

## Research Article

## Open Access

Liudmila Arcimaviciene, Vida Jonaitiene

# Metaphor Evaluation of Leadership Styles: A Case Study of Presidential New Year Greetings

**Abstract:** By using the analytical framework of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) and procedurally employing Pragglejaz Group's Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP), this study aims at evaluating metaphor use in the narrative of presidential New Year greetings of twelve political leaders. The evaluation of the identified 409 metaphoric clusters has demonstrated that different political leaders evoke two power skills within the ethical dimension: hard and soft. Furthermore, it has been clarified that hard power leadership is more varied at its three conceptual levels of semantic representation: pragmatic, intermediary and transactional. The clarified metaphoric utterances have revealed that female leaders are more democratic in their conceptualisation and linguistic preferences than their male counterparts, i.e. the male leaders tend to prioritise competitive forcefulness over cognitive empathy and community concerns, while the female leaders tend to emphasize the importance of a unified and compassionate approach to solving social and political problems.

**Keywords:** Critical metaphor analysis; leadership styles; political discourse.

DOI 10.1515/opli-2015-0006

Received October 16, 2014; accepted February 19, 2015;

## 1 Introduction

Modern politics today is powerfully enacted through the use of language. Political leaders, who successfully manage power relations, are able to project the use of such language that is appealing to audiences at socio-psychological and emotional levels. Thus, metaphor is perceived as one of the major conceptual tools by which social reality is systematically and ideologically represented and can be realized linguistically. This study contributes to a further development of the role metaphor plays in political discourse, in particular the contribution of metaphor to the construal of a leadership style through sharing particular representations of social reality, specifically in the narrative of presidential New Year greetings.

The analysis of metaphor in political discourse as valued for its ideological nature has been widely discussed in the research of numerous cognitive linguists and discourse analysts: Goatly (2007), Lakoff (1996, 2006, 2011), Charteris-Black (2009, 2011), Chilton (1996), Koller (2004, 2009), Musolff (2006), Mey (2006) etc. Moreover, metaphor research is particularly valued for its interdisciplinary nature. The implied ideology of metaphoric utterances allows researchers to demonstrate the underlying perceptions of social life at its different levels. Previous research has determined how and why metaphoric intricacies of capitalist ideology affect modern life (Goatly 2007), or how the conservative populism prevails over liberalism as being reflected in the social problems of immigration, economic discrimination of workers against corporations, abortion, terrorism etc. (Lakoff 2004, 2006), or why and how women are perceived differently from men in business media discourse (Koller 2004).

This study aims at analysing metaphoric usages in terms of their implied ideology and representative leadership styles in the New Year greetings of twelve political leaders. This particular narrative of a New

---

\*Corresponding author: **Liudmila Arcimaviciene:** Vilnius University, Vilnius, Lithuania, E-mail: liudmila.arcimaviciene@gmail.com

**Vida Jonaitiene:** Vilnius University, Vilnius, Lithuania

Year greeting has been purposefully selected, as it is expected to both inspire and project leaders' positive expectations of their country, their citizens or life in general. Thus, the analysis of the New Year greetings will reveal what kind of positive representation is preferable by different leaders and how it is metaphorically construed and, finally, what its implications in terms of the projected leadership style are.

Before presenting the research findings the concept of ideology will be considered in relation to metaphor. Then the leadership styles as proposed by Joseph Nye will be overviewed and discussed in comparison to Lakoff's Family metaphors. In the section after that, the research data and methodology will be described, and then the research findings will be presented in accordance with the identified leadership styles before the concluding remarks.

## 2 The ideological power of metaphor

The current research of metaphor in political narratives is particularly valued for its ideological implications. Metaphor here means what cognitive linguists and critical discourse analysts refer to as a mental model and a discourse structure that can be explored for its ideological implications (see Janda 2000; Grady 1999; Gibbs 1999; Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Kövecses 2002, 2009). Goatly (2007: 35) argues that metaphorical models have ideological implications in the sense that "they are recruited and used by those exerting economic, scientific, political or personal power". As pointed out by Charteris-Black (2011: 28), metaphor is used for ideological purposes because it "activates unconscious emotional associations"; hence, politicians use metaphor to tell the right story. Similarly, when van Dijk defines ideology as a form of socially shared and distributed cognition, he acknowledges that it "may control many kinds of social practice" (van Dijk 2011:384). As a result, he argues that ideologies and their structures "influence attitudes, mental models and the choice of discourse structures" (van Dijk 2011: 395). At the same time, discourse structures are also determined by one's personal and social history, interests and concerns (Chilton 2004, 2005; Goatly 2007; Mey 2006; Turner 2001). Thus, metaphor analysis makes it possible to determine the prevailing attitudes shaped by personal and social contexts.

Another reason why the analysis of metaphoric clusters in terms of their implied ideological meaning is significant is because of the nature of ideology itself. People are generally unaware that they are influenced by certain ideologies as dispersed in their social contexts. As argued by van Dijk (2011:389), "members may barely be aware of the general ideologies influencing their concrete opinions and conduct". Another important feature of ideologies, as further described by van Dijk, is that they serve "to defend the *interests* of a group" or "to articulate especially the relationship to other – dominant, dominated or competing – social groups" (van Dijk 2011:382). This ideological dichotomy of Self vs. Other is one of the most frequently realised patterns in political discourse. It is upon this ideological axis that a significant part of political relations is structured and developed.

In a similar view, Charteris-Black (2009:100) claims that metaphor as one of the "linguistic, cognitive and symbolic resources is employed by political leaders for communicating ideology" along this bi-polar axis. This is done by establishing a shared view of what is right against arbitrary decisions about what is wrong, i.e. the so-called engagement in a process of self-legitimation through which power relations are construed. It is argued that ideology is presented through metaphor that allows a politician to heighten one's positive qualities by self-representation. Self-representation by a politician provides the basis for representing one's followers as insiders sharing the ethical virtues of the leaders, while opponents to the leaders' views are presented as outsiders. This view of metaphor fits well with van Dijk's ideological square of group relations, according to which, the ideology can be presented at four levels that can be pair-grouped in opposition. The first level of emphasising our good things generally goes in parallel with the second level of emphasizing their bad things, while the third level of de-emphasizing our bad things is complemented with the fourth level of de-emphasizing their good things.

Similarly, Chilton and Schäffner (2011) discuss the significance of analysing the language of politics in terms of strategic functions referred to as links between political situations and linguistic actions. One variety of the strategic actions is labelled as legitimization (i.e. Us) or de-legitimation (i.e. Them).

To be more precise, the former refers to positive self-representation, while the latter stands for negative other-representation. Metaphor is thus treated as one of the crucial semantic mechanisms of producing political meanings and communicating conceptualizations of reality within the axis of Us vs. Them. Chilton and Schäffner raise an aspect of perceptive evaluation to prove how ideology fits into the framework of metaphor analysis understanding metaphors require both the speaker and audience to know and share certain values.

As based on the above assumptions, this study aims to evaluate metaphoric utterances in the New Year greetings of various political leaders in terms of their implied ideological meaning and leadership styles. The modelling of leadership styles is based on the insights provided by Joseph S. Nye about *hard* and *soft* power skills and George Lakoff's theory of Family metaphors in contemporary politics. In the following section, Nye's leadership styles and Lakoff's metaphors will be outlined and compared with the purpose of further implementing them while discerning the implied ideological meaning of metaphoric expressions.

### 3 Nye's Leadership Styles and Lakoff's FAMILY Metaphors

As Joseph S. Nye (2008: 18) defines, "leadership means mobilising people for a purpose". Thus, leadership can be treated as a relationship that orients and mobilizes followers. He also argues that a leader is someone who helps a group create and "achieve shared goals" (Nye 2008, 18). In that sense, presidential New Year greetings are appropriate for analysing the nature of goals shared by a political leader with the audience. Besides, the concept of leadership is inseparable from the concept of power. In Nye's view there are two kinds of power that can be exerted by leaders: hard and soft. Hard power refers to a direct command style and coercive behaviour; while soft power is a combination of inducement and attraction or the so-called co-optive style of leadership (Nye 2008: 27-30). As Nye points out, "Hard and soft power are related because they are both approaches to achieving one's purpose and affecting the behaviour of other" (Nye 2008, 39). Furthermore, he puts forward an argument that hard and soft power in combination can reinforce a successful leadership style when done in proportion with different situations.

However, Nye maintains the position that these two power skills should not be related to gender differences. It might be generally assumed that parallels can be drawn between hard power and masculine style, or soft power and feminine style. Nonetheless, according to Nye, the stereotypes of men's nature as coercive and competitive heroism based on hierarchical relational skills, and women's ability to collaborate and nurture based on non-hierarchical skills "do not capture the full complexity of the change that is occurring" (Nye 2008:50). By contrast, as argued by Nye, the appropriate style of leadership—"when to use hard or soft power—in a networked world is equally relevant for men and women and should not be clouded by traditional gender stereotypes".

Despite this argument of assuming equality in the modern world of democratization and networking, different fields of research have shown the opposite result – that gender does play a certain role. For example, Charteris-Black's (2009) comparison of metaphors used by male and female politicians has shown that conventional metaphors are more widely spread among male politicians due to their longer experience of political discourse. Koller (2009) has determined that metaphors dominating business media discourse create an aggressive and gender-biased working climate. Cameron (2006) and Weatherall (2002) notice that the ways language is used routinely in stereotypical, and biased ways in social interaction and through social practices and institutional structures reproduce a view of girls and women that demeans and disadvantages them. Lazar and Kramarae (2011) also note that despite significant social changes improving women's position across the world, "most women throughout the world are still bunched together in the same type of jobs, earn less than men, have more difficulty obtaining leadership positions, and do most of the household work and care for children and the elderly" (Lazar and Kramarae 2011: 224).

The same gender bias can be detected in contemporary media. There are numerous instances in the Western media sources when male politicians are criticized for being 'softies', while female politicians are diminished for their attempts to adopt a 'hard' masculine tone. The best representative of soft power leadership is the US President Barack Obama. Frequently he is criticized for this kind of approach to politics

in the media, as can be traced in the following recent headlines: “President Obama Goes Soft in MH17 Speech” (The Wire–July 21, 2014 by Adam Chandler), “Once again, tough talk followed by soft action against Vladimir Putin” (The Telegraph– July 23, 2014), etc. As for women in politics, Hillary Clinton is frequently being criticized for being too masculine, as discussed in the opinion article of Gender, Politics & Political Cartoons by Curtis (2009). Such discussions are possibly due to the prevailing stereotypical judgments of masculinity and femininity in both media and readership. The unavoidable reality of deeply entrenched stereotypes and myths was rightly noted by Simone de Beauvoir (1997: 290), e.g.:

*‘<...> through the myths this society imposed its laws and customs upon individuals in a picturesque, effective manner; it is under a mythical form that the group imperative is indoctrinated into each conscience. Through such intermediaries as religions, traditions, language, tales, songs, movies, the myths penetrate even into such existences as are most harshly enslaved to material realities’.* [My underline]

Hence, the analysis of language and more specifically metaphor can reveal the underlying myths of the unconscious as related to moral issues. Lakoff (1996) has discerned two moral systems underlying contemporary US politics: strict father and nurturing parent morality. The characteristic features of the Strict Father morality are expressed through the metaphor of GOVERNMENT IS A STRICT FATHER, in the conceptual framework of which leaders are perceived as fierce, competitive, driven by individual or group interests, and organizing power relations vertically (Lakoff 1996, 2004). Similarly, the leaders with hard power skills, according to Nye, prefer to manipulate others by coercive and commanding tactics; by contrast, the leaders who use soft power skills aim at cooperating and attracting followers by sharing values without threats or inducements (Nye 2008: 28-29).

Both scholars also discuss bi-conceptual populism, when a leader combines two power skills—hard and soft—or frames one’s political debate and acts in terms of two metaphor systems—Strict Father and Nurturing. The US President Obama is implementing such combined style of leadership. As Nye points out, “While it is still too early to judge the success of the Obama presidency, it is interesting to see President Obama demonstrating these skills in his calm response to crises, his communication of vision, and his organizational approach” (Nye 2008:x). In a similar manner Lakoff (2011) observes, “War-like competitiveness fits conservative not progressive thought. But there is a form of competitiveness that does fit progressive thought: Personal best! The race with oneself! It is what Obama has called The Ethic of Excellence in his great Father’s Day speech of 2008, where he defined democracy in terms of empathy, social and personal responsibility and a demand for excellence.”

As based on the above assumptions, leaders’ narratives will be analysed in terms of the implied ideological meaning of metaphors, on the basis of which the complementary features of two leadership styles will be determined: *hard* (Strict Father Morality) and *soft* (Nurturing Parent Morality). In the following section, the collected data, methodology and key research findings will be presented.

## 4 Research Data and Methodology

This study raises two objectives as follows. First, on the basis of the prevalent metaphoric utterances, the conventional metaphors in Presidential New Year Greetings are to be retrieved; second, the implied ideology will be considered in terms of speaker’s leadership style in its ethic dimension as related to hard or soft power skills.

To achieve the above mentioned goals, the New Year greetings of twelve political leaders were collected (four female and eight male political leaders) in the time span of four years (i.e. 2010–2014). The overall data has totalled 12207 words and 409 metaphoric expressions. This particular genre of political communication has been selected for the following reasons. It is generally assumed that the New Year is a period of new hopes, new beginnings and a brighter future. This message is even more intensified when the leader of a country formally acknowledges it. Thus, New Year presidential greetings involve both a moral portrait of the speaker and his/her perceptive projection of the up-coming year, i.e. sounding right and having the

right intentions. As the president is one of the key political and moral authorities in a country, his/her greetings have intensified emotional significance in terms of giving moral and political encouragement to the audience for the New Year to come.

While collecting the New Year greetings of leaders from different parts of the world, it has been clarified that there are two types: (1) those that target the general public, usually a radio and TV broadcast and (2) those that address diplomatic corps. Only the greetings of the first type have been selected for this study due to their stronger emotional appeal, i.e. while addressing the general audience, the speaker aims both to sound right and show one's right intentions for the nation and its future.

The following Presidents' New Year Greetings covering the time span of five years (2009–2014) were collected from the online presidential sites of each country and analysed (see Table 1): three greetings (2010, 2011, 2012) by the President of Lithuania Dalia Grybauskaitė, one address by the German Chancellor Angela Merkel (2013), one address by the Prime Minister of Norway Erna Solberg (2013), one address by the Prime Minister of Australia Julia Gillard (2012), two greetings made by the President of Russia Dmitrij Medvedev (2011, 2012), two greetings by the current President of Russia Vladimir Putin (2013, 2014), one greeting by the President of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko (2014), one address by the President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov (2014), two addresses by the President of Estonia Toomas Hendrik Ilves (2011, 2013), one address (2012) by the President of Latvia Andris Bērziņš, two addresses by the UK Prime Minister David Cameron (2012, 2013), and one address by the President of France François Hollande (2013).

All the greetings were collected by upholding two main principles: (1) the greetings are available online at the presidential sites of each country; (2) their English versions are provided. It should be noted that the collected data only consists of the English versions of the New Year Greetings. This fact should not belittle the value of the study, as it aims at evaluating the leadership style of the speaker based on his/her perceptions of the New Year for a country, which is reflected in the metaphor use. Even more, the English versions of the greetings target a global audience and thus have greater persuasive value and, expectedly, raise a higher level of expectation.

The empirical basis for the present study was elaborated by hand searching for metaphor use in the collected data. Based on Charteris-Black's (2004: 39) three-stage model of critical metaphor analysis—(1) metaphor identification, (2) metaphor interpretation and (3) metaphor explanation—the collected research data was analysed. The first stage of the research was to identify metaphoric expressions or recognize linguistic metaphors. The second stage was to interpret conceptual metaphors (i.e. A IS B) and underlying pragmatic factors. Finally, the retrieved conceptual metaphors were explained in terms of their social role in persuasion.

**Pragglejaz Group's MIP** (Pragglejaz Group 2007) was employed as a research tool to identify metaphoric utterances in the selected texts. The main principle of the procedure is to analyse the contextual and basic meanings of every linguistic unit and decide whether these two meanings contrast but can be understood in comparison to each other (Pragglejaz Group 2007:9). If yes, the unit is marked as metaphoric.

The clarification of metaphoric utterances in the selected texts has led to the following findings reproduced in Table 1 below.

**Table 1:** Research findings

Leaders	NY Greetings	Linguistic metaphors	Conventional Source Domains
<b>LT President Dalia Grybauskaitė</b>	2010, 2011, 2012	42	STRENGTH /UNITY JOURNEY PERSONIFICATION
<b>DE Chancellor Angela Merkel</b>	2013	37	JOURNEY TOGETHERNESS/ BALANCE COMPETITION
<b>NO Prime Minister Erna Solberg</b>	2013	32	NURTURANCE COMMODITY JOURNEY

Leaders	NY Greetings	Linguistic metaphors	Conventional Source Domains
<b>AU Prime Minister Julia Gillard</b>	2012	8	JOURNEY COMMODITY PERSONIFICATION
<b>RU President Dmitrij Medvedev</b>	2011, 2012	27	PERSONIFICATION JOURNEY COMPETITION
<b>RU President Vladimir Putin</b>	2013, 2014	35	PERSONIFICATION JOURNEY COMPETITION & STRENGTH
<b>BY President Alexander Lukashenko</b>	2014	26	COMMODITY JOURNEY COMPETITION
<b>UZ President Karimov</b>	2014	33	CONSTRUCTION STRUCTURE JOURNEY
<b>LV President AndrisBerzins</b>	2012	47	PERSONIFICATION JOURNEY STRUCTURE
<b>EE President ToomanHendrikIlves</b>	2011, 2012	55	JOURNEY PERSONIFICATION COMMODITY
<b>UK Prime Minister David Cameron</b>	2012, 2013	65	PERSONIFICATION COMMODITY COMPETITION /CHANGE
<b>FR President François Hollande</b>	2013	49	JOURNEY COMPETITION PERSONIFICATION

The analysis has shown that presidents predominantly use such conventional metaphors as LIFE/POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, COUNTRY IS A PERSON, POLITICS IS COMPETITION, STATE IS A STRUCTURE. The two source domains of JOURNEY and PERSONIFICATION have been found in the greetings of all speakers. Their use implies about the two general assumptions: (1) life and politics are two complementary journeys and a new year offers new opportunities and new challenges in that journey; (2) a country is seen as a person dealing with these challenges and new opportunities. It has been observed that the JOURNEY metaphor is deeply rooted in western thought due to the linear perception of time (see Johnson 1993; Lakoff and Johnson 1999; Lakoff 1987; Chilton 2004); hence, a new year is seen as a new path towards a better future. Similarly, personification is another widely used source domain in political rhetoric; personification, as reflected in the STATE IS A PERSON metaphor is one of the basic foreign policy metaphors which allows us to perceive the world as a community where each state has its own 'status' and 'responsibilities' (see Lakoff and Chilton 1989, Lakoff 1996, 2004; Charteris-Black 2011).

Despite the conventional nature of metaphoric frames, the clarified usages of metaphoric utterances have shown that leaders apply different styles of leadership. The differences are caused by the factor of varied intentions as implied by metaphoric utterances. It has been determined that the New Year greetings of twelve political leaders evoke two power skills within the ethical dimension: hard and soft. In the following sections, each of the two kinds of leadership styles will be described in terms of their metaphoric construal.

## 5 Results and Discussion

The study has shown that the conventional metaphors underlying the presidential New Year greetings are mainly associated with hard power skills evoked through the concepts of coercion, forcefulness, exertion of strength for the purpose of manipulating or submitting others to one's authority. It has been determined that

the concepts associated with hard power can also be extended to the meaning of transactional relationship. As Nye observes, “In democracies, force is not a significant option, so hard power resources of coercion and inducement consist mainly of hiring, bullying, buying, and bargaining” (Nye 2008, 65). The findings have shown that there are leaders who represent these two dimensions of hard power skills: (1) the more coercive dimension and (2) the more transactional dimension. The former might be perceived as a less democratic kind of power, while the latter is more democratic in its conceptual integration and ethic effectiveness. The ideological structure of hard power leadership is outlined graphically in Figure 1.

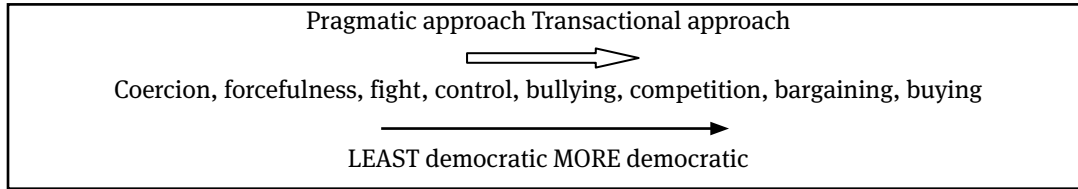


Figure 1. The Complexity of Hard Power Skills

Metaphoricity of hard power leadership is a complex construal that can be evoked at different levels of meaning associations. The most negative level is associated with pure pragmatic intentions, coercion, forcefulness, fighting etc. The transactional approach is the least extreme expression of hard power, based on the implicit reframing of such concepts as bargaining, buying, calculating etc. Additionally, there are a few intermediary concepts referring to both approaches: control, bullying and competition, and the degree of their emotional intensity is context-bound. It has been determined that most of the political leaders evoke the hard power leadership style in their narrative, as reproduced in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Hard Power Leadership Style by Source Domains

Leaders	Pragmatic Approach → Transactional Approach		
	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
RU President Putin	Strong Russia + COMPETITION		
UZ President Karimov	FORCE + CONSTRUCTION		
BY President Lukashenko		COMMODITY + COMPETITION	
RU President Medvedev		Our Russia + COMPETITION	
LV President Berzins		COMPETITION + FOUNDATION	
UK Prime Minister Cameron			COMPETITION + CHANGE
EE President Ilves			COMMODITY + COMMERCE
AU Prime Minister Gillard			COMPETITION + good things
LT President Grybauskaitė			STRENGTH + TOGETHERNESS
DE Chancellor Merkel			TOGETHERNESS + COMPETITION

The first level, or pragmatic approach, was found to be dominant in Putin, Karimov and Lukashenko’s narratives; the second level was maintained by Medvedev and Berzins; finally, the third level was evoked in the narratives of Ilves, Cameron, Gillard, Grybauskaitė and Merkel. Each of these trends of hard power skills

will be discussed in greater detail in terms of the prevalent conventional metaphors and their linguistic realisation and ideological implications.

## 5.1 Metaphors of Hard Power Leadership: Level 1

In his New Year messages (2013, 2014) Mr Putin emphasizes the significance of Russia by projecting it as a strong and undefeatable person. This personified metaphor is similar in sense to the mythical idol of Mother Russia that encourages national unity; however, in this case, it is evoked not only to unite but also used to encourage an aggressive attitude towards ‘others’. The combined use of the two metaphors - RUSSIA IS A PERSON and POLITICS IS COMPETITION- has implied that the icons of external forces are threatening national unity. An important ethical dimension of these metaphors is that they are employed to unite the nation for the purpose of creating a divide from other nations thus popularizing external threats. For example:

- (1) *We also realize that our personal hopes are inseparable from **the fate of Russia** and from our feelings of love and gratitude towards our country. Its future depends on our **solidarity**, responsibility, energy, hard work and efforts **to do good and be useful for it. Only unity** can successfully **carry the Russian people through tribulations** and help them **meet challenges**, solve problems, **stride forward**, build a **strong** and successful modern state, enhance prosperity and **safeguard freedom**. <...>! A happy and prosperous family spells a **mighty** and **unassailable Russia!** (Putin, NYG 2013)*

The excerpt in (1) summarizes the conventional metaphors evoked in Putin’s narrative: STATE IS A PERSON, MORALITY IS STRENGTH, and POLITICS IS COMPETITION (see Table 1). The personification in (1) is illustrated by the metaphoric utterance “the fate of Russia”, while the STRENGTH metaphor is realised by such expressions as “solidarity” and “unity”, whereby one who is solid and unified is seen as stronger. The conflated metaphoric frames of personification and morality as strength are embedded in the expression of “a strong and successful modern state”. The examples of the JOURNEY metaphor are clarified by the utterances, “carry the Russian people through tribulations”, “meet challenge”, or “stride forward” as a part of the PROBLEM IS AN OBSTACLE metaphor. Finally, the COMPETITION metaphor is evoked in such metaphoric utterances as “safeguard freedom” and “mighty and unassailable Russia”. The implied meaning of this metaphor is the emotional intensity of the ideological opposition, Us [Russia] vs. Them [enemies]. This is especially implied by the expressions “safeguard freedom” or “unassailable”, as both evoke the presence of an enemy against whom freedom has to be safeguarded and who can eventually attack.

Another leader whose rhetoric is dominated by the features of hard power leadership in its strictest view is president of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov. His narrative is dominated by three conventional metaphors: POLITICS IS CONSTRUCTION, STATE IS A STRUCTURE, and POLITICS IS A JOURNEY. These metaphoric frames are based on the concept of force seen as a necessary attribute to strength, i.e. one of the basic meanings of strength refers to “the capacity of an object or substance to withstand great force”, at the same time, being strong also necessitates the exertion of force. Thus, politics is viewed through the process of a fierce construction or journey. The following excerpt in (2) illustrates how such metaphoric construal is realised linguistically.

- (2) *Summing up the outcomes of the year we are seeing off, with enormous delight do we **mark** our nation’s **confident strides toward** the achievement of ends we have set out to further, namely, to join the ranks of advanced democratic nations, **step up** the standards and quality of life in our society, and **cement** Uzbekistan’s **mounting eminence** at the international arena. The outgoing year has proved genuinely prolific and successful in terms of the steadfast development of the country, the **consolidation** of its potential<...>These endeavors have also been **spearheading** the **cardinal transformation** in the appearance of our urban and rural areas, the growth in the social welfare of people, and the **reinforcement** of the reliable **foundation** of the future of our nation <...>We should also **consolidate** the friendly relations with neighboring nations, ensure the security of the country as well as the **inviolability of its borders**, and hence **bolster** the capabilities of our armed forces, realizing that all this is an imperative requirement of the contemporary volatile times we live in. (Karimov, NYG 2014)*



In the excerpt, the salient feature of hard power leadership is carried over through the active verbs “step up, cement, consolidate, bolster” due to their shared semantic property related to the exertion of force or strength. Similarly, the nouns demonstrate the same semantic property of strength or forcefulness activated by the following metaphoric utterances: “confident strides”, “consolidation”, “cardinal transformation” and “reinforcement”. Also, the metaphoric utterances “mounting eminence” and “inviolability of borders” evoke two symbols of hard power ideology: 1) Syndrome of Greatness (e.g. “**cement Uzbekistan’s mounting eminence at the international arena**”) and 2) External Enemy (e.g. “**ensure the security of the country as well as the inviolability of its borders, and hence bolster the capabilities of our armed force**”). The former is related to the political struggle for superiority, while the latter signifies the competitive self-representation as based on the ideological opposition: Us vs. Them (enemies).

Similarly, despite the metaphors of COMMODITY and COMPETITION, the president of Belarus Lukashenko’s greetings evoke the pragmatic level of hard power leadership. The metaphors employed by the speaker show that president Lukashenko evaluates a competitive approach to politics positively, and his intentions are to emphasize how successful Belarus is in that competition. At the same time, the emotional impact of the COMPETITION metaphor is intensified by the transactional nature of the COMMODITY metaphor, due to its negative ideology reflected in the commoditisation of people, emotions, country etc. Finally, these metaphors are embedded in the Strict Father Morality frame, whereby the president speaks of his nation as a family, and he is a father who knows what is best for his family. The following excerpt in (3) illustrates the communicative value and ideological stereotypes, by which the president’s perceptions are governed.

- (3) *We were like a big family. Each of us was an integral part of a great and proud unity, which is called Belarus. <...>We all have got to like this feeling and sometimes we do not even realize that living in our own land, breathing its air, drinking its crystal water, being its loved sons and caring owners, knowing that nothing but for our own mind and conscience can rule over us are part and parcel of sheer happiness. The fact that we have this happiness that we managed to defend it fills our hearts with confidence and hope. Children and adults, the rich and poor, the young and old have another priceless asset - our Belarus. This is a warm and cozy home which we must preserve as a secure and, of course, happy place for our progeny. <...>In the year 2013 we became richer in terms of simple human happiness. <...>Therefore, our country is among top fifty states in the United Nations Human Development Index.<...>. But of course, when making wishes and plans we should understand that if we failed to fulfil something last year this means that we were passive and we are to blame for our misfortunes. All good changes will take place only if we go to all lengths to make them possible. We will have to step up efforts not to lose what we have already achieved, to rely on our own strengths and resources and to use them wisely. The law of life is simple. Everything that we get without any trouble will vanish like dew in the morning sun. No pains, no gains.* (Lukashenko, NYG 2014)

As all dictators, in his narrative the president is trying to maintain his power by manipulating the audience with his perceptions about knowing all and for all’s good. His role of an oppressive father is evoked by the FAMILY metaphor, as reflected in the metaphoric utterances “we were like a big family”, “each of us was an integral part of a great and proud unity” and “Belarus is a warm and cozy home which we must preserve as a secure and, of course, happy place for our progeny” activating the pragmatic approach to politics based on the concept of strength (i.e. “preserve”, “secure”, “defend”). Moreover, his use of the COMMODITY metaphor in (3) illustrates his ownership attitudes towards his country, citizens or general well-being, as realised by the following metaphoric utterances: “another priceless asset - our Belarus”, “our country is among top fifty states” and “became richer in terms of simple human happiness”. As a strict father of his country, he knows right from wrong and feels primarily responsible for supporting and protecting his country as well as the authority to set the overall policy and enforce the rules. In that sense, happiness in Lukashenko’s narrative is associated with self-sacrifice and self-discipline, as evoked by such metaphoric expressions as “if we failed to fulfil something<...>we were passive and we are to blame for our misfortunes”, “all good changes will take place only if we go to all lengths” and “no pains, no gains”. It should be noted that the pronominal use of “we” in this narrative is “exclusive”, as the leader in the Strict Father model is an absolute authority knowing what is good for others, and feels flawless in his own judgement and behaviour. The last ideological component of Lukashenko’s narrative is the COMPETITION metaphor, which is seen as a moral condition for the development of a country and general well-being, e.g.

“*go to all lengths*”, “*step up efforts*”, “*what we have already achieved*” or “*rely on our own strengths*”.

To summarize, the evaluation of metaphoric utterances in the New Year greetings of twelve political leaders has shown that only three leaders share the strict version (i.e. level 1) of hard power leadership. Their narrative is based on the negative ideology, as their moral perceptions are driven by syndromes of Greatness and External Enemy or Strict Father Morality. Now the second level of hard power skills will be presented.

## 5.2 Metaphors of Hard Power Leadership: Level 2

The leaders’ narrative of hard power leadership (level 2)– Medvedev (Russia), and Berzins’s (Latvia) - is a metaphorically evoked frame reflected in the conventional COMPETITION metaphor supported by other sub-metaphors: COMMERCE, PERSONIFICATION, JOURNEY or STRUCTURE. The evaluation of the metaphoric utterances has clarified that both Presidents, of Russia and Latvia, combine personification with the COMPETITION and STRUCTURE metaphors. The following excerpts in (4) and (5) illustrate how the metaphoric expressions drawn on the source domain of competition are evoked in parallel with personification and the source domains of STRUCTURE.

- (4) *As we see the old year out, we remember its joyful and sad moments, and hope that next year will be good and successful for all of us and for our country. We will build a modern Russia together, a strong, open and friendly country. (Medvedev, NYG 2011) <...> Exactly 20 years ago we celebrated our first New Year in a country called Russia – a name celebrated for the illustrious deeds of our great ancestors, who over the centuries built up a huge and very strong power, a great country. It is our duty to preserve it and to build a progressive state, where all of us can live comfortably and do stimulating work. Yes, we are all different, but this is precisely where our strength lies, as well as in our ability to hear, understand and respect each other, to tackle challenges together and achieve success.<...> Believe in yourself, and I believe in each one of you. We will succeed! (Medvedev, NYG 2012)*
- (5) *The strong come together, the weak face isolation, and this increases concerns about a Europe of two levels or two speeds. No matter how radical the scenario which occurs, Latvia must be on the strong team, because we have shown that a small economy can achieve good results if it is handled responsibly. <...> Over the course of 2011, we experienced experiments with our fundamental law – the Constitution. The proposal to dissolve Parliament created legally and political dangerous situations, but it did not endanger the foundations of the state<...> We must think about why this is happening right now and about who will find a split in society to be of advantage. <...> Common values, mutual respect, human understanding and tolerance are the foundations upon which we must build Latvia’s future. If we prove unable to agree, others will come in our place.<...> The foundation of foundations and the key for our future must, therefore, be an orderly state and good relations among our people. I stand prepared to work on behalf of these goals and to do everything in my power to ensure that life in Latvia becomes better, safer and more stable. (Berzins, NYG 2012)*

The combination of the STRUCTURE and COMPETITION metaphors leads to the following ideological observations: both leaders’ reasoning is constituted by competitive evaluation of politics, the success of which depends on ability to cultivate strength; strength is thus associated with success and political power. In Medvedev’s case, as in (4), he uses such metaphoric utterances associated with the concept of strength in combination with the COMPETITION metaphor as “*a very strong power*”, “*great country*”, and “*where our strength lies*”. Also, strength is implied by the STRUCTURE metaphor, as the building of a state requires efforts and togetherness as evoked by the metaphoric utterances “*building a modern Russia together*” and “*our duty to preserve it and to build a progressive state*”. Such implications create an ideology of shared goals and duties for the purposes of mutual efforts to contribute to internal political processes. The so-called strength is necessary for progressive development within the state but not for opposing a tentative enemy and creating the atmosphere of animosity.

A similar trend is traced in President of Latvia Berzins’s narrative. His use of the COMPETITION and STRUCTURE metaphors is evoked in the context of internal problems, usually related to domestic economy. Despite the fact that both metaphoric frames are grounded in the concept of strength and order, they are not ideologically confrontational. In (4) the concept of strength is activated via the COMPETITION metaphor

as clarified by the following metaphoric utterance: “**Latvia must be on the strong team, because we have shown that a small economy can achieve good results**”. The president’s perspective of the state is reflected in the STRUCTURE metaphor, by which the importance of order and stability is emphasized, for example, his use of such metaphoric utterances as “**the foundations of the state**”, **the foundations upon which we must build Latvia’s future**”, “**an orderly state**” or “**life in Latvia becomes better, safer and more stable**”.

To summarize, the leaders, whose language has the features of intermediary level of hard power skills, maintain pragmatic intentions towards the domestic policies of their countries, i.e. as traced in the use of the COMPETITION and STRUCTURE metaphors. Although strength is seen as essential for economic success, this does not polarize countries into good or evil. Presidents Medvedev and Berzins evoke pragmatic evaluation in the context of domestic economy, by thus polarizing countries into strong or weak (i.e. players). Their rhetoric shares the features of transactional approach to politics when rational interests outweigh pragmatic intentions. Finally, the third level of hard power leadership—transactional approach to politics—requires a more detailed investigation.

### 5.3 Metaphors of Hard Power Leadership: Level 3

The last and most democratic expression of hard power leadership is realized at its third level, which is grounded in the metaphors evoking a transactional approach to politics. The study has shown that the ideology of this approach is evoked by the combination of such metaphors as COMPETITION and COMMERCE. The metaphor analysis has led to the following observation: the capitalist ideology or transactional approach is one of the most prevalent among political leaders of democratic nations.

Five political leaders, namely the UK Prime Minister David Cameron, President of Estonia Toomas Hendrik Ilves, President of Lithuania Dalia Grybauskaitė, the Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel and the former Prime Minister of Australia Julia Gillard raise their expectations based on the conservative ideology of the transactional approach to politics. The analysis has also demonstrated that male leaders use more similar kinds of metaphors than their female counterparts (see Table 2). Nevertheless, both male and female leaders use the COMPETITION metaphor that is central to the Capitalist ideology. In case of male leaders, their narrative is based on the combination of COMPETITION and COMMERCE metaphors. The following excerpts are provided for consideration of how the source domains of COMPETITION and COMMERCE metaphors have been evoked in Cameron and Ilves’s narratives with reference to the target domain of POLITICS, as provided in (6) and (7) below.

- (6) *It must be the year **we go for it** – the year the coalition government **I lead** does everything it takes **to get our country up to strength**.<...>And rising prices have hit household budgets. I get that. We are **taking action on both fronts**. I know how difficult it will be to **get through this**.- but I also know that **we will**. We’ve got **clear and strong plans to bring down our deficit**, which gives us some **protection from the worst of the debt storms** now battering the Eurozone. We have **gained security** for now– and because of that, we must be **bold, confident and decisive** about **building the future**. I know much needs **to change**. We’ve got to do more to **bring our economy back to health**. <...>There are huge opportunities for our businesses all over the planet. I’m determined **to get out there and seize them**.<...>I am determined to **do the bold things** it will take to sort out public services, too. <...>So we’ll **change** it.<...>So we will **tackle excess in the City** just as we’re **reforming** welfare to make work pay and support families. I profoundly believe that we can **turn these things around**.(Cameron, NYG 2014)*

Differently from pragmatic or intermediary approaches, the COMPETITION metaphor is related to the concepts of racing or commercial enterprise. Strength is seen as necessary for changes and success in a country. For example, Cameron’s narrative is centred upon the concept of “change”, associated with the Conservative leadership. Despite the fact that change is generally seen an obstruction of permanence and traditions by Conservatives, in this particular case, changes are associated with a positive future created by Conservatives, as evoked by the following metaphoric utterances in (5): “change”, “reform”, “turn these things around”, “get through this”. The Conservatives are implied to be changing life for the better, with force and strength viewed as complementary to the necessary and positive changes, as clarified by the metaphoric expressions “clear and strong plans to bring down”, “protection from the worst of debt storms”, “get out

there and **seize them**” etc.

Similarly, President of Estonia Toomas Hendrik Ilves’s narrative is construed by the COMPETITION and COMMERCE metaphors. The implied meaning of these metaphors is the perception that politics is viewed as a competitive activity, the success of which is associated with gaining political power, and thus strength. Differently from the pragmatic approach to politics, the COMMERCE metaphor offers a view of the two-sided benefits or gains for both government and voters. In (7) below it is shown how this scheme is realised linguistically.

- (7) *We **must have both the will and ability to ask for help and to give it. But, above all, we must have the will to emerge from this difficult situation. To learn again and to lead. To stand up and start again.** Estonian entrepreneurs and employees must look for business and employment from spheres that are yet to exist, in which products and services are not yet available. This may sound impossible. However, it is **through such pursuits – and such pursuits only – that mankind, Estonia included, enjoys its success today. Such pursuits can only be conducted through school and education** (Ilves’s NYG, 2012). Elections are **a contract between the voters and those elected, not merely a one-off transaction.** An election victory does not mean that one can **steamroll over all opposition** by referring to one’s mandate. (Ilves, NYG 2013)*

In (7) the COMPETITION metaphor is realised by the metaphoric utterances “to lead”, “to stand up and start again”, or “pursuits”. Although the concept of strength is maintained as crucial (i.e. clarified by the expression “must have the will”), in the framework of the transactional approach it is the successful ends or results that are prioritized. This is one of the key differences between the two levels of hard power leadership: in the pragmatic view, the strength is perceived as both means and ends, to reaching political goals, while, in the transactional view, the strength is regarded as a means of well-calculated competition for political success.

The second group of leaders whose narrative evokes a transactional approach to politics consists of women politicians. The data has shown that female leaders construe their political ideology via two central metaphors: COMPETITION and UNITY, differently from male leaders. Similarly to their male colleagues, women leaders use the conventional metaphor of POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE ACTIVITY. Nonetheless, it has been determined that women leaders see unity or togetherness as a prerogative of strength for political and social success. Such perception has been traced in President of Lithuania Dalia Grybauskaite and Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel’s narrative, as illustrated in (8) and (9) below:

- (8) *Let us continue to **stand in solidarity.** Let us **be collected** and deliberate as we **seek daring solutions and resolute economic reforms to get our country back on its feet. I see signs of Lithuania’s recovery and I firmly believe that next year our major difficulties will be overcome. If we all work together for the good of Lithuania, we will prevail.** So let us **have confidence in our own strength.** (Grybauskaite, NYG 2010)*
- (9) *We need **the right balance** for our prosperity and our cohesion. We need **a willingness to achieve** as well as **social security for all.** The European sovereign debt crisis shows us how important this **balance** is. <...>In the social market economy, the state is **the guardian of order**, and the public must be able **to place its trust** in it.<...>**Together**, let us make the New Year one in which we again **put our greatest strengths to the test: our togetherness, our continued capacity for new ideas that gives us economic power.** Then **Germany will continue to be compassionate and successful.** (Merkel, NYG 2013)*

In (8) the COMPETITION metaphor is realised through the concept of strength via such metaphoric utterances as “*daring solutions*”, “*resolute reforms*”, “*prevail*” or “*have confidence in our strength*”. In a corresponding manner, in (9) the COMPETITION metaphor is evoked with reference to the concept of strength: “*a willingness to achieve*”, “*greatest strengths*” or “*economic power*”. Both leaders view togetherness as a necessary condition for accumulating strength and becoming successful in political competitiveness. The scheme of strength-through-togetherness is linguistically supported by such metaphoric utterances as “*stand in solidarity*”, “*be collected*”, “*social security for all*”, “*together*”, “*togetherness*” etc. The transactional approach is traced in the projected balanced attitude towards decision-making as implied by the concepts of order and balance.

The last leader whose narrative has evoked the transactional approach to politics is the former Prime Minister of Australia Julia Gillard. She combined the conceptual pattern of three metaphors: JOURNEY, COMPETITION and STRENGTH. In her greeting of 2012, the speaker evokes the image of a nation as a strong person competing for a better future. The excerpt of her speech in (10) below illustrates how this scheme is realised.

- (10) *The New Year is a time to look with **gratitude** on the **good things** of the last 12 months and **look forward with confidence** to the year that stretches before us. It's a time for **new hope** and **new beginnings**. Perhaps a personal **resolution** like spending more time with family or a big life decision like starting a university or TAFE course or opening a business. Whatever the New Year holds for you, I trust it will be a **safe and happy** one. Let's also remember that the 1st of January is the anniversary of Australian nationhood. So let's also **resolve to make this great country** of ours even **stronger**. Yes we've **achieved remarkable things** in our **nation's journey**. (6) But I firmly believe that even **better days** lie ahead. (Gillard, NYG 2012)*

The JOURNEY, COMPETITION and STRENGTH metaphors are clarified by such metaphoric expressions as “*nation's journey*”, “*new beginnings*”, “*achieved remarkable things*”, “*make this country even stronger*”, “*look forward with confidence*” etc. In spite of the conventional nature of these metaphors, there is a marked specification of their implied positive ideology. The positive ideology is construed through the repetitive use of expressions associated with the concept of goodness, e.g. “*gratitude*”, “*good things*”, “*confidence*”, “*safe and happy*”, “*remarkable things*”, “*better days*” etc. By these, the conservative origin of the conventional metaphors is redirected towards a more liberal approach to politics or the most democratic kind of hard power skills— the transactional leadership initiating exchange between leaders and their followers for collective benefits.

The evaluation of metaphors has indicated that despite the fact that both male and female leaders use conventional metaphors, there can be traced ideological differences in terms of metaphoric entailments. In men's narrative, the COMPETITION metaphor is based on the concepts of strength, commercial exchange and competitive success. By contrast, female leaders evoke the COMPETITION metaphor through the concept of strength conditioned by togetherness and for competitive success.

## 5.4 Metaphors of Soft Power Leadership Style

The metaphors of the Soft Power skills were found in the narrative of a single leader, Prime Minister of Norway, Erna Solberg. The prevalent use of the NURTURANCE and COMMODITY metaphors has illustrated a speaker's progressive attitude towards social and political developments in her country. Being a Conservative, the Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg's rhetoric has illustrated a more liberal trend towards a more compassionate ideology aiming to raise long-term effects and solutions based on shared and collective responsibility. The central metaphor to this approach is represented by the source domain of Nurturance, i.e. the Nurturing Parent metaphor. According to this construal, the speaker's narrative is dominated by cognitive empathy and sentiments such as sympathy, empathy and community concern that establish a common bond between individuals. At the same, the bond enabled by an individual's capacity to be sensitive to the emotions of others maximizes the power of rationality (see Flack & de Wahl 2002).

The excerpt of Solberg's narrative in (11) below is based on nurturant morality, thus containing metaphoric utterances related to the concepts of empathy, nurturance, concern, community and sharing, e.g.:

- (11) *We rarely feel as proud as we do when we celebrate the Norwegian Constitution on 17 May each year, when we **celebrate the values** that are important to us: **democracy, community and freedom**. The way we celebrate – with **a focus on optimism, children and the future** – also says a lot about our society. <...>Ours is **a country with a strong national identity**. But this is **a positive force** that does not lessen **our sense of international solidarity** or affect **our relations with the rest of the world**. Our world is becoming increasingly **intertwined**. <...>The **scale of our international engagement** has meant that many Norwegians find themselves in other parts of the world. Norwegian soldiers in Afghanistan, the crews of our frigates, and Norwegians engaged in aid efforts and in areas of conflict are **putting themselves at risk on behalf of us all**. They are doing so in order to **create a better world. To protect the values***

*that we hold so dear, values that we will be celebrating this year when we mark the bicentenary of the Norwegian Constitution. We are deeply grateful for your efforts and we are **thinking of you**, particularly now at Christmas and New Year. (Solberg, NYG 2014)*

In (11) the nurturant morality model is developed by three concepts that are central to progressive populism, namely community, opportunity and attachment (see more about the Nurturant Parent model in Lakoff 2006). As a nurturant parent, Solberg continuously expresses her care about her citizens and emphasizes the importance of care and responsibility in the community. The sense of community care and shared responsibility is evoked by the RELATIONSHIP IS PROXIMITY metaphor, as clarified by the metaphoric utterances “*world is becoming increasingly **intertwined***” and “*international **solidarity***”. In this context, protection is seen as a major factor to guarantee progressive community development, e.g. “***protect the values***” referred to as “*democracy, **community and freedom***”. Additionally, the STRENGTH metaphor is evoked to construe soft power skills; however, its contextual meaning varies from the context of hard power skills. The metaphoric utterances—“*positive **force***” or “***strong national identity***”—are related to a more progressive worldview based on the concepts of empathy and shared responsibility.

## 6 Conclusion

The metaphoric evaluation of the selected narrative has demonstrated that different political leaders evoke two power skills within the ethical dimension: hard and soft. Furthermore, it has been clarified that hard power leadership is more varied at its three conceptual levels of semantic representation: pragmatic, intermediary and transactional. Despite Nye’s criticism of gender bias, the clarified metaphoric utterances have revealed that female leaders are more democratic in their conceptualisation and linguistic preferences than their male counterparts; the male leaders tend to prioritize competitive forcefulness over cognitive empathy and community concerns. This is also supported by the fact that the narrative evoking metaphors of soft power leadership was construed by a female leader (i.e. the Prime Minister of Norway Erna Solberg).

Furthermore, the specific metaphoric characteristics of hard and soft power skills have been determined. The pragmatic variety of hard power skills is based on negative ideology due to the leaders’ moral perceptions driven by the syndromes of Greatness and External Enemy or the metaphoric construal of Strict Father Morality, as realised by such conventional metaphors as STATE IS A STRONG PERSON, PEOPLE ARE COMMODITIES, MORALITY IS STRENGTH. The second variety of hard power skills is particular to the leaders whose perceptions are driven by pragmatic intentions towards domestic policies in their countries. Hence, their rational interests outweigh pragmatic and confrontational intentions, as evoked by the conventional metaphors STATE IS A COMPETITIVE PERSON, STATE IS A STRUCTURE. Finally, the third level of hard power skills has been marked by the conventional metaphors of conservative origin redirected towards a more liberal approach to politics, i.e. POLITICS IS A COMPETITIVE RACE, POLITICS IS BUSINESS, STATE IS A RATIONAL PERSON etc. At this level, there have been traced ideological differences between male and female leaders. In men’s narrative, the COMPETITION metaphor was based on the concepts of strength, commercial exchange and competitive success. By contrast, female leaders evoke the COMPETITION metaphor through the concept of strength conditioned by togetherness and for competitive success.

The wide coverage of hard power skills has been outweighed by a single leader’s narrative with marked features of soft power leadership. The evaluated metaphors have implied a more compassionate ideology aiming to raise long-term effects and solutions based on shared and collective responsibility. The central metaphor to this approach is represented by the source domain of Nurturance, or the Nurturant Parent metaphor, i.e. the STATE IS A NURTURANT FAMILY conventional metaphor.

This study has demonstrated how deeply entrenched conservative populism is. Nonetheless, it has been determined that negative ideology is only evoked by the leaders of less democratic or undemocratic regimes. By contrast, democratic leaders’ narrative is marked by more liberal trends and positive ideology. The gender differences have been supported by female leaders’ more varied metaphoric utterances with

more liberal intentions for collective and community purposes, while male politicians have expressed themselves as more oriented towards individualistic competitiveness.

This study admittedly has its limitations. Methodologically, the study only analysed the most prevalent source domains, leaving aside other source domains. Additionally, the data was analysed only by following Charteris-Black's three-stage model (2004) and procedurally employing Praggeljaz Group's MIP (2007), without using any corpus-method for generating semantic domains, which might provide more empirical evidence for analysing semantic patterns of linguistic metaphor (see Stefanowitsch 2006). With regard to the interpretation of the research results, the study may still need to explore the relationship between the metaphors and their implied ideology further, and the reasons underlying the strong orientation towards pragmatism and competitiveness projected in the narrative of presidential New Year greetings studied in this paper. Addressing these limitations will be the goal of future research on this topic. Despite these limitations, the study offers a cognitive socio-linguistic approach to evaluating metaphor in the narrative of presidential New Year greetings and provides valuable insights into the ideological nature of leadership styles as seen through the evaluation of metaphor.

**Acknowledgements:** We would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their detailed and thought-provoking comments on earlier versions of this paper. Any errors remaining are entirely our own.

## References

- Cameron, Deborah. 2006. *On Language and Sexual Politics*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2009. Metaphor and Political Communication. In: Musolff, Andreas, Jörg Zinken (eds.), *Metaphor and Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 97-115.
- Charteris-Black, Jonathan. 2011. Politicians and Rhetoric: The Persuasive Power of Metaphor. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chilton, Paul. 1996. *Security Metaphors: Cold War Discourse from Containment to Common House*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Chilton, Paul. 2004. *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice*. Routledge (Taylor and Francis Group): London and New York.
- Chilton, Paul. 2005. Manipulation, memes and metaphors: The case of Mein Kampf. In: de Saussure, Louis, Peter Schulz (eds.), *Manipulation and Ideologies in the Twentieth Century*. John Benjamins: Amsterdam and Philadelphia, pp. 5–45.
- Chilton, Paul, Christina Schäffner. 2011. Discourse and Politics. In: Van Dijk, Teun(ed.), *Discourse Studies: a multidisciplinary introduction*. London: SAGE, pp. 303-331.
- Curtis, Natalie Hansen. 2009. Gender, Politics & Political Cartoons (Opinion article). <http://teamboldandbeautiful.weebly.com/gender-women--femininity.html> (accessed 04.08.11)
- De Beauvoir, Simone. 1997. *The Second Sex*. Vintage: London.
- Flack, Jessica, Frans De Wahl. 2002. Being nice is not a building block of morality. In: Katz, Leonard, D. (ed.), *Evolutionary Origins of Morality: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*. Imprint Academic, pp. 67-79.
- Gibbs, Raymond, W. 1999. Researching metaphor. In: Cameron, Lynne, Graham Low (eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 29–47.
- Grady, Joseph. 1999. A typology of motivation for conceptual metaphor: correlation vs. resemblance. In: Gibbs, Raymond, Gerard J. Steen (eds.), *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 79-100.
- Goatly, Andrew. 2007. *Washing the Brain. Metaphor and Hidden Ideology*. John Benjamin Publishing Company: Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Janda, Laura. A. 2000. *Cognitive Linguistics*. Available at <http://www.indiana.edu/slavkonf/SLING2K/pospapers/janda.pdg>. Accessed on March 25, 2013.
- Johnson, Mark. 1993. *Moral Imagination: Implications of Cognitive Science for Ethics*. Chicago University Press, Chicago and London.
- Koller, Veronika. 2004. *Metaphor and Gender in Business Media Discourse: a Critical Cognitive Study*. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke.
- Koller, Veronika. 2009. Missions and Empires: Religious and Political Metaphors in Corporate Discourse. In: Musolff, Andreas, Jörg Zinken (eds.), *Metaphor and Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 116-135.
- Kövecses, Zoltan. 2002. *Metaphor: a Practical Introduction*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Kövecses, Zoltan. 2009. Metaphor, Culture, and Discourse: The Pressure of Coherence. In: Musolff, Andreas, Jörg Zinken (eds.), *Metaphor and Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 11-25.
- Lakoff, George, Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George, Mark Johnson. 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*. Basic Books: New York.

- Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George. 1996. *Moral Politics: How Liberals and Conservatives Think*. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press.
- Lakoff, George. 2004. *Don't think of an elephant! Know your values and frame the debate: The essential guide for progressives*. White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green.
- Lakoff, George. 2006. *Whose Freedom? The Battle over America's Most Important Idea*. Macmillan.
- Lakoff, G. 2011. *The New Obama Narrative*. [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/george-lakoff/the-new-obama-narrative\\_b\\_815326.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/george-lakoff/the-new-obama-narrative_b_815326.html) (accessed 05.07.12).
- Lazar, Michelle, Cheri Kramarae. 2011. Gender and Power in Discourse. In: van Dijk, Teun (ed.), *Discourse Studies: a multidisciplinary introduction*. London: SAGE, pp. 217-241.
- Mey, Jacob. L. 2006. Metaphors and activity. *Essays on Metaphor in Language and Thought*, special edition of D.E.L.T.A 22, pp. 45-66.
- Mussolf, Andreas. 2006. Metaphor Scenarios in Public Discourse. In *Metaphor and Symbol* 21 (1), pp. 23-38.
- Nerlich, Brigitte, Nelya Koteyko. 2009. MRSA – Portrait of a Superbug: A Media Drama in Three Acts. In: Musolf, Andreas, Jörg Zinken (eds.), *Metaphor and Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 153-173.
- Nye, Joseph. S. 2008. *The Powers to Lead*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Pragglejaz Group, 2007. MIP: a method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol* 22 (1), pp. 1-39 (accessed 12.06.12).
- Turner, Mark. 2001. *Cognitive Dimensions of Social Science*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Stefanowitsch, Anatol. 2006. Corpus-based approaches to metaphor and metonymy. In: Stefanowitsch, Anatol, Stefan Thomas Gries (eds.), *Trends in Linguistics. Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*. Berlin: DE GRUYTER, pp. 1-17.
- van Dijk, Teun A. 2011. Discourse and Ideology. In: Van Dijk, Teun (ed.), *Discourse Studies: a multidisciplinary introduction*. London: SAGE, pp. 379-408.
- Zinken, Jörg, Andreas Musolf. 2009. A Discourse-Centred Perspective on Metaphorical Meaning and Understanding. In: Musolf, Andreas, Jörg Zinken (eds.), *Metaphor and Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-11.
- Weatherall, Ann. 2002. *Gender, Language, and Discourse*. New York: Routledge.