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Machine metaphors in 2020 USA electioneering campaign: a cognitive aspect

Mašinos metafora 2020 metų JAV rinkimų kampanijoje:
kognityvinis aspektas

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Abstract

The conceptual metaphor is a major persuasive tool in political discourse. Therefore, the aim of the research is to analyze the fulfillment of van Dijk's Ideological Square strategies with the help of machine conceptual metaphors used by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during the 2020 electioneering campaign in the United States. The data of the research comprise 99 political speeches delivered by the two presidential candidates at rallies. Consequently, the following methods of linguistic analysis were used: a Critical Discourse Analysis, a Conceptual Metaphor Analysis in the form of the method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings, a comparative method, and a contextual analysis. As a result, the analysis demonstrated that conceptual metaphors, which were identified in the corpus, play an important role in realizing the Ideological Square strategies with persuasive goals. Apart from that, it was established that the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A MACHINE is predominant in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's discourses. In addition, the data analysis showed that the majority of metaphors were used to highlight the candidate's own positive sides while exaggerating his opponent's disadvantages.

KEYWORDS: conceptual metaphors, machine metaphors, political discourse, political persuasion, presidential elections.

Introduction

The technological revolution in the seventeenth century caused that machine metaphors became popular. Such popularity was attributed to the general interest of society in mechanical equipment and different machinery, especially clockworks. In present-day English, there is a variety of expressions with underlying machine-base conceptual metaphors, for example, bureaucratic machineries, the wheels of administration or social engineering (Ringmar, 2008, p. 63).

Furthermore, machine metaphors play an important role in political persuasion since machines have long become an inseparable part of everyday life (Lipset, 2014, p. 4). Politics makes a wide use of imagery and vocab-

ulary from mechanics to create the perceptions of politics as a properly working mechanism with all its parts and cogwheels working together (Pikalo, 2008, p. 41). Hence, Goatly (2007, p. 101) maintains that social organizations, political systems, economy, and people are commonly conceptualized as a mechanical construction, namely: machines, mechanisms, mechanics, tools and instruments. Fig. 1 provides an example of mapping within the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE.

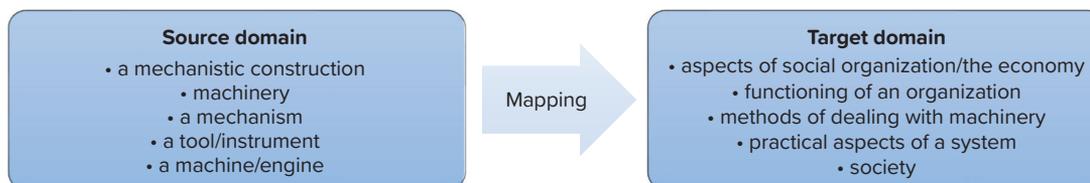


Fig. 1 POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE mapping (Source: adapted from Lipset, 2014, pp. 100–101)

Since the emergence of cognitive linguistics, there has been a growing number of works which are concerned with the study of conceptual metaphors in political discourse. The cognitive turn in linguistics has influenced its status as the center research subject for cognitive scientists (Fauconnier, 1994, 1997; Gibbs, 1994), applied linguists (Cameron, 2012; Cameron & Low, 1999) and cognitive linguists (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Lakoff, 2009). For instance, Lakoff (1990), Musolff (2004; 2016), Goatly (2007), Semino (2008), and Charteris-Black (2009) explored the functions and effects of conceptual metaphors in political discourse. Furthermore, Zinken (2003) and Goatly (2007) studied ideological implications in discourse using the cognitive theory of metaphor.

Furthermore, Grady (1997) researched primary metaphors, their embodiment and universality. Similarly, Lakoff and Johnson (1999, p. 50) studied the part-whole schema within metaphorical relationship. They conclude that their combination into complex metaphors and their application in discourse is defined by socio-cognitive schemata. In addition, Augoustinos and Walker (1995, p. 306) explored the interrelations the metaphor and social phenomena, forming mental models. They proved that mental models are not just a range of cognitive notions, but a set of discursive practices deeply rooted in social contexts.

Neagu (2013, p. 2) considered political discourse to be deliberative and argumentative. Moreover, she claimed that the political discourse analysis is closely related to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory because the analogical reasoning, which underlies the conceptual metaphors, is used to justify argumentation. Furthermore, Charteris-Black (2011, p. 11) emphasized the importance of conceptual metaphors in expressing the speaker's viewpoint, beliefs, and attitudes in particular contexts. Besides, De Landtsheer (1998, p. 129) explored the use of metaphorical discourse within the European Parliament. In addition, Lakoff (2014) developed the idea that cognitive metaphors shape the way politicians delimit our perception of politics. In other words, he analyzed how similar metaphors are used by each party to convey different political values.

In this regard, combining the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Critical Discourse Analysis, this article focuses on the persuasion power of machine conceptual metaphors in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's political discourses during their electioneering campaigns in 2020. Such a cognitive approach regards political discourse to be as a result of individual and collective mental processes (Chilton, 2004, p. 51).

The aim of the research is to analyze the fulfillment of van Dijk's Ideological Square strategies with the help of machine conceptual metaphors used by the Donald Trump and Joe Biden during the 2020 electioneering campaign in the United States. Accordingly, the objectives of this paper are: 1) to identify the scope of machine-based conceptual metaphors in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's political speeches; 2) to analyze their use in the electioneering campaigns of both presidential candidates; and 3) to establish their persuasive role in the US presidential elections in relation to the Ideological Square strategies.

The data of the present research comprise 99 campaign speeches, namely: 27 transcripts of public speeches delivered by Donald Trump (279 456 words) and 72 transcripts of speeches by Joe Biden (243 356 words). Such

a selection of the data is justified by the need to have the approximately equal number of words in the speeches in order to ensure a rigorous analysis of conceptual metaphors.

Theoretical Background

According to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), metaphor is granted a major role. As Johnson (2017) and Lakoff (2009) argue, conceptual metaphor is essential for human imagination. This is due to the fact that people can only immediately comprehend their experiences. However, Lakoff (2009) emphasizes that in addition to the individual bodily experience, the notion of experience embraces social experience as well as historical background of a community (Zinken, 2003, p. 508). Moreover, “we draw inferences, set goals, make commitments, and execute plans, all on the basis of how we in part structure our experience, consciously and unconsciously, by means of metaphor” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 158).

The main tenets of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory were expressed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and further expanded by Lakoff (2009):

- a Thought is unconscious.
- b Abstract concepts are metaphorical. In other words, abstract language is conceptualized with the help of more concrete, physical reality (Goatly, 2007, p. 197).
- c The mind is embodied. Thinking is determined by perception and action through bodily experiences. Thus, embodied experience defines our thought and give rise to metaphorical patterns (Lakoff, 2009, p. 119).

In this regard, Kövecses (2010, pp. 78–79) highlights the difference between the traditional and the cognitive linguistic approaches to metaphor. Thus, within the traditional approach, the metaphorical mappings are regarded to be stemming from an inherent similarity between the source and the target, which limits the choice of the metaphorical expressions. On the contrary, within the cognitive linguistic approach, the metaphor is explained as originating in human cultural and bodily experience.

Thus, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory presupposes that the metaphor is not simply a stylistic figure of speech but that the thought is inherently metaphorical (Evans, 2007, p. 34). As Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 6) claim, “the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined. Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person’s conceptual system”. In other words, Deignan (2008, p. 150) explains that the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is different from previous approaches to metaphor because the conceptual mapping is fundamental to the organization of the conceptual system, while language is considered secondary.

In order to prove the significance of metaphor in thinking processes, Lakoff (1990) provides the following arguments:

- a “systematicity in the linguistic correspondences of linguistic metaphors”;
- b “the use of metaphor to govern reasoning and behaviour based on that reasoning”;
- c “the possibility for understanding novel extensions in terms of the conventional correspondences” (Lakoff, 1990, p. 50).

The conceptual metaphor consists of conceptual cross-domain mappings between conceptual domains, which are grounded in embodied experiences and can generate more complex conceptual structures (Evans, 2007, p. 34). As Evans (2007, p. 51) explains, cross-domain mappings are mappings that exist in long-term memory and help conceptualize one conceptual domain (the target domain) in terms of another domain (the source domain). Within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), it is cross-domain mappings that enable human beings to think and talk about abstract notions (domains) in terms of more concrete ones. In other words, cross-domain mappings can be considered a stable relation between sets of concepts that pertain to two different domains (Evans, 2007, p. 51).

Consequently, from the Conceptual Metaphor Theory perspective, the fundamental nature of metaphor is understanding one kind of experience in terms of another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 5). It can be asserted that conceptual metaphor is the substitution of one concept for another, resulting in the creation of connotative meanings (Mihás, 2005, p. 125).

Apart from that, according to Neagu (2013, p. 2), conceptual metaphors should be regarded as a type of argument. As a result, they must be considered “persuasive efforts that encourage intersubjective agreement about how to see the world” (Schiappa, 2003, p. 129). In addition, Neagu (2013, p. 10) believes that since political discourse is located at the intersection of Critical Discourse Analysis and cognitive linguistics, the ideas expressed in discourse should be socially explained. This is due to the fact that conceptual metaphors go beyond their function as mere rhetorical instruments and become essential elements of human cognition. Accordingly, conceptual metaphors are part of the code shared by community and it is possible to understand the constructing of social space within a certain community only by decoding the meanings conveyed by the metaphors (Neagu, 2013, p. 10).

The main persuasion strategy which is used in political discourse is polarization of the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). This strategy allows legitimizing the positive or negative aspects of political adversaries (Wodak, 2001), and constructing their political images. As van Dijk (1998, p. 275) explains, the discursive construction of ‘us versus them’ polarization involves the portrayal of those outside our group together with our own group, especially in the discourses related to ‘group conflict or competition’ (van Dijk, 1998, p. 275).

As a result, van Dijk (1998) suggested the Ideological Square strategies to explain the discursive reproduction of polarization of the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (Zhao, 2021). The Ideological Square was developed by van Dijk (1998, p. 267) in the following form:

- a Emphasize positive things about Us;
- b Emphasize negative things about Them;
- c De-emphasize negative things about Us;
- d De-emphasize positive things about Them.

Hence, van Dijk (1998) claims that metaphor is a “discursive manifestation of ideology” (p. 6) because it facilitates fulfilling the Ideological Square. This is attributed to the complex relationships between cognition, society and discourse involved in this process. Since ideologies are elements of social structure and control the relationships of power between groups, then with the help of metaphor, ideologies display the ‘mental’ dimension of society (van Dijk, 1998, p. 6).

Therefore, the metaphor can provide an evaluation (positive or negative) of the subject matter of the speech, highlighting or hiding certain aspects of the notion. However, the metaphor is especially persuasive if it is applied to make a conclusion (Macagno & Walton, 2008, p. 552). Moreover, “meaning emerges when we use the lens provided by the vehicle of a metaphor to look at its tenor” (Cohen, 2004, p. 221). In other words, it is possible to think and talk about politics with the help of the lens offered by the set of concepts, beliefs, and attitudes related to sport, war, or machinery (Neagu, 2013, p. 10).

Methodological Framework

The aim and objectives of the research stipulated the use of the following methods of linguistic analysis: a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a Conceptual Metaphor Analysis in the form of the method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings, a comparative method, and a contextual analysis.

Thus, the CDA was used to study how political persuasion is constructed and manifested in political discourse. Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 765) define CDA as the methodology aimed to analyze the hidden ideologies in political discourse. Moreover, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012, p. 9) state that CDA combines the critical social analysis with linguistic analysis and thus concentrates on social aspects of discourse such as power relations, ideologies, and social identities, etc. In this regard, Meyer (2001, pp. 15–17) claims that as both the method and the approach CDA is characterized by the following features:

- a its aim is to reveal power relations displayed in language;
- b all discourses can be interpreted only within particular cultural, social, and ideological contexts;
- c CDA is intertextual and interdiscursive methodology because it analyzes discourses in relation to other texts;
- d the relations between language and society is determined by socio-cognitive theories;

- e CDA includes such linguistic categories as agents, time, tense, modality, and syntax;
- f CDA involves a part-whole relation in the interpretation of discourses (Neagu, 2013, pp. 20–21).

Furthermore, the analysis of the persuasive role of conceptual metaphors in political speeches involves the combination of CDA with Conceptual Metaphor Analysis. Such a combination of approaches connects the use of conceptual metaphors and the concrete discourse and social contexts, as well as cognitive processes (Cameron, 2012, p. 348).

Within this approach, the method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings developed by Drulák (2008, p. 107) was used to identify machine metaphors in the analyzed political speeches and determine the underlying conceptual mappings between domains. This method contains seven steps:

- a choosing the target domain and the speech community;
- b collecting the corpus and deducing conceptual metaphors with the selected target domain;
- c identifying metaphorical expressions in the corpus;
- d verifying the conceptual metaphors identified in the corpus;
- e determining frequencies of the conceptual metaphors usage;
- f comparing discursive parts in terms of conceptual metaphors usage;
- g establishing practical conclusions from the results (Lapka, 2021, p. 91).

Apart from that, the comparative method was used to determine and compare the specific features characteristic of the use of machine conceptual metaphors in terms of the Ideological Square strategies in campaign speeches delivered by Joe Biden and Donald Trump. Moreover, the contextual analysis facilitated the interpretation of machine metaphors against the historical and cultural contexts.

Finally, the calculations were made to collect, classify, and interpret numerical data in order to establish frequencies of the use of machine conceptual metaphors in terms of the Ideological Square strategies fulfillment during the 2020 electioneering campaign in the US. With this view, the raw frequency of machine metaphors per 1000 words, which were used by Joe Biden and Donald Trump during their electioneering campaigns, was established. The raw frequency was calculated by dividing the number of machine conceptual metaphors identified in the analyzed speeches by the number of words in these speeches and multiplying it by 1000 (Biber et al., 1998).

Results and Discussion

Using the method of the reconstruction of conceptual mappings by Drulák (2008, p. 107), 90 cases of machine conceptual metaphors are identified in the corpus. In particular, there are 72 instances of machine-based conceptual metaphors out of 2375 conceptual metaphors identified in Donald Trump's speeches, which constitute 2.94% (Fig. 2). At the same

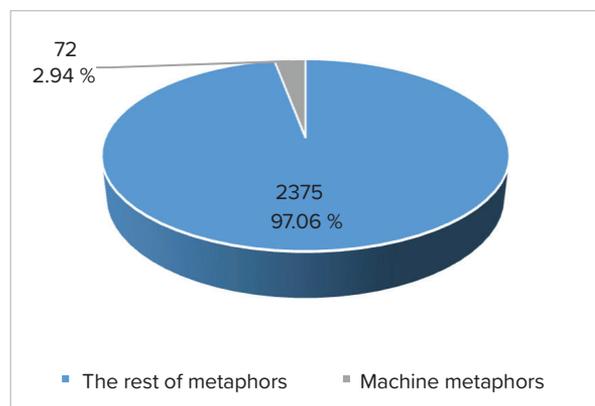


Fig. 2 Machine-based conceptual metaphors in Donald Trump's discourse (Source: calculated by the author)

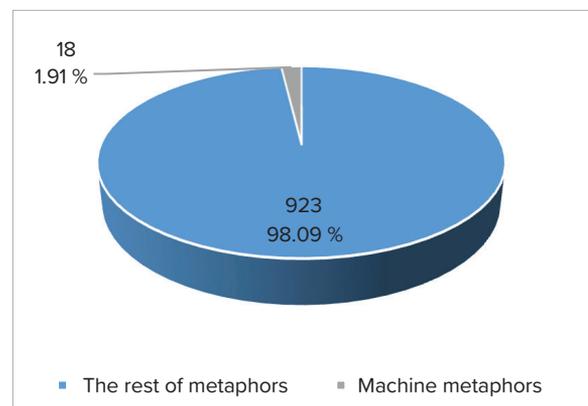


Fig. 3 Machine-based conceptual metaphors in Joe Biden's discourse (Source: calculated by the author)

time, in Joe Biden's speeches there are 18 instances of machine-based conceptual metaphors out of 923, which constitute 1.91% (Fig. 3). The target and the source domains were taken from Collins Cobuild English Guides 7: Metaphor by Alice Deignan (1995).

Therefore, it can be observed that the machine-based conceptual metaphors are used slightly more frequently by Donald Trump than by his opponent. This can be explained by the fact that these metaphors contribute to the construction of Donald Trump's political platform as a self-made politician who sees the development of the country as a mechanism that works for the common good.

Furthermore, in the analyzed corpus, both candidates use machines as source domains in the following conceptual metaphors: ECONOMY IS A MACHINE, PEOPLE ARE MACHINES, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE, SOCIETY IS A MACHINE, and STATE IS A MACHINE. Meanwhile, machines are used as the target domain in the conceptual metaphor MACHINES ARE PEOPLE. The results of the analysis are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 Distribution of machine-based conceptual metaphors in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's discourses

Machine conceptual metaphors	Donald Trump			Joe Biden			Total		
	Number of metaphors	%	Per 1000 words	Number of metaphors	%	Per 1000 words	Number of metaphors	%	Per 1000 words
ECONOMY IS A MACHINE	22	0.93%	0.08	11	1.19%	0.05	33	1.00%	0.06
MACHINES ARE PEOPLE	4	0.17%	0.01	0	0.00%	0	4	0.12%	0.00
PEOPLE ARE MACHINES	22	0.93%	0.08	2	0.22%	0.00	24	0.73%	0.05
POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE	3	0.13%	0.01	2	0.22%	0.00	5	0.15%	0.00
POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE	9	0.38%	0.03	2	0.22%	0.00	11	0.33%	0.02
SOCIETY IS A MACHINE	1	0.04%	0.00	0	0.00%	0	1	0.03%	0.00
STATE IS A MACHINE	6	0.25%	0.02	1	0.11%	0.00	7	0.21%	0.01
Total	72	2.94%	0.26	18	1.91%	0.08	90	4.85%	0.17

Source: calculated by the author

Thus, it can be seen that the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A MACHINE is predominant in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's discourses. There are 22 cases of ECONOMY IS A MACHINE metaphor used by Donald Trump, constituting 0.93%, while there are 11 cases of this conceptual metaphor in Joe Biden's discourse, being 1.19% out of all metaphors identified in the corpus. Accordingly, it is most frequently used by Joe Biden because his speeches are focused on the economic development of the country. It should also be noted that although the percentage ratio of ECONOMY IS A MACHINE is higher for Joe Biden, the raw frequency of this metaphor is almost equal for both presidential candidates.

Moreover, Donald Trump's discourse is characterized by the frequent usage of PEOPLE ARE MACHINES conceptual metaphors. There are 22 cases of this metaphor, being 0.93% out of all conceptual metaphors identified in his speeches. Nevertheless, only 2 cases of this metaphor are identified in Joe Biden's discourse. The third frequent conceptual metaphor used by Donald Trump is POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE (0.38%), followed by STATE IS A MACHINE (0.25%).

However, it is necessary to note that the conceptual metaphors SOCIETY IS A MACHINE (0.04%) and MACHINES ARE PEOPLE (0.17%) are identified only in Donald Trump's discourse, while they are absent in Joe Biden's speeches. Apart from that, it is worth mentioning that the number of such conceptual metaphors as PEOPLE

ARE MACHINES, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE is equal in Joe Biden's speeches, constituting 0.22% of all conceptual metaphors.

Furthermore, the identified metaphors were classified by the Ideological Square strategies in order to establish how machine-based metaphors influence political persuasion. Thus, the analysis demonstrates that these conceptual metaphors play an important role in realizing the Ideological Square strategies with persuasive goals. Fig. 4 and Fig. 5 illustrate the distribution of machine-based conceptual by the Ideological Square strategies.

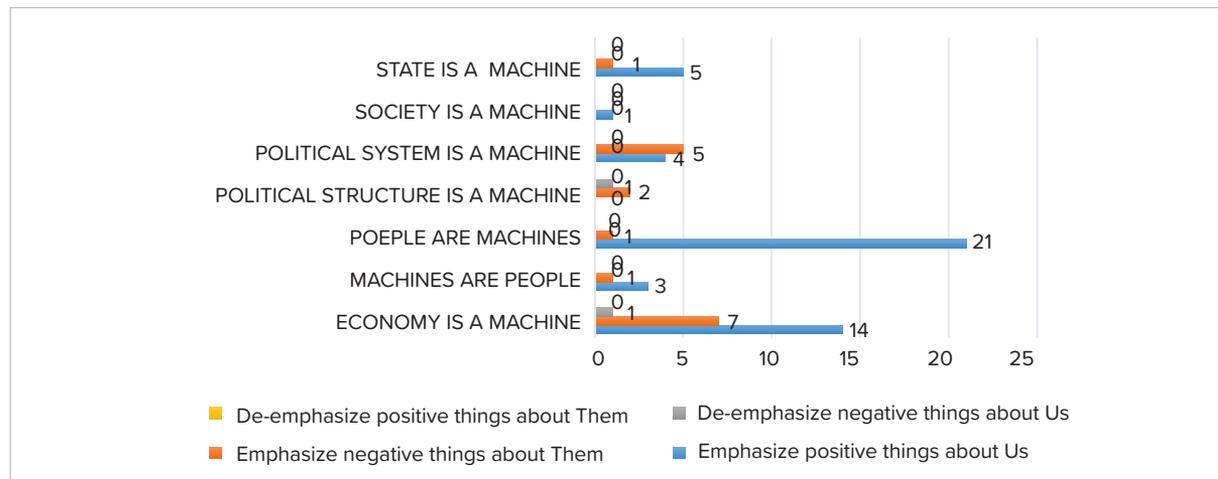


Fig. 4 Ideological Square strategies with machine metaphors in Donald Trump's speeches
(Source: calculated by the author)

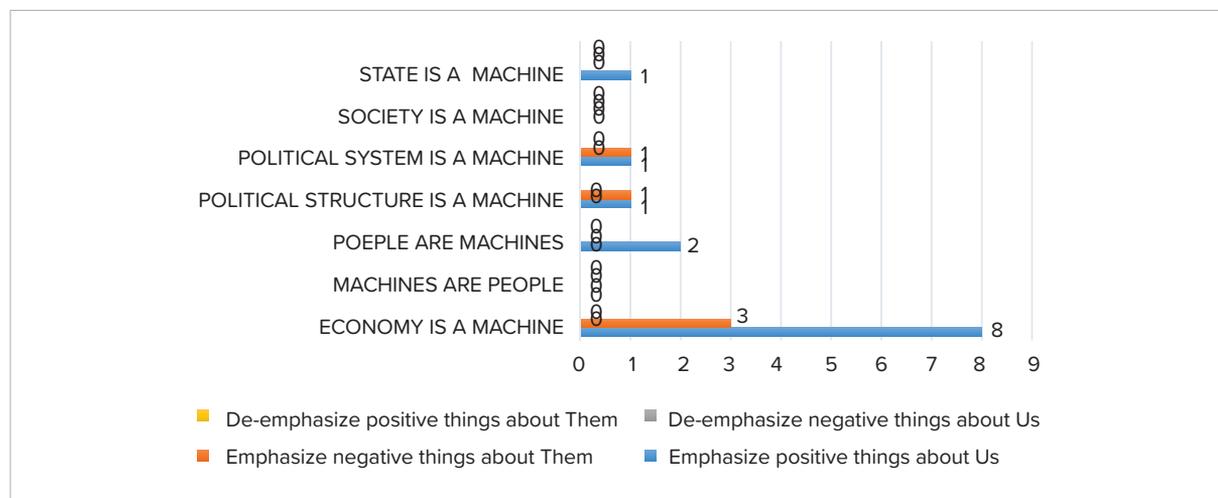


Fig. 5 Ideological Square strategies with machine metaphors in Joe Biden's speeches
(Source: calculated by the author)

Thus, it can be stated that the majority of machine conceptual metaphors are used to fulfil the strategy "Emphasize positive things about Us". Accordingly, ECONOMY IS A MACHINE, MACHINES ARE PEOPLE, PEOPLE ARE MACHINES, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE, SOCIETY IS A MACHINE, and STATE IS A MACHINE are conceptual metaphors used by Donald Trump. At the same time, ECONOMY IS A MACHINE, PEOPLE ARE MACHINES, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE are used by Joe Biden in his electioneering speeches.

Hence, it is possible to affirm that there are certain differences in the use of machine metaphors by these presidential candidates. Thus, Donald Trump's discourse is characterized by the frequent use of PEOPLE ARE MACHINES conceptual metaphors in order to fulfill this strategy, while Joe Biden mainly resorts to ECONOMY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor. Therefore, it can be observed that conceptual metaphors in Donald Trump's speeches are more varied.

The second most frequent strategy used by presidential candidates is "Emphasize negative things about Them." In order to accomplish this strategy, Donald Trump applies such conceptual metaphors as ECONOMY IS A MACHINE, MACHINES ARE PEOPLE, PEOPLE ARE MACHINES, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE, and STATE IS A MACHINE. It is necessary to mention that SOCIETY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor is used only by Donald Trump. At the same time, Joe Biden resorts to ECONOMY IS A MACHINE, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE to fulfil the strategy "Emphasize negative things about Them."

In addition, the strategy "De-emphasize negative things about Us" is present only in Donald Trump's speeches and is performed with the help of ECONOMY IS A MACHINE and POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphors. Apart from that, the strategy "De-emphasize positive things about Them" is not fulfilled using machine-based conceptual metaphors.

Having analyzed the machine-based conceptual metaphor in the corpus, it is possible to claim that the conceptual metaphor is a major persuasive tool in political discourse. Its importance can be explained by the fact that because it intervenes between conscious and unconscious means of persuasion, i.e., between cognition and emotion. As a result, the conceptual metaphor is a key strategy for the legitimization of political power (Charteris-Black, 2009, p. 97).

First of all, it is necessary to note that the machine metaphor is highly hierarchical. It allows uniting different elements and groups of society and making them cooperate with each other since only by working together it is possible to achieve goals. Consequently, the machine metaphor implies that when the state or society is conceptualized as a machine, their constituent elements are interpreted as the levers, springs and cogwheels that are integral parts of the machine. Therefore, the collective interest is placed above the individual in order to ensure proper functioning of the mechanism because a separate cog is of no use alone (Ringmar, 2008, p. 64).

Ex 1 *Together we stared down a corrupt and broken political establishment, and we restored government of, by, and for the people (Trump, June 18, 2019).*

In Example 1, Donald Trump uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE in order to show that his public policy was effective and helped stop damaging effects of the previous presidency. In such a way, this metaphor facilitates the fulfillment of the Ideological Square strategy "Emphasize positive things about Us". After all, as a machine, the political system is a set of state and non-state political and legal institutions of society, between which there are orderly connections. Every cog of this system should be aimed at the successful and coordinated work of the entire mechanism of the state, which serves every citizen. As a result, in this case, the machine metaphor is supposed to highlight that Donald Trump relieved the political system from a severe crisis. Moreover, vehicles are also used as the source domain for machine conceptual metaphors. Such a widespread usage can be explained by the fact that different kinds of vehicles move people and things in space. This feature of vehicles is mapped onto the notions of social processes. Thus, vehicles serve as phenomenological images for the movements and mobility of people in society and space (Lipset, 2014, p. 2). Moreover, vehicles, in particular cars, are considered an integral part one of present-day life (Sheller & Urry, 2000, p. 738). Accordingly, the car is a human-made item of individual consumption, an economic and environmental factor, and a means of mobility. Therefore, car movements can be used to conceptualize the activities of political institutions that rule and determine policies, social life, and development of the state (Lipset, 2014, p. 7).

Ex 2 *President Obama and I stopped a depression in 2009. We took a bad economy that was falling and turned it around. Trump took a good economy and drove it back into the ditch (Biden, August 31, 2020).*

In Example 2, Joe Biden conceptualizes the American economy as a car which got into an accident unskilled driving. In such a way, the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A MACHINE is evoked in the minds of the electorate with the aim to accentuate the negative effects of Donald Trump's decisions in the economic sphere, which led to the deterioration of the economic situation in the United States. Therefore, the metaphor facilitates accomplishing the strategy "Emphasize negative things about Them".

Ex 3 *Look, Donald Trump **crashed the economy** that Barack and I left him. Like everything else he's left and inherited, he squandered it (Biden, October 27, 2020).*

In Example 3, Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor ECONOMY IS A MACHINE in order to highlight the negative consequences of Donald Trump's policy on economic development. At the same time, with the help of this metaphor, he contrasts it with the previous successful governing of the Democratic party. Thus, it serves to fulfill strategy "Emphasize negative things about Them". The economy is perceived as a car doing along the road, while the failure to maintain the economy is interpreted in terms of a car accident. In this way, the severity of the economic crisis is underlined.

Ex 4 *Every leading Democrat has pledged abolish the American oil, coal, and natural gas industries **that are fueling our economic boom** (Trump, August 15, 2019).*

In Example 4, Donald Trump applies ECONOMY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor to demonstrate that the economy should function as a highly organized and coordinated mechanism with all component working together. The economy is conceptualized in terms of a vehicle that can function properly if it is fueled with some kind of combustibles. This is aimed to show harmful actions of the Democrats who wanted to impede the economic development. Therefore, this metaphor helps to exercise the strategies "Emphasize positive things about Us" and "Emphasize negative things about Them".

Another important function of the machine metaphors in political discourse is that it helps conceptualize the political leader as an engineer who supervises the operation of machinery. However, sometimes the machine functions independently of the supervisor's wishes. Therefore, this is the task of the leader to maintain the machinery of the state in good working conditions and himself/herself in power (Ringmar, 2008, p. 64).

Ex 5 *We're going to send all those people that can't see a doctor, we just can't get them to see a doctor. We're going to send them down the road to private doctors and we're going to pay the bill and **they're going to get fixed up** (Trump, January 28, 2020).*

In Example 5, Donald Trump applied the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE MACHINES to show that a human body as a living mechanism requires constant attention and care of the ruler. Therefore, this metaphor helps to fulfil the Ideological Square strategy "Emphasize positive things about Us" and present his plans for economic, political, and social recovery. Donald Trump perceives a person as a machine that can break down and need repair. As a leader, he promises to take care for such repairs, that is, restoring the health of the nation. Criticizing the Obama administration, with mandatory purchases of health insurances, he offers another plan – the abolition of fines for unwillingness to buy insurance, the freedom to choose the types of insurance and lower prices for insurance plans.

Ex 6 *We have to unite the country. This is not who we are and we can. We've done it so many times in our history. We've begun to a new. If we get control of this virus, we can. We can reward work. **We can fix the healthcare system** (Biden, September 21, 2020).*

In Example 6, Joe Biden uses the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE in order to show that the national healthcare system is in a deep crisis and requires urgent solutions. The machine metaphor emphasizes the importance of healthcare for well-being of the whole nation because it is seen as an insepa-

rable elements of the state mechanism. Thus, as a political leader, Joe Biden's plan is to repair and maintain health care services and insurances as if they were machines. This metaphor also facilitates the fulfillment of the Ideological Square strategy "Emphasize positive things about Us" to highlight his progressive political platform. The analysis of the use of machine conceptual metaphors by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during their electioneering campaign in 2020 shows that both candidates apply similar metaphors for the same purpose, namely to highlight the candidate's own positive sides while exaggerating his opponent's disadvantages.

The analysis demonstrates that the machine conceptual metaphors serve to realize the Ideological Square strategies because they reproduce the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation of presidential candidates during electioneering campaign in the USA in 2020. As a result, this strategy of polarization fully reveals the antagonistic character of politics.

Conclusions

To conclude, the aim of the research was to analyze the fulfillment of van Dijk's Ideological Square strategies with the help of machine conceptual metaphors used by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during the 2020 electioneering campaign in the United States. Accordingly, the scope of machine-based conceptual metaphors in Donald Trump's and Joe Biden's political speeches was identified; the use of these metaphors in the electioneering campaigns of both presidential candidates was analyzed; their persuasive role in the US presidential elections in relation to the Ideological Square strategies was established.

The article is focused on conceptual metaphors with the source domain of machine with various target domains (ECONOMY IS A MACHINE, PEOPLE ARE MACHINES, POLITICAL STRUCTURE IS A MACHINE, POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE, SOCIETY IS A MACHINE, and STATE IS A MACHINE) as well as with the target domain of machine (MACHINES ARE PEOPLE) used in political speeches delivered during the electioneering campaign for presidential elections in 2020.

The analysis shows that the majority of machine conceptual metaphors in the analyzed political speeches are used to fulfil the strategy "Emphasize positive things about Us". However, there are certain differences in the use of machine metaphors by these presidential candidates. Thus, Donald Trump's discourse is characterized by the frequent use of PEOPLE ARE MACHINES conceptual metaphors, while Joe Biden mainly resorts to ECONOMY IS A MACHINE conceptual metaphor. In addition, it can be observed that conceptual metaphors in Donald Trump's speeches are more varied.

Having conducted the analysis of the use of machine conceptual metaphors by Donald Trump and Joe Biden during their electioneering campaign in 2020, we established that these conceptual metaphors perform the following functions: 1) to show that government work as a highly coordinated mechanism supervised by the political leader; 2) to demonstrate that economy, political system and society are in a severe crisis; 3) to represent the state as an organized mechanism where all citizens and institutions perform their roles in order to guarantee proper functioning of the whole country; and 4) to present the plans for economic, political, and social recovery. In addition, it is proved that Donald Trump and Joe Biden resort to machine-based metaphors in order to foreground their advantages and at the same time to emphasize the drawbacks of their political opponents.

The analysis demonstrates that the machine conceptual metaphors serve to realize the Ideological Square strategies because they reproduce the positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation of presidential candidates during electioneering campaign in the USA in 2020. In other words, there is a strong tendency for the majority of metaphors to highlight the candidate's own positive sides while exaggerating his opponent's disadvantages. This strategy of polarization fully reveals the antagonistic character of politics.

Conflict of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this article.

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Santrauka

Olha Lapka

Mašinos metafora 2020 metų JAV rinkimų kampanijoje: kognityvinis aspektas

Konceptualioji metafora yra pagrindinė politinio diskurso įtikinėjimo priemonė. Šio tyrimo tikslas – išanalizuoti van Dijko ideologinio kvadrato strategijų realizavimą pasitelkiant konceptualiąsias mašinos metaforas, kurias naudojo Donaldas Trumpas ir Joe Bidenas 2020 m. rinkimų kampanijos Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose metu. Tyrimo duomenis sudaro 99 dviejų kandidatų į prezidentus mitinguose pasakytos politinės kalbos. Tyrime naudojami šie lingvistinės analizės metodai: kritinė diskurso analizė, konceptualiųjų metaforų analizė, lyginamasis metodas ir konteksto analizė. Analizė parodė, kad konceptualiosios metaforos vaidina svarbų vaidmenį įgyvendinant ideologinio kvadrato strategijas, turinčias įtikinėjimo tikslų. Be to, buvo nustatyta, kad Donaldas Trumpas ir Joe Bidenas diskursuose vyrauja konceptualioji metafora EKONOMIKA YRA MAŠINA. Duomenų analizė taip pat parodė, kad dauguma metaforų naudojamos siekiant pabrėžti paties kandidato teigiamas puses, tuo pačiu perdant oponento trūkumus.

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