First Lady, Secretary of State and Presidential Candidate: A Comparative Study of the

Role-Dependant Use of Metaphor in Politics

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Abstract

While many studies have examined to what extent politicians invoked a particular source domain to advance their ideology, no study to date has focused on the metaphor use of an individual politician across different political roles. This paper fills this gap by analyzing the WAR metaphors used by Hillary Clinton in her personal speeches in the roles of U.S. First Lady, a U.S. Senator, and as a candidate for the 2008 Democratic nomination for U.S. President and demonstrates that Clinton's metaphor use reflects a politician who chooses her battles carefully and invokes figurative language to gain support for the causes that are important to her.

Key words: conceptual metaphor theory, WAR metaphors, Hillary Clinton, corpus linguistics, Critical Metaphor Analysis

Introduction

Linguistic analysis may be used to provide insight as to how a political leader views the economic, social and political issues facing his or her country. In particular, the relationship between text structure and issues of power and ideology in the society that produces those texts is a fundamental area of inquiry in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (i.e. Fairclough 2001; Van Dijk 1993, among others). Within CDA, the notion of identity, of either an individual or a group, is argued to be a social representation of politicians, and is reflected by their language use (i.e. Le 2002; Nascimento et al., 2007, among others). The contribution of this research is to extend the work of the CDA through the analysis of a single source domain of a particular conceptual metaphor. The general outlines of this approach will be familiar to those working in Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which is a dual-domain approach

within Cognitive Linguistics that seeks to model how a metaphor maps from a conceptual source domain to a conceptual target domain (i.e. Gibbs, 1994; Lakoff, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999; Kövecses, 2002, 2005). These mappings give rise to the conceptual metaphors in the form of 'X is Y', in which the target X is more abstract than the source Y. As abstract as X is, it can be understood in terms of source Y by drawing on one's experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2002) or by accessing (in real time) the underlying conceptual mapping principles (Ahrens et al. 2007; Ahrens 2010).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory provides one major theoretical framework for metaphor studies. However, researchers have noted that this theory could benefit from the constraints provided by empirical evidence, such as the data that result from an experimentally-based or corpus-based analysis. To fill this gap, Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) uses a keyword approach; namely by identifying a list of keywords (based on either the source or target domain) corresponding to a given conceptual metaphor, it is possible to analyze how conceptual metaphors are used to frame arguments and persuade hearers to follow a certain course of action (Charteris-Black 2004, 2005, 2006). CMA has been extensively applied in the analyses of texts and/or speeches of different political leaders around the world.[1] The novelty of the approach being taken here is that this study proposes that by looking at the target domains associated with a single source domain of a

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[1] These studies include the investigation of Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom including Margaret Thatcher and Tony Blair (Charteris-Black, 2005), Presidents of the United States such as Ronald Reagan, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, Martin Luther King (Ahrens, 2006, 2011; Charteris-Black, 2005; Lakoff 1996/2002; Lim, 2004), Senators of the United States (Ahrens & Lee, 2009), Chancellors of Germany (Koller & Semino, 2009), Italian Prime Ministers (Philip, 2009; Semino & Koller, 2009), and the President of Russia (Koteyko & Ryazanova-Clarke, 2009). Contrastive cross-linguistic work on political metaphors has also been done, including Musolff (2004, 2006a, b, 2016; Musolff & Zinken, 2009), and Chilton and Lylin (1993) who examine Russian, German and French data.

conventionalized conceptual metaphor, it can be demonstrated that patterns of language change as a function of the role of a given politician[2]. Another contribution is that while many male politicians (and a few female politicians including Margaret Thatcher, Angela Merkel, and Benazir Bhutto) have served as elected officials and political leaders of their respective countries, only one female politician, Hillary Clinton, has served her country in a ceremonial role as well as in elected capacity. It is her speeches during her time as First Lady, Senator, and as a candidate for the 2008 Democratic nomination for U.S. president that will serve as a corpus for metaphorical analysis. Using her speeches as the corpus for this study thus allows for the examination of the relationship between language and role identity to determine if conceptual metaphor usage shifts as an individual's political role shifts, as well as allows for a further exploration on the issue of gender norms in politics with respect to metaphor usage.

Politics, Gender and Metaphor

Over the past several decades the number of women serving in high-level political positions has increased throughout the world. Contrastive examination of the metaphorical language used by men and women in politics has been looked at in Ahrens (2009) with respect to political leaders in Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States.[3] Findings were mixed, with female political leaders in the United Kingdom, Germany and Italy differing from their male counterparts, while this difference was not seen in male and female politicians in the United States Senate (Ahrens & Lee, 2009).

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[2] Borčić and Čulo in this volume explore the general topics (political, economic, social, private) used by a Croatian politician at different points in his political career but does not systematically examine the target domains used by a particular source domain as proposed herein.

[3] Metaphors used about women political leaders are a separate line of inquiry (Anderson and Sheeler, 2005). Lim (2009) also looks at the metaphors used to define Hillary Clinton at different points in her career.

However, the reasons for the differences in male and female leaders in Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom are complex and have to do with not only gender but also history, personal experience, and personal expression. For example, Koller and Semino's (2009) comparison of the metaphors used by two Chancellors of Germany found that Gerhard Schröder used WAR metaphors more often than Angela Merkel, especially prior to a general election. However, Koller and Semino also pointed out that the use of WAR metaphors occurs much less frequently overall in Germany (and SPORTS metaphors not at all), which they attribute to the fact that 'rhetorical restraint' is preferred 'given the cataclysmic consequences of Germany's war-mongering regimes in the first half of the twentieth century…" (Koller and Semino, 2009, p. 28). In addition, Charteris-Black (2009) looked at the metaphors used in British parliamentary debates and found that male members of parliament (MPs) used conventional metaphors having to do with health/illness and light/dark more often than female MPs, but he also noted that that tendency dropped over time, which he attributed to female MPs becoming more used to parliamentary norms, although he also pointed out that Harriet Harman was a notable exception as she used metaphors infrequently and yet won a deputy leader election.

Semino and Koller (2009) furthermore found that two prominent Italian politicians, one male and one female, both used metaphors associated with masculinity (i.e., both used WAR and SPORTS metaphors). However, they found that the politicians used them in different ways. The male politician, Berlusconi, used metaphors in familiar, conventional ways while the female politician, Bonini, used them in less familiar ways "in order to … challenge dominant views…[and] as a concession to dominant, male-centered political discourse (Semino and Koller, 2009, p. 56)." From the above discussion, it can be seen that cross-

gender studies on metaphor usage have not found clear-cut differences between male and female politicians' conventional metaphor usages. Given that it is difficult to control for possible confounding factors (including years of experience, political roles served, political or party ideology, etc.) outside of experimental settings, it would be advantageous to look at the metaphors used by one individual who has moved between different and sometimes competing political roles within the same political party. Thus, in this study, I propose to examine variation in language use as a function of political role by identifying the conceptual metaphors for a particular source domain in the speeches of Hillary Clinton as First Lady, U.S. Senator, and presidential candidate. I will show that target domains of the selected source domain vary according to political position, demonstrating a shift in Clinton's political identity as she takes on different political roles.[4]

In the discussion so far, the issue of which source domain to examine has been left deliberately vague. We have seen that previous work has looked at the use of WAR metaphors in comparative cross-gender studies (Koller & Semino, 2009; Semino & Koller, 2009) and it is this source domain that will be examined in the chapter, so as to provide a contrast with previous work as well as to compare the current analysis of Clinton's use with Charteris-Black's (2005) analysis of WAR metaphors in Margaret Thatcher's speeches. Thatcher was elected as the leader of the Conservative Party in Great Britain in 1975 and served as Prime Minister from 1979 to 1990. Charteris-Black demonstrates that her use of metaphors is

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[4] Borčić & Čulo in this volume also examines how the use of personification changes during the course of a political career by examining televised interviews of Ivo Josipović, focusing on his interviews as a candidate, as Croatian president, and then as a former president.

strikingly different from that of the other male political leaders discussed: first, she uses metaphors less frequently, second, she draws much more heavily on WAR metaphors in comparison to men. In addition, he argues that she uses these metaphors not only to 'defend' values that she considers under 'attack' but also to lead attacks as a modern-day Boudicca against Great Britain's and her own political enemies.

However, not all research on the effects of gender in politics has been as clear-cut. One study found that female candidates benefited from exploiting feminine stereotypes (Herrnson, Lay, & Stokes, 2003), while Bystrom et al. (2004) found that female candidates often portray more masculine traits than their male counterparts and Banwart & McKinney (2005) found that those who do so are more likely to win. Nevertheless, once women have won the election and join an official elected body, such as the U.S. Congress or the British Parliament, studies have been consistent in finding that women adopt a masculine style of interaction and communication (Cameron, 2005; Chateris-Black, 2009; Gertzog, 1995; Dodson, 2006; Karpowitz & Mendelberg, 2014; Penelope, 2000; Yu, 2014). Given that these institutions are male-dominated, it is not surprising that women, as the minority, try to adapt linguistically in order to project the masculine traits of strength, fortitude, and authority, even at the expense of being negatively labeled for failing to follow feminine norms, such as agreeableness.

Jones (2016) specifically exploited these markers of masculine and feminine style to examine Clinton's linguistic preferences as First Lady, Senator and Democratic nominee candidate for the presidency.[5] She finds that Clinton's feminine markers (first person singular

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[5] Jones (2016) uses the Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) program to (Pennebaker, Booth, & Francis, 2007) to analyse feminine and masculine linguistic markers.

pronouns, certain verbs and auxiliary verbs, social references, emotion words, tentative words and cognitive mechanisms) increased in 1992 and 1996 when she was campaigning for her spouse to become president, but that there was a drop in the use of feminine markers when she was working on health care legislation (as First Lady).[6] She also found an overall decline in the use of feminine markers between 1992 and 2012, with the exception of 1996 as just mentioned, and 2008, which Jones traces to the ultimately failed strategy to make Hillary Clinton more likeable during her unsuccessful campaign for the 2008 Democratic Nomination for President.

While Jones (2016) has not postulated metaphor use as a possible marker, I would like to suggest that the WAR metaphors have the potential to be associated with either male or female markers of language use, especially when the distinction between 'attack' metaphors and 'defense' metaphors that Charteris-Black (2005) noted in Thatcher's usage is made, as women are traditionally considered socially primed (and socially allowed) to defend those under their care, while men are socially primed (and socially allowed) to attack and kill, especially when serving in the military, which even to this day is primarily made up of men in all countries in the world. Thus, in order to draw a comparison with Thatcher's preference to use the conflict frame to attack perceived enemies, this paper will examine data related to Clinton's use of WAR metaphors to see if she varies in her preference for defense or attack metaphors within her different roles as First Lady, Senator, and Presidential Candidate. In addition, I will also examine if Clinton's use of WAR metaphors mirrored Jones' (2016) findings, with WAR metaphors increasing over time as Clinton moved from the traditional

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[6] Words longer than six letters, first person plural pronouns, certain article and prepositions, anger words and swear words were considered as markers of masculine style (Jones, 2016).

feminine role of First Lady to the more traditionally masculine role of Senator and later, presidential candidate. I will also examine if there are dips in the number of WAR metaphors used in the years 1996 and 2008 (as she worked to soften her image for her husband's presidential campaign and later soften her image for her own campaign for the Democratic nomination for President when she began to fall behind her main competitor, Barack Obama, in the delegate count).

Historical Background on Clinton's Political Roles

The 2008 U.S. presidential contest was historic for having a viable female candidate in the election. For the very first time in U.S. history, a female candidate, Hillary Rodham Clinton (Clinton), could plausibly claim "frontrunner" status in the race for the Democratic nomination for President.[7] She told the nation that she was the only candidate who would be "Ready on Day One", implying that her experience in Washington as First Lady and senator translated into preparedness for the presidency (Lawrence & Rose, 2010). Her considerable name recognition to reach that point was built on her long resume of experience in the political context. Starting with her role as First Lady of President William J. Clinton from 1993 to 2001, she played an active role in raising public concerns on issues relating to the health and welfare of children (Clinton, 2003). After her husband completed his second four-year term as U.S. President, she maintained a high level of popularity and won the election for a seat in the U.S. Senate as one of two representatives for the state of New York from 2001 to

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[7] Over the past approximately 150 years, the United States has had two main political parties: Democrats and Republicans. Every four years each party holds a nomination process to decide who to put forward to compete against the other party's candidate for the positon of President of the United States.

2009. In her role as Senator she contested the Democratic nomination for the U.S. presidency during 2007-2008. From First Lady to U.S. Senator to a U.S. presidential candidate, Clinton was a powerful political figure for over twenty years starting from the early 1990's.[8]

Political Corpora

Recent political texts can be readily found on-line and provide raw data as a starting point for corpus creation. In terms of speeches made by Hillary Clinton as First Lady of the United States (1993-2000), a list of individual speeches can be found in the archive of First Lady's official website[9]. The Senator Corpus was created from the U.S. Senate floor speeches in html text on the official government website (clinton.senate.gov) when Clinton was still Senator in 2008.[10] For speeches delivered by Hillary Clinton as the nominee of the Democratic Party for 2008 United States presidential election, a list of her remarks can be downloaded from the archive of The American Presidency Project.[11] Table 1 provides information by year about the position Hillary Clinton served, the number of speeches in each corpus for a particular year, and the number of words for each year.

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[8] She also served as Secretary of State under President Obama from 2009 to 2013 and successfully contested the Democratic nomination for President in 2016 before losing the Electoral College (and thus, the Presidency) to Republican nominee Donald Trump.

[9] The website is: http://clinton3.nara.gov/WH/EOP/First_Lady/html/HILLARY_Home.html.

[10] These speeches can now be found on www.congress.gov and using the correct search filters to find instances where Clinton spoke in the Senate (as was not just being referred to).

[11] The website is available at: http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/2008_election_speeches.php?candidate=70. For the raw data mentioned on the websites above, the entire text is returned for a given lexeme, which is not conducive to further linguistic analysis. A corpus needs to be built so that a key-word-in-context (KWIC) search can be run and the keyword can be returned in the center of the screen, and further permutations can be then run (such as aligning to the left or right of the keyword) in order to establish collocational patterns.

Table 1: Hillary Clinton Corpus 1993-2008

Corpus	Year	No. of Speeches	Word Count
The First Lady Corpus (F)	1993	10	56,715
	1994	22	64,009
	1995	21	41,424
	1996	7	104,187
	1997	29	84,341
	1998	71	169,349
	1999	86	327,508
	2000	7	40,076
Sub-total	1993-2000	253	887,609
The Senator Corpus (S)	2001	24	42,185
	2002	17	28,176
	2003	13	34,332
	2004	7	29,243
	2005	30	91,731
	2006	33	113,805
	2007S	7	19,695
Sub-total	2001-2007S	131	359,167
The Presidential Candidate Corpus (P)	2007P	47	188,915
	2008	59	167,790
Sub-total	2007P-2008	106	356,705

Total	1993-2008	490	1,603,481

Methods

Metaphor identification and analysis can be a controversial and contentious theoretical issue, and there are various approaches to this question (i.e. Steen (1999a, 1999b, 2002, 2008, Steen et al. 2010); Group (2007); Goatly (2007), among many others.) Since the goal of this study is to identify metaphors that use the source domain of WAR and to identify whether each word in a text is a metaphorical usage or not, the following approach is taken: First, based on previous research with the American Presidential Corpus and Charteris-Black's work (2004, 2005), possible keywords for WAR were identified: *protect*, *defend*, *attack*, *combat*, *struggle*, *battle*, *fight, war, threat, destroy and defeat*. These keywords were then searched for in SUMO[12] and ascertained to be related to the source domain of WAR as either a hyponym of the category VerbalContest and/or related to MilitaryProcesses or Bombing or Killing). If none of these conditions were met (which was the case for 'protect'), the lexeme was then searched for in WordNet[13] to ascertain if it was a direct hypernym of a lexeme that was in VerbalContest in SUMO). As 'protect' has the direct hypernyms 'on the defensive' and 'act against an attack', it was also included as one of the keywords examined herein.[14]

The keywords were searched for in the Clinton's First Lady Corpus, the Senator Corpus and Presidential Candidate Corpus. Singular and plural forms of nouns and all

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[12] Available at: http://www.adampease.org/OP/.
[13] Available at: http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn.
[14] The point of using SUMO and WordNet was to find independent corroboration for identifying these keywords as part of the domain of WAR.

variations of tenses for verb uses were searched for (see Appendix 1). Next, two researchers read through the examples with these keywords highlighted. At this first stage, the target domain was not yet identified—the task for both readers was to independently identify which keywords are being used in a literal sense and which are being used in a metaphorical sense, based on Group (2007) guidelines for determining conceptual metaphor use. These guidelines have been independently developed and used previously in the literature (i.e. Barnden, 2010; Cienki, 2008; Herrera-Soler, 2008; Kimmel, 2010). After metaphorical usages were identified, then the two researchers determined the target domain based on the context.

Results

After running the keyword search, 2531 instances were identified in the corpus. Of these, 969 were identified as metaphorical.

Time.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of WAR metaphors over time. We find a clear increase in Clinton's use of WAR metaphors when she served as Senator (2001-2007S) and Presidential Candidate (2007P-2008) as compared with her time as First Lady (1993-2000).[15]

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[15] Normalized ratios (in this case, number of usages / word count of that corpora *100,000) allow us to compare the metaphor usage over different corpora with different sizes.

Figure 1: WAR metaphors from 1993-2008
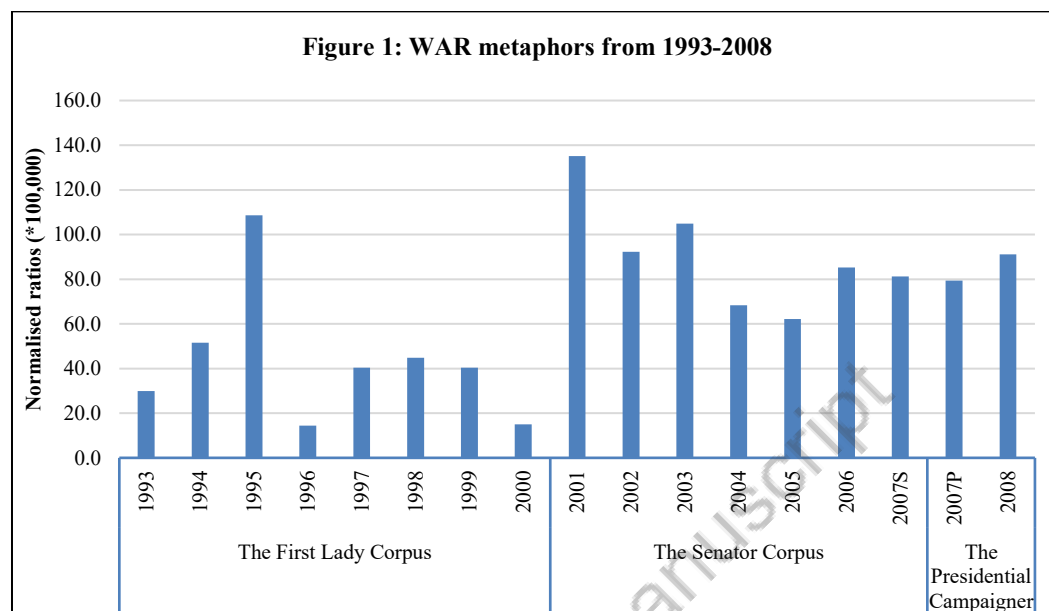
In line with Jones' (2016) findings that Clinton increased her usage of feminine markers in 1996 when her husband was running again for President, we find a sharp decrease in her use of WAR metaphors then. However, Jones also found a decrease in the use of feminine markers in 1993 and 1994 when Clinton was pushing her health care proposals, and we do not find a concomitant increase in WAR metaphors during that period. In addition, Figure 1 also shows a sharp increase in WAR metaphors in 2001. However, a month-by-month analysis in Figure 2 shows that this increase was not driven by her responses to the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. She did use WAR metaphors in response to those attacks, but at a much lower rate than in the preceding months. During those spring and summer months of 2001 her use of WAR metaphors were focused primarily on environmental and health-related issues.

Figure 2. WAR metaphors in 2001
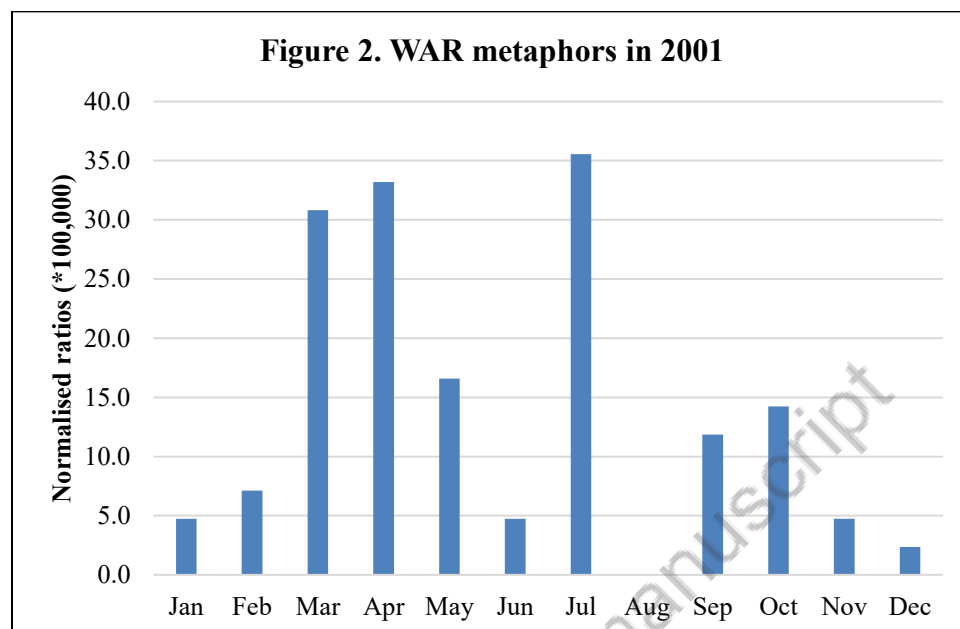
In addition, Jones (2016) noted that there was a sharp increase in feminine markers in December 2007 to June 2008 when Clinton was trying to soften her image while running for the Democratic Nominee for President. However, we do not see a concomitant decrease in the use of WAR metaphors during this period (Figure 3).

Figure 3: WAR metaphors in 2007 and 2008
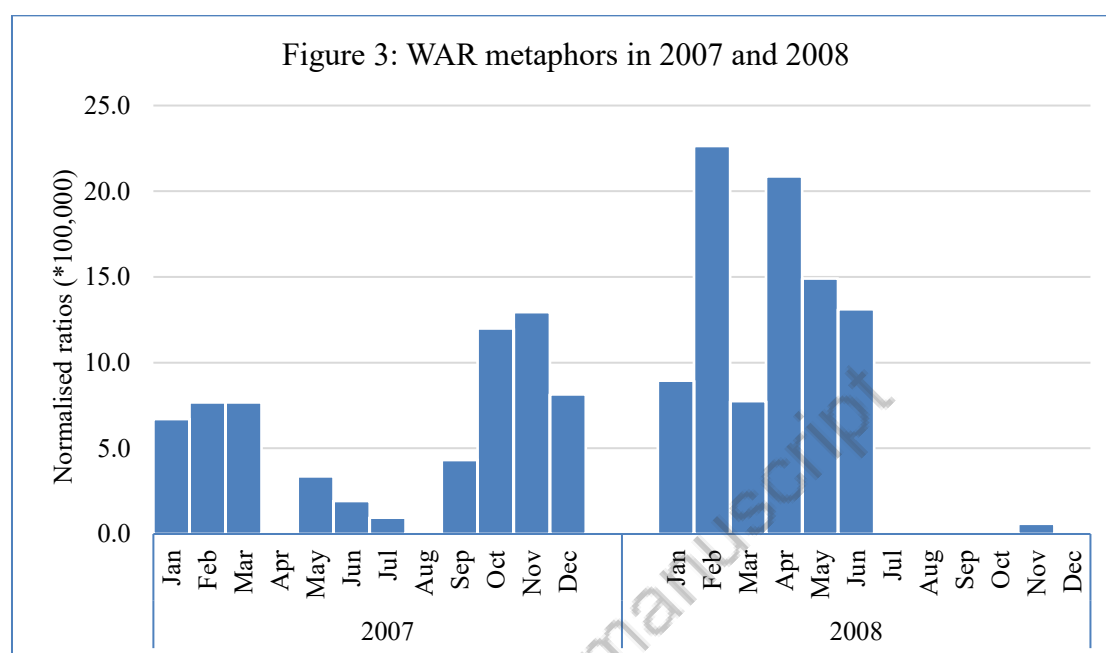
To summarize, the expected difference was found in Clinton's use of WAR metaphors between her role as First Lady and her roles as Senator and Presidential Candidate with an increase in WAR metaphors when in the two leadership roles that have been dominated by men over the course of American history. However, I did not find a consistent decrease in WAR metaphors during the periods of time when feminine markers increased, or a consistent increase in the frequency of WAR metaphors used when the frequency of feminine markers decreased (cf. Jones (2016)). This issue will be explored further below as we turn to examining the types of metaphors used in the three corpora.

Conceptual Metaphor Type. Metaphors that were identified were then further categorized as belonging to various target domains, as shown in Figure 4 below.[16] Three conceptual

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[16] Note that "BATTLE" is used to refer to the source domain in the conceptual metaphors on the following charts as BATTLE is a smaller scale (and more human scale) version of WAR.

metaphors occurred frequently: PROTECTING X IS A BATTLE (372 instances, 38%), STOPPING X IS A BATTLE (168 instances, 17%), and ENSURING X IS A BATTLE (151 instances, 16%), where X can stand for any one of a number of issues: healthcare, the environment, social security, American's defence, etc.

Figure 4: Conceptual Metaphors Types
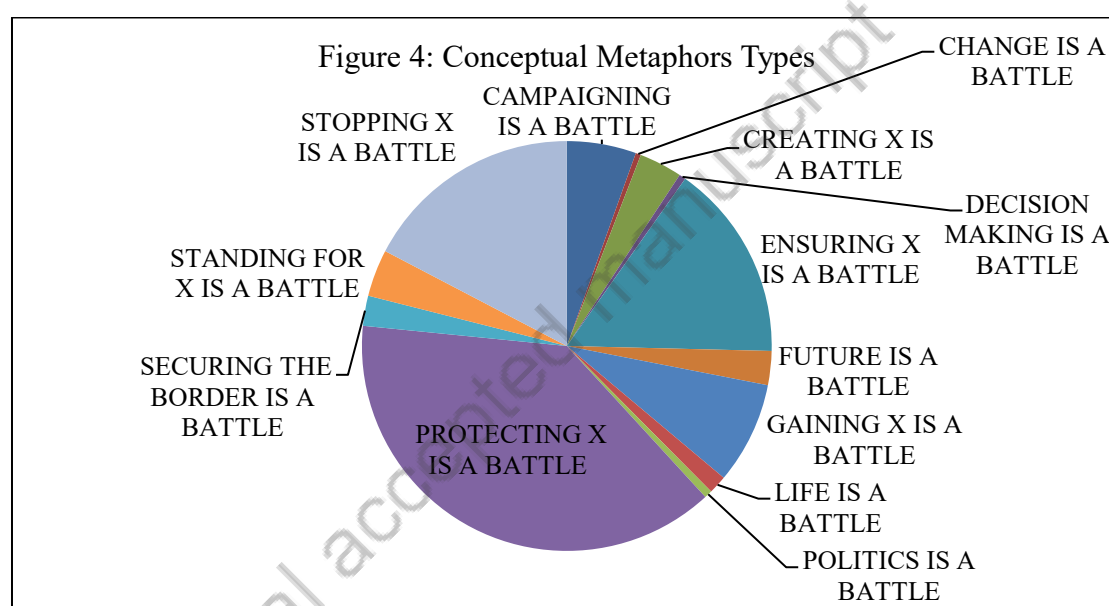
PROTECTING X IS A BATTLE is the most common among the 13 target domains. In this metaphor, the 'X' is something good that is being protected; it is so good (and important) that it is worth fighting for. For example, "this [legislation] penalizes those businesses that are serious about *protecting* privacy" (The Senator Corpus, 2006 June 16). In this instance, privacy is considered a positive goal that needs protection. Another example is, "On Long Island, Karen Joy Miller and so many brave survivors are fighting back. She formed the Huntington Breast Cancer Action Coalition, which, among other many good works, has

helped to complete a map that compares the incidence of cancer and toxic waste sites in her community. But I don't think we can leave this to local people *fighting* on their own" (The Senator Corpus, 2001 July 19). In this latter instance, Clinton implies she wants to assist people in their fight to protect themselves from living near toxic waste sites and subsequently becoming ill with cancer.

STOPPING X IS A BATTLE is the second most common target domain identified. In this metaphorical frame, X often refers to negative concepts, such as crime, disease, and terrorism. For example, "I want to lead a great effort to *fight* discrimination in the workplace" (The Presidential Candidate Corpus, 2007 September 15); "many of you have been on the forefront in this *fight against* human trafficking" (The Senator Corpus, 2005 March 06); "to develop a strategy to *combat* this horrible epidemic that has caused so much death" (The Senator Corpus, 2006 September 29). In this metaphor, something negative is being dealt with; it is so bad that a metaphorical battle must be waged against it.

ENSURING X IS A BATTLE is the third most popular WAR metaphor. Economic development and health care was often referred as X by Clinton in her speeches using this metaphor. For example, "in fact, we can *protect* our economic interests while promoting trade" (The Senator Corpus, 2007 February 28). In this example, the status quo is important and needs to be fought to be maintained. Another example is "I promise that I will be there with you as we *fight for* health care for all Americans." (The Senator Corpus, 2001 January 28)". In this latter example, Clinton wants to ensure that Americans will have adequate health care.
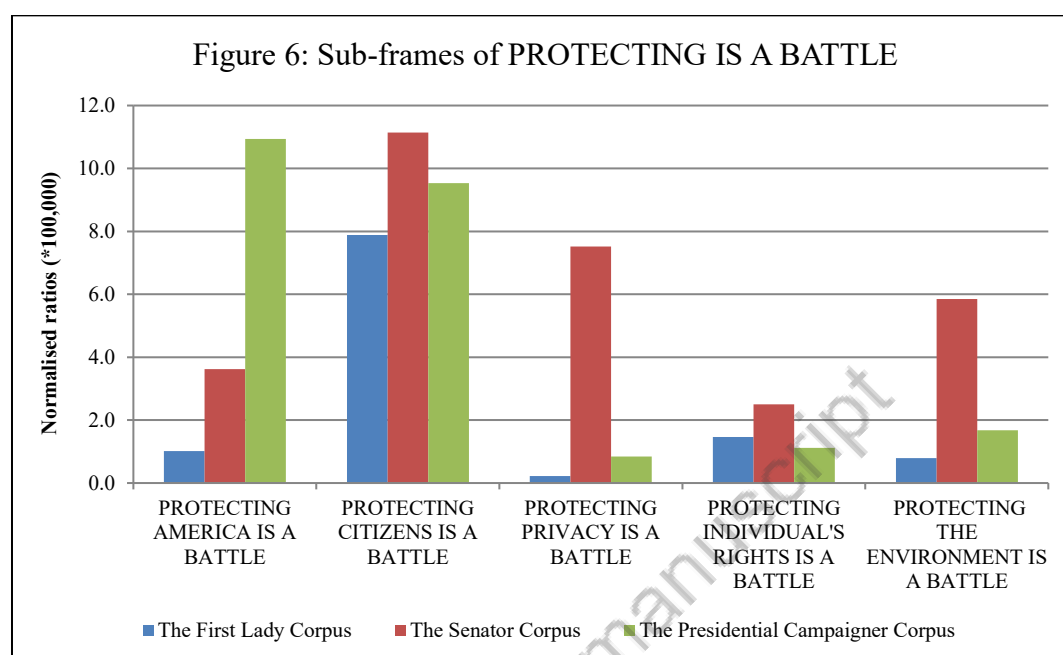
In terms of whether Clinton used these metaphors to greater or lesser degrees in her three roles, Figure 5 shows that Clinton used the PROTECTING X IS A BATTLE metaphor more often as a Senator, slightly less often as a Candidate and much less often as First Lady. In addition, she

uses PROTECTING X IS A BATTLE most often in all three corpora compared with STOPPING X IS A BATTLE and ENSURING X IS A BATTLE. Clinton, thus, uses metaphors that identity her as a protector of the American people in all her roles.

Figure 5: Most popular target domains of war metaphors
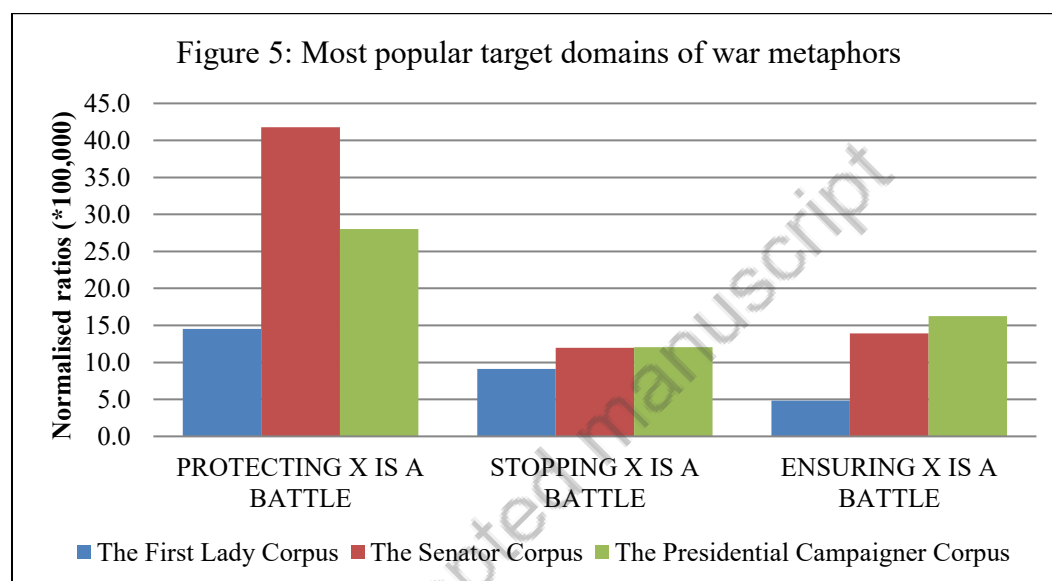
When we examine what she is protecting, we find that PROTECTING CITIZENS IS A BATTLE is the most frequently used conceptual metaphor in this frame over all three corpora (Figure 6). This indicates that Clinton uses the WAR metaphor primarily in the role of a protector, which, while being within the source domain of WAR, falls within the tradition of women protecting those in need of their help, rather than seeking battles to fight injustice (or other traditionally masculine roles in the WAR conceptual frame.)

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Figure 6: Sub-frames of PROTECTING IS A BATTLE

In addition, as a Candidate she uses the metaphor PROTECTING AMERICA IS A BATTLE much more frequently than in her other roles, indicating a shift in concern due to her role as a Candidate for the Democratic nomination for president. This makes sense as protecting America is not a responsibility of a First Lady, but is, to a greater extent, the responsibility of a U.S. Senator, and of course, it is one of the primary responsibilities of the President. Furthermore, as a Senator, she also focused on protecting the privacy rights of citizens and protecting the environment, but these concerns were not conceptualized with WAR metaphors when she was First Lady or as a Candidate.[17] This does not mean she did not use other metaphors to discuss these issues, simply that she did not discuss them using the same WAR metaphors that she did when serving in the Senate.

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[17] 'Protecting individual rights' refers to rights that are enshrined in the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. 'Privacy' is not explicitly discussed in these documents, although later amendments and legal rulings do provide some relevant protection. However, issues related to privacy, especially related to on-line protection of personal, health, financial information is still a separate, salient topic in U.S. politics.

In the STOPPING X IS A BATTLE frame, as First Lady Clinton is primarily concerned with the issue of stopping disease and violence, while as a Senator she is primarily concerned with stopping terrorism both worldwide and in America (Figure 7)[18]. As a Presidential Candidate, she uses this metaphor to rail against terrorism both within the U.S. and world-wide, but her focus as a Candidate is more centered on the of issue of terrorism in America. This is in contrast to the conceptualization of 'stopping disease as a battle' in that it appeared equally frequently when talking about stopping disease in America as well as worldwide in the Campaigner corpus.

Figure 7: Sub-frames of STOPPING x IS A BATTLE
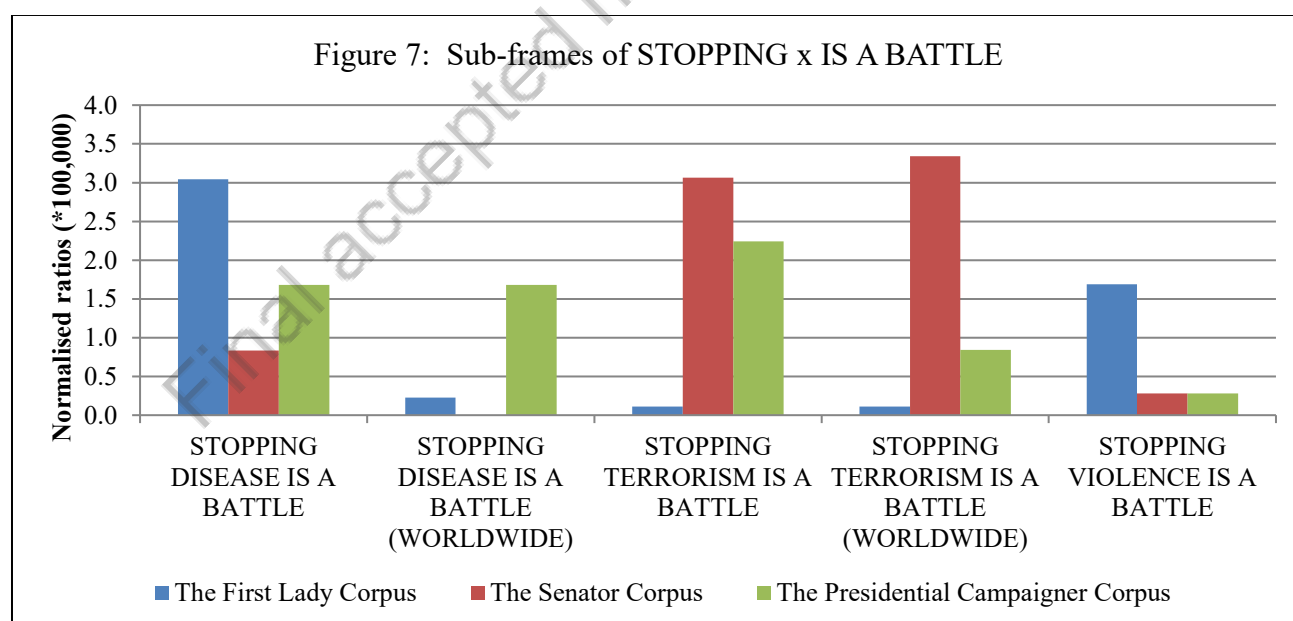
Clinton employs the ENSURING X IS A BATTLE frame less often while serving as a First Lady than she does as Senator or Candidate. This may be because preserving policies or the status

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[18] Unless otherwise noted in parentheses, the metaphors used in Figures 6, 7 and 8 are discussing issues that Americans face.

quo is not in the purview of her position as First Lady (Figure 8). However, she does focus on protecting economic development in her roles as Senator and Candidate, as well as the social benefits of health care.[19] In addition, there is new focus on ENSURING TECHNOLOGY DEVELOPMENT IS A BATTLE during her campaign period, as seen when she says, "We need to end this Administration's <u>war</u> on science and restore America to its rightful place" (The Presidential Candidate Corpus, 2008 January 24).

Figure 8: Sub-frames of ENSURING X IS A BATTLE
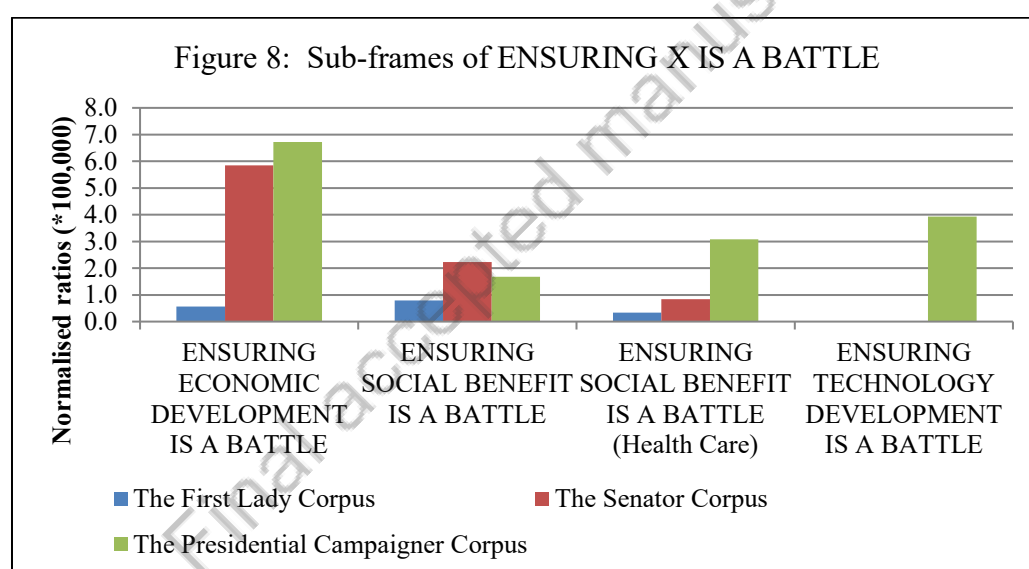
In all, Clinton's metaphor use shows a politician who is constituted as a protector for the less fortunate and for the country in general. This may explain why we did not see a consistent moderation or expansion on WAR metaphors to mirror the findings of Jones' (2016) findings on masculine and feminine markers—since Clinton often speaks as someone who is in the

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[19] Because the issue of health care is such a thorny issue in American politics, and one that Clinton spent time trying to address as a First Lady, this narrow source-target domain mapping is examined separately from ENSURING SOCIAL BENEFIT IS A BATTLE.

protector role (as opposed to an aggressor role), she (or her advisors) did not feel it necessary to modify this particular aspect of her language use. Figure 9 demonstrates her preference for using metaphors that involve protecting/defending others from harm versus attacking/fighting against evil (however that is construed), and it also demonstrates her preference to "fight for" something (which may be contrued as a positive action) as opposed to "fighting against" something (which may be construed negatively).[20]

Figure 9: ATTACK and DEFEND in WAR metaphors
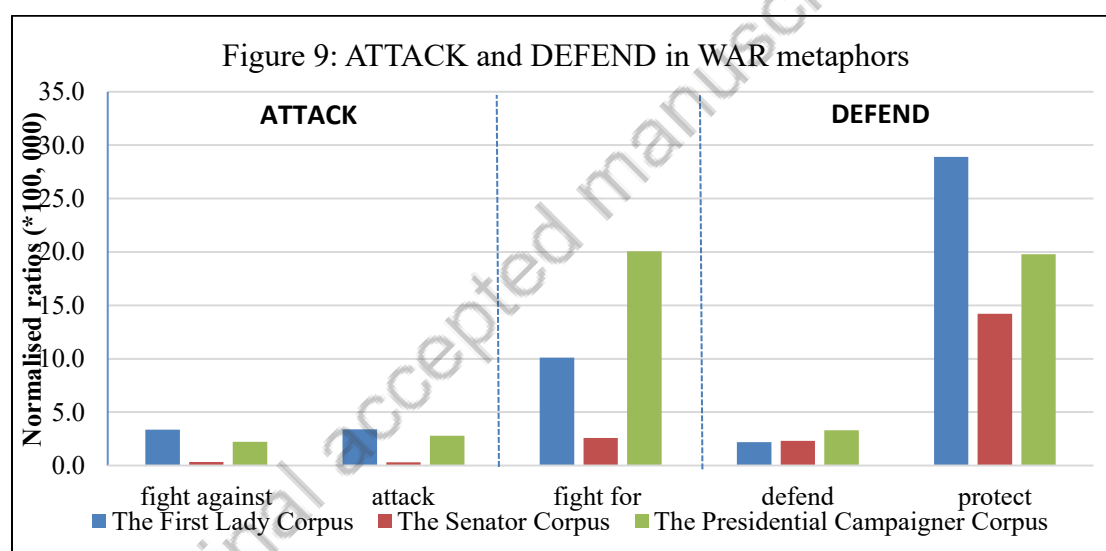
Lastly, the metaphors found in the three corpora demonstrate that Clinton's use of WAR metaphors differs from Thatcher's, as Thatcher used WAR metaphors primarily to verbally attack her nation's and her own opponents (Charteris-Black, 2005). In contrast, even though Clinton is often invoking the WAR source domain through her metaphors, she is doing so primarily in the role of a defender or protector, which is part of a proto-typical maternal role in most modern societies. Thus, she is not invoking the battlefield as Thatcher does when she

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[20] Of the keywords we examined herein, "fight against" and "attack" are considered to be in the domain of 'attack' in SUMO, and "defend" and "protect" are considered to be in the domain of "Defence".

says, "I have reminded you where the great political adventure began and where it has led. But is this where we pitch our tents? Is this where we dig in?" (9 October 1987, as cited in Charteris-Black, 2005, page 174). In this example, Thatcher is the figurative military leader for her country, taking on this traditionally male role.

Conclusion

In order to examine the metaphor usage utilizing the WAR source domain, three corpora were created: The First Lady Corpus, which contains 253 speeches and approximately 888,000 words, the Senator Corpus, which contains 131 speeches and approximately 360,000 words and the 2008 Presidential Candidate Corpus, which contains 106 speeches and approximately 357,000 words. Eleven keywords and their variations (*protect, defend, attack, combat, struggle, battle, fight, war, threat, destroy and defeat*) were analysed, with 969 metaphors found out of 2531 instances.

With respect to the issue of whether or not Clinton's use of WAR metaphors could be linked to an increase or decrease in feminine markers, the results were mixed. Overall, Clinton uses more WAR metaphors as Senator and Presidential Candidate than as First Lady, and this increase corresponds with a concurrent general decrease in feminine markers over the same period (Jones, 2016). However, Jones (2016) also argued that there were also specific periods when Clinton's feminine markers decreased (when she was campaigning for her husband, Bill Clinton, in 1996 and in 2007-2008 when she was campaigning for herself) or increased (when she was pushing for health care legislation as First Lady in 1993). While

Clinton did decrease her use of WAR metaphors during the period of her husband's campaign, she did not do so during her own campaign, nor did she increase their use when she was serving as a leader in putting together health care legislation. Thus, no straightforward parallels can be drawn be drawn between the use of feminine markers and WAR metaphors from this study.

In addition to the above findings, I also found that the target domains of WAR used by Clinton varied, demonstrating a clear shift in Clinton's political identity a focus as she took on different political roles. She uses the PROTECTION IS A BATTLE frame 38% of the time and does so more frequently in her Senator role than in the Candidate role and more frequently in the Candidate role than in her role as First Lady. Furthermore, her use of individual conceptual metaphors has also varied with respect to her role. As First Lady, she was primarily concerned with protecting citizens and stopping disease, while as Senator and Candidate she used metaphorical language to denounce terrorism and protect privacy and to ensure economic development. These results indicate that the roles that she took on influenced her metaphor usage over time. In addition, her preference for metaphors that position her as protector distinguish her use of WAR metaphors from that of Margaret Thatcher, who used them to rally her like-minded citizens to attack, as well as defend, issues that were important to her (Charteris-Black 2005).

Future research could examine three levels of metaphor as proposed in Steen (2008), namely the linguistic (direct vs. indirect metaphors), conceptual (novel vs. conventional metaphors) and communicative levels (deliberate vs. non-deliberate metaphors). Perrez and Reuchamps (2014), for example found that metaphors were often used deliberately to set up a

particular argument, and also that groups with different political preferences used the same source domain differently when exploring the issue of Belgium unity. While I found that most conceptual metaphors were used by Clinton in all three of her three roles, it would be useful to examine if and when these metaphors were used deliberately and if there were any novel usages. This would allow us to determine if Clinton uses deliberate metaphors more in a particular role or in regard to a particular issue, such as health care, the environment, or national security, to name just three possibilities. Along these lines, work by Musolff (2016) in examining novel metaphoric frame-building that "emerges" from discursive processes, rather than underlying it, as discussed herein, would also be a valuable addition to understanding how Clinton used metaphors within the WAR discourse-scenario.

In addition to the above possibilities for future research, it would also be useful to look at the conceptual metaphor analysis of male politicians, such as Barack Obama (Democrat) or John McCain (Republican), to determine to what extent conceptual metaphors invoking the source domain of WAR vary their target domains depending upon whether they were serving as a U.S. Senator or a presidential candidate. By comparing and contrasting these results, we can determine whether male or female politicians use different target domains for mapping to the source domain of WAR and demonstrate a shift in political identity as they assumed different political roles from U.S. Senators to U.S. presidential candidates.[21] This will further

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[21] Another area to explore would be examining if patterns of language use, such as those found with WAR metaphors, also co-vary with other metrics, such as approval ratings and polls. For example, are politicians more likely to invoke WAR metaphors when they are behind or ahead in ratings (during their term of service) or in polling (during an election period)?

advance our understanding of the relationship between conceptual metaphor use, identity and gender.

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Appendix 1

Keyword List and Word Forms searched

Keyword List	Word Forms searched
attack	attack, attacks, attacked, attacking
battle	battle, battles, battlefield, battleground
combat	combat, combats, combating
defeat	defeat, defeats, defeated, defeating
defend	defend, defends, defended, defending, defendant, defender, defenders
destroy	destroy, destroys, destroyed, destroying
fight	fight, fights, fought, fighting, fighter, fighters, fight for, fighting for, fought for, fight against, fighting against, fought against
protect	protect, protects, protected, protecting, protection, protections, protectionist, protectionism
struggle	struggle, struggles, struggled, struggling
threat	threat, threats, threaten, threatens, threatened, threatening
war	war, wars