering of animals, indicating that there is a concrete enemy to fight against.

(42) *I wish you much success in helping your pooch **address** her stress. (WP, Apr. 6, 2022)*

Example (42) frames both the animal and the problem, in this case, the stress the dog experiences, as a person. *Address* means to “speak or write to someone” (Cambridge Dictionary).

#### 4.7 The source domain of VISIBILITY

The source domain of VISIBILITY is used to denote ignoring, understanding, disease and targeting. Ignoring is framed as not seeing, for example, *moral blind spots, unseen farm animals, be blind to the suffering, have been so oblivious, turned a blind eye, looks the other way*. There is no difference between the two sub-corpora. Both frame the ignoring of the abuse and cruelty as not seeing or refusing to see deliberately. Similarly, Republican-leaning media outlets frame understanding of the animal abuse problem as seeing, to be more exact, lighting it up so it would be possible to be seen, for example, *shed light on an issue, brought to light, and bring that information to light*. Democrat-leaning media outlets frame the abuse animals experience or diseases as being seen by them, such as *exposing many to injury, heart attacks, disease and death*.

(43) *There is no question that the animals we raise for food should **be exposed** to the least suffering possible. (NYT, Jan.8, 2019)*

Republican-leaning media outlets also frame targeting as seeing.

(44) *Don't expect it to end here: If the zealots can finish off the circus, they'll **set their sights** on zoos and aquariums next. (NP, June 20, 2017)*

In example (44), the animal activists are referred to as zealots and the fact that they will set their sights on zoos and aquariums means they will target them next. Animal rights activists are laughed at.

#### **4.8 The source domain of HEALTH**

Regarding the source domain HEALTH, Democrat-leaning media outlets frame ideas (*delicious delusion*) as mental illness, feelings (*stomach-churning*) seeing animals suffer as sickness, care to animals is framed as treatment (*heal fears*), stopping animal cruelty is healing an illness (*remedy local animal suffering*). Republican-leaning media outlets similarly frame feelings towards animal abuse as sickness (*sick crime*), and animal abuse itself is framed as a disease (*dog-fighting rings that plague our communities*), importance is framed as disease as well (*a vital purpose in combating animal abuse*). *Vital* means “necessary for the success or continued existence of something; extremely important” (Cambridge Dictionary). There are no significant differences between the two sub-corpora, both frame animal abuse negatively but through slightly different subdomains.

#### **4.9 The source domain of FLUID**

The source domain FLUID was found only in Democrat-leaning media outlets. Two subdomains were found, namely, liquids within a person and water. Money (*money poured, investors poured almost \$3 billion*) was portrayed as water in order to highlight how much money was invested into companies and industries that abuse animals. Abundance was also framed in terms of water (*the flow of dogs*) for the same reason of drawing attention to the large number of animals. Also, water is associated with unstoppable force, so such framing has a bigger evaluative impact. Furthermore, emotions are framed as liquids within a person (*stirs more reaction*). *To stir* means “to mix a liquid or other substance by moving an object such as a spoon in a circular pattern” (Cambridge Dictionary). The first associated meaning is the powerful flow of water, this way highlighting how much of an impact seeing the abuse caused.

#### **4.10 The source domain of NATURAL PHENOMENON**

The source domain of NATURAL PHENOMENON is used more by Democrat-leaning media outlets. Its subdomains vary: water (*showered with stock options*) is used to exaggerate the fact that corporates get profit for torturing animals, this is done to portray them negatively because their bad behaviour is rewarded. Lack of emotions is framed as cold (*coldhearted*) in order to make people think about their actions and their consequences, in this case, wearing fur. Factory farms abusing animals are framed

as darkness (*dark marvels of technology*) to draw attention to their abusive behaviour towards the animals they breed. However, there is positive framing through natural phenomenon:

(45) *But we can also see glimmers of how it might, one day, end.* (NYT)

Hope is light, **glimmers** means “to shine with a weak light or a light that is not continuous” (Cambridge Dictionary). It is a slightly more positive framing suggesting that abuse may end but the chances are not too good. Republican-leaning media outlets frame fire as rain in the following example:

(46) *These impious emissions would come to an end as an eco-friendly helicopter rains fire upon 600 to 750 camels each day.* (WT, June 8, 2011)

The article talks about the alleged killing of camels in Australia due to environmental concerns about the methane gas camels emit. So again it is a negative framing of animal rights activists.

#### 4.11 The source domain of FORCE

In both sub-corpora, the source domain of FORCE is used for abstract target domains such as making someone do something and pressure. For instance, *cave to this pressure, under pressure* when talking about organizations that are expected to do something or to fulfill obligations. they are depicted as being affected by external force. Pressure is “the force produced by pressing against something” (Cambridge Dictionary). Also exposing animals to an environment where they can experience abuse is framed as an external force, such as *subjecting these animals to a longer and more arduous method of travel*. **To subject** is “to defeat people or a country and then control them against their wishes and limit their freedom” (Cambridge Dictionary). In this sense, the animals are framed as controlled by external force. Democrat-leaning media outlets frame health as a kind of force: *regain strength*.

#### 4.12 The source domain of BUILDING

Regarding the source domain BUILDING, it is more prevalent in Republican-leaning media outlets and used for abstract target domains. First, gaining supporters is framed as building as in *build supporters*. Also, the process is depicted as a building, as example (47) illustrates:

(47) *Animal research gives sick pets a second chance – and lays the groundwork for treatments that could save others down the line.* (FN, Dec. 2, 2017)

Groundwork is “the first part of building work, in which existing buildings, trees, etc. are removed and the surface of the ground is prepared” (Cambridge Dictionary). So in this case animal research is

the first step towards having successful treatments in the future. Animal abuse is framed as the destruction of a building or a structure, for instance: *breakdown*. The animal is portrayed as a fragile object whose structure can fall into pieces. Democrat-leaning media outlets portray belief as fortification, for example: *reinforcing barking*. *Reinforce* means “to make something stronger, usually by adding more material or another piece” (Cambridge Dictionary). In this case, the dog’s belief that barking is acceptable is made stronger by certain actions of their owners. Also, breeding is framed as sculpting as example (48) shows:

(48) *We **molded** a resourceful carnivore into an animal critically dependent on humans for survival.* (NYT, Sept. 3, 2019)

*To mold* means “to shape something into a particular form” (Cambridge Dictionary). In this case, animals are depicted as a product of humans, degraded, because now it is dependent on humans so such framing draws attention to the helplessness of animals evoking compassion towards them.

#### 4.13 The source domain of LANGUAGE

Regarding the source domain LANGUAGE, it is often used to denote understanding or solving. Both Republican- and Democrat-leaning media outlets frame solving as speaking, for example: *address her stress. acts of cruelty to animals **are not addressed***. Address means “to speak or write to someone” (Cambridge Dictionary), therefore it implies that in order to solve the problem it is needed to confront it. Next, Republican-leaning media outlets frame understanding or acceptance as translation, for instance:

(49) *Animal tests **translate poorly** to humans but Biden refuses to end it.* (FN, Dec. 19, 2023)

#### 4.14 The source domain of HIDING

In Republican-leaning media outlets, the source domain HIDING is used for abstract target domains such as deceiving, being secret or not knowing, although it is closely related to the subdomains of source domains VISIBILITY and DIRECTION, not seeing and being under, respectively. For instance, *mask, under this cloak of secrecy*. They usually refer to animal rights activists as example (50) illustrates:

(50) *What’s going on here is the international trafficking of animals, often **under the guise** of “animal rescue.”* (WT, Sep. 7, 2020)

Guise is “the appearance of someone or something, especially when intended to deceive” (Cambridge Dictionary). Here, animal rights activists are portrayed negatively, because hiding behind something else, creates an image of them as being untrustworthy and deceitful.



#### 4.15 Other source domains

Both in Democrat and Republican corpora, there are source domains with a low number of identified metaphorical expressions so they were categorized as other source domains, nevertheless, it is worth mentioning them. To begin with, in Republican sub-corpus importance and intensity, lack of feeling are framed as PHYSICAL PROPERTY. Importance is seen as size, e.g. *larger purpose*, intensity in terms of depth, e.g., *deep poverty*, lack of feeling is seen as cold: *murdering in cold blood*. Animal rights activists are framed as PERSON WITH A MENTAL DISORDER, e.g., *animal-rights nuts, loons*. The source domain SUPERNATURAL PHENOMENON is used to describe abuser, e.g., *a monster in the body of a woman*, hunting as a demon e.g., *demonizing hunting*, animals as beasts, as in *circus beasts*. LOCATION is used to frame time (*down the line*), morality (*at our mercy*), and existence (*has no place*). Warning is framed as a FLAG, e.g., *Cruelty to animals is a red flag for future violence*. Violence and source are framed as PLANT, e.g., *violence could grow, meats rooted in animal cruelty*. In the case of democrat sub-corpus, animals are framed as plants, for example: *The more ferocious animals must be “harvested” in order to increase the “bag limits” of the other species that are their prey*. Next, opportunity is framed as GAMBLING, for example, *Animal research gives sick pets a second chance*. Democrat-leaning media outlets frame killing as NOT LETTING BREATH, e.g., *He snuffed the life from that magnificent animal*. Neglect is framed as NOT THINKING ABOUT, for example, *but farm animals are often an afterthought even in animal-related giving*.

## 5. Categorization of source domains into frames

After the source domains were identified, they were categorized into frames. 4 frames were detected, namely, economics, that is profit and money, then, morality, which refers to what people think is right their values, societal norms, followed by powerlessness, which can be described as the dominance of strong individual or groups over weak individuals or groups and lastly, conflict.

First, the frame of economics is prevalent in both sub-corpora. This frame is evident from the source domain of OBJECT, where animals are framed as goods frequently or as means to achieve profit. Since animals are framed as inanimate objects, people begin seeing them as just money.

The second frame, which emerges is morality. The same source domain of OBJECT, through the subdomain fragile object, portrays animals as helpless and sensitive appealing to the emotions of people so they act stop animal abuse. Portraying morality as physical property also appeals to people's conscience regarding their treatment of animals. Through the source domain of CONTAINER being immoral is portrayed as being outside the morality "container". The source domain of NATURAL PHENOMENON portrays lack of emotion as being cold, and abusers as dark in order to appeal to people's morality, because darkness and cold are usually associated with bad things.

Next, the frame powerlessness is evident in the portrayal of feelings as an object to be taken out and placed on someone by Democrat-leaning media outlets. It shows the power inequality between humans and animals while humans have the upper hand in this relationship. The portrayal of morality as an object that can be shown or given implies that humans have in possession of what animals require and are not able to acquire it by themselves. Animals are portrayed as being powerless through the source domain of CONTAINER. The feelings and the experience of abuse animals go through are framed as a container they have been put in by humans and are not able to escape from. The source domain of DIRECTION is used to highlight the higher position humans have (i.e. Republicans portrayed animals as being lower in the vertical line) and, therefore, less important and powerful. The subdomain down (i.e. animals under the care of corporations) indicates that animals possess less power than humans. Powerlessness is also evident from the source domain of BUILDING. Animals are portrayed as the creation of people (i.e. breeding is sculpting), making the animals dependent on humans.

The last frame conflict is seen from the source domain of CONFLICT, where animal abusers, animal rights activists, and abuse itself are portrayed as enemies, who pose a threat. Taking action to stop the abuse is framed as being in a conflict. Through the source domain of PERSON, the abuse is portrayed as a concrete enemy to fight against.

## **6. Ideological peculiarities of Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets**

There are some significant differences between the two political parties regarding the framing of animal welfare and each other, though, on some issues they agree.

To begin with, both political party-leaning media outlets frame animals as objects, for example, goods, however, Democrat-leaning media outlets do so in order to evoke compassion towards the abused animals and to condemn such practices. They also try to convey the views held toward the animals by abusers and people who exploit them not because they support it but to make it evident. By doing this, abusers are portrayed negatively. Similarly, Republican-leaning media outlets portray animals as inanimate objects and goods in order to show that animals are not seen as living beings by abusers. They are portrayed as not able to have feelings and lacking agentivity.

Regarding morality, both Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets frame it as a possession of humans depending on them whether to give it to animals or not. However, Republicans portray animals as being sensitive, drawing attention to the suffering of animals. Republicans support animal laboratory testing, emphasizing the fact that animal research can save lives.

The attitude towards the fact that animals are given rights diverges between the two political party-leaning media outlets: Democrat-leaning views it as a positive thing as opposed to Republicans, who use irony and exaggeration in their portrayal of the rights of animals. This way the Republican belief that animal rights are not equal to human rights is adhered to.

Democrats portray animal rights activists positively, as heroes, fighting the abuse and as being strong, while Republicans frame animal rights activists as irrational, even crazy, or accusing them of fraud, stating that their priorities are not in the right order. Both animal rights activists and animal abusers are framed as enemies by Republican and Democrat-leaning media outlets respectively.

Regarding the views on animals, Democrats place more importance on the animals and on the need to protect them, while Republicans frame animals as being lower than humans and less important. Such framing conforms to the Republican view that animals' and people's lives are not equal. Also, Democrat-leaning media outlets tend to attribute human qualities to animals, and by doing this gives them agentivity and reinforces their view that animals and humans should have equal rights. However, Republican-leaning media outlets give animals human qualities just as a possibility in the future due to scientific advances and more as a satire.

## Conclusions

As it was mentioned in the introduction, the aim of this study is to analyse how US Democrat and Republican media frames animal welfare through metaphors. In order to achieve the set aim, the following objectives were set: first, at the linguistic level, to identify animal welfare-related metaphors in Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets; second, at the conceptual level, to relate animal welfare-related metaphors to the underlying source domains in Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets and lastly, at the ideological level, to determine the frames exhibited through metaphors and if they adhere to the beliefs of Democrat and Republican political parties regarding animal welfare and to identify differences and similarities between them. The corresponding conclusions are as follows:

1. The total number of metaphorical expressions found in the Republican and Democrat corpus is 364: in the Democrat sub-corpus, consisting of 50,398 words, 195 instances of metaphorical expressions were identified, in the Republican sub-corpus (50,267 words) 169 metaphorical expressions were found.
2. The following source domains were identified: in Democratic-leaning media outlets OBJECT, MOVEMENT, CONTAINER, DIRECTION, CONFLICT, PERSON, VISIBILITY, FLUID, NATURAL PHENOMENON, FORCE and other. In Republican-leaning media outlets OBJECT, MOVEMENT, CONTAINER, CONFLICT, DIRECTION, VISIBILITY, HEALTH, PERSON, BUILDING, LANGUAGE, HIDING and other.
3. 4 frames were evident after identifying the source domains, namely, economics, morality, powerlessness and conflict. Economics frame was used by both political parties leaning media outlets, but seeking different outcomes. Both were achieved through the source domain OBJECT, its subdomain goods. Democrat-leaning media outlets objective is evoking compassion towards the abused animals and condemning such practices, while Republicans want to show that animals are viewed as inanimate objects suitable only for profit. In both cases, abusers are portrayed negatively. The morality frame is achieved through the source domain OBJECT, the subdomain fragile object, animals are seen as helpless and sensitive, which appeals to the emotions of people. Portraying morality as PHYSICAL PROPERTY also invites people to consider their treatment of animals. By using the source domain CONTAINER, being immoral is portrayed as being outside the morality “container” achieving the same effect as mentioned before. The source domain NATURAL PHENOMENON portrays lack of emotion as being cold, and abusers as dark in order to frame abusers negatively. Both Democrat and Republican-leaning media outlets frame morality as a possession of humans depending on them whether to give it to animals or not. However, Republicans portray

animals as being sensitive, emphasising the suffering of animals. The third frame powerlessness is evident through OBJECT, CONTAINER, DIRECTION and BUILDING. It refers to the power inequality between humans and animals where humans have the upper hand. Democrats place more importance on the animals and on the need to protect them, while Republicans frame animals as being lower than humans and, therefore, less important, also dependent on humans. Such framing conforms to the Republican view that animals' and people's lives are not equal. Also, Democrat-leaning media outlets tend to attribute human qualities to animals, and by doing this gives them agentivity and reinforces their view that animals and humans should have equal rights. The last frame conflict is seen from the source domain CONFLICT and PERSON. Animal abusers, animal rights activists, and abuse are portrayed as enemies by Republicans. On the other hand, Democrats portray animal rights activists positively, as heroes, who are fighting the abuse and being strong, while Republicans frame animal rights activists as irrational or crazy.

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## Santrauka

Šiame magistro darbe analizuojamas metaforinis gyvūnų gerovės konstravimas demokratų ir respublikonų pažiūrų žiniasklaidos priemonėse. Gyvūnų gerovė yra prieštaringa problema, plačiai nagrinėjama žiniasklaidos diskurse. Įvairių partijų požiūriai šiuo klausimu skiriasi, todėl skiriasi ir jų diskursas. Šiuo tyrimu siekiama išanalizuoti, kaip JAV demokratų ir respublikonų žiniasklaida metaforomis konstruoja gyvūnų gerovę. Tam pasiekti buvo sudarytas tekstynas, kurį sudaro dvi tekstyno dalys, sudarytos iš demokratų ir respublikonų pažiūrų žiniasklaidos priemonių nuomonių straipsnių. Surinktų straipsnių analizė atlikta Kritinės diskurso analizės (Critical Discourse Studies – CDS) rėmuose, apjungiant kritinę metaforos analizę (Charteris-Black, 2014), kokybinę konstravimo analizę (Linström ir Marais, 2012). Naudota kritinės metaforos analizės procedūra: metaforos identifikavimas, metaforos interpretavimas ir metaforos aiškinimas, tačiau buvo atsižvelgta tik į metaforinius pasakymus, susijusius su gyvūnų gerove. Šiame darbe pagrindinis dėmesys skiriamas šaltinio domenams, kurie vėliau buvo suskirstyti į rėmus. Analizė atskleidė, kad demokratinės pakraipos žiniasklaidos priemonės naudoja šaltinio domenų OBJEKTAS, JUDĖJIMAS, KONTEINERIS, KRYPTIS, KONFLIKTAS, ASMUO, MATOMUMAS, SKYSTIS, GAMTOS REIŠKINYS, JĖGA ir kiti, Respublikonų - KRYPTIS, MATOMUMAS, SVEIKATA, ASMUO, PASTATAS/STATYMAS, KALBA, SLĖPIMAS ir kiti. Išryškėjo 4 rėmai – ekonomika, moralė, bejėgiškumas ir konfliktas, kurie atskleidė, kad tarp dviejų politinių partijų yra esminių skirtumų dėl gyvūnų gerovės konstravimo ir požiūrio į gyvūnų teisių gynėjus ir gyvūnų teisių pažeidėjus, tačiau kai kuriais klausimais jos sutaria.

Raktiniai žodžiai: gyvūnų gerovė, konstravimas, šaltinio domenai, respublikonų ir demokratų pažiūrų žiniasklaidos priemonės

## APPENDIX

### Democrats sub-corpus

#### OBJECT

1. She urged the industry to raise hog breeds that do not suffer so much from the carbon dioxide but simply **lose** consciousness, which she insisted is possible.
2. We as a society often do not **extend** this empathy to unseen farm animals, especially poultry.
3. The stressed-out workers tend to **take out** their frustration on animals.
4. Let's leave aside all fundamental questions of whether human beings have the right to **take** another animal's life.
5. The 10 other states that ban chickens **packed** in cages.
6. How much suffering was **required** to finally get him out of the exotic-animal business?
7. Countries are starting to **give** wild animals legal rights.
8. These hatchlings **have** legal rights in Panama.
9. "Until the rightless thing **receives** its rights, we cannot see it as anything but a thing for the use of 'us' — those who are holding rights at the time,"
10. "Until the rightless thing receives its rights, we cannot see it as anything but a thing for the use of 'us' — those who are **holding** rights at the time,"
11. Like these distressing images, advocates hope the statistics on the **volume** and **extent** of crimes against animals will evoke similar emotions of outrage and heartbreak
12. I keep hearing about people who refuse to **take** no-dogs for an answer.
13. I **have** a responsibility to my dogs to keep them safe, and that comes before that family's "feelings."
14. Set her up for success by helping her avoid the trigger, and don't **give** her the opportunity to make a bad decision with the neighbors.
15. Trying to **reduce** your pet's anxiety and barking is an admirable goal, but you should consider taking responsibility for your dog's behavior yourselves, instead of outsourcing that responsibility to the new neighbors.

16. Trying to reduce your pet's anxiety and barking is an admirable goal, but you should consider **taking** responsibility for your dog's behavior yourselves, instead of outsourcing that responsibility to the new neighbors.
17. Using hidden infrared cameras that can see in the dark, the DxE activist captured video showing a production line moving too quickly — about 140 chickens are killed every minute on each of the four slaughtering lines in Livingston — to **offer** any kind of humane death for the animals.
18. Anyone with an **ounce** of decency should be tempted to ban animal-abuse videos, but anyone with an appreciation for the First Amendment understands why we cannot.
19. In past eras, we didn't have the antibiotics and sanitation chemicals needed to keep so many animals crowded so closely together, nor the preservation and transportation technologies needed to **ship them en masse**.
20. Disease would **rip through thick** flocks, and carcasses would spoil across long trips.
21. I've never forgotten what Coman-Hidy said when I asked him how he could **bear** to spend his days negotiating over the finer points of chicken slaughter.
22. The question is whether we can **replace** the cow with something else that turns plants into meat.
23. By promoting "humane" conditions for farm animals, animal welfare proponents give false succor to people who oppose cruelty to animals yet want to continue killing and eating them, and **rob** animal rights advocates of their support.
24. When birds topple onto their backs and can't get up, when their undersides sometimes **carry** ammonia burns, don't believe it.
25. Relocation contributes to significant decreases in euthanasia in chronically under-resourced shelters and enables shelters to **place** animals and simultaneously build up surrender-prevention, spay/neuter and innovative adoption programs, reducing the need for relocation in the long term.
26. This ensured that **truckloads** of unwanted animals (or the desirables, for that matter) would not have to be shipped long distances.
27. This ensured that truckloads of unwanted animals (or the desirables, for that matter) would not have to be **shipped** long distances.

28. A shelter employee apologized and told him the rescue group was **shipping** the puppies to Colorado for adoption.
29. Over the past 15 years, rescue organizations have **shipped** millions of shelter dogs from poorer communities in the South to wealthier places in the Northeast, Pacific Northwest and Midwest, where stricter spay and neuter laws have resulted in a dwindling supply.
30. Animals often go out in weekly **shipments** from say, Houston to Greenwich, Conn., or from Sacramento to Sun Valley, Idaho.
31. This is in part thanks to the A.S.P.C.A.'s ad campaign pairing **heartbreaking** images of abandoned and abused animals with Sarah McLachlan singing "Angel."
32. Even when the animals arrive safely, they can **carry** parasites like heartworms and deadly diseases like parvovirus and distemper, which then spread not only in the receiving shelters but also to pets in the communities where the rescues are adopted.
33. It's not uncommon for rescue groups to take animals to neighboring states to make the handoff or to coordinate adoptions online, animal control officials say, **making drops** in parking lots in the dead of night.
34. The dogs have often been abused, neglected or feral before they land in a crowded and cacophonous shelter. And then they get **loaded** onto a truck or airplane and transported hundreds or thousands of miles to another shelter or foster home before they are eventually adopted.
35. It's **heartbreaking** to have to explain to people who have just rescued this dog from the South that this animal won't be a normal pet
36. Something between a howl and a **piercing** scream.
37. People **drop** dogs off here all the time
38. Instead of treating dental patients, she spends her day at the Kadikoy Municipality's Center for Street Dog Rehabilitation, feeding, walking and **giving** care to about 400 rescued dogs.
39. Some municipalities **dump** hundreds of dogs to forests to get rid of them
40. Sick workers mean plant shutdowns, which has led to a **backlog** of animals

41. Mother cows have their calves **ripped** from them before weaning, resulting in acute distress we can hear in their wails and empirically measure through the cortisol in their bodies.

42. The result of our **broken** relationship with animals.

## MOVEMENT

1. After removing the piglets, our team nursed them **back to health**
2. In the United States, the vast majority of these products come from factory farms, which 8 in 10 Americans agree **go too far** in their harmful treatment of animals.
3. There was no one **keeping track** of animal-abuse crimes
4. Yes, the dogs **go through** slight discomfort.
5. It upsets me to think they're not wanted and someone would **go to that length** to hurt them.
6. If no adults are going to **step in** when she does antisocial things, then, no, I won't subject my pets and my home to that.
7. Many would also consider it cruel to **stand by** while someone else handled animals this way.
8. It's my top recommendation, though I want to note that Animal Charity Evaluators found some cultural **turbulence** in a staff survey.
9. While it is a very **positive step**, it exempts the cruelty to wildlife described by Ms. Renkl as well as the torture of livestock endemic to factory farms.
10. Perdue Foods, one of the largest poultry companies in the United States, began an animal welfare initiative four years ago — which includes improved living conditions for chickens — and has continued to **lead the way** in producing affordable chicken more humanely
11. To its credit, Costco has **moved toward** a far more humane approach called controlled atmosphere stunning, so that birds are stunned before being shackled to the conveyor belt that takes them to their deaths.

12. To its credit, Costco has moved toward a far more humane approach called controlled atmosphere stunning, so that birds are stunned before being shackled to the conveyor belt that **takes them to their deaths**.
13. Sullivan argued that the company is focused on animal welfare at every **step** of production.
14. Mr. Martinez is **bumping up against** an issue that is causing some consternation in the animal welfare community.
15. Overzealous rescue organizations and shelters, under pressure to increase their live-release rates, might be harming animals as well as **creating barriers** to adoption.
16. A loving home **at the end of the line** sometimes isn't enough to make up for all that trauma. A loving home at the end of the line sometimes isn't enough to make up for all that trauma.
17. She came to the rescue organization as a stray, so no one knows where she's been or what she's **been through**, but she is clearly traumatized.
18. He believes inhumane killings and cruelty toward dogs might **accelerate** the aggressive behavior in them, enabling a vicious cycle of conflict between human and dog populations in urban areas.
19. What I find notable, however, is how you are quick to point fingers at the new neighbors for not changing their own actions — off your property! — to accommodate your pet, instead of you trying to train or help your pet to **get over** her excessive barking around strangers.

## CONTAINER

1. The investigator filmed piglets being castrated by hand without any anesthesia — workers made incisions in the scrota and then pulled the testicles from the body as the piglets screamed **in pain**.
2. Locked up, unable to move around, they chew the metal bars **in apparent frustration** and bite one another's tails — something even the grouchiest of our pigs never did.
3. We were there to document the conditions, and to rescue an animal only if we found one **in need**.

4. A pair of leatherback sea turtle hatchlings wriggled inside a cracked white plastic bucket turned on its side, fluttering their minuscule flippers **in a desperate attempt to escape**.
5. That includes the leatherback, which is **at risk of extinction**.
6. The bird was limping and appeared to be **in pain**.
7. This dog is a 14-year-old beagle, gentle as a lamb, and was chilling in her bed when I suddenly heard her yelp **in pain**.
8. We Will Look Back on This Age of Cruelty to Animals **in Horror**
9. The overwhelming majority of these animals are raised and killed **in conditions** with no analogue in history, and they suffer terribly.
10. The birds flap and squawk **in terror**, and the shackling can leave them with broken legs or dislocated hips.
11. After all, overcrowding at shelters puts more animals **at risk** for euthanasia.
12. It may be years before Millie trusts me enough to fall asleep beside me, years before she doesn't howl **in terror** and run for the hills whenever someone inadvertently bumps her, but I am patient. I have time enough for both of us.
13. Both stipulate that only an animal **in perfect health** can be slaughtered and dispute that a stunned animal qualifies
14. Stereotypes often contain some measure of truth, of course, and perhaps there is more than the usual allotment of truth in stereotypes about people who keep animals **in deplorable conditions**.
15. Feed, sterilize and shelter animals **in need**
16. A dog **in need** of a home.

## CONFLICT

1. The agricultural industry is a **mighty foe** with immense political influence.
2. The dog training industry needed to **confront** its "misogyny."
3. Jihoo was **surrendered** by his owners last June.
4. In these rescues, activists are again **putting themselves on the line** to establish a worthy principle.



5. The best way to **fight** animal cruelty is to enforce these laws more vigorously and to increase the penalties.
6. By promoting “humane” conditions for farm animals, animal welfare proponents give false succor to people who **oppose** cruelty to animals yet want to continue killing and eating them, and rob animal rights advocates of their support.
7. The first, published last week, examined how the powerful American agriculture lobby has **fended off** environmental regulation, despite the harm done by the sector.
8. Yet somehow these impacts aren’t **in the forefront** of the conversation about global warming.
9. All of which has made the cattle business a ripe **target**.
10. The interior columns are rounded to **protect** animals from bruising.
11. And indeed animal-rights advocates and religious leaders have **squared off** on social media and the internet, citing volumes of scriptural injunctions and scientific studies.
12. For 70 years, this small charity, which has been **at the forefront** in protecting our children, pets and farm animals from cruelty, abuse and neglect, has been working with a remarkably high degree of effectiveness to keep animal actors safe on set.

## PERSON

1. The sows were intelligent and **had very distinct personalities** — indeed, stronger personalities than some people I know.
2. Mr. Tetrick had been an animal-rights activist since high school, and he started Hampton Creek in part, he said, to **save farm animals from short, brutal lives** as flesh-and-blood cogs in a global supply chain.
3. I wish you much success in helping your pooch **address** her stress
4. the activists want to publicize the unseen brutality that **pushed** them to act.
5. This is activism that does not permit itself the comforts of purity.
6. Many of us aren’t quite sure what rights animals **should have**, or how far to take this concern for animal well-being
7. Istanbul’s **feline residents** and their importance in urban culture — making the city’s cats world famous.
8. dogs in advertisements **sell** everything from toilet paper to tacos

## DIRECTION

1. I told the jurors that a not-guilty verdict would encourage corporations to treat animals **under their care** with more compassion and make governments more open to animal cruelty complaints.
2. to handle dogs that would otherwise be **put down** for aggression.
3. And kudos to you for having such incredible empathy for your dog — her barking is a sign of distress and it’s wonderful that you want to help her avoid those **overwhelming** feelings.
4. Her behavior is, and was, your responsibility, and it is possible that you have let your concern for her emotional well-being **overwhelm** your empathy for the other individuals in your neighborhood.
5. The **overwhelming** majority of these animals are raised and killed in conditions with no analogue in history, and they suffer terribly.
6. With only one dissent, the court **struck down** a law that banned depictions of animal cruelty.
7. “Animal care is a **top** priority for Holden Farms, and we continually challenge ourselves to utilize new technologies to improve on-farm practices involving the proper care of animals
8. “I want to go to trial because I want to **elevate** the stories of these chickens
9. It’s my **top** recommendation, though I want to note that Animal Charity Evaluators found some cultural turbulence in a staff survey.
10. Following her advice, I am learning to recognize Millie’s triggers and intervene before they can **escalate** into panic.
11. Was cruelty against animals on the **rise** or in decline?
12. Was cruelty against animals on the rise or in **decline**?
13. They are fighting to see farm animals treated in a way that’s far beneath what they believe to be moral, but **far above** what’s become normal.
14. They are fighting to see farm animals treated in a way that’s far **beneath** what they believe to be moral, but far above what’s become normal.

## VISIBILITY

1. As we topple statues, let’s also search for our own **moral blind spots**.
2. we as a society often do not extend this empathy to **unseen** farm animals, especially poultry.

3. “They will wonder how we could be **blind** to the suffering we are so needlessly inflicting on billions of animals.”
4. At the heart of the **vision** is a high-tech factory housing steel tanks as tall as apartment buildings and conveyor belts rolling out fully formed steaks, millions of pounds a day — enough, astonishingly, to feed an entire nation.
5. The footage, supplied by Mercy for Animals, shows you how the system inflicts unimaginable cruelty on the animals, which are bred to grow really big, really fast, **exposing** many to injury, heart attacks, disease and death
6. They will wonder how we in the early 21st century could have been so **oblivious** to the cruelties that delivered \$4.99 chickens to a Costco rotisserie.
7. There is no question that the animals we raise for food should be **exposed** to the least suffering possible

## FLUID

1. It filled me with a primal fear, like **drowning**.
2. Between 2016 and 2022, investors **poured** almost \$3 billion into cultivated meat and seafood companies.
3. he was amazed to see the way money **poured** into the industry
4. So scaring one dog **stirs** more reaction than far worse treatment of billions of chickens.
5. All this has led many animal welfare advocates to question the wisdom of “humane relocation” and whether all the money that goes toward marketing, bundling and ferrying animals might be better spent stemming the **flow** of dogs into shelters in poor communities.
6. Animals started to **flow** across the country

## NATURAL PHENOMEN

1. A child who plucks out a bird’s feathers may be punished, but corporate executives who torture birds by the billions are **showered** with stock options.
2. To be O.K. with wearing fur now is to be **coldhearted**.
3. But about 10 percent of my donations every year goes to easing, or ending, the suffering of factory farmed animals, which is **mind-melting** in its scale.
4. Today, the factory farms that produce the overwhelming majority of meat, both globally and domestically, are **dark marvels** of technology, as are the carefully bred and managed animals inside them.
5. But we can also see **glimmers** of how it might, one day, end

## FORCE

1. Keith's plan is to open a senior dog center on the property, with orthopedic beds, water treadmills and ramps to help older pups who spent their lives as test subjects **regain** strength and learn socialization skills before they are rehomed.
2. If no adults are going to step in when she does antisocial things, then, no, I won't **subject** my pets and my home to that.
3. California's animal cruelty laws make it a felony to **subject** an animal to "needless suffering" or "unnecessary cruelty" or to cause it to be "cruelly killed."
4. Disease would **rip through** thick flocks, and carcasses would spoil across long trips.
5. Overzealous rescue organizations and shelters, **under pressure** to increase their live-release rates, might be harming animals as well as creating barriers to adoption.

## HEALTH

1. It was magical climate thinking, a delicious **delusion**.
2. Some of the material in this case is truly **stomach-churning**.
3. Time and love will **heal** whatever pain has formed her pervasive fears.
4. Their work to **remedy** local animal suffering is the narrative lens through which the film considers this regionwide problem.

## PHYSICAL PROPERTY

1. To me, the **central** issue is as the philosopher Jeremy Bentham expressed it in the 18th century: "The question is not, can they reason, nor can they talk, but can they suffer?"
2. Meat without killing is the **central** promise of what's come to be known as cultivated meat
3. The government seems to think it is enough that the harm caused by the animal-cruelty depictions **outweighs** their social value, but the First Amendment does not say that Congress can restrict speech if it fails a balancing test.
4. If the kill isn't **clean**, they are pulled through boiling water that defeathers them while still conscious.

## MONEY

1. There are many contentious issues here, but let's leave aside for now the question of how on God's green earth a wild animal's life could possibly be **worth** less than a fashion statement.

2. All are part of an industrial agricultural system that, **at the expense** of animal well-being, has become extremely efficient at producing cheap protein.
3. As a result, animal rescue has become a **retail operation**,
4. celebrate the senseless killing, **buying and selling** of dead animals for bragging rights

#### BUILDING

1. By letting her out to bark, you are rewarding and **reinforcing** the barking.
2. Our highly trained safety reps work hard to make sure that animals are being treated humanely, vigorously **enforce** our stringent guidelines, remove hazards and create the safest environment possible for the animals while under our watchful eye.
3. We **molded** a resourceful carnivore into an animal critically dependent on humans for survival

#### SPORT

4. On Tuesday, the group **scored** a victory when a farm worker in North Carolina was convicted for kicking chickens and stomping them to death.
5. Trying to reduce your pet's anxiety and barking is an admirable **goal**, but you should consider taking responsibility for your dog's behavior yourselves, instead of outsourcing that responsibility to the new neighbors.

#### PRECEDENCE

6. I have a responsibility to my dogs to keep them safe, and that **comes before** that family's "feelings."
7. "It can be done, but animal welfare groups need to **put** the welfare of the animals **first**

#### PLANT

1. All of which has made the cattle business a **ripe** target
2. The more ferocious animals must be "**harvested**" in order to increase the "bag limits" of the other species that are their prey

#### VIEW

1. What's changed over the past century is that we've developed the technology to produce meat in industrialized conditions, and that has **opened vast new vistas** for both production and suffering.
2. Street animals, particularly dogs, are often **a part of the urban landscape** in developing countries.

## CLOTHES

1. Enter a chicken farm and see how your cheap dinner strips the dignity of both the chicken and the farmer.
2. Right-wing politicians in several countries have used controls on such religious practices to press bigoted agendas under **the cloak** of battling for civil or animal rights.

## LOCATION

1. Her fear is **ubiquitous**.

## MACHINE

2. When we slaughter a cow to produce ground beef, we used the cow **as a machine** to turn the plants the cow ate into meat
3. In just a few decades, they will tell you, the industry has evolved from a fragmented, homespun business to a **well-oiled engine** of efficiency that produces wholesome, nutritious products at increasingly affordable prices.

## LANGUAGE

1. I wish you much success in helping your pooch **address** her stress

## FOOD

2. It was magical climate thinking, a **delicious** delusion.

## ANIMAL

1. This dog is a 14-year-old beagle, **gentle as a lamb**, and was chilling in her bed when I suddenly heard her yelp in pain.

## COUNTRY

3. If cows were a **country**, they would be the third-largest greenhouse gas emitter in the world.

## END OF EVENT

4. If you are going to **end** another life, at least end it mercifully

## ENTERTAINMENT

5. We take issue with Kate Murphy's characterization of the practice of animal relocation, which didn't mention vital facts about the critical role it continues to **play** as part of a multifaceted approach to saving homeless animals and its positive effect on local communities.

#### EXPLOSION

6. If a stray dog turns up pregnant, kind souls may find homes for the puppies, but if they don't get the mother dog spayed, and if the puppies don't get spayed or neutered, the number of unwanted pets **explodes**.

#### GUARDIANS

7. Our highly trained safety reps work hard to make sure that animals are being treated humanely, vigorously enforce our stringent guidelines, remove hazards and create the safest environment possible for the animals while **under our watchful eye**.

#### HEART

8. At the **heart** of the vision is a high-tech factory housing steel tanks as tall as apartment buildings and conveyor belts rolling out fully formed steaks, millions of pounds a day — enough, astonishingly, to feed an entire nation.

#### HOUSE

9. In the video, activists from the nonprofit group Mercy for Animals take us behind the industry's **closed doors**, to a place that the chicken barons wish you never saw: the inside of an industrial chicken farm.

#### LIVING BEING

10. Please keep this subject alive in your pages.

#### MARCHING

11. We may disagree about whether existing standards are adequate, but the **march** of moral progress on animal rights is unmistakable.

#### MATERIAL

12. The farming system we rely on is woven through with misery.

#### NOT LETTING BREATH

13. He **snuffed** the life from that magnificent animal, a species threatened with extinction and the largest sheep in the world, using a laser-guided rifle that allowed him to hunt at night, according to a story in ProPublica

#### NOT THINKING

14. But farm animals are often an **afterthought** even in animal-related giving, in which two-thirds of the money goes to shelters.

#### PHYSICAL ACTION

15. Abundant thanks to Ezra Klein for pointing out the horrors of factory farming.

#### PHYSICAL CONTACT

16. Moncayo was also touched by the dog's background.

#### PICTURE

17. Moncayo was also touched by the dog's background.

#### PRISON

18. Even though the judge in the case **barred** much evidence of animal cruelty from being shown, jurors accepted the activists' essential argument that they were rescuing animals, not stealing.

19. Modern chickens have been so genetically modified that their very bodies have become **prisons** of pain even if we open their cages

#### PROTECTION

20. You can't change their behavior to **protect** your dog, but you can make changes to save her from this upset.

#### REPAIRING

21. I didn't need to see what the rest of the images would inevitably reveal: sinews torn, bones splintered, flesh bloody and swollen, great yellow claws **mangled beyond repair**.

#### VALUE

22. Second, the jurors felt that the piglets at issue had no value to Smithfield.



## Republican sub-corpus

### OBJECT

1. If there's one issue Republicans, Democrats, white, black, brown, male and females, young and old should be able to get behind is **strengthening** the laws against animal cruelty and making the punishment fit the sick crime.
2. Earlier this year, scientists began clinical trials for a new treatment for hemangiosarcoma – a cancer that emerges from the blood vessels and kills half of dogs that **contract** it within six months.
3. Earlier this year, Q was diagnosed with a brain tumor and **given** only a few months to live.
4. Almost six in 10 voters want to **cut** federal funding for testing on dogs and cats.
5. Animal rights activists are, bizarrely, **taking** their fight to the humans who are actively saving animals – cancer researchers.
6. Animal research **gives** sick pets a second chance – and lays the groundwork for treatments that could save others down the line.
7. Its efforts to **cut** animal testing spared over 200,000 animals from cruel experiments and saved over \$300 million in unnecessary research costs.
8. All of us should be outraged by the moral horror of conducting painful, useless, and lethal research on the very creatures who for thousands of years have served as our “best friends,” protecting us, comforting us, and **giving** us their unconditional love.
9. And because dogs can **get** the same diseases as humans, scientists at Cornell University used canine DNA to improve the effectiveness of new immunotherapy treatments for cancer.
10. It's time that we **put a stop** to cruel and inhumane experiments and stop treating our best friends in a way we would not treat our worst enemies.
11. The NIH has also stated that “animal models often fail to **provide** good ways to mimic disease or predict how drugs will work in humans.”

12. Children trained to **extend** justice, kindness, and mercy to animals become more just, kind, and considerate in their [interactions] with each other
13. The violence could be **stopped** right there, or it could grow as we've seen too many times before.
14. True, they may not be particularly talented in terms of advancing their agenda, but you cannot deny they are masters at **grabbing** peoples' attention.
15. Through no fault of their own, they were condemned to die because too many people don't believe an animal **has** a right to its own existence.
16. USDA must do more to **crack down** on abusive puppy mills
17. Puppy mills exist to **churn out** puppies for the pet market, selling them online and through pet stores nationwide.
18. Administering drugs shortly before a race can mask the warning signs and symptoms that precede a horse's catastrophic breakdown, while **giving** equine athletes an unfair competitive
19. As one of my former Senate colleagues recently alerted me, the VA has been using taxpayers' money to buy beagles and other hound puppies, **give** them heart attacks, drill into their skulls, addict them to methamphetamine, and collapse their lungs in deadly experiments.
20. The film **brought to light** the problems experienced by captive whales.
21. The animals are anesthetized and then **given** wounds the medics and doctors are likely to see in combat, and the medics perform the appropriate procedures to treat them.
22. The animals are anesthetized and then **given** wounds the medics and doctors are likely to see in combat, and the medics perform the appropriate procedures to treat them.
23. Congress must **crack down** on treacherous pathogen animal experiments before they cause another pandemic.
24. A recent filing from PetSmart states that "defendant PETA is a militant, activist organization headquartered in Norfolk, Virginia, using its cloak as a nonprofit organization to commit criminal wrongdoing to further its fundraising activities and fund its litigation war chest to advance its two goals: ending private ownership of animals and **bestowing** human rights upon animals."

25. If unhappy pigs pose a health danger to the citizens and other residents of California, then regulations aimed at **increasing** their (the pigs') happiness might not be unconstitutional.
26. Those brave, loyal dogs—risking, and sometimes **losing**, their lives—led their handlers and others through jungle thickets
27. When allegations of canine abuse at the Department of Veterans Affairs' (VA) research labs **made headlines** last year, supporters on both sides of the issue went head-to-head — seemingly pitting animal welfare against hope for wounded warriors in a zero-sum game where room for compromise appeared to be nonexistent.
28. VA-funded canine research has **lost** my confidence
29. The research seems to **bear** more costs than benefits, particularly for those of us holding on to a hope that perpetually seems to linger just out of reach.
30. This also means many breakthroughs in animal research increasingly **give** false hope to people, as many drugs that successfully treat conditions in dogs, monkeys and mice ultimately fail in human clinical trials.
31. Or worse, fail after hope was **packaged** and **sold** to someone who believed, in vain, in the effectiveness of a drug when it doesn't perform the same in human physiology
32. Unfortunately, the VA continues to **peddle** hope to justify the use of taxpayers' money for questionable canine research, owing to the fact that there is little public knowledge about the testing and a lack of understanding about its inherent limitations.
33. In May, the Humane Society and a **handful** of other radical animal-rights groups had to write a \$15.8 million check to the Ringling Bros
34. How could anyone quarrel with Mr. Limbaugh's message that we should work with law enforcement to end the cruel and criminal dog-fighting rings that plague our communities and that we should **show** kindness and mercy to God's creatures?
35. Since the VA recently ended the cruel practice of testing on dogs after disgusted outcry from citizens and lawmakers, it's not too much to ask that the same concept be **extended** to cats in the USDA, is it?
36. If the animal-cruelty law doesn't **carry** a harsh-enough penalty, felony burglary and felony larceny — when actually prosecuted — certainly do.

37. Here's another bone to pick with President Biden's cruel open-border policies: The humanitarian disaster has spread into the animal kingdom, **bringing** misery and suffering to dogs.
38. **Heartbreaking** for families and for the hounds.
39. Meanwhile, the population of strays and their litters is growing and will eventually go feral, while many of the pups come from countries with high rabies rates, so this **presents** yet another second-order problem for Americans who live near the border.
40. The reason these horses are **breaking down** and dying is the constant grinding of these immature bodies.”
41. “When dogs used in the Iditarod aren't being forced to run until their paws bleed and their bodies **break down**, they're chained alone in the bitter cold,
42. I don't give a damn for the bullshit politically correct attitude that certain groups of people **have** a 'right' to murder a whale.”
43. But in most of those instances, the abuse of animals arises out of deep poverty and a **loss** of identity.
44. Approximately 13,000 retired thoroughbreds are **packed off** to slaughterhouses.
45. And, local law enforcement officials must pursue the **strongest** penalties possible in cruelty-to-animals cases
46. Hoping w/ all my heart today that end of Ringling Bros. is start of more ppl understanding that mercy for animals is **measure** of our humanity.”

## MOVEMENT

1. Unfortunately, despite the many ethical, economic, environmental and human health benefits of **moving away** from animal testing, the old-fashioned and inefficient practice has become entrenched in the fabric of science, at a cost of billions each year to taxpayers and industry.
2. Records indicate that during the experiments, the animals were vocalizing in pain, **leading** to cordectomies, which involve cutting the vocal cords of animals.
3. NIAID has shown no willingness to reduce their wasteful and cruel animal experiments on their own — they have actually increased it — so Congress must **step in**

4. Desensitizing children to the pain and suffering of animals can **lead** to the kinds of tragedies that we're reeling from right now.
5. So, they **move in inches**, waging wars both culturally and legally.
6. Lately it seems as though HSUS donations have **gone not toward** prevention of animal suffering, but to funding the political agendas of the organization's executives — at a cost to the animals it claims to protect.
7. Known for murdering in cold blood with a sharp blade, the government has nevertheless turned a blind eye to the killer's **trail** of death and destruction.
8. Wrong **approach** to animal rights
9. Wounding and killing animals are not the most effective **ways** to teach medics how to save human lives.
10. It is no longer acceptable for the VA to **stay the course** in this day and age just because it's always been done, especially when other federal agencies have already moved toward adopting alternatives to canine testing.
11. It is no longer acceptable for the VA to stay the course in this day and age just because it's always been done, especially when other federal agencies have already **moved toward** adopting alternatives to canine testing.
12. Eight million stray dogs and cats **find their way** into animal shelters every year, and the lucky ones are adopted into a warm home with a loving family.
13. When it **comes** to hunting issues, we work to curb the most inhumane abuses, and that's what has led us most recently to campaign vigorously against canned hunting, Internet hunting and the use of steel-jawed leg-hold traps - practices that the HSUS and many rank-and-file hunters agree are abusive and unacceptable.
14. When it comes to hunting issues, we work to curb the most inhumane abuses, and that's what has **led** us most recently to campaign vigorously against canned hunting, Internet hunting and the use of steel-jawed leg-hold traps - practices that the HSUS and many rank-and-file hunters agree are abusive and unacceptable.
15. All efforts to return these elephants to the wild have been **met** with disaster.
16. Retiring its elephants **led directly** to the death of Ringling Bros.

17. If there's one issue Republicans, Democrats, white, black, brown, male and females, young and old should be able to **get behind** is strengthening the laws against animal cruelty and making the punishment fit the sick crime.

18. Finally **standing up** to the horrors of horse racing

#### CONTAINER

1. According to the county press release, they found 38 dogs at her residence and although most appeared to be in **“somewhat healthy condition**, some were aggressive or fearful.”
2. Taxpayer dollars should not be funding pain **in innocent animals**.
3. Records indicate that during the experiments, the animals were vocalizing **in pain**, leading to cordectomies, which involve cutting the vocal cords of animals.
4. In March, the Department of Agriculture proposed a new rule that could eliminate some of the worst practices at puppy mills — large commercial puppy breeding operations that often keep hundreds of dogs **in crowded and inhumane conditions**.
5. A recent outbreak of antibiotic resistant disease in humans that was linked to puppies from puppy mills by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention demonstrates the danger of failing to ensure these dogs are kept **in a healthy and safe environment**.
6. As one of my former Senate colleagues recently alerted me, the VA has been using taxpayers' money to buy beagles and other hound puppies, give them heart attacks, drill into their skulls, addict them to methamphetamine, and collapse their lungs **in deadly experiments**.
7. If you're considering a donation to help animals **in need**, steer clear of vegan activists doing much more harm than good.
8. The group takes a worthy cause, protecting animals from abuse, and then uses manipulation and outrageous tactics to an extreme that **goes well outside** decency and fairness and may be even illegal.
9. Proposition 12 bans any California business from knowingly selling to restaurants, wholesalers or the general public pork meat that the business owner knows or should have known came from an animal (wherever raised, i.e., in whatever state or country, e.g., Canada) that had been confined **in a “cruel” manner**
10. Flaco didn't escape, though, but likely fled **in fear** of strangers who threatened him.
11. So the migrants let the pups go to fend for themselves, **amid terrible conditions** and hunger.
12. But at 18 months old, they are **put into intense training**, then launched at two, when they still have their baby Teeth.”

13. Yet we allow these horses to be **pushed beyond their biological limits**, to be drugged, whipped, kept corralled in tiny 12-by-12 stalls for 23 hours a day when they're not spending 30 or so minutes in training they're too young to handle.
14. But animals **born into captivity** don't know how to take care of themselves.
15. The African elephant population is **in historic decline**, driven by the loss of habitat and poaching.

## CONFLICT

1. Despite all this scientific progress – and the many animals that have benefited from it – nearly half of all Americans **oppose** research in animals, according to a recent Gallup survey.
2. This fall, PETA **launched** a public pressure campaign calling for Texas A&M scientists to stop research in dogs that could yield new treatments for muscular dystrophy, which can afflict dogs, cats and humans alike.
3. Fauci's dog experiments are **opposed** by a supermajority of taxpayers, too
4. The context was within a larger broadside against casino capitalism and you can't help but wonder if the big picture of the scene moved conservative viewers to **defend positions they don't actually hold** regarding animal abuse.
5. Unfortunately, radical climate activists are **taking aim** at their diet preferences.
6. Last month, the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals announced that it is **leading** a coalition to demand that U.S. lawmakers adopt policies that target traditional animal agriculture.
7. The ASPCA recently **took an aggressive turn toward** advocating fringe policies that target the food supply chain.
8. So, they move in inches, **waging wars** both culturally and legally.
9. True, they may not be particularly talented in terms of **advancing** their agenda, but you cannot deny they are masters at grabbing peoples' attention.
10. More recently, vegans have **invaded** restaurants and grocery stores to yell and harass the public who want to enjoy a BLT or buy some pork loin
11. SeaWorld had been **attacked** for decades from fringe animal liberation activists who don't want orcas at parks or animals in zoos.
12. When allegations of canine abuse at the Department of Veterans Affairs' (VA) research labs made headlines last year, supporters on both sides of the issue **went head-to-head** — seemingly pitting animal welfare against hope for wounded warriors in a zero-sum game where room for compromise appeared to be nonexistent.

## DIRECTION

1. Ending this archaic research doesn't place the needs of dogs **above** veterans.
2. Groups put their anti-meat and -dairy agenda **above** protecting animals
3. I urge readers to contact their representatives in Congress and let them know that they oppose putting the lives of animals **above** those of our troops.
4. Animals are of a **lower order**, which makes them legitimate subjects for medical research. This puts the responsibility for humane care and procedure squarely on humans, including humans at the Veterans Administration.
5. I could swallow the fact that a few animals might experience pain **under** controlled, humane circumstances, as long as it was necessary and effective for achieving the scientific breakthroughs that would mitigate suffering for veterans and others.
6. First, VA researchers are not inclined to openly admit that similarities between animals and humans often do not **overcome** the genetic differences between the two species.
7. But in most of those instances, the abuse of animals **arises** out of deep poverty and a loss of identity.
8. California puts pigs **over** people — but Supreme Court could stop it from imposing its agenda on all America
9. Think about the frequency of death, how often racehorses collapse on the track, only to be hauled off and euthanized or put down on the track itself

## VISIBILITY

1. The film **brought to light** the problems experienced by captive whales.
2. Much animal rescue is legitimate and above board, but states and the federal government need to crack down on bad actors and provide proper regulation and **transparency**, both in how these groups raise money and in how they conduct operations.
3. Not everyone is privy to the detailed reports that **shed light** on an issue this complex, and I feel it's my responsibility to **bring that information to light** now given my past position
4. Don't expect it to end here: If the zealots can finish off the circus, they'll **set their sights** on zoos and aquariums next.
5. Known for murdering in cold blood with a sharp blade, the government has nevertheless **turned a blind eye** to the killer's trail of death and destruction.
6. All in service of a multibillion dollar industry that largely **looks the other way**.

## HEALTH



1. If there's one issue Republicans, Democrats, white, black, brown, male and females, young and old should be able to get behind is strengthening the laws against animal cruelty and making the punishment fit the **sick** crime.
2. Legislation that requires prompt reporting of animal cruelty filmed on farms serves a **vital** purpose in combating animal abuse.
3. How could anyone quarrel with Mr. Limbaugh's message that we should work with law enforcement to end the cruel and criminal dog-fighting rings that **plague** our communities and that we should show kindness and mercy to God's creatures?
4. Welcome to the age of the **pandemic** puppyhood.
5. Here's another bone to pick with President Biden's cruel open-border policies: The humanitarian disaster has **spread** into the animal kingdom, bringing misery and suffering to dogs.

## PERSON

1. I also directed the agency to retire healthy animals no longer needed for research
2. All of us should advocate that every effort is made to ensure that no harm comes to any animal who participates in a research study, that there is no induction of illness or injury, and that the animals are not euthanized.
3. "They do not believe we should look at the human benefit" of using animals for drug testing, food or clothing, Smith said, adding that foremost on American animal rights' groups agenda at the moment is to allow animals to sue humans directly
4. Researchers could soon be growing a human kidney in a pig for implantation, and perhaps a generation from now man's best friend could be endowed with the mental ability to, say, serve in Congress (perhaps there's not so far to go).
5. Shelters are operated by small charities usually called "humane societies," whose good deeds are funded by private generosity.

## BUILDING

1. Animal lovers should support animal research, not condemn it.
2. Animal research gives sick pets a second chance – and lays the groundwork for treatments that could save others down the line.
3. Radical animal rights groups build supporters by claiming their mission is to prevent the abuse of cats and dogs.

4. Administering drugs shortly before a race can mask the warning signs and symptoms that precede a horse's catastrophic breakdown, while giving equine athletes an unfair competitive advantage.

#### LANGUAGE

1. If there's one thing that ticks me off
2. Animal tests translate poorly to humans but Biden refuses to end it
3. Scientists widely acknowledge that animal testing poorly translates to humans
4. I fear that my 14-year-old son, who's the same age as many of the young people whose lives ended so abruptly when they were gunned down in Florida, will be a victim of gun violence at school if acts of cruelty to animals are not addressed.

#### HIDING

1. The introduction of this bill and the corresponding theatrical press conference is just the latest example of animal rights extremists pushing their radical agenda under the guise of helping animals.
2. What's going on here is the international trafficking of animals, often under the guise of "animal rescue."
3. They've been allowed to operate under this cloak of secrecy for nearly 100 years
4. Administering drugs shortly before a race can mask the warning signs and symptoms that precede a horse's catastrophic breakdown, while giving equine athletes an unfair competitive advantage.

#### PHYSICAL PROPERTY

1. That may enable them to produce a better press conference to serve their larger purpose of making farming look bad, but it doesn't help the animals.
2. Known for murdering in cold blood with a sharp blade, the government has nevertheless turned a blind eye to the killer's trail of death and destruction.
3. But in most of those instances, the abuse of animals arises out of deep poverty and a loss of identity.

#### FORCE

1. An important question to ask here is, if the airlines cave to this pressure and prevent the supposedly inhumane practice of transporting research animals by air, aren't they actually subjecting these animals to a longer and more arduous method of travel?

2. Nobody likes torturing dogs, or even cats, and the Veterans Administration is under pressure to stop certain experiments
3. Last month SeaWorld caved to pressure from animal rights extremists

#### PERSON WITH A MENTAL DISORDER

1. Then again, these loons also talk about rats' "emotionally rich lives."
2. But the fantasy that circus acts abuse their stars is central to the outrage of the animal-rights nuts.
3. And New York's bought-and-paid-for pols will aid these nuts — even if everyone else suffers.

#### SUPERNATURAL PHENOMENON

1. A monster in the body of a woman dropped into a dumpster and it gets worse -- those weren't the only dogs she mistreated.
2. Instead, they unwittingly pay for demonizing hunting, encouraging vegetarian diets, promoting global-warming hysteria and devising outlandish rules to drive meat producers out of business.
3. Circus beasts are already protected by federal, state and city laws.

#### LOCATION

1. Part of being responsible for ourselves includes defending and protecting those creatures who are at our mercy.
2. Animal research gives sick pets a second chance - and lays the groundwork for treatments that could save others down the line.
3. Simply put, animal abuse has no place in our national budget.

#### FLAG

1. Cruelty to animals is a red flag for future violence
2. Cruelty to animals is a big red flag

#### PLANT

1. The violence could be stopped right there, or it could grow as we've seen too many times before.
2. Why ban foie gras but not other meats rooted in animal cruelty?

#### NATURAL PHENOMENON

1. He says the documents shed light on cruelty in “substandard roadside zoos, shameful animal circuses, puppy breeding factories and more,” the magazine states.
2. These impious emissions would come to an end as an eco-friendly helicopter rains fire upon 600 to 750 camels each day.

#### FOOD

1. Are our pets gobbling up the planet?
2. I could swallow the fact that a few animals might experience pain under controlled, humane circumstances, as long as it was necessary and effective for achieving the scientific breakthroughs that would mitigate suffering for veterans and others.

#### BODY

1. Here’s hoping the more adult lawmakers find the spine to ignore the animal-rights activists

#### CHAIN

2. The link between killing animals and violence against humans is indisputable, and nearly every, if not all, serial killer and mass murderer has first “practiced” their crimes on animals

#### CRIME

3. Biden and his team killed my plan to end animal tests and save bunnies

#### CLOTHES

4. If there’s one issue Republicans, Democrats, white, black, brown, male and females, young and old should be able to get behind is strengthening the laws against animal cruelty and making the punishment fit the sick crime.

#### GAMBLING

5. Animal research gives sick pets a second chance – and lays the groundwork for treatments that could save others down the line.

#### LIVING BEING

6. Mayor de Blasio failed to destroy the carriage-horse business and throw drivers out of work, but now he’s working with the City Council to kill the last traditional circus that still comes to town.

#### MONEY

7. This unnecessary federal spending buys the death of majestic birds of prey.

## NOT LETTING BREATH

8. some 16-year old kid is a frigging ‘hero’ for snuffing out the life of this unique self-aware, intelligent, social, sentient being, but hey, it’s okay because murdering whales is a part of his culture, part of his tradition

## PHYSICAL CONTACT

9. You may find California’s solicitousness for pigs’ welfare touching, but there are consequences.

## PRIZE

10. Although PETA often does go overboard (e.g., throwing paint on people wearing fur coats is a criminal act not likely to win the group any supporters), I disagree with Mr. Patterson’s apparent belief that animals exist merely to serve human purposes.

## PURSUER

11. I have worked in an academic research laboratory where animals were used for research, and while staff treated them as well as possible, it was obvious those animals could not escape their fate.

## SCALES

12. The lives of thousands of our countless feathered friends hang in the balance.