Traballo de Fin de Grao



FACULTADE DE FILOLOXÍA

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CURSO 2018-2019

Metaphors We Politicize By:

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Political Discourse and Thought

Autora: Titor:

Luz Andrea Alvariño Gabeiras Victor M. Longa Martínez

Santiago de Compostela

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Resumo [na lingua en que se vai redactar o TFG; entre 1000 e 2000 caracteres]:

The Metaphor has been traditionally understood in the Western philosophical tradition as a rhetorical device used in ornamental language, mainly in literary contexts. In 1980 a new and revolutionary theory was put forward by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. In their work Metaphors We Live By, the authors lay out an account of the metaphor as a conceptual and cognitive device which permeates the way we think, act and interact with the world. For Lakoff and Johnson, metaphors are not a language phenomenon but rather a phenomenon of thought, which allow us to conceptualize domains that we could not be able to develop without them; metaphors are not a mere literary device but rather they pervade our everyday thoughts and affect our internal representations and vision of the world.

In works like Don't Think of an Elephant (2004) and Moral Politics (2002) Lakoff applies his theory of the cognitive metaphor to political language and explores the intersection of cognitive and political science. The metaphors used in political discourse, argues Lakoff, are not neutral but rather signs of a deeply ingrained conceptual system that has direct repercussions on our social and political thought.

The aim of this dissertation will be twofold. Firstly I will analyze the theoretical framework of the metaphor for which I will offer a review of the available written literature, from Lakoff and Johnson to authors like Zoltan Kövecses, Murray Knowles and Rosamund Moon among others. Secondly, I will employ a corpus-based methodology to elaborate a practical study of the conceptual metaphor theory applied to the analysis of the socio-political speech of one or more conservative politicians. My goal will ultimately be to evidence the cognitive significance of the metaphor through the examination of the language used by modern-day conservative politicians.

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Abstract

The Metaphor has been traditionally understood in the Western philosophical tradition as a rhetorical device used in ornamental language, mainly in literary contexts. In 1980 a new and revolutionary theory was put forward by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. In their work Metaphors We Live By, the authors lay out an account of the metaphor as a conceptual and cognitive device which permeates the way we think, act and interact with the world. For Lakoff and Johnson, metaphors are not a language phenomenon but rather a phenomenon of thought, which allow us to conceptualize domains that we could not be able to develop without them; metaphors are not a mere literary device but rather they pervade our everyday thoughts and affect our internal representations and vision of the world. In works like *Don't Think of an Elephant* (2004) and Moral Politics (2002) Lakoff applies his theory of the cognitive metaphor to political language and explores the intersection of cognitive and political science. The metaphors used in political discourse, argues Lakoff, are not neutral but rather signs of a deeply ingrained conceptual system that has direct repercussions on our social and political thought. The aim of this dissertation will be twofold. Firstly I will analyze the theoretical framework of the metaphor for which I will offer a review of the available written literature, from Lakoff and Johnson to authors like Zoltan Kövecses, Murray Knowles and Rosamund Moon among others. Secondly, I will employ a corpus-based methodology to elaborate a practical study of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory applied to the analysis of the socio-political speech of one or more conservative politicians. My goal will ultimately be to evidence the cognitive significance of the metaphor through the examination of the language used by modern-day conservative politicians.

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Introduction

Traditionally, the metaphor has been studied only as a decorative feature of language, used mainly for literary or poetic uses. This view, first introduced by Aristotle in 335 BC, is still largely prevalent today among the general population. In 1980, however, authors Lakoff and Johnson published their work *Metaphors We Live By*, which introduced a new conception of metaphor, not only as a mere decorative feature of literary language, but as a powerful cognitive mechanism. Through a detailed analysis of metaphors so widespread they had become conventional and prevalent in our everyday lives, Lakoff and Johnson discovered that, as the book's name indicates, our whole lives are made up of a series of metaphors which permeate the way we think and the way we interact with the world. This theory is called the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, and its main idea is that metaphors are cognitive tools which allow us to conceptualize abstract domains which would otherwise be much harder to access. These metaphors are called conceptual metaphors, and as Knowles and Moon (2004) and Kovecses (2010) later introduced, they allow us to represent abstract target domains like 'life,' 'love,' 'arguments' or, for instance, 'economic growth' and 'inflation,' in terms of more concrete 'source' domains such as 'up' or 'down,' innate parts of our physical experience.

Such conceptual metaphors will be the main focus of this dissertation, particularly in terms of their application to political thought and discourse. The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor has been adapted to political thought and discourse by several authors, as politics, similarly to economics, makes use of several abstract concepts which would be incredibly hard to represent and conceptualize without the aid of conceptual metaphors, as we will see.

Within political communication, I have chosen Trump for the case study, as he has become not only a controversial and polarizing figure, but also well-known for his unconventional use of language.

The aim of my dissertation will consist of two parts: the first objective will be to explore the Cognitive Theory of metaphor through a revision of the existing literature; and the second determining whether conceptual metaphors play a substantial role in political thought and discourse, not only as a linguistic device but as a cognitive tool to represent abstract conceptual domains. In order to satisfy this second aim, I will conduct a corpus-based study of five of Donald Trump's speeches, attempting to find cases of conceptual metaphors. My methodology will consist of three main steps: first, I will scan the text and select candidates of conceptual metaphors using a metaphor identification procedure; secondly, I will log down all cases found into a data collection table, in the interest of facilitating the classifying process. Lastly, I extract basic trends which I will present in the 'Results' and 'Discussion' sections of the fifth chapter.

For those objectives to be reached, the structure of this dissertation is as follows. In Chapter 1, I present a historical overview of the different theories of metaphor existing throughout history, from Aristotle's Classic Theory to authors like I.A. Richards and Max Black, who preceded the Cognitive Theory with their respective accounts. In Chapter 2, I will follow up with an in-depth review of the Cognitive Theory of metaphor as created by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), exploring authors like Knowles and Moon (2004) or Kovecses (2010). Subsequently, in Chapter 3 I will explain the applications of Conceptual Metaphor to political thought and discourse, not only introducing political communication as a field of study, but also the main types of conceptual metaphors used in political discourse and their varied uses. Arriving to the last part of this dissertation, in the fourth chapter I will introduce Donald Trump as a political figure, as well as his use of language and metaphor, and then, in Chapter 5, present the case

study which completes this thesis. Additionally, the thesis is accompanied by three annexes, in Appendix I I summarize the main types of metaphor explained throughout the main body of the theis; in Appendix II I attach the full corpus of speeches used for the case study, and in Appendix III a full breakdown of my findings, included by means of a data collection table.

Chapter 1

Early Theories of Metaphor

1.1 Introduction

The first step in the theoretical introduction to this paper will be to present an overview of the theories of metaphor that preceded the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, in order to contextualize metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon. By the time Lakoff and Johnson gave way to the Cognitive Theory, the metaphor had already been the object of academic study for more than two thousand years. From Aristotle to modern scholars, a long string of authors had attempted to construct theories on the metaphor, largely considering it a mere rhetorical figure, and later, with Lakoff and Johnson's theory, as an essential part of human thought. In this chapter, I will attempt to compile and summarize the contributions made during this time which I regard as the most significant. I will begin with Aristotle's Classic Theory of metaphor, followed by theories of authors like Cicero and Quintilian and the Romantic Theory of metaphor, and will conclude with a review of the theories introduced in the twentieth century, focusing on how they shaped the study of metaphor for generations to come.

1.2 The Classic Theory

The study of the metaphor can be traced back to the IV Century B.C., with Aristotle's now called 'Classic Theory of Metaphor,' developed in *The Poetics* and *The Rhetoric*, which

would remain unchallenged for millennia. It set the foundation for the first and most widely known definition of metaphor "as a novel or poetic linguistic expression," (Lakoff, 1993, p.202) which remains prevalent today, as seen in the Oxford Dictionary's definition of metaphor as "a figure of speech in which a name or descriptive word or phrase" is applied to an "analogous" object or action. ("Metaphor,n.," 2018)

The Classic Theory of metaphor regarded metaphor as a "self-explanatory change in he usage of a singular term," usually equated with a noun or noun phrase, "from its accustomed place in our verbal classificatory scheme to some other unaccustomed place for special temporary expressive purposes." (Hills, 2017, p.7) Aristotle believed metaphors to be "powerful rhetorical and poetic devices of language." (Johnson, 2017, p.1) His definition encompassed any case in which a word was substituted with a different word with a similar literal meaning for the sake of embellishing language. (p.1) In an early attempt at a systematized categorization, Aristotle distinguished four kinds of metaphor,

- 1. From the genus to the species ('Here lies my ship': 'lying' is a genus, 'lying at anchor' is a species).
- 2. From the species to the genus ('The thousand good deeds': a specific number, used instead of the genus 'many').
- 3. From one species to another ('Draining off the life with the bronze,' 'draining off' used in place of 'severing.' Both are species of 'taking away').
- 4. A matter of analogy.

(*Poetics* cited in Hawkes, 2018, p.7)

Of these four types of metaphor, Aristotle focused mainly on the fourth, which he considered more complex and productive. (Hawkes, 2018, p.7) He defined analogical metaphors as a "reciprocal exchange ... between each of the two things of the same genus." For instance, "if the cup is the shield of Dionysus, then it is fitting for the shield to be called the cup of Ares." (*Rhetorics* 3,4,4 cited in Nimis, 1988, p.216)

From this understanding of metaphor, we can infer a series of underlying assumptions, compiled by Richards (1981). The first and most pronounced is the idea that using metaphors is "a gift that some men have and but others have not." (Richards, 1981, pp.48–49) Subsequently the use of metaphor could not be taught or learned by ordinary means of teaching. Thirdly, and encompassing the two prior ones, we find the assumption that "metaphor is something special and exceptional in the use of language ...instead of the omnipresent principle of all its free action." (Richards, 1981, pp.48–49)¹

Today, we can probably regard Aristotle's theory of metaphor as the first and most significant of the time. There was no comparable contribution to the study of metaphor until the Roman Era, with Cicero's *De Oratore* and Quintilian's *Instituto Oratoria*, as well as the anonymously written *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. By that time, the metaphor had already been established as "one of many distinct recognized figures of speech," and changes in meaning were only considered metaphorical if based "on a real or supposed analogy or likeness between the regular referent and the special temporary one." (Hills, 2017, p.7)

Although Cicero and Quintilian both build on Aristotle's conception of the metaphor as an "effect" of language that requires a special talent or technique to execute, there is one substantial difference between Aristotle's study of Metaphor and that of Cicero and Quintilian. Whereas Aristotle classified the metaphor in four subtypes, Cicero and Quintilian "reduce metaphor to one of a group of tropes which themselves form part of the merely decorative category of Figures of Speech." (Hawkes 2018, p.7) For Cicero and Quintilian, the metaphor is merely decorative and as such cannot have any claims to a meaning of its own. Metaphor becomes a part of poetic language, as opposed to an unavoidable part of everyday communication. (pp.7, 14)

¹It is worth noting that Richards (1981) laments the lack of a "serious study of metaphor" as the "omnipresent principle of language." (p.50) He states that metaphors shape our thought and everyday language, and concludes by wishing that metaphor be awarded a more significant position in modern philosophy than it has historically been granted in traditional rhetorics.

1.3 The Romantic Theory

Cicero and Quintilian's theory, developed from Aristotle, heavily influenced the theories of metaphor introduced throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. (Hawkes, 2018, p.16) The Classic Theory's monopoly of the study of metaphor did not truly begin to crumble until the late XVIII Century, with the dawn of the Romantic period. The Romantic poets largely defended the notion of the metaphor as an organic device, fundamental to express "the faculty of imagination," and rejected the idea of metaphor being a mere tool to embellish poetic language. (Hawkes, 2018, p.34) In *Defence of Poetry* (1840), Shelley states that "language itself is poetry" and poetry "the expression of imagination." For Shelley, metaphor is the way that imagination is embodied in language. As such, metaphor is not only an ornate device belonging to poetry but a deep-seated feature of language itself. (Shelley cited in Hawkes, 2018, pp.37–38)

Many of these key ideas for the Romantic approach to the study of metaphor were founded on earlier precursors like J.G. Herder and, particularly, G. Vico. "J.G. Herder ... conceives of primitive man thinking in symbols and connects metaphor with the beginning of speech itself" whereas Vico believes "primitive man possessed of an instinctive 'poetic' wisdom ... which evolves through metaphors, symbols and myths." (Hawkes, 2018, p.38) in *Philosophical Perspectives of Metaphor*, Mark Johnson goes further back and refers to Rousseau and Nietzsche as the two critical philosophical precursors of the Romantic Theory of Metaphor. On the one hand, Rousseau "argued that all language grows by a process of meaning transfer ... we transfer words because of our 'passionate fascination' with new discoveries," but after discovering our mistake, "we invent proper words for the new objects and restrict the metaphorically transferred words back to their original domain." (Johnson, 1981, p.15) On the other hand, Nietzsche refused "to separate metaphors from 'proper words'" and saw "metaphorical understanding as pervasive in human thought and speech." (p.17) By seeing the metaphor as pervasive in thought,

Nietzsche's theory was not only a precedent of the Romantic Theory but also the much later Cognitive Theory of Lakoff and Johnson.

All in all, the Romantic Theory broke with the parameters formerly established by Aristotle and provided a revolutionary account of the metaphor as an organic and productive part of language, serving as the ideal vehicle to access and express our imagination. They breached the gap between poetic and ordinary language and introduced the idea of metaphor as an intrinsic part of language.

1.4 The Twentieth Century Theories

The Twentieth Century was an incredibly productive period for the study of the metaphor, bringing about additions from not only Linguistics but also Literary Theory, Philosophy, and Psychology. (Hills, 2017, p.11) Due to the great volume of work produced throughout this decade, I will mainly work with David Hills' (2017) classification in an attempt to give an abridged account of the most significant theories. Hills summarizes the theories on the metaphor developed in this period in four major traditions: (1) 'Semantic Twist accounts,' (2) 'Pragmatic Twist accounts,' (3) 'Comparativist accounts' and (4) 'Brute Force accounts.' (p.11)

The first significant tradition is Semantic Twist accounts. As the name suggests, this tradition focuses on the meaning, both original and acquired, of metaphorical expressions. The main idea, Hills (2017) explains is that "metaphor results from the interaction ... of words and word meanings as they are brought together and act on each other in the settings provided by particular utterances made on particular concrete occasions." (pp.11–12) The metaphorical meaning is added to one particular element to the sentence, whereas the rest –the "framing" elements– remain unchanged. (pp.11–12) Hills cites four authors who can be classified within this category: Max Black, Monroe Beardsley, Harold Skulsky, and I.A. Richards. (p.13)

I.A. Richards' theory can be considered one of the most significant accounts of metaphor provided in the twentieth century. The importance Richards grants to Metaphor as a part of language and cognition largely predates the 'Cognitive Theory of Metaphor' and radically challenges all predating theories. Richards (1981) not only states that "metaphor is the omnipresent principle of language," (p.50) but also proposes metaphor is "a borrowing between ... thoughts, a transaction between contexts," and that "thought is metaphoric, and proceeds by comparison, and the metaphors of language derive therefrom. (Richards, 1981, p.51) Therefore, metaphor is not only a feature of language but also a part of thought, and in turn thought is intrinsically metaphorical. Not only that, but Richard affirms language is not simply "the medium through which we communicate" reality but rather "language causes that reality to exist." Consequently, "the use of metaphor is to extend language and, since language is reality, to expand reality." (Hawkes, 2018, pp.58,63) Richards believes that metaphor is a significant part of both language and thought, language being not merely an instrument through which we can convey the reality which surrounds us, but rather a device that enables us to access reality itself. Within this vision of language, metaphor is regarded as the most important tool we can master, as it allows us to create a new reality. This account of metaphor holds a significant amount of similarities to Lakoff and Johnson's later Conceptual Metaphor Theory, although it predates it by almost twenty years.

Max Black, who also belongs to the Semantic Twist, would follow on Richards' steps and refer to metaphors as "cognitive instruments" indispensable for perception, (Black, 1979 p.37) as well as to metaphors having the power to create reality instead of merely referring to it: "It would be more illuminating ... to say that the metaphor creates the similarity than to say that it formulates some similarity antecedently existing. (Black, 1954, p.37)

Therefore, it would not be truthful to state that no theory before that of Lakoff and Johnson ever claimed the metaphor as a more than a feature of rhetorical language, as both Richard and Black referred to it as a cognitive device in their works. Richards and Black's contributions antecede key aspects of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor in spite of being much earlier.

Following Semantic Twist Accounts, Hills introduces Pragmatic Twist Accounts, referring to theories of metaphor based on the speaker's intentions when producing the metaphorical utterance. "Metaphor concerns what speakers mean as opposed to what their words mean." (Hills, 2017, p.6) The Gricean Theory of conversational implicatures falls under this tradition, as Grice's account of metaphor is intensely related to the context of the utterance and the intentions of the speaker. Grice (1975) explains metaphor in terms of the Cooperative Principle (CP),

Our talk exchanges do not normally consist of a succession of disconnected remarks, and would not be rational if they did. They are characteristically, to some degree at least, cooperative efforts; and each participant recognizes in them, to some extent, a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least a mutually accepted direction ... We might then formulate a rough general principle which participants will be expected ... observe, namely: Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. (Grice, 1975, p.45)

The CP includes four maxims categorizing the rules speakers should follow to communicate effectively. These rules or 'maxims' are: (1) the "maxim of quality" which relates to the truthfulness of the utterance; (2) the "maxim of quantity," referring to the length of the contribution; (3) the "maxim of relation" relating to the relevance of the contribution, and (4) the "maxim of manner," which indicates that one must avoid both "obscurity" and "ambiguity" to be concise. From these four maxims emerge some implicatures, which can be defined as "either (i) the act of meaning or implying one thing by saying something else, or (ii) the object of that act." (Davis, 2014, p.7) According to Grice, certain implicatures are created by violating one or more of the four maxims, a phenomenon called "flouting," and this is the case of both metaphor

and irony, which "are thought to arise from flouting the maxim of Quality." (Davis, 2014, p.7) This is a fundamentally pragmatic account of metaphor, which has since been further developed by theorists like Searle (1979) or Martinich (1984).

Moving away from pragmatics, the third tradition of metaphor theories according to David Hills' classification is named Comparativist Accounts, which emphasize the role of comparison and simile. (Hills, 2017, p.30) Most modern contributions belonging to this tradition lean on Quintilian's explanation of metaphor and simile, which says that "a simile states the real or alleged similarity" whereas "the corresponding metaphorical substitution leaves [it] to a listener's imagination." (Hills, 2017, p.32) Linguists like Andrew Ortony (1979) and more recently Robert Fogelin, have developed theories on the metaphor based on Quintilian's account. Fogelin (2011) offers a complete explanation of his 'comparison view' of figurative language, which includes metaphor, irony, and similes among other figures, by equating metaphor to other rhetorical devices, this account is also reminiscent of the Aristotelian theory of metaphor. The central thesis of Fogelin's theory is that metaphors are "elliptical similes," where the comparative particle (i.e. "like") is elided: "'A is Ø' is elliptical for a simile of the form 'A is like a Ø." (Fogelin, 1994, p.25) However, he recognizes that this view is too simplified, as "it does not always seem possible (or useful) to transpose constructions that are legitimately called metaphor into constructions with the grammatical shape of a simile." To correct this issue, Fogelin (1994) refers to both metaphors and similes as "figurative comparisons." (pp.23, 25) Fogelin received extensive criticism by authors like Max Black, John Searle or Donald Davidson for his comparativist theory, the latter stating that "just because a simile wears a declaration of similitude on its sleeve" it doesn't mean it holds a "secret meaning" as metaphor does. (Davidson, 1978, p.40) In fact, similes merely point to a similarity between two different elements, whereas metaphor offers a vast array of possibilities for interpretation.

Davidson's own theory of metaphor falls under an entirely different classification, the Brute Force Accounts tradition, as typified by Hills. (2017, p.38) He defended there were "no such things as 'metaphorical meanings'" and that a metaphor's only meaning was "its literal meaning," the only function of metaphor therefore being "to draw the hearer's attention to an interesting similarity between two otherwise dissimilar things." (Reimer, 2011, p.142)

Like Davidson, the authors belonging to this last tradition –Brute Force Accounts– believe "neither words nor speakers are induced to mean anything out of the ordinary," (Reimer 2011, p.154) that is, there is no 'metaphorical meaning' which falls outside the literal meaning of the words forming the metaphor. Instead metaphor is not so much a "phenomenon of meaning" but a phenomenon "of use." In this sense, metaphor is equated to speech acts such as "assertion, hinting, lying, promising, criticizing, and joking." (p.154) Davidson also rejects the thesis that metaphors contain a certain cognitive content which is conveyed through the speech act. Reimer summarizes Davidson's anti-cognitive theory of metaphor in two different premises: (1) "the "special cognitive content" of a metaphor must be related to a sentence; and (2) the cognitive aspect of a metaphor's content cannot be captured by "literal language," and therefore doesn't exist. She explains that they are both fairly easy to challenge, the first by simply stating it is wrong to assume all "cognitive content can be given literal expression," and the second by explaining that "a literal paraphrase" can, in fact, capture the cognitive or "special" of a metaphor. (Reimer, 2011, p.145) In conclusion, and as explained by Reimer, Davidson's theory is reductive and easily challenged, as it affirms that the metaphor lacks both any cognitive content and any 'special' meaning out of the ordinary literal one, equating it to speech acts such as joking or hinting, but fails to offer substantial evidence of those claims.

All the theories compiled by Hills from Brute Force Accounts to Semantic Twist, Pragmatic Twist, and Comparativist accounts, all contributed a substantial amount to the modern

study of metaphor, building on the classical and romantic theories, and served as an influence, to an extent, for the Cognitive Theory.

1.5 Conclusion

In this historical introduction, we have reviewed theories of metaphor that preceded Lakoff and Johnson (1980), from Aristotle's Classic Theory of metaphor to the more recent twentieth century theories. In this dissertation, however, I will seek to focus on the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, born in 1980 out of Lakoff and Johnson's theoretical work on metaphor.

Chapter 2

The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will offer an in-depth introduction to the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, attempting to review some of the key works written on Conceptual Metaphor. This will be crucial in the task of showing the cognitive significance of metaphor, as we must first know what exactly are the main principles of the Cognitive Theory, as well as the types and characteristics of conceptual metaphors, in order to apply them to political thought and discourse and finally to our case study. I will first introduce what exactly is referred to as metaphor in the Cognitive Theory; secondly, I will place the Cognitive Theory within the larger academic field of cognitivism and Cognitive Linguistics, offering some essential background information to the study of conceptual metaphors. Thirdly, I will review Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) work, as well as Murray and Knowles (2004) and Kovecses (2010) among others, with the aim to paint a comprehensive portrayal of Conceptual Metaphor.

2.2 Lakoff and Johnson's Framework

Lakoff and Johnson's work Metaphors We Live By (1980) completely reshaped the study of metaphor, which had historically been approached from the rhetorical and literary perspec-

tive², up until the twentieth century. It gave way to the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, which shifted the perception of the metaphor from a mere feature of language to a sustained feature of thought and cognition; moreover, the authors argue that "human thought processes are largely metaphorical" and "the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined." (p.6) The concept of 'everyday' is central to Lakoff and Johnson's theory: metaphors are used in everyday language, by everyday people and to structure everyday activities, (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pp.3–4) therefore, the impression of metaphors as a linguistic ornament is not only challenged, it is flat out refuted. Kovecses (2010) summarizes the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor in five major points:

(1) Metaphor is a property of concepts, and not of words; (2) the function of metaphor is to better understand certain concepts, and not just some artistic or aesthetic purpose; (3) metaphor is often not based on similarity; (4) metaphor is used effortlessly in everyday life by ordinary people, not just by special talented people; and (5) metaphor, far from being a superfluous though pleasing linguistic ornament, is an inevitable process of human thought and reasoning. (Kovecses 2010, p.5)

In short, metaphor is not just a stylistic feature of language, but a conceptual device, and it is not used exclusively by masters of language but rather by regular people on their everyday lives. The main thesis of Lakoff and Johnson's theory can be synthesized in a single sentence: "metaphor is pervasive both in thought and everyday language" (Kovecses, 2010, p.5)

Before delving into the classification and features of conceptual metaphors, we must state a series of theoretical principles which permeate the work of Lakoff and Johnson. Lakoff and Johnson's theory can be placed within the broader theoretical context of Cognitive Linguistics, which in turn is primarily based on 'Cognitivism.'

Cognitivism refers to "the belief that cognition mediates perception," (Attardo, 2009, p.21–23) instead of behavior or conduct. Cognitivism is the basis to Cognitive Linguistics (CL) which first began in the 1970s as a response to Chomsky's generative-transformational theory,

²With the exception of Richards and Black, mentioned in Chapter 1, Section 4.

by the hand of authors like Lakoff, Langacker and Talmy among others. As a current, CL generally prioritizes the study of the semantic components of language, both lexical and grammatical meaning. (p.21–23) Arguably, the object of study of CL is 'Conceptualisation,' referring to how the structure of language influences the way we look at reality itself. (pp.21–23) CL's main focus is "language as an instrument for organizing, processing and conveying information," (Geeraerts and Cuyckens, 2007, p.3) and metaphors provide a unique opportunity to access the underlying patterns in human cognition, and "provide one of the clearest illustrations" (p.188) of the relationship between these underlying patterns and language,

metaphors provide rich evidence about the ways in which some aspects of our lived experience are associated with others, for reasons that reflect basic aspects of perception, thought, and possibly neurological organization. (Grady, 2007, p.188)

Therefore, metaphor has been one of the "topics of interest for Cognitive Linguistics." (Geeraerts and Cuyckens, 2007, p.4) and "a central topic" of the field since its very beginning. (Grady, 2007, p.188)

In *Metaphors We Live By* Lakoff and Johnson reference a 'conceptual system' which "governs" how we act and think in our daily lives. This conceptual system is not conscious, but rather can be accessed through the study of the ways in which we classify and interact with the world, that is, the study of language. According to Lakoff and Johnson, our conceptual system is "metaphorical in nature." (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pp.3,4) And not only metaphorical, the concepts on which this system is built are also 'systematic':

Since metaphorical expressions in our language are tied to metaphorical concepts in a systematic way, we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical linguistic concepts and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of our activities. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.7)

When we conceptualize an X in terms of a Y we create a metaphorical "network" of thought which is reflected in language. For example, the conceptual metaphor 'Argument is

War¹³ gives way to a myriad of metaphorical expressions (e.g. "win an argument, lose an argument, defend, attack...") that we use to talk and think about arguments, which in turn influence the way we act when arguing. These expressions form a complex network that far from being merely coincidental, occurs due to the systematic nature of metaphorical concepts. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.7) Additionally, Knowles and Moon (2004) establish conceptual metaphors as "connections between concept areas in terms of correspondences or mappings between elements within source and target domains." (p. 26) Along the same lines, Kovecses (2010) characterises conceptual metaphors as a way to understand a conceptual 'target domain' in terms of another 'source domain,' following the outline "CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B." If we take the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, the metaphorical expression belongs to the least abstract domain, that is WAR. In this scenario, WAR is the "source domain" as opposed to the "target domain," which would be ARGUMENT. (Kovecses, 2010, p.4)

The conceptual domain from which we draw metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain is called source domain, while the conceptual domain that is understood this way is the target domain. Thus, LIFE, ARGUMENTS, LOVE, THEORY, IDEAS, SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, and others are target domains, while JOURNEYS, WAR, BUILDINGS, FOOD, PLANTS, and others are source domains. The target domain is the domain that we try to understand through the use of the source domain. (Kovecses, 2010, p.4)

Without conceptual metaphors, abstract concepts like the ones mentioned above would be impossible to conceptualize. For instance, concepts belonging to the realm of economy would be hard to understand, and are "usually comprehended via metaphor," using source domains like "building, plants, and journey (movement, direction)," (Kovecses, 2010, p.25) particularly domains taken from physical experience such as UP or DOWN, as in 'the inflation has gone down tremendously in Spain.'

³Referenced by Lakoff and Johnson in the first and second chapter of *Metaphors We Live By*.

To summarize, Lakoff and Johnson's theory is fundamented on the idea that (1) our thoughts and actions are governed by a conceptual system which (2) can be accessed through the study of language due to being (3) metaphorical and systematic in nature. In addition, Kovecses depicts metaphors as conceptual domains which are understood in terms of one another, forming networks which are usually composed of one abstract concept (target domain) and a more concrete concept (source domain).

The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) recognizes three main types of metaphors which form our conceptual system: structural metaphors, orientational metaphors and ontological metaphors:

Firstly, 'structural metaphors' are those in which "one concept" or everyday activity "is metaphorically structured in terms of another" as in the case of ARGUMENT IS WAR. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.14) Structural metaphors allow us to elaborate on concepts with a high degree of detail, as opposed to orientational metaphors, which mostly allow us to refer to abstract concepts and quantify them, as we will see in the following paragraph. Structural metaphors have many conceptual implications, and can be used to structure and conceptualize ideas in a myriad of complex ways. As all conceptual metaphors, structural metaphors are "grounded in systematic correlations within our experience," that is, they are based in certain aspects of our cultural and physical experience, for instance Lakoff and Johnson theorize that the metaphor 'Argument is War' might be based on the natural world's violent ways of solving conflicts, which have been 'tamed' by humanity, using rhetoric instead. In this way, it is not arbitrary that we refer to verbal arguments in terms of physical violence, as there has been a cultural transition from one to the other. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pp.61–62)

Secondly, 'orientational metaphors' have to do with spatial orientation: up-down, inout, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral." (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.14) Orientational metaphors are particularly interesting, as although they might seem arbitrary they are actually based on our experiences with the physical world. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) label the motivations behind spatial orientational metaphors "physical basis." For instance, in the example 'Happy is Up; Sad is Down' the physical basis is "drooping posture typically goes along with sadness and depression, erect posture with a positive emotional state." (p. 15) After examining many similar examples, the authors conclude that "most of our fundamental concepts are organized in terms of one or more spacialization metaphors," which are systematic and "rooted in physical and cultural experience." (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, pp.19, 22)

Thirdly, 'ontological metaphors' are usually motivated by our "experiences with physical objects," up to and including our bodies. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.25) Lakoff and Johnson (1980) distinguish three subtypes of ontological metaphors: (1) Entity and Substance Metaphors, (2) Container Metaphors, and (3) Personification Metaphors: Entity and substance metaphors allow us to perceive "events, activities, emotions, ideas, etc., as entities and substances." (p.25) Without these kinds of metaphors, it would be very difficult for us to approach abstract concepts rationally and to "quantify" them (e.g. raising a son requires a lot of patience), among other uses. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p.27) 'Container metaphors' occur when we project our own self-perception as containers (e.g. the inside is what counts) into the physical objects which surround us; the authors use the example of 'a race as a container' in sentences like "are you in the race on Sunday?" (pp. 29–31) Lastly, 'personification' metaphors are those in which a "physical object is further specified as being a person," which "allows us to comprehend a wide variety of experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics and activities." (p.33) These types of metaphors categorized by Lakoff and Johnson can be best illustrated through the following examples:

1. **Structural Metaphor**: TIME IS MONEY⁴

This gadget will *save* you hours. You need to *budget* your time

Orientational Metaphor: HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN⁵
 My spirits *rose*.
 He's really *low* these days.

3. Ontological Metaphor

- (a) Entity and Substance: THE MIND IS A MACHINE⁶
 He *broke* down.
 My mind isn't *operating* today. I'm a little *rusty* today.
- (b) **Container Metaphor**: VISUAL FIELDS ARE CONTAINERS⁷ I have him *in* sight. He's *out* of sight now.
- (c) **Personification**: INFLATION IS A PERSON⁸ Our biggest *enemy* right now is inflation. Inflation has *robbed* me of my savings.

It should be noted that two or more different metaphors can be used to conceptualize the same reality or situation. In these situations, metaphorical coherence comes into play. For example, there is more than one conceptual metaphor referring to the concept of time. Lakoff and Johnson identify two main metaphors, firstly "Time is a Moving Object," and secondly "Time is stationary and we move towards it;" and offer the following diagram to explain the coherence between both ways to conceptualize time,

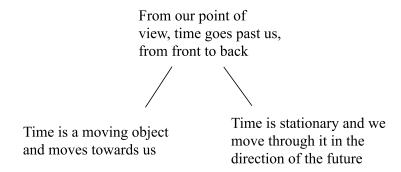


Figure 1: Example of metaphorical coherence. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 44)

As an explanation of this phenomenon, the authors state: "although both metaphors are not consistent (that is, they form no single image), they nonetheless "fit together," therefore

⁴Examples retrieved from Lakoff and Johnson 1980, pp. 7,8.

⁵Examples retrieved from Lakoff and Johnson 1980, p. 15.

⁶Examples retrieved from Lakoff and Johnson 1980, pp. 27, 28.

⁷Examples retrieved from Lakoff and Johnson 1980, p.30.

⁸Examples retrieved from Lakoff and Johnson 1980, p. 33.

sharing a major common entailment." (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980, p. 44). When metaphors within the same concept are slightly different but ultimately pose no contradiction we do not talk about 'coherence' but rather 'consistency.'

So far, we have established a series of key characteristics pertaining to Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphors, which form the conceptual system through which we interact with the world, both physically and cognitively. These metaphors are not arbitrary or random but systematic, and have a direct correlation to our experiences in the world. We can identify three major types of conceptual metaphors: 'structural,' 'orientational' (mainly spatial), and 'ontological', the latter divided into two subtypes, 'container metaphors' and 'personification metaphors.' When two metaphors are used to refer to the same concept, they are coherent or consistent with one another.

Having understood what conceptual metaphors are and how they can be classified, we can approach the task of identifying them in a text. In order to locate these conceptual metaphors, a group of researchers called the Pragglejaz Group⁹ (2007) devised a "metaphor identification procedure" or "MIP," consisting of four steps:

- 1. Read the entire text-discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
- 2. Determine the lexical units in the text-discourse:
 - (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
 - (b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be
 - More concrete (what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste)
 - · Related to bodily action
 - More precise (as opposed to vague)

⁹ "The original members of Pragglejaz were Peter Crisp (Chinese University of Hong Kong), Raymond Gibbs (University of California, Santa Cruz), Alice Deignan (University of Leeds), Graham Low (University of York), Gerard Steen (Vrije University of Amsterdam), Lynne Cameron (University of Leeds/The Open University), Elena Semino (Lancaster University), Joe Grady (Cultural Logics), Alan Cienki (Emory University), and Zoltan Kövecses (Eötvös Loránd University)." (Group, 2007, p.37)

- Historically older.
- Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.
- (c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current-contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
- (d) If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (Pragglejaz Group, 2007, p. 3 cited in Kovecses, 2010 p.5)

In this thesis, I will principally make use of the Pragglejaz Groups' "MIP" to accurately recognize and take apart conceptual metaphors and the metaphorical linguistic expressions which comprise them.

2.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, which exists within the larger theoretical fields of Cognitivism and Cognitive Linguistics, conceives metaphors as features of thought and not only language, whose analysis is essential for accessing the underlying patterns to human cognition; and these same patterns are what makes it possible for metaphorical expressions to exist within language. Additionally, Murray and Knowles (2004) and Kovecses (2010) understand metaphors as a 'mapping' relation from one conceptual domain to another, domains which they denominate 'target' and 'source domain.' Lastly, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) categorize conceptual metaphors in three main types: structural metaphors, orientational metaphors and ontological metaphors; all of which share one main characteristic, a particular idea is conceptualized in terms of another.

In the rest of this dissertation, I will attempt to apply the Cognitive Theory of metaphor to political discourse and thought, and later on illustrate this relationship by means of a corpus-based study case. In the following chapter, I will offer a summary of the types of conceptual metaphors in political communication, and their applications.

Chapter 3

Applications of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory to Political Thought and Discourse

3.1 Introduction

Having argued in the previous chapter that metaphor is an essential feature of language and thought, in this section of chapter three I will delve into one of the many applications of conceptual metaphors: political communication. I will begin by introducing political communication as a field of study, and then summarize the relevance of conceptual metaphors within this field as well as some of the types of political metaphors, using Lakoff (1996) as a main source of information. Finally, I will summarize the uses and repercussions of metaphors in political discourse.

3.2 Political Communication

Metaphors pervade our everyday thoughts and language, acting as a powerful cognitive mechanism. As such, they are present in all areas of life, including political thought and discourse. The cognitive power of metaphor has been related on multiple occasions to political communication, going as far as saying "no field is richer in metaphor than political theory." (Ankersmit, 1993, p.155) Before moving onto the implications of this fact, however, we must introduce the theoretical context which studies political discourse and its relation to metaphor.

Political communication theory is "an interdisciplinary field of study, drawing on concepts from communication, political science, journalism, sociology, psychology, history, rhetoric, and other fields," (Kaid, 2004, p. 13) as well as linguistics. Elaborating an analysis of metaphor necessarily implies dissecting the context on which the conceptual metaphors are employed, in this case, political communication.

Charteris-Black (2011) signals at political language as one of the keys to successful political leadership, (p.1) and points out that "analysis of political speeches provides insight into how leadership is communicated" and furthermore, "the analysis of metaphors provides particular insight into why the rhetoric of political leaders is successful." (p.197) In summary, conceptual metaphors' cognitive power can be harnessed and employed to gain influence over the public through political communication. But, what types of conceptual metaphors are often used in political discourse? And what makes them such a powerful dialectical tool?

It should be noted, before moving on to the types of political metaphors, that most of the subsequent classifications are based on American politics. Although this might seem reductive, I have chosen to employ this classification because the case study I will be carrying out in this dissertation concerns Donald Trump's use of metaphor, and therefore it is related mainly to the American system. In addition, metaphorical systems based off the American system can easily be applied to global politics, as they are not based on specific political parties but rather on the common worldwide division of 'conservative' versus 'liberal.'

3.3 Types of Political Metaphors

Lakoff (1995, 1996, 1996) provides an in-depth exploration of the types of metaphorical systems used in political discourse and thought, based on two main categories: liberal and conservative. He classifies these as 'radial categories,' conceptual categorizations organized

around a central prototypical model depending on their proximity to it. (Lakoff, 1996, pp.8–9) The members of the category, be it either liberal or conservative, are classified according to their proximity to the central member or "prototype," that is, an element of the category ... that is used to represent the category as a whole in some sort of reasoning." (Lakoff, 1996, pp.8–9) Furthermore, each of these categories has a particular 'worldview' or way of understanding the world, which is metaphorical in nature.

The liberal and conservative "worldviews" are conceptualized by way of one common metaphor: THE NATION IS A FAMILY. This metaphor is based on the principles: (1) "The Nation Is a Family," (2) "The Government Is a Parent, and (3) "The Citizens Are the Children;" (Lakoff, 1996, p.154) using these, we can conceptualize the nation "on the basis of what we know about a family," through ideas like the parent as a protector and authority figure. (p.155) This central metaphor derives in a set of conceptual metaphors which are utilized by conservatives as well as liberals, following "two opposing models of the family," (Lakoff, 1996, p.33) which the author summarizes in two broad groups: (1) Conservative morality, which obeys a "Strict Father" morality system; and (2) Liberal morality, following a "Nurturant Parent" morality system. (Lakoff, 1996, p.33–34)

The Strict-Father (SF) morality system is characterized by the idea of the world as an inherently dangerous place, from which the 'children' -that is, the citizens- must be protected, by father. The family is "nuclear" and the father holds all the authority and power, he must support and provide for his family, but also set rules and establish control. If the rules are broken, the 'children' are punished, and if the children follow the rules, they are rewarded. The mother appears as a secondary and domestic figure, whose main functions are caring from the home and children, as well as supporting the father; she embodies "love and nurturance," which are secondary to the father's authority. "Self-discipline" and "self-reliance" appear as desirable

values for the children, directly linked to obedience: if you obey you will become disciplined. (Lakoff, 1996, pp.65-71) If we accept the SF model we also accept a series of metaphors of varying priority, numbered below¹⁰:

- 1. Metaphor of Moral Strength: This is the most important metaphor within the SF model. It is rooted on a fact of "experiential experience" (i.e. that to be strong is better than being weak). Moral strength is conceptualized in terms of "physical strength," and it must be built through "self-discipline and self-denial." (Lakoff, 1995, p.6; Lakoff, 1996, p.75) This metaphor is compounded by a series of parts, like the following,
 - BEING GOOD IS BEING UPRIGHT.
 - BEING BAD IS BEING LOW.
 - DOING EVIL IS FALLING.
 - EVIL IS A FORCE.

(Lakoff, 1996, p.72)

The conservative worldview gives the most priority to the moral strength metaphor, which has a series of repercussions. For instance, the world is seen as a perpetual "war" between good and evil. More importantly, the failure to be self-disciplined is the full responsibility of the individual, therefore it is impossible that any social causes may play a role in issues like drug abuse, teenage sex or unemployment. They all result from people's failure to self-deny their own selfish desires. (Lakoff, 1996, p.75)

2. Metaphor of Moral Authority: This metaphor is based on two main points: (1) the 'children' (i.e. the people being governed) do not know what's best for themselves and rely on the strict father to guide and protect them, and (2) the parent always acts in "the best interest" of the children, and is socially recognized to do so. (p.79) The general metaphor of moral authority is based on the following metaphors,

¹⁰ All metaphors were extracted from Lakoff, 1996, Chapter 5.

- (a) A COMMUNITY IS A FAMILY
- (b) MORAL AUTHORITY IS PARENTAL AUTHORITY
- (c) AN AUTHORITY FIGURE IS A PARENT
- (d) A PERSON SUBJECT TO MORAL AUTHORITY IS A CHILD
- (e) MORAL BEHAVIOR BY SOMEONE SUBJECT TO AUTHORITY IS OBEDIENCE
- (f) MORAL BEHAVIOR BY SOMEONE IN AUTHORITY IS SETTING STAN-DARDS AND ENFORCING THEM. (p.77)
- 3. Metaphor of Moral Order: Based on cultural and religious values, this metaphor affirms that "the natural order is the order of dominance that occurs in the world," using the metaphor THE MORAL ORDER IS THE NATURAL ORDER. (Lakoff, 1996, pp.81–84) Therefore, following a Judeo-Christian model,
 - God has moral authority over people.
 - People have moral authority over nature (animals, plants and natural objects).
 - Adults have moral authority over children.
 - Men have moral authority over women. (p.81)
- 4. Metaphor of Moral Boundaries: This metaphor "allows us to apply spatial reasoning to moral structures," particularly to "the danger of deviance." (pp. 99–100) 'Paths' as source domains are particularly important, as any activity or venture is understood as "a form of self-propelled action, and purposes as destinations." In order to reach the destination, you must take a path, and under the SF model, that path must be "permissible." Permissible paths where you are freely allowed to roam are moral, whereas forbidden paths are immoral and lead to "deviant actions." This "Moral Boundaries metaphor ... interacts powerfully with one of the most important metaphors in our conceptual system: Life Is a Journey," if a path must be allowed or 'permissible' to be moral, life itself is subjected to a set of rules imposed by the parental figure. (Lakoff, 1996, pp.84–85)

5. Metaphor of Moral Essence: This metaphor is fundamented on the idea that

people are born with, or develop in early life, essential moral properties that stay with them for life ... Such properties are called 'virtues' if they are moral properties and 'vices' if they are immoral properties ... The collection of virtues and vices attributed to a person is called that person's 'character.' (p.88)

Using the Moral Essence metaphor, the character of a person is usually conceptualized in terms of physical objects, as "physical objects are made of substances ... [which] determine how they will behave." In the same way, the character or essence of a person is presumed to determine how the individual will behave. Accordingly, we find the metaphors,

- (a) A PERSON IS AN OBJECT.
- (b) HIS ESSENCE IS THE SUBSTANCE THE OBJECT IS MADE OF. (p.87)
- 6. Metaphor of Moral Wholeness: This metaphor conceptualizes that morality as something which is whole and can be broken, leading to metaphorical expressions like "crumbling of moral foundations" or "erosion of morality." (Lakoff, 1996, p.90) The two main metaphors resulting from this are:
 - (a) MORALITY IS WHOLENESS.
 - (b) IMMORALITY IS DEGENERATION. (p.91)
- 7. Metaphor of Moral Purity: A 'pure' morality is one that is "unified and uniform," (p.101) any non-uniform and therefore morally impure individual "threatens" the "moral standards" of the group. (p.92) The metaphors within this idea are:
 - (a) MORALITY IS PURITY.
 - (b) IMMORALITY IS IMPURITY. (p.92)
- 8. Metaphor of Moral Health: The main idea governing this metaphor is that moral impunity leads to "illness," hence we find the metaphors:

- (a) "MORALITY IS HEALTH."
- (b) "IMMORALITY IS DISEASE." (Lakoff 1996, p.93)
- 9. Metaphor of Moral Self-Interest: This metaphor is based on Adam Smith's economic theory, as well as on the metaphor "Well Being Is Wealth." In order to gain well-being we must follow the free-market theory that "if each person seeks to maximize his own wealth, then by an invisible hand, the wealth of all will be maximized," that is, if everyone pursues their own interests the whole group will be prosperous. As a result of this metaphor, public policies seen as interfering with the pursuit of self-interest are seen as amoral (e.g. taxes on wealth). (pp.94–95)
- 10. Metaphor of Nurturance: Nurturance is seen as secondary to authority, and usually means helping others in society, particularly when they have been afflicted by an external factor (e.g. a natural disaster) but not when their hardship is a result of their perceived failure to be self-reliant. (pp.96–97)

In contrast, the liberal worldview follows the Nurturant Parent (NP) moral system. In this system, two parents are preferred to one, and they "share household responsibilities." Their responsibilities are first and foremost to care for the children, as nurturance is the main principle of the NP model. It assumes that children need a caring and loving environment in order to develop correctly, and this environment is achieved through positive and constant interaction with others. Similarly to the SF model, the parents are the ones who hold the power and it is the parents' responsibility to protect the children from "external dangers.", however, obedience is not achieved through authoritarianism, punishment and rewards but rather it is freely given out of "love and respect for [the] parents." The NP model rejects violence, as "if children learn that abuse, punishment and violence are ways to impose authority and command respect, they

will reproduce that behavior and the result will be a violent society," furthermore, cooperation is preferred to competition. Moreover, communication and respect are critical, and all family members are expected to "participate in important decisions," and the children's thoughts and opinions must be taken into account. If the parents do not explain the moral reasoning behind their actions, their authority is seen as 'illegitimate.' (Lakoff, 1996, pp.108–114) The objectives of the NP model are to encourage children to be empathic, nurturing and happy, as well as maintain social ties through "strength, respect, self-discipline, and self-reliance." (Lakoff, 1996, pp.110,114) The most valued virtues in the NP model for both the parents and children are to be "happy, empathetic, able to take care of themselves, responsible, creative, communicative, and fair" as well as socially conscious. (p.111) This system of values is realized through twelve major metaphors, listed below:

- 1. Metaphor of Morality As Empathy: Empathy is metaphorically understood as the "capacity to project your consciousness into other people so that you can feel what the feel." Accordingly, the idea is that once you feel what the other feels, you will wish for them to be well, as you would wish for yourself. In the NP system, this is the base for all moral behavior, to be moral, one must be empathic. The main metaphor deriving from this is MORALITY IS EMPATHY. (pp.114–115)
- 2. Metaphor of Morality As Nurturance: Empathy is an essential prerequisite for nurturance, and love and empathy are necessary qualities in order to undergo the chore of protecting and caring for another being. In consequence, a parent who nurtures a child is moral, whereas a parent who fails to do so is immoral. (pp.116–117) This results in a number of metaphors:

- (a) THE COMMUNITY IS A FAMILY.
- (b) MORAL AGENTS ARE NURTURING PARENTS.
- (c) PEOPLE NEEDING HELP ARE CHILDREN NEEDING NURTURANCE.
- (d) MORAL ACTION IS NURTURANCE. (p.117)
- 3. Metaphor of Moral Self-Nurturance: This metaphor indicates that you must take care of your own needs before caring for others. (Lakoff, 1996, p.119)
- 4. Metaphor of Morality As The Nurturance of Social Ties: Ties between members of a society must be maintained so as to avoid violent and immoral behavior within the community. Therefore, strong social ties are needed to be moral. This implies the following metaphors:
 - (a) MORAL AGENTS ARE NURTURING PARENTS.
 - (b) SOCIAL TIES ARE CHILDREN NEEDING CARE.
 - (c) MORAL ACTION IS THE NURTURANCE OF SOCIAL TIES. (pp.120-121)
- 5. Metaphor of Morality As Self-Development: Children are encouraged to develop positive skills by themselves instead of relying completely on the parents. Not to be confused with self-interest (SF system) as the ultimate objective of self-development in the NP system is to help and nurture others. (p.123)
- 6. Metaphor of Morality As Happiness: The main idea behind this metaphor is that people who are not fulfilled and happy "are less likely to be compassionate (empathetic and nurturant) than happy people," so happiness is encouraged in order to maintain nurturance as the basis of moral behavior. This directly contradicts the SF metaphor of Moral Strength, in which denying yourself happiness and pleasure is what makes you a moral individual. (pp.121–123)

- 7. Metaphor of Morality As Fair Distribution: This metaphor is based on the ideas of fairness and equality, particularly between the parental figures (e.g. 'mother' and 'father') and the children. (Lakoff, 1996, pp.123–124)
- 8. Metaphor of Moral Growth: Moral growth is fundamentally an orientational metaphor, conceptualized in terms of physical growth. Being 'high' or 'upright' is being moral, whereas being 'low' is being amoral. Therefore, when children grow they grow vertically and upwards, towards 'higher' "moral principles." Adults are also "capable of growing morally either through help ... or work." (pp.124–125) The following metaphors can be inferred:
 - (a) THE DEGREE OF MORALITY IS PHYSICAL HEIGHT.
 - (b) MORAL GROWTH IS PHYSICAL GROWTH.
 - (c) MORAL NORMS FOR PEOPLE ARE PHYSICAL HEIGHT NORMS. (p.125)
- 9. Metaphor of Moral Strength: Although this metaphor does appear in the Strict Father model, the NP model uses a radically different notion of it. Strength is necessary for nurturance, as the parental figures must be "strong enough to support and protect a child." Therefore, strength is only valued in terms of how it can serve nurturance as a higher purpose. (pp.126–129) However, the metaphors integrated are the same as in the SF model:
 - (a) BEING GOOD IS BEING UPRIGHT.
 - (b) BEING BAD IS BEING LOW.
 - (c) EVIL IS A FORCE.
 - (d) MORALITY IS STRENGTH.
 - (p.126)
- 10. Metaphor of Retribution and Restitution: This metaphor conceptualizes the ideal (moral) way to respond in cases where the parental figure has been disobeyed or attacked in some way. On the one hand, retribution means enacting a certain punishment as an act

of 'revenge;' on the other hand, restitution is a constructive way to deal with conflict, asking the other to perform "some helpful or otherwise nurturant act" to compensate for their wrongful actions. In the NP model, restitution is always preferred, be it in cases of someone trying to harm the children, or the children themselves straying from the rules. (p.133–134) "Nurturance requires protection and fiercely nurturant parents seek retribution against those who would harm children," but "nurturance requires the preference of restitution over retribution." (Lakoff, 1996, p.136)

- 11. Metaphor of Moral Boundaries: This metaphor is used in a similar way as in the SF model, as there is 'permitted' and 'forbidden paths', and refusing to follow the 'paths' of actions allowed by the parents is seen as immoral.(p.133)
- 12. Metaphor of Moral Authority: Authority is earned through nurturance, and deserved by moral people who "fulfill their nurturant obligations." (p.134) Authority is not understood so much in terms of rule-making and enforcing, but rather "it has to do with trust" in the leader to adequately protect and nurture the people who depend on him. (p.134)

There are deviations from either one of Lakoff's categories, Strict Father or Nurturant Parent, as not every politician nor every citizen adheres to a strict political classification; however, the duality between liberal and conservative plays a major role in the categorization of political metaphors. Each group follows a distinct metaphorical morality model: the conservative group follows a Strict Father scheme characterized by authoritarianism and control, and the liberal group follows the Nurturant Parent model, whose main principles are empathy and nurturance. Each of these models counts with a set of roughly twelve major metaphors, which are compiled in Appendix I of this paper.

Lakoff's classification is not alone in its attempt to classify metaphors used for political communication. In "Metaphors of Social Order," (2008) Ringmar affirms that social control is

established through the use of metaphor; Pikalo (2008) explores the historical use of metaphors for political discourse, which is vastly different depending on the historical period, although metaphors are "often based on imageries of nature;" therefore, metaphors vary "as conceptions of nature" change throughout history; some of the metaphors which have remained prevalent in history are "metaphors of 'body,' 'machine,' 'mechanism,' 'cell,' 'gene' etc." Honohan (2008) explores 'metaphors of solidarity,' and metaphors used to conceptualize a certain community: "political community has often been understood in terms of a body" as well as "in terms of different kinds of human relationships. (Carver and Pikalo, 2008, p.5)

Charteris-Black (2004) affirms that the Cognitive Theory of metaphor does not fully account for why one political party may employ a different metaphor than the opposite party. He proposes that a pragmatic view of metaphor must be taken into account in order to explain this phenomenon, as "both individual and social resources influence metaphor choice in discourse." (Charteris-Black, 2004, p-248) He divides individual and social resources in the following components:

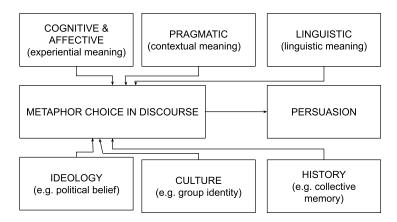


Figure 2: Discourse model for metaphor. (Charteris-Black, 2004, p.248)

Meaning a choice of metaphor in discourse evidences not only individual and cognitive factors, but also social values like ideology or culture.

Having reviewed some of the different existing classifications of political metaphors, it is worth noting that for the purpose of this paper, I will employ Lakoff and Johnson's (1980)

and Lakoff's (1996) classifications of conceptual metaphors as my main source for the task of classifying the metaphorical expressions most often used in political discourse.

3.4 Uses and Repercussions of Conceptual Metaphor in Political Discourse

There are three main ways in which metaphors are used in the development of political discourse: (1) to simplify abstract political concepts that would be much less accessible to the general public where it for the use of metaphor to bring them closer to the 'physical world;" (2) to influence the subconscious structuring of the political activities in the audience's mind, and therefore suggest a "course of action" in a certain political issue or point of contention; (3) to persuade the public of a particular argument. (Cox, 2012)

Simplification works by "mapping well understood source domains of experience onto more schematic ones," establishing a metaphorical relation between a concept that the public already has interiorized due to it being either "innate or acquired in development", such as orientation (e.g. up/down) or sensorial experience (e.g. 'see, hear, grasp') and an abstract concept which is more difficult to understand (e.g. power). (Chilton, 2004, pp.51–52) Conceptual metaphors do not exist in a vacuum but rather within "frame representations," networks of meaning made up of "structured cultural knowledge." (pp.51–52) When a metaphorical expression is used, it evokes an unconscious system of meaning, and if the metaphor is accepted, the rest of the frame representation follows suit. These so-called "entailments" allow the speaker to make use of "inferences that would otherwise not be conceptually available." (pp.51–52) To sum up, metaphors do not only serve to simplify complex and inaccessible theoretical concepts by mapping them onto innate knowledge, but allow us to harness unconscious systems of meaning in order to provoke certain 'inferences' that may be used to steer the listener's opinion in a

specific direction.

This leads us to the second major use of conceptual metaphors for political communication: "metaphors symbolically suggest a course of action" to the audience, "if audience members accept the applicability of a metaphor, then the course of action suggested by the metaphor is seen as a viable option." (Cox, 2012, p.5) Once a particular metaphor and its subsequent frame representation have been ingrained on the listener's mind, that same metaphor can be used to point at a certain goal or course of action as favourable, particularly in cases where the non-metaphorical arguments would be too abstract or technical for the average audience.

Lastly, metaphors are an essential tool for persuasion, as "politicians use metaphors as 'tools of persuasive communication, to bridge gaps and build identification between strangers" and therefore "to generate votes and win elections." (Beer, 2004, p.24) One of the ways in which persuasion is achieved is by "stirring emotions," bridging the gap between the rational and the emotional so that the audience gets the impression that the conflict at hand involves them personally. For instance, the metaphor YOUR NATION IS YOUR HOME conceptualizes the nation as a private place that can be invaded, burglarized, renovated etc. (Mio, 2018, pp.132–133) Similarly, Charteris-Black (2004) states that "metaphor has a very important persuasive role in evoking strong emotional responses that may prioritise one intepretation of a text over another" and that "persuasive role ... constitutes the ideological and rhetorical basis of metaphors." (p.41)

However, the evidence showing a correlation between the persuasiveness of a certain message and its metaphorical component is not conclusive: Mio (2018) reviews a series of studies conducted on the effectiveness of metaphor as a persuasion mechanism: Bowers (1964) and Osborn (1966) carried out an experiment based on a series of "root metaphors of 'SEX' and 'DEATH" used in political speeches, in which the results showed that "only the 'SEX' speech was more persuasive," and not the 'DEATH' speech. (Mio, 2918, p.134) Mio mentions Reinsch (1971) and Johnson and Taylor (1981) as examples of researchers who also found positive results concerning the efficacy of metaphors in persuasion. However, Johnson and Taylor only found that metaphors increased the persuasiveness of the message for "politically sophisticated" subjects; whereas a study by Bosman and Hagendoorn (1991) showed "a trend for less politically sophisticated subjects" being more easily persuaded through metaphor, directly contradicting Johnson and Taylor. Another study by Bosman (1987) showed no difference in the persuasiveness of the message when metaphors were used as opposed to literal language; but Read et.al. (1990) did find a correlation between the use and metaphor and the persuasiveness and memorability of the message. (Mio, 2018, pp.134–135) Therefore, although there is some sustenance to the idea of metaphor as a strong tool for increasing persuasion, the evidence is still inconclusive.

Conceptual metaphors are undeniably useful devices for political discourse, serving to simplify, suggest courses of action, and persuade the audience. Having said that, the use of metaphor can have both positive and negative effects. Thompson (2018) signals the importance of metaphor to enforce group awareness in individuals and to bring abstract concepts which are central to politics down to the general public, relating them to more tangible concepts. (p.187) On the other hand, Thompson mentions that excessive use of metaphor might "induce acquiescence and passivity," as listeners do not feel the need to put in the necessary effort to

understand the technicalities of the political issues at hand, and therefore might come to lazy, poorly thought-out conclusions. (p.185 cited in Cox, 2012, p.5) Furthemore, Lakoff (1991) points out that "metaphors can kill" as they can be used to hide reality "in a harmful way" and therefore trivialize concepts such as "pain, dismemberment, death and starvation." (p.32)

In conclusion, metaphors are an essential tool for political communication, serving three main purposes: (1) simplifying complicated and abstract political concepts in order to enable the general population to understand and participate in political discussions; (2) influencing the cognitive processing of information in such a way that they may be used to surreptitiously suggest a course of action to the public; and (3) as an instrument for convincing and persuading the community of a certain plan or idea.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to give an overview of the many intersections between political communication and conceptual metaphors, from the types of metaphors which are used for political discourse as categorized by Lakoff (1996) and others, to the three main uses of conceptual metaphors in politics. In the following chapter, I will approach Donald Trump as one of the most influential figures in current politics; and explore his use of language, with a focus on conceptual metaphors. This will be a theoretical base to the practical section of this paper, in which I will analyze Trump's speeches to attempt to substantiate my initial thesis that metaphors bear cognitive significance for political thought and discourse.

Chapter 4

Trump and Metaphor

4.1 Introduction

This last part of this dissertation will attempt to explore the cognitive significance of conceptual metaphors in political discourse, and particularly in Donald Trump's speeches. As stated in the Abstract, my initial decision was to study a conservative politician, which was determined first by my personal interest on the topic, as well as a large body of information being already available on the use of conceptual metaphors by conservative politicians; (Lakoff 1996, 2014) and lastly, because of the controversy attracted by conservative politicians –Donald Trump in particular– for the unusual way in which they employ language in politics. This unconventional use of language will be briefly summarized in the present chapter, alongside a short biography of the politician, explaining some key background information which may influence his use of metaphor.

4.2 Biography

Donald J. Trump initially studied economics, finance, and commerce in University (1959–1964). After his graduation, he worked for his father Frederick Trump, a real estate magnate infamously known for gentrifying areas of New York such as Queens or Brooklyn, taking advantage of government subsidies for his own gain and forbidding African-American as well

as Latin-American people from occupying his apartment complexes. ("Quién fue," 2019) Following his father's footsteps, Donald occupied the head of the family's real-estate business in 1971, going on to fund his own conglomerate, which included not only housing projects, but also luxury restaurants, hotels, and shopping centers. (Duignan, 2019, p.3) Regarding politics, Trump was known for his "socially liberal and economically conservative" political views, and was associated with the Republican Party; (Duignan, 2019, p.4–5) therefore, he was not a stranger to politics when he decided to run for the 2016 presidential election, with the famous slogan "Make America Great Again." (p.5) Two of Trump's most controversial positions were his stance on Climate Change, which he dismissed as a scam (p.5) and his promise to keep Mexican immigrants out of America through the building of a massive wall along the Mexican border. (Duignan, 2019; Wallace and Donald, et.al., 2019)

Although he was quickly regarded as one of the most popular candidates, Trump was accused of race and gender discrimination, due to his frequent violent attacks on both his detractors and other members of the Republican party running for the presidency. In October of 2016, recordings of Trump taken in 2005 during the filming of a television series called 'Access Hollywood' were discovered, in them, the future president explicitly talked about his encounters with women, and stated that when you're famous "you can do anything," even "grab them by the pussy." (Arrowood, 2016) This recording sparked accusations of misogyny and sexism among the public, which would later follow Trump during the entirety of his political career. In addition, more than a dozen women had previously accused Trump of sexual assault, although he dismissed them as 'liars' as well as 'not attractive enough' for him. (Mindock, 2019) Trump has also been accused of racism, as during his campaign he was endorsed by members of the anti-black association Ku Klux Klan, as well as members of the so-called 'Alt-Right Movement,' characterized by their national-socialist ideology, all of whom he failed to publicly

denounce. (Duignan, 2019; Wallace and Donald, et.al., 2019)

In spite of the controversy about Trump's lack of political correctness, his populism and his doubtful views on women, people of color and the LGBT community, he won the 2016 presidential election, becoming the 45th President of the United States in November of 2016, with 304 electoral votes against Hillary Clinton's 227 votes. After the election, Trump's use of language, explored in the following section, was cited as one of the major reasons behind his win. (Nunn, 2016; Duran and Lakoff, 2018)

4.3 Trump's Idiolect

Originally defined by Hockett, (1958) an idiolect is "the totality of speech habits of a single person at a given time," (p. 321) made up of "a series of slightly different language backgrounds and experiences" which reflect "the speaker's individual linguistic history." (Clark, 2009, p.105) Every speaker has a unique way of speaking, and not two speakers have the exact same one. Therefore, the analysis of an individual's idiolect can reveal interesting information not only about their language use but also about their circumstances and thought patterns.

A number of authors (Ahmadian et.al., 2016; Duran and Lakoff, 2018; Lakoff, 2016; Nunn, 2016; Sclafani, 2016) attribute the success of Trump's 2016 presidential campaign to his idiolect, although his populist and informal way of communicating may have both gained him and lost him supporters, as it attracted "polarizing evaluations": either extremely negative or extremely positive. Compared to other politicians' over-rehearsed, solemn register, Trump's may give the impression that he is more honest, trustworthy and relatable; however, some of his audience may also perceive him as "unprepared and even 'reckless'" depending on their specific background and social context. (Sclafani, 2016)

In addition to some of the general characteristics of Trump's language use mentioned above, Ahmadian et.al. (2016) point out three salient traits of Trump's idiolect: (1) grandiosity, (2) informality, and (3) dynamism. The first trait, grandiosity, is related to narcissism, which "has been linked to success in areas such as leadership" and political success, and can sometimes be overserved through the frequent use of first person pronouns. (Ahmadian et.al. 2016, pp.49–50) The second characteristic is informality, which has been correlated to favorable political results in previous American elections (Thoemmes and Conway, 2007; Suedfeld and Rank, 1976; cited in Ahmadian et.al., 2016, p.50) and is characterized, for instance, by the extensive use of social media. Thirdly and finally, Ahmadian et.al.(2016) mention Trump's 'voice qualities,' stating that a lower voice is sometimes associated with dominance and therefore preferred. (p.50) Ahmadian et.al. Also stated that "a populist communication style –grandiose, dynamic and informal– may have 'trumped' a carefully reasoned platform," (p. 52) therefore giving Trump a political advantage.

We can argue that Trump's informal and narcissistic idiolect aided him in winning the 2016 presidential election, we have yet to determine, however, the place conceptual metaphors occupy within his linguistic paradigm.

4.4 Conceptual Metaphor in Trump

A number of articles have been written exploring Trump's use of conceptual metaphors (Hendricks, 2018; Gallo, 2016; Lakoff, 2016 and 2017; Zapiain, 2017; and others) both in his presidential speeches and in his tweets. Lakoff (2016) and Zapiain (2017) state that conservative politicians operate within the metaphorical Strict Father morality system, characterized by the total authority of the president (i.e. the 'father'). By "appealing" to conservative groups, Trump ensures he will be conceptualized as an authority figure, and therefore gain the blind support of

his supporters.

Lakoff (2017) goes further and affirms that Trump "lives by" one central metaphor: THE PRESIDENT IS THE NATION. By presenting himself as the embodiment of America, Trump makes use of nationalistic feelings to gain support for his own policies, as well as impunity from his critics. Criticising America as a nation would be considered an act of treason, therefore, criticising the president may quality as the same. This is particularly interesting in relation to Trump's negative perception of the media, as characterized by his popular phrase "fake news." (Acosta, 2019).

Hendricks (2018) also names a number of conceptual metaphors often seen in Trump's tweets, such as "ARGUMENT IS WAR," "GOOD THINGS ARE UP" and "IMPORTANT THINGS ARE LARGE."

4.5 Conclusion

We can conclude that Trump's idiolect may have aided him in winning the election, and that he does use conceptual metaphors in order to gain power through political language. Following this line of thought, in the next chapter I will aim to develop a corpus-based study of five of Trump's key speeches both before and during his presidential mandate, with the objective of illustrating the cognitive significance of Conceptual Metaphor in his personal idiolect, and the repercussions of his use of metaphor for his politics.

Chapter 5

Case Study

5.1 Introduction

For the practical part of this paper, I will employ a quantitative and qualitative data analysis of the conceptual metaphors found in Trump's political discourse. Using a corpus-based research method, I will examine five of Trump's political speeches belonging to key moments in his career in order to determine (1) which of Lakoff's three main types of metaphors (see Appendix I) are used with the most frequency, (2) the relevance of the conceptual metaphors found in the text for the general themes found in the speeches and (3) whether Trump uses metaphors belonging to Lakoff's Strict Father metaphorical morality system. Throughout this chapter, I will offer an overview of the methodology used, followed by a complete breakdown of the results obtained and the conclusions which may be inferred from them.

5.2 Methodology

The methodological approach that I selected for the elaboration of the present study¹¹ consisted of a corpus-based documentary analysis of Donald Trump's use of conceptual metaphor. The data was collected from existing transcriptions of five of Trump's political speeches, and

¹¹ It must be noted that methods applied in this chapter have been inspired by Charteris-Black's (2004) *Critical Metaphor Analysis*, as well as Pilyarchuk and Onysko's (2018) *Conceptual Metaphors in Donald Trump's Political Speeches*.

compiled in a corpus which I have attached to this dissertation (Appendix II). Subsequently, I scanned the speeches and systematically added the conceptual metaphors found to a data collection table (Appendix III) designed in excel. Finally, I described and commented on the data found, organized it using charts, and extracted some basic trends in order to account for the initial hypothesis that conceptual metaphors are an essential part of Trump's political discourse.

For the elaboration of the political speech corpus, I selected five of Trump's political speeches, which belong to some of the crucial moments of his political career: (1) the "Republican Nomination Acceptance Speech," given at the 2016 Republican Convention (July 18–21), after he was chosen as the Republican candidate for the 2916 elections, marking the true beginning of Trump's political career; (2) Trump's "Election Victory Speech," (November 9th, 2016) delivered after the election's results revealed that Donald Trump was to become the 45th American President; (3) His "Inaugural Address," given in January 20th of 2017 after he was sworn as president, and truly began exercising his role as head of the United States; (4) Trump's 2017 speech (September 19th) to the United Nations' General Assembly: "one of the six main organs of the United Nations" which discusses "a wide array of international issues ... such as development, peace, and security, international law, etc." (United Nations, 2017) Undoubtedly, this is one of Trump's most significant speeches, as it was the first time he ever addressed the UN General Assembly and presented his political program to the representatives of 193 nations; (5) the "2019 State of the Union Speech," one of the most recent of Trump's major speeches, which addresses topics of current importance in American politics, such as immigration, climate change, and the energy crisis. Full transcriptions and references for all of the speeches can be found in Appendix II.

As explained above, the focus of this study was divided into three main objectives. Firstly,

I have looked into what types of metaphors are used most frequently in the five speeches in-

cluded in the corpus. I collected relevant metaphorical expressions from the texts, using the "Metaphor identification procedure" or "MIP" devised by the Pragglejaz Group of researchers in 2007, which has been explained in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Subsequently, I organized the samples by means of a data collection table (Appendix III) divided in six parameters:

- **Context**: including the complete transcription of the metaphorical expression and some adjacent words to contextualize it.
- Speech ID: an abbreviature in order to easily classify the speech from which the metaphorical expression was extracted. "Donald Trump's Speech at the Republican Convention" was tagged as RC, "Donald Trump's victory speech" was tagged as VC, "The Inaugural Address" was tagged as IA, "Trump's 2017 U.N. Speech" was tagged as UN, and finally the "State of the Union Speech" was tagged as SU.
- **Source Domain**: The least abstract domain, to which the metaphorical expression belongs (e.g. WAR).
- Target Domain: The more abstract domain conceptualized in terms of the source domain (e.g. ARGUMENT).
- Conceptual Metaphor: The full conceptual metaphor used (e.g. ARGUMENT IS WAR)
- **Metaphor Type**: Using Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) classification, the type of metaphor used, either structural, ontological (entity, personification, substance or container), or orientational (Appendix I).

Utilizing the data collection table, I used a quantitative analysis to recount how many times each type of metaphor was used as well as how many metaphors were found per speech,

and extract some broad trends connecting the types of metaphors used to the main themes of the political speeches.

Lastly, I observed the speeches included in the corpus and attempted to determine whether Trump makes use of the Strict Father morality system as typified by Lakoff (1996), by means of a qualitative analysis which didn't attempt to count and classify the conceptual metaphor but rather to offer a detailed overview and interpretation of Trump's morality system.

5.3 Results

First, the frequency of use of conceptual metaphors in each speech must be evaluated. The analysis of the corpus, consisting of five speeches and 17508 words, yielded a total of 510 conceptual metaphors (2.91%), 37.9% of the metaphors having come from "Trump's 2017 U.N. speech transcript," followed by "Donald Trump's speech at the Republican Convention," with the 23.8% of all metaphors; the "State of the Union 2019" had a close 22.4% of all metaphors. Lastly, the "The Inaugural Address" and "Donald Trump's victory speech" had 10.4% and 5.5% of all conceptual metaphors respectively. The results are reflected in the following chart:

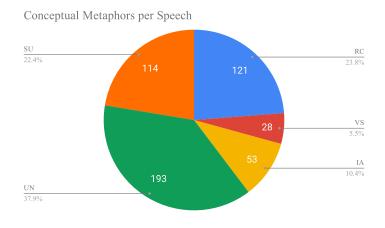


Figure 3: Count of Conceptual Metaphors per Speech.

However, these results must also be understood in terms of the length of each of the speeches:

Speech	Number of Words	Number of Con. Metaphors
Republican Convention Acceptance Speech (RC)	4664	121 (7.5%)
Victory Speech (VS)	1614	28 (1.73%)
The Inaugural Address (IA)	1446	53 (3.67%)
Trump's 2017 U.N. Speech (UN)	4574	193 (4.22%)
State of the Union 2019 Speech (SU)	5210	114 (2.19%)

The speech with the highest frequency of conceptual metaphors is the Republican Convention Acceptance Speech, followed by the 2017 United Nations Speech, and the Inaugural Address. Shockingly, the State of the Union 2019 Speech was not amongst the speeches with the higher metaphor frequency, in spite of being the largest at 5210 words.

Therefore, we cannot establish a correlation between text length and metaphor frequency, with one of the shorter speeches (i.e. IA) showing a higher percentage of conceptual metaphors than the longest speech in the corpus.

My first main objective when conducting the study was to determine what types of conceptual metaphors were most often used by Trump in his political speeches. The results showed an overwhelming majority of ontological personification metaphors, 193 of the total, followed by 127 structural metaphors and 121 ontological entity metaphors. Only 39 orientational metaphors were found, and ontological container and substance metaphors showed the least frequency at only 15 and 14 respectively.

Count of Metaphor Type

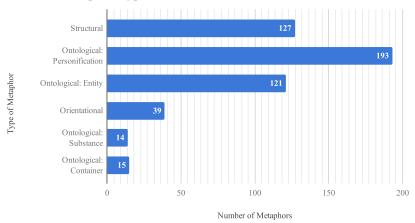


Figure 4: Count of Conceptual Metaphors by Type.

By far, the most common personification metaphors were:

a. A NATION IS A PERSON/NATIONS ARE PEOPLE (96)

Example 1: "The crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon come to an end" $(RC, p.1)^{12}$

Example 2: "Nations could cooperate to protect their sovereignty, preserve their security, and promote their prosperity." (UN, p.17)

Other personification metaphors included:

b. A REGIME IS A PERSON/REGIMES ARE PEOPLE (17)

Example 3: "This corrupt regime destroyed a prosperous nation" (UN, p.21)

c. THE UNITED NATIONS IS A PERSON (5)

Example 4: "This is the true vision of the United Nations." (UN, p.23)

d. THE GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON (4)

Example 5: "Low-income citizens whose concerns are often ignored by both media and government." (UN, p.21)

e. JOBS ARE PEOPLE (3)

Example 6: "One of the greatest job-killers of them all." (RC, p.19)

¹² All speeches are included in Appendix II, with their respective Speech ID abbreviation.

f. LAWS ARE PEOPLE (2)

Example 7: "Our laws will finally receive the respect they deserve." (RC, p.17)

g. THE CONSTITUTION IS A PERSON (2)

Example 8: "We are celebrating the 230th anniversary of our beloved Constitution." (UN, p.17)

h. FREEDOM IS A PERSON (2)

Example 9: "America saved freedom." (SU, p.24)

In comparison, structural metaphors were highly varied, but some broad trends that can be extracted, the most salient being structural metaphors about politics, such as:

a. POLITICS IS WAR (12)

Example 10: "Together, we will defeat AIDS in America." (SU, p.27)

b. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A GAME (4)

Example 11: "The system is rigged against our citizens." (RC, p.1)

c. POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE PATHS (3)

Example 12: "Will they continue down the path of poverty, bloodshed, and terror?" (UN, p.20)

d. POLITICS IS A JOURNEY (3)

Example 13: "In this journey, I'm so lucky to have at my side my wife, Melania, and my wonderful children." (RC, p.10)

e. POLITICS IS A SPORT (2)

Example 14: "And I say "we" because we are a team." (RC, p.1)

As well as:

- f. POLITICS IS A RACE $(1)^{13}$
- g. POLITICIANS ARE PUPPETS (1)
- h. HAVING POLITICAL POWER IS HAVING A VOICE (1)

¹³ For the purpose of keeping this dissertation concise I will only offer examples of those conceptual metaphors which occur more than once in the corpus, however, all metaphorical expressions can be found in Appendix III.

- i. POLITICS ARE A PRISON (1)
- j. POLITICS IS A FERTILE GROUND (1)
- k. POLITICAL COLLAPSE IS A STEEP PLACE (1)
- 1. POLITICS IS RELIGION (1)
- m. POLITICAL DIVISION IS A BODY OF WATER (1)
- n. POLITICAL DIVISION IS A PHYSICAL WOUND (1)
- o. POLITICS IS A QUEST (1)

Another trend shown in the results is the frequent occurrence of conceptual metaphors relating to HOME and COMMUNITY:

a. A NATION IS A HOME (10)

Example 15: "My plan will begin with safety at home." (RC, p.4)

b. THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY (10)

Example 16: "I want to tell the world community." (VS, p.12)

c. THE WORLD IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD (5)

Example 17: "As a responsible neighbor and friend, we and all others have a goal." (UN, p.21)

The third most common type of conceptual metaphors extracted from the corpus was ontological entity metaphors. Within this category, Trump uses source domains like BUILDINGS, MACHINES, OBJECTS, PLANTS and ANIMALS. Although they are quite varied, some recurring cases were:

a. A NATION IS A BUILDING/NATIONS ARE BUILDINGS (8)

Example 18: "Both parties should be able to unite for a great rebuilding of America's crumbling infrastructure." (SU, p.27)

b. A DREAM IS AN OBJECT/DREAMS ARE OBJECTS (5)

Example 19: "Scientific breakthroughs have brought a once-distant dream within reach." (SU, p.27)

c. A NATION IS A PLANT/NATIONS ARE PLANTS (5)

Example 20: "Or will the Iranian people return to the nation's proud roots." (UN, p.20)

d. JOBS ARE OBJECTS (5)

Example 21: "The theft of American jobs and wealth has come to an end." (SU, p.26)

e. A NATION IS AN OBJECT (3)

Example 22: "Egypt was turned over to the radical Muslim brotherhood." (RC, p.3)

f. ECONOMY IS A PLANT (3)

Example 23: "The United States economy is growing almost twice as fast today as when I took office." (SU, p.24)

g. IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS (2)

Example 24: "The savage gang, MS-13." (SU, p.25)

h. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE (2)

Example 25: "We are going to fix the system." (RC, p.5)

i. DEMOCRACY IS A BUILDING (2)

Example 26: "We call for the full restoration of democracy and political freedoms in Venezuela." (UN, p.22)

j. THE FUTURE IS AN OBJECT (2)

Example 27: "Create a more safe and peaceful future for all people." (UN, p.18)

Orientational metaphors, on the other hand, are far less varied, with the most common source domains being both UP (14) and DOWN (18):

a. LESS IS DOWN (12)

Example 28: "Unemployment has reached the lowest rate in half a century." (SU, p.24)

b. GOOD IS UP (6)

Example 29: "Your presence this evening honors and uplifts our entire Nation." (SU, p.29)

c. MORE IS UP (4)

Example 30: "In our nation's capital, killings have risen by 50 percent." (RC, p.2)

d. BAD IS DOWN (3)

Example 31: "America stands with every person living under a brutal regime." (UN, p.22)

Ontological container and substance metaphors are both infrequent and highly heterogeneous. The ontological container type shows only a few recurring instances, such as:

a. A NATION IS A CONTAINER (3)

Example 32: "Until we secure our border they're going to keep streaming back in." (SU, p.25)

b. THE SOUL IS A CONTAINER (2)

Example 33: "We must keep freedom alive in our souls." (SU, p.29)

The ontological substance type is the most varied type of all, with hardly any metaphors occurring more than once. It does show, however, a trend for conceptualizing negative concepts as substances, as in:

- a. IMMIGRANTS ARE A LIQUID SUBSTANCE (1)
- b. DRUGS ARE A LIQUID SUBSTANCE (1)
- c. CHEMICAL WEAPONS ARE SUBSTANCES (1)
- d. VIOLENCE AND DRUGS ARE A SUBSTANCE (1)
- e. DEBT IS A SUBSTANCE (1)
- f. ISIS IS A SUBSTANCE (1)

Furthermore, we can look at the source and target domains and determine that the most common source domains are PERSON and OBJECT, which follows up with the rest of my findings, as personification metaphors were the most common, and entity metaphors the third most frequent. Structural metaphors were highly varied in comparison, but some common source domains were WAR, GAME, HOME and COMMUNITY, as shown in the table below:

Metaphor Type	Total
PERSON METAPHORS	187 (36.8%)
OBJECT METAPHORS	53 (10.4%)
UP AND DOWN METAPHORS	28 (5.5%)
BUILDING METAPHORS	26 (5.1%)
WAR METAPHORS	12 (2.4%)
GAME METAPHORS	11 (2.2%)
CONTAINER METAPHORS	11 (2.2%)
HOME METAPHORS	10 (2.0%)
COMMUNITY METAPHORS	10 (2.0%)

To conclude this section, I offer a list of the metaphors belonging to the Strict Father system (Lakoff, 1996) that have been found in the texts, commented in detail in the following section:

a. GOOD IS UP (6)

Example 34: "Whether we lift the world to new heights." (UN, p.17)

b. BAD IS LOW/DOWN (3)

Example 35: "The continued suffering of the people who live under these cruel systems." (UN, p.22)

c. POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE PATHS (3)

Example 36: "Iran is on the path to nuclear weapons." (RC, p.3)

- d. DECISIONS ARE PATHS (1)
- e. CRIME AND VIOLENCE ARE A DISEASE (1)
- f. DIVISION IS DISEASE (1)

5.4 Discussion

Having presented the raw data found through the analysis of the corpus, we can move on to its possible repercussions and significance. I will begin by discussing the largest trend found in the study –ontological personification metaphors–, follow up with an attempt to link some of Trump's conceptual metaphors to the largest themes in his speeches, and lastly comment on the morality metaphors employed by the politician as related to Lakoff's (1996) classification.

Personification metaphors made up 37.84% of the total number of conceptual metaphors found (see Figure 4) with PERSON also appearing as the most common source domain employed. Although a complete description of ontological personification metaphors can be found in section 2.2 of this dissertation, they can be briefly defined as those metaphors in which an abstract target domain is conceptualized or represented through a more concrete domain consisting of a person, either singular or plural. Since the most common metaphors used by Trump within this category are A NATION IS A PERSON/NATIONS ARE PEOPLE we can theorize he employs them not only as a persuasion mechanism but in an attempt to bring the audience closer to the nations, both to make the United States and its allies an object of empathy and worry:

Example 37: "America was shocked to its core." (RC, p.5)

Example 38: "France is the victim of brutal Islamic terrorism." (RC, p.6)

And to make whole nations into a shared enemy, conceptualizing them as a single attacker:

Example 39: "China's outrageous theft of intellectual property." (RC, p.8)

Example 40: "Syria was under control." (RC, p.3)

In conclusion, ontological personification metaphors are an essential part of Trump's political discourse, and he often makes use of them, presumably in order to create emotional reactions in his audience, either positive or negative.

As we saw in section 5.4 'Trump and Conceptual Metaphor,' Lakoff (2017) affirmed that Trump lives by one major metaphor: THE PRESIDENT IS THE NATION. Through the analysis of the corpus, I only found two instances of this central metaphor:

Example 41: "I am your voice." (RC, p.4)

Example 42: "She congratulated us. It's about us. On our Victory." (VS, p.11)

Although it is worth noting Trump repeatedly uses 'we' throughout all of the speeches to refer to himself alongside the nation, this is not enough evidence, in my opinion, to affirm that THE PRESIDENT IS THE NATION is the central metaphor of Trump's political discourse.

Concerning the topics Trump addresses in the speeches, many of them are represented using conceptual metaphor. For instance, when speaking about national security, Trump often uses the conceptual metaphor A NATION IS A HOME, sometimes accompanied by metaphors like OTHER NATIONS ARE ATTACKERS:

Example 43: "We must be united at home to defeat our adversaries abroad." (SU, p.24)

Example 44: "We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries." (IA, p.15)

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Example 44: "We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries." (IA, p.15)

In relation to national security, immigrants, drugs and violence are often conceptualized as threats to the whole nation, through metaphors like IMMIGRANTS ARE SOLDIERS, IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS, as well as metaphors which represent the nation as container and the threats as substances which perpetually attempt to 'pour' into said container, like DRUGS ARE LIQUID SUBSTANCES or IMMIGRANTS ARE LIQUID SUBSTANCES:

Example 45: "As we speak, large, organized caravans are on the march to the United States." (SU, p.25)

Example 46: "Putting the ruthless coyotes, cartels, drug dealers, and human traffickers out of business." (SU, p.25)

The job market is another of the most frequent topics in Trump's speeches, with the metaphor JOBS ARE OBJECTS being used in order to conceptualize jobs as objects that can be stolen or lost, and the metaphor JOBS ARE PEOPLE being utilized to represent a job as someone who can be killed or who can leave the country:

Example 47: "America has lost nearly one-third of its manufacturing jobs." (RC, p.8)

Example 48: "The jobs left." (IA, p.13)

Lastly, it is worth noting that Trump uses a number of conceptual metaphors belonging to the realm of finance and real estate, arguably influenced by his previous career as a businessman. Some examples are:

a FREEEDOM IS EXPENSIVE.

Example 49: "Our citizens have paid the ultimate price to defend our freedom." (UN, p.18FRE)

b PEOPLE'S HEARTS AND MINDS ARE MONEY.

Example 50: "If we do not invest ourselves, our hearts, and our minds in our nations." (UN, p.22)

To conclude, in this study I also aimed to ascertain whether Trump makes use of the Strict Father morality system as explained by Lakoff (1996). Some metaphors found could be interpreted as belonging to the morality system, such as BEING GOOD IS BEING UPRIGHT, BEING BAD IS BEING LOW, CRIME AND VIOLENCE ARE A DISEASE and DIVISION IS A DISEASE the latter relating both to the MORALITY IS WHOLENESS and IMMORALITY IS DISEASE metaphors included in the Strict Father system (Appendix I):

Example 51: "The crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon come to an end."

Example 52: "Heal our divisions." (IA, p.16)

Throughout the text, there's also a few instances in which the metaphor THE MORAL ORDER IS THE NATURAL ORDER is implied, as Trump often references God, for instance,

Example 53: "We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement and, most importantly, we are protected by God." (IA, p.20)

Here, Trump places God in the highest priority, followed by men and then women, as in the natural system employed by the Strict Father morality system, which comes from christianity (see chapter 3 section 3). The metaphors PERMISSIBLE PATHS ARE MORAL/FORBIDDEN PATHS ARE IMMORAL are also employed by trump, through the conceptual metaphor POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE PATHS (Appendix III). Moreover, one of the main principles of the Strict Father morality system is the enforcing of laws in order to protect the citizens, and the importance of protecting citizens and enforcing law and order is emphasized throughout the speeches, in quotes like "we have a moral duty to create an immigration system that protects the lives and jobs of our citizens" (SU, p.25) or "in this race for the White House, I am the law and order candidate." (RC, p.6) However, Trump doesn't appear to place himself as a 'higher' authority figure and rather favours the use of 'we' in the course of the speeches, rarely using first

person personal pronouns. Therefore, I have concluded there's not enough supporting evidence to the idea that Trump uses the Strict Father metaphorical morality system, although he does employ some of the moral metaphors contained in said system.

Although I didn't find sufficient evidence that Trump belongs to the Strict Father morality system, or that he lives by the central metaphor THE PRESIDENT IS THE NATION, through the analysis of the speech corpus I found a total of 510 conceptual metaphors, many of which are essential for the development of the central themes of the speeches. It is apparent, therefore, that metaphors are not merely a decorative feature of language, but that as Lakoff and Johnson initially affirmed in 1980, they are an essential part of everyday language and thought, including politics; and that conceptual metaphors appear to be a powerful tool for political communication—as originally stated by authors like Lakoff (1996, 2010, 2014)— and particularly in Trump's idiolect, with an emphasis on ontological personification metaphors.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have first summarized the methodology employed for the corpus-based study conducted on Trump's political speeches (Appendix II), and secondly the results I obtained. Using the Metaphor Identification Procedure, I managed to find 510 conceptual metaphors, which I logged down in a data collection table (see Appendix III) in order to classify them by type and speech. I found most of the metaphors were ontological personification metaphors (see Appendix I), followed by ontological entity metaphors and structural metaphors; and that the speech with the highest rate of metaphors was the "Republican Convention Acceptance Speech." I the Discussion section, I comment on these results and their possible relation to the themes of the speeches, and explain the repercussions of Trump's use of conceptual metaphor, which has proven an integral part of his political discourse.

Conclusion

As stated in the Introduction, the aim of this dissertation was twofold. First, I seeked to show the evolution in the academic study of metaphor, from early conceptions of metaphor as a mere decorative feature of language, to Lakoff and Johnson's revolutionary theory of metaphor as an inherent part of our everyday thought and language. To fulfill this primary objective, in Chapter 1 I offer an overview of the historical background of metaphor, from Aristotle to Shelley and earlier authors such as Richards, Black or Davidson; following this historical introduction, in Chapter 2 I review the Cognitive Theory of metaphor, including Lakoff and Johnson (1980) as my primary source, accompanied by authors like Knowles and Moon (2004) and Kovecses (2010) among others. My second objective was to explore the applications of the Cognitive Theory of metaphor to political thought and discourse, which is accomplished in Chapter 3, as I explain not only the types of conceptual metaphors most often used in political communication, but also their most frequent uses. This serves as the theoretical background to the last part of my dissertation, in which I apply the cognitive study of metaphor to Donald Trump's political discourse through a corpus-based study of five of his speeches. In Chapter 4, I offer a brief overview of Trump's biography, as well as his use of language and metaphor, and in Chapter 5 I develop my case study, including an explanation of my methods, the results achieved and their possible implications.

It must be noted that I did encounter certain limitations, for instance, the study would undoubtedly have been more thorough had I been able to use a larger sample of speeches as a corpus. However, I believe my findings are representative of the conceptual metaphor's crucial role in political discourse, as I managed to find and classify 510 conceptual metaphors employed

by Trump in his political discourse.

This thesis has, in my opinion, managed to prove the cognitive significance of metaphor as a phenomenon of thought and not only language, as well as its many applications to fields like political communication and particularly the analysis of political speeches such as Donald Trump's. I have no doubt the study of metaphor will keep on evolving in following years, given the great potential it poses for accessing the underlying patterns that determine not only how we speak, but how we think and behave.

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APPENDIX I Types of Metaphors

LAKOFF AND JOHNSON'S (1980) CLASSIFICATION

1. Structural Metaphor: One concept is used to conceptualize another.

Source Domain: More concrete concept (e.g.WEALTH)

Target Domain: More abstract concept (e.g. WELL-BEING)

WELL BEING IS WEALTH: "My health is quite *poor*"

2. Orientational Metaphor: "Spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral.²"

Source Domain: A spatial concept (e.g. UP)

<u>Target Domain:</u> An abstract concept (e.g. HAPPINESS)

HAPPINESS IS UP: "The movie *lifted* my mood"

3. Ontological Metaphor:

3.1a Entity Metaphor: Abstract concept is conceptualized in terms of an object.

Source Domain: An object (e.g. a MACHINE)

Target Domain: A concept (e.g. the MIND)

THE MIND IS A MACHINE: "Your brain is not operative at all."

3.1b Substance Metaphor: An abstract concept is conceptualized as a quantifiable substance.

Source Domain: Substances.

Target Domain: Events, activities, emotions, and ideas (e.g. ENERGY)

ENERGY IS A SUBSTANCE: "I have no energy left after this exam."

3.2. Container Metaphor: A concept is conceptualized as a container.

Source Domain: A container.

Target Domain: A concept.

THE HEART IS A CONTAINER: "She wormed herself into my heart."

3.3. Personification Metaphor:

Source Domain: A person.

<u>Target Domain:</u> A concept (e.g. CONSCIENCE)

YOUR CONSCIENCE IS A PERSON: "After I committed the crime, my conscience

wouldn't let me sleep.

LAKOFF'S (1996-2002) POLITICAL METAPHORS³

Conservative (Strict Father) Metaphors

1. Moral Strenght:

BEING GOOD IS BEING UPRIGHT

BEING BAD IS BEING LOW

DOING EVIL IS FALLING

EVIL IS A FORCE

MORALITY IS STRENGHT

2. Moral Authority:

A COMMUNITY IS A FAMILY

MORAL AUTHORITY IS PARENTAL AUTHORITY

AN AUTHORITY FIGURE IS A PARENT

A PERSON SUBJECT TO MORAL AUTHORITY IS A CHILD

MORAL BEHAVIOR BY SOMEONE SUBJECT TO AUTHORITY IS OBEDIENCE

MORAL BEHAVIOR BY SOMEONE IN AUTHORITY IS SETTING STANDARDS AND ENFORCING

THEM

3. Moral order:

THE MORAL ORDER IS THE NATURAL ORDER

4. Moral Boundaries:

ACTION IS MOTION

RIGHTS ARE PATHS

PERMISSIBLE PATHS ARE MORAL

FORBIDDEN PATHS ARE IMMORAL

5. Moral Essence:

A PERSON IS AN OBJECT

HIS ESSENCE IS THE SUBSTANCE THE OBJECT IS MADE OF

6. Moral Wholeness:

MORALITY IS WHOLENESS

IMMORALITY IS DEGENERATION

7. Moral Purity:

MORALITY IS PURITY

IMMORALITY IS IMPURITY

8. Moral Health:

MORALITY IS HEALTH

IMMORALITY IS DISEASE

9. Moral Self-Interest:

WELL-BEING IS WEALTH

3All metaphors obtained from Lakoff 1996-2002 Part II Chapters 5 and 6 (pp.65-108), Appendix model used in Cienki (2005).

10. Morality as Nurturance:

MORAL ACTION IS NURTURANCE

Liberal (Nurturant Parent) Metaphors

1. Morality as Empathy:

MORALITY IS EMPATHY

2. Morality as Nurturance:

MORAL ACTION IS NURTURANCE

THE COMMUNITY IS A FAMILY

MORAL AGENTS ARE NURTURING PARENTS

PEOPLE NEEDING HELP ARE CHILDREN NEEDING NURTURANCE

3. Morality as Social Nurturance:

MORAL AGENTS ARE NURTURING PARENTS

SOCIAL TIES ARE CHILDREN NEEDING CARE

MORAL ACTION IS THE NURTURANCE OF SOCIAL TIES

3. Moral Self-Nurturance:

MORALITY IS SELF-NURTURANCE

4. Morality is Happiness:

MORALITY IS HAPPINESS

5. Morality as Self-Development

MORALITY IS SELF-DEVELOPMENT

6. Morality as Fair Distribution

7. Moral Growth

8. Moral Self-Interest

9. Moral Strenght

BEING GOOD IS BEING UPRIGHT

BEING BAD IS BEING LOW

EVIL IS A FORCE

MORALITY IS STRENGTH

10. Retribution and Restitution

11. Moral Boundaries

ACTION IS MOTION

RIGHTS ARE PATHS

PERMISSIBLE PATHS ARE MORAL

FORBIDDEN PATHS ARE IMMORAL

12. Moral Authority.

APPENDIX II Trump Speech Corpus

1. "Donald Trump's speech at the Republican convention, as prepared for delivery." (2016, July 22). *CNN Politics*. Retrieved June 12, 2019, from https://edition.cnn.com/2016/07/22/politics/donald-trump-rnc-speech-text/index.html.

Speech ID: RC

Donald J. Trump Republican Nomination Acceptance Speech

Friends, delegates and fellow Americans: I humbly and gratefully accept your nomination for the presidency of the United States.

Who would have believed that when we started this journey on June 16 of last year we — and I say "we" because we are a team — would have received almost 14 million votes, the most in the history of the Republican Party, and that the Republican Party would get 60 percent more votes than it received four years ago. The Democrats, on the other hand, received almost 20 percent fewer votes than they got eight years ago.

Together, we will lead our party back to the White House, and we will lead our country back to safety, prosperity, and peace.

We will be a country of generosity and warmth. But we will also be a country of law and order.

Our convention occurs at a moment of crisis for our nation. The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life. Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country.

Americans watching this address tonight have seen the recent images of violence in our streets and the chaos in our communities.

Many have witnessed this violence personally, some have even been its victims.

I have a message for all of you: The crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon come to an end. Beginning on Jan. 20, 2017, safety will be restored.

The most basic duty of government is to defend the lives of its own citizens. Any government that fails to do so is a government unworthy to lead.

It is finally time for a straightforward assessment of the state of our nation.

I will present the facts plainly and honestly.

We cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore.

So if you want to hear the corporate spin, the carefully crafted lies, and the media myths — the Democrats are holding their convention next week.

But here, at our convention, there will be no lies. We will honor the American people with the truth, and nothing else.

These are the facts:

Decades of progress made in bringing down crime are now being reversed by this administration's rollback of criminal enforcement.

Homicides last year increased by 17 percent in America's 50 largest cities. That's the largest increase in 25 years.

In our nation's capital, killings have risen by 50 percent.

They are up nearly 60 percent in nearby Baltimore.

In the president's hometown of Chicago, more than 2,000 people have been the victims of shootings this year alone. And almost 4,000 have been killed in the Chicago area since he took office.

The number of police officers killed in the line of duty has risen by almost 50 percent compared to this point last year.

Nearly 180,000 illegal immigrants with criminal records, ordered deported from our country, are tonight roaming free to threaten peaceful citizens. The number of new illegal immigrant families who have crossed the border so far this year already exceeds the entire total from 2015. They are being released by the tens of thousands into our communities with no regard for the impact on public safety or resources.

One such border-crosser was released and made his way to Nebraska. There, he ended the life of an innocent young girl named Sarah Root. She was 21 years old, and was killed the day after graduating from college with a 4.0 grade-point average. Her killer was then released a second time, and he is now a fugitive from the law.

I've met Sarah's beautiful family. But to this administration, their amazing daughter was just one more American life that wasn't worth protecting. One more child to sacrifice on the altar of open borders.

What about our economy?

Again, I will tell you the plain facts that have been edited out of your nightly news and your morning newspaper:

Nearly four in 10 African-American children are living in poverty, while 58 percent of African-American youth are not employed.

Two million more Latinos are in poverty today than when President Obama took his oath of office less than eight years ago.

Another 14 million people have left the work force entirely.

Household incomes are down more than \$4,000 since the year 2000 — 16 years ago.

Our trade deficit in goods reached nearly \$800 billion last year alone.

The budget is no better.

President Obama has almost doubled our national debt to more than \$19 trillion, and growing.

Yet, what do we have to show for it? Our roads and bridges are falling apart, our airports are in Third World condition, and 43 million Americans are on food stamps.

Now let us consider the state of affairs abroad.

Not only have our citizens endured domestic disaster, but they have lived through one international humiliation after another.

We all remember the images of our sailors being forced to their knees by their Iranian captors at gunpoint.

This was just prior to the signing of the Iran deal, which gave back to Iran \$150 billion and gave us nothing — it will go down in history as one of the worst deals ever negotiated.

Another humiliation came when President Obama drew a red line in Syria — and the whole world knew it meant nothing.

In Libya, our consulate — the symbol of American prestige around the globe — was brought down in flames.

America is far less safe — and the world is far less stable — than when Obama made the decision to put Hillary Clinton in charge of America's foreign policy. I am certain it is a decision he truly regrets.

Her bad instincts and her bad judgment — something pointed out by Bernie Sanders — are what caused so many of the disasters unfolding today.

Let's review the record.

In 2009, pre-Hillary, ISIS was not even on the map. Libya was stable. Egypt was peaceful. Iraq was seeing a reduction in violence. Iran was being choked by sanctions. Syria was under control.

After four years of Hillary Clinton, what do we have?

ISIS has spread across the region, and the world.

Libya is in ruins, and our ambassador and his staff were left helpless to die at the hands of savage killers.

Egypt was turned over to the radical Muslim brotherhood, forcing the military to retake control.

Iraq is in chaos.

Iran is on the path to nuclear weapons.

Syria is engulfed in a civil war and a refugee crisis that now threatens the West.

After 15 years of wars in the Middle East, after trillions of dollars spent and thousands of lives lost, the situation is worse than it has ever been before.

This is the legacy of Hillary Clinton: death, destruction, terrorism and weakness.

But Hillary Clinton's legacy does not have to be America's legacy.

The problems we face now — poverty and violence at home, war and destruction abroad — will last only as long as we continue relying on the same politicians who created them.

A change in leadership is required to produce a change in outcomes.

Tonight, I will share with you my plan of action for America.

The most important difference between our plan and that of our opponents is that our plan will put America first.

Americanism, not globalism, will be our credo.

As long as we are led by politicians who will not put America first, then we can be assured that other nations will not treat America with respect.

This will all change when I take office.

The American people will come first once again.

My plan will begin with safety at home — which means safe neighborhoods, secure borders, and protection from terrorism. There can be no prosperity without law and order.

On the economy, I will outline reforms to add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth that can be used to rebuild America.

A number of these reforms that I will outline tonight will be opposed by some of our nation's most powerful special interests.

That is because these interests have rigged our political and economic system for their exclusive benefit.

Big business, elite media and major donors are lining up behind the campaign of my opponent because they know she will keep our rigged system in place.

They are throwing money at her because they have total control over everything she does.

She is their puppet, and they pull the strings.

That is why Hillary Clinton's message is that things will never change.

My message is that things have to change — and they have to change right now.

Every day I wake up determined to deliver a better life for the people all across this nation that have been ignored, neglected and abandoned.

I have visited the laid-off factory workers, and the communities crushed by our horrible and unfair trade deals.

These are the forgotten men and women of our country. People who work hard but no longer have a voice.

I am your voice.

I have embraced crying mothers who have lost their children because our politicians put their personal agendas before the national good.

I have no patience for injustice, no tolerance for government incompetence, no sympathy for leaders who fail their citizens.

When innocent people suffer, because our political system lacks the will, or the courage, or the basic decency to enforce our laws — or worse still, has sold out to some corporate lobbyist for cash — I am not able to look the other way.

And when a secretary of state illegally stores her emails on a private server, deletes 33,000 of them so the authorities can't see her crime, puts our country at risk, lies about it in every different form and faces no consequence — I know that corruption has reached a level like never before.

When the F.B.I. director says that the secretary of state was "extremely careless" and "negligent," in handling our classified secrets, I also know that these terms are minor compared to what she actually did. They were just used to save her from facing justice for her terrible crimes.

In fact, her single greatest accomplishment may be committing such an egregious crime and getting away with it — especially when others, who have done far less, have paid so dearly.

When that same secretary of state rakes in millions of dollars trading access and favors to special interests and foreign powers I know the time for action has come.

I have joined the political arena so that the powerful can no longer beat up on people who cannot defend themselves.

Nobody knows the system better than me, which is why I alone can fix it. I have seen firsthand how the system is rigged against our citizens, just like it was rigged against Bernie Sanders — he never had a chance. But his supporters will join our movement, because we will fix his biggest issue: trade deals that strip our country of its jobs and wealth.

Millions of Democrats will join our movement, because we are going to fix the system so it works fairly, and justly, for each and every American.

In this cause, I am proud to have at my side the next vice president of the United States: Gov. Mike Pence of Indiana.

We will bring the same economic success to America that Mike brought to Indiana.

He is a man of character and accomplishment. He is the right man for the job.

The first task for our new administration will be to liberate our citizens from the crime and terrorism and lawlessness that threatens their communities.

America was shocked to its core when our police officers in Dallas were so brutally executed.

Immediately after Dallas, we have seen continued threats and violence against our law enforcement officials.

Law officers have been shot or killed in recent days in Georgia, Missouri, Wisconsin, Kansas, Michigan and Tennessee.

On Sunday, more police were gunned down in Baton Rouge, La.

Three were killed, and three were badly injured.

An attack on law enforcement is an attack on all Americans.

I have a message to every last person threatening the peace on our streets and the safety of our police: When I take the oath of office next year, I will restore law and order to our country.

I will work with, and appoint, the best and brightest prosecutors and law enforcement officials to get the job done.

In this race for the White House, I am the law and order candidate.

The irresponsible rhetoric of our president, who has used the pulpit of the presidency to divide us by race and color, has made America a more dangerous environment for everyone.

This administration has failed America's inner cities. It's failed them on education. It's failed them on jobs. It's failed them on crime. It's failed them in every way and on every level.

When I am president, I will work to ensure that all of our kids are treated equally, and protected equally.

Every action I take, I will ask myself: does this make life better for young Americans in Baltimore, Chicago, Detroit, Ferguson, who have the same right to live out their dreams as any other child in America?

To make life safe for all our citizens, we must also address the growing threats we face from outside the country: We are going to defeat the barbarians of ISIS.

Once again, France is the victim of brutal Islamic terrorism. Men, women and children viciously mowed down. Lives ruined. Families ripped apart. A nation in mourning.

The damage and devastation that can be inflicted by Islamic radicals has been proven over and over — at the World Trade Center, at an office party in San Bernardino, at the Boston Marathon, at a military recruiting center in Chattanooga, and many more.

As your president, I will do everything in my power to protect our L.G.B.T.Q. citizens from the violence and oppression of a hateful foreign ideology.

To protect us from terrorism, we need to focus on three things.

We must have the best intelligence-gathering operation in the world.

We must abandon the failed policy of nation-building and regime change that Hillary Clinton pushed in Iraq, Libya, Egypt and Syria. Instead, we must work with all of our allies who share our goal of destroying ISIS and stamping out Islamic terror. This includes working with our greatest ally in the region, the state of Israel.

Recently I have said that NATO was obsolete, because it did not properly cover terror, and also, that many of the member countries were not paying their fair share. As usual, the United States has been picking up the cost.

Shortly thereafter, it was announced that NATO will be setting up a new program in order to combat terrorism—a true step in the right direction.

Lastly, we must immediately suspend immigration from any nation that has been compromised by terrorism until such time as proven vetting mechanisms have been put in place.

My opponent has called for a radical 550 percent increase in Syrian refugees on top of existing massive refugee flows coming into our country under President Obama. She proposes this despite the fact that there's no way to screen these refugees in order to find out who they are or where they come from.

I only want to admit individuals into our country who will support our values and love our people. Anyone who endorses violence, hatred or oppression is not welcome in our country and never will be.

Decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment for our citizens, especially for African-American and Latino workers.

We are going to have an immigration system that works, but one that works for the American people.

On Monday, we heard from three parents whose children were killed by illegal immigrants: Mary Ann Mendoza, Sabine Durden, and Jamiel Shaw.

They are just three brave representatives of many thousands who have suffered so gravely.

Of all my travels in this country, nothing has affected me more deeply than the time I have spent with the mothers and fathers who have lost their children to violence spilling across our border.

These families have no special interests to represent them.

There are no demonstrators to protest on their behalf.

My opponent will never meet with them, or share in their pain.

Instead, my opponent wants sanctuary cities.

But where was the sanctuary for Kate Steinle?

Where was the sanctuary for the children of Mary Ann, Sabine and Jamiel?

Where was the sanctuary for all the other Americans who have been so brutally murdered, and who have suffered so horribly?

These wounded American families have been alone.

But they are alone no longer.

Tonight, this candidate and the whole nation stand in their corner to support them, to send them our love, and to pledge in their honor that we will save countless more families from suffering the same awful fate.

We are going to build a great border wall to stop illegal immigration, to stop the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities.

I have been honored to receive the endorsement of America's Border Patrol agents, and will work directly with them to protect the integrity of our lawful immigration system.

By ending catch-and-release on the border, we will end the cycle of human smuggling and violence. Illegal border crossings will go down. Peace will be restored.

By enforcing the rules for the millions who overstay their visas, our laws will finally receive the respect they deserve.

Tonight, I want every American whose demands for immigration security have been denied — and every politician who has denied them — to listen very closely to the words I am about to say.

On Jan. 20 of 2017, the day I take the oath of office, Americans will finally wake up in a country where the laws of the United States are enforced.

We are going to be considerate and compassionate to everyone. But my greatest compassion will be for our own struggling citizens.

My plan is the exact opposite of the radical and dangerous immigration policy of Hillary Clinton.

Americans want relief from uncontrolled immigration. Communities want relief. Yet Hillary Clinton is proposing mass amnesty, mass immigration, and mass lawlessness.

Her plan will overwhelm your schools and hospitals, further reduce your jobs and wages, and make it harder for recent immigrants to escape from poverty and join the middle class.

I have a different vision for our workers.

It begins with a new, fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat.

It's been a signature message of my campaign from Day 1, and it will be a signature feature of my presidency from the moment I take the oath of office.

I have made billions of dollars in business making deals — now I'm going to make our country rich again.

I am going to turn our bad trade agreements into great trade agreements.

America has lost nearly one-third of its manufacturing jobs since 1997, following the enactment of disastrous trade deals supported by Bill and Hillary Clinton.

Remember, it was Bill Clinton who signed Nafta, one of the worst economic deals ever made by our country.

Never again.

I am going to bring back our jobs to Ohio, and Pennsylvania, and New York, and Michigan and to all of America — and I am not going to let companies move to other countries, firing their employees along the way, without consequence.

My opponent, on the other hand, has supported virtually every trade agreement that has been destroying our middle class.

She supported Nafta, and she supported China's entrance into the World Trade Organization — another one of her husband's colossal mistakes.

She supported the job-killing trade deal with South Korea.

She has supported the Trans-Pacific Partnership — which will not only destroy our manufacturing, but it will make America subject to the rulings of foreign governments.

I pledge to never sign any trade agreement that hurts our workers, or that diminishes our freedom and independence.

Instead, I will make individual deals with individual countries. No longer will we enter into these massive transactions, with many countries, that are thousands of pages long — and which no one from our country even reads or understands.

We are going to enforce all trade violations against any country that cheats.

This includes stopping China's outrageous theft of intellectual property, along with their illegal product dumping, and their devastating currency manipulation.

Our horrible trade agreements with China, and many others, will be totally renegotiated.

That includes renegotiating Nafta to get a much better deal for America — and we'll walk away if we don't get the deal that we want.

Our country is going to start building and making things again.

Next comes the reform of our tax laws, regulations and energy rules.

While Hillary Clinton plans a massive tax increase, I have proposed the largest tax reduction of any candidate who has run for president this year — Democrat or Republican.

Middle-income Americans and businesses will experience profound relief, and taxes will be greatly simplified for everyone.

America is one of the highest-taxed nations in the world. Reducing taxes will cause new companies and new jobs to come roaring back into our country.

Then we are going to deal with the issue of regulation, one of the greatest job-killers of them all.

Excessive regulation is costing our country as much as \$2 trillion a year, and we will end it.

We are going to lift the restrictions on the production of American energy.

This will produce more than \$20 trillion in job-creating economic activity over the next four decades.

My opponent, on the other hand, wants to put the great miners and steel workers of our country out of work — that will never happen when I am president.

With these new economic policies, trillions of dollars will start flowing into our country.

This new wealth will improve the quality of life for all Americans.

We will build the roads, highways, bridges, tunnels, airports, and the railways of tomorrow. This, in turn, will create millions more jobs.

We will rescue kids from failing schools by helping their parents send them to a safe school of their choice.

My opponent would rather protect bureaucrats than serve American children.

We will repeal and replace disastrous Obamacare. You will be able to choose your own doctor again.

And we will fix T.S.A. at the airports!

We're going to work with all of our students who are drowning in debt to take the pressure off these young people just starting out their adult lives.

We will completely rebuild our depleted military, and the countries that we are protecting, at a massive cost to us, will be asked to pay their fair share.

We will take care of our great veterans like they have never been taken care of before. My just-released Ten Point Plan has received tremendous veteran support. We will guarantee those who serve this country will be able to visit the doctor or hospital of their choice. My opponent dismissed the V.A. scandal — one more sign of how out of touch she really is.

We are going to ask every department head in government to provide a list of wasteful spending projects that we can eliminate in my first 100 days. The politicians have talked about it, I'm going to do it.

We are also going to appoint justices to the United States Supreme Court who will uphold our laws and our Constitution.

The replacement of our beloved Justice Scalia will be a person of similar views, principles, and judicial philosophy. This will be one of the most important issues decided by this election.

My opponent wants to essentially abolish the Second Amendment. I, on the other hand, received the early and strong endorsement of the National Rifle Association and will protect the right of all Americans to keep their families safe.

At this moment, I would like to thank the evangelical and religious community in general who have been so good to me and so supportive. You have much to contribute to our politics, yet our laws prevent you from speaking your minds from your own pulpits.

An amendment, pushed by Lyndon Johnson, many years ago, threatens religious institutions with a loss of their tax-exempt status if they openly advocate their political views. I am going to work very hard to repeal that language and protect free speech for all Americans.

We can accomplish these great things, and so much more — all we need to do is start believing in ourselves and in our country again.

It is time to show the whole world that America is back — bigger, and better and stronger than ever before.

In this journey, I'm so lucky to have at my side my wife, Melania, and my wonderful children, Don, Ivanka, Eric, Tiffany, and Barron: You will always be my greatest source of pride and joy.

My dad, Fred Trump, was the smartest and hardest-working man I ever knew.

I wonder sometimes what he'd say if he were here to see this tonight.

It's because of him that I learned, from my youngest age, to respect the dignity of work and the dignity of working people. He was a guy most comfortable in the company of bricklayers, carpenters, and electricians and I have a lot of that in me also.

Then there's my mother, Mary. She was strong, but also warm and fair-minded. She was a truly great mother. She was also one of the most honest and charitable people have ever known, and a great judge of character.

To my sisters Mary Anne and Elizabeth, my brother Robert and my late brother Fred, I will always give you my love — you are most special to me.

I have had a truly great life in business.

But now, my sole and exclusive mission is to go to work for our country — to go to work for you.

It's time to deliver a victory for the American people.

But to do that, we must break free from the petty politics of the past.

America is a nation of believers, dreamers, and strivers that is being led by a group of censors, critics and cynics.

Remember: All of the people telling you that you can't have the country you want are the same people telling you that I wouldn't be standing here tonight.

No longer can we rely on those same people in the media, and politics, who will say anything to keep a rigged system in place.

Instead, we must choose to believe in America.

History is watching us now. It's waiting to see if we will rise to the occasion, and if we will show the whole world that America is still free and independent and strong.

I'm asking for your support tonight so that I can be your champion in the White House.

My opponent asks her supporters to recite a three-word loyalty pledge. It reads: "I'm With Her."

I choose to recite a different pledge.

My pledge reads: "I'm With You — the American People."

I am your voice.

So to every parent who dreams for their child, and every child who dreams for their future, I say these words to you tonight:

I'm with you, I will fight for you, and I will win for you.

To all Americans tonight, in all of our cities and in all of our towns, I make this promise:

We will make America strong again.

We will make America proud again.

We will make America safe again.

And we will make America great again.

God bless you and good night.

2. "Here's the full text of Donald Trump's victory speech." (2016, November 9). CNN Politics. Retrieved June 12, 2019, from

https://edition.cnn.com/2016/11/09/politics/donald-trump-victory-speech/index.html.

Speech ID: VS

Thank you. Thank you very much, everybody. Sorry to keep you waiting. Complicated business. Complicated. Thank you very much.

I've just received a call from Secretary Clinton. She congratulated us. It's about us. On our victory, and I congratulated her and her family on a very, very hard-fought campaign.

I mean, she fought very hard. Hillary has worked very long and very hard over a long period of time, and we owe her a major debt of gratitude for her service to our country.

I mean that very sincerely. Now it is time for America to bind the wounds of division, have to get together. To all Republicans and Democrats and independents across this nation, I say it is time for us to come together as one united people.

It is time. I pledge to every citizen of our land that I will be President for all of Americans, and this is so important to me. For those who have chosen not to support me in the past, of which there were a few people, I'm reaching out to you for your guidance and your help so that we can work together and unify our great country. As I've said from the beginning, ours was not a campaign but rather an incredible and great movement, made up of millions of hard-working men and women who love their country and want a better, brighter future for themselves and for their family.

It is a movement comprised of Americans from all races, religions, backgrounds, and beliefs, who want and expect our government to serve the people -- and serve the people it will.

Working together, we will begin the urgent task of rebuilding our nation and renewing the American dream. I've spent my entire life in business, looking at the untapped potential in projects and in people all over the world. That is now what I want to do for our country. Tremendous potential. I've gotten to know our country so well. Tremendous potential. It is going to be a beautiful thing. Every single American will have the opportunity to realize his or her fullest potential.

The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.

We are going to fix our inner cities and rebuild our highways, bridges, tunnels, airports, schools, hospitals. We're going to rebuild our infrastructure, which will become, by the way, second to none. And we will put millions of our people to work as we rebuild it.

We will also finally take care of our great veterans who have been so loyal, and I've gotten to know so many over this 18-month journey. The time I've spent with them during this campaign has been among my greatest honors. Our veterans are incredible people.

We will embark upon a project of national growth and renewal. I will harness the creative talents of our people, and we will call upon the best and brightest to leverage their tremendous talent for the benefit of all. It is going to happen.

We have a great economic plan. We will double our growth and have the strongest economy anywhere in the world. At the same time, we will get along with all other nations willing to get along with us. We will be. We will have great relationships. We expect to have great, great relationships.

No dream is too big, no challenge is too great. Nothing we want for our future is beyond our reach.

America will no longer settle for anything less than the best. We must reclaim our country's destiny and dream big and bold and daring. We have to do that. We're going to dream of things for our country, and beautiful things and successful things once again.

I want to tell the world community that while we will always put America's interests first, we will deal fairly with everyone, with everyone. All people and all other nations.

We will seek common ground, not hostility; partnership, not conflict.

And now I would like to take this moment to thank some of the people who really helped me with this, what they are calling tonight a very, very historic victory.

First, I want to thank my parents, who I know are looking down on me right now. Great people. I've learned so much from them. They were wonderful in every regard. Truly great parents.

I also want to thank my sisters, Marianne and Elizabeth, who are here with us tonight. Where are they? They're here someplace. They're very shy, actually.

And my brother Robert, my great friend. Where is Robert? Where is Robert?

My brother Robert, and they should be on this stage, but that's okay. They're great.

And also my late brother Fred, great guy. Fantastic guy. Fantastic family. I was very lucky.

Great brothers, sisters, great, unbelievable parents.

To Melania and Don and Ivanka and Eric and Tiffany and Barron, I love you and I thank you, and especially for putting up with all of those hours. This was tough.

This was tough. This political stuff is nasty, and it is tough.

So I want to thank my family very much. Really fantastic. Thank you all. Thank you all. Lara, unbelievable job. Unbelievable. Vanessa, thank you. Thank you very much. What a great group.

You've all given me such incredible support, and I will tell you that we have a large group of people. You know, they kept saying we have a small staff. Not so small. Look at all of the people that we have. Look at all of these people.

And Kellyanne and Chris and Rudy and Steve and David. We have got tremendously talented people up here, and I want to tell you it's been very, very special.

I want to give a very special thanks to our former mayor, Rudy Giuliani. He's unbelievable. Unbelievable. He traveled with us and he went through meetings, and Rudy never changes. Where is Rudy. Where is he? Gov. Chris Christie, folks, was unbelievable. Thank you, Chris. The first man, first senator, first major, major politician. Let me tell you, he is highly respected in Washington because he is as smart as you get.

Sen. Jeff Sessions. Where is Jeff? A great man. Another great man, very tough competitor. He was not easy. He was not easy. Who is that? Is that the mayor that showed up? Is that Rudy?

Up here. Really a friend to me, but I'll tell you, I got to know him as a competitor because he was one of the folks that was negotiating to go against those Democrats, Dr. Ben Carson. Where's Ben? Where is Ben? By the way, Mike Huckabee is here someplace, and he is fantastic. Mike and his family Sarah, thank you very much. Gen. Mike Flynn. Where is Mike? And Gen. Kellogg. We have over 200 generals and admirals that have endorsed our campaign and they are special people.

We have 22 Congressional Medal of Honor people. A very special person who, believe me, I read reports that I wasn't getting along with him. I never had a bad second with him. He's an unbelievable star. He is ... that's right, how did you possibly guess? Let me tell you about Reince. I've said Reince. I know it. I know it. Look at all of those people over there. I know it, Reince is a superstar. I said, they can't call you a superstar, Reince, unless we win it. Like Secretariat. He would not have that bust at the track at Belmont.

Reince is really a star and he is the hardest-working guy, and in a certain way I did this. Reince, come up here. Get over here, Reince.

Boy, oh, boy, oh, boy. It's about time you did this right. My god. Nah, come here. Say something.

Amazing guy. Our partnership with the RNC was so important to the success and what we've done, so I also have to say, I've gotten to know some incredible people.

The Secret Service people. They're tough and they're smart and they're sharp and I don't want to mess around with them, I can tell you. And when I want to go and wave to a big group of people and they rip me down and put me back down in the seat, but they are fantastic people so I want to thank the Secret Service.

And law enforcement in New York City, they're here tonight. These are spectacular people, sometimes underappreciated unfortunately. We appreciate them.

So it's been what they call a historic event, but to be really historic, we have to do a great job, and I promise you that I will not let you down. We will do a great job. We will do a great job. I look very much forward to being your president, and hopefully at the end of two years or three years or four years or maybe even eight years you will say so many of you worked so hard for us, with you. You will say that -- you will say that that was something that you were -- really were very proud to do and I can — thank you very much.

And I can only say that while the campaign is over, our work on this movement is now really just beginning. We're going to get to work immediately for the American people, and we're going to be doing a job that hopefully you will be so proud of your President. You will be so proud. Again, it's my honor.

It's an amazing evening. It's been an amazing two-year period, and I love this country. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you to Mike Pence.

3. US, The White House. (2017, January 20). *The Inaugural Address*. Retrieved June 12, 2019, from https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/the-inaugural-address/

Speech ID: IA

As Prepared for Delivery -

Chief Justice Roberts, President Carter, President Clinton, President Bush, President Obama, fellow Americans, and people of the world: thank you.

We, the citizens of America, are now joined in a great national effort to rebuild our country and to restore its promise for all of our people.

Together, we will determine the course of America and the world for years to come.

We will face challenges. We will confront hardships. But we will get the job done.

Every four years, we gather on these steps to carry out the orderly and peaceful transfer of power, and we are grateful to President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama for their gracious aid throughout this transition. They have been magnificent.

Today's ceremony, however, has very special meaning. Because today we are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another, or from one party to another – but we are transferring power from Washington, D.C. and giving it back to you, the American People.

For too long, a small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government while the people have borne the cost.

Washington flourished – but the people did not share in its wealth.

Politicians prospered – but the jobs left, and the factories closed.

The establishment protected itself, but not the citizens of our country.

Their victories have not been your victories; their triumphs have not been your triumphs; and while they celebrated in our nation's Capital, there was little to celebrate for struggling families all across our land.

That all changes – starting right here, and right now, because this moment is your moment: it belongs to you.

It belongs to everyone gathered here today and everyone watching all across America.

This is your day. This is your celebration.

And this, the United States of America, is your country.

What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people.

January 20th 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again.

The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.

Everyone is listening to you now.

You came by the tens of millions to become part of a historic movement the likes of which the world has never seen before.

At the center of this movement is a crucial conviction: that a nation exists to serve its citizens.

Americans want great schools for their children, safe neighborhoods for their families, and good jobs for themselves.

These are the just and reasonable demands of a righteous public.

But for too many of our citizens, a different reality exists: Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities; rusted-out factories scattered like tombstones across the landscape of our nation; an education system, flush with cash, but which leaves our young and beautiful students deprived of knowledge; and the crime and gangs and drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country of so much unrealized potential.

This American carnage stops right here and stops right now.

We are one nation – and their pain is our pain. Their dreams are our dreams; and their success will be our success. We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny.

The oath of office I take today is an oath of allegiance to all Americans.

For many decades, we've enriched foreign industry at the expense of American industry;

Subsidized the armies of other countries while allowing for the very sad depletion of our military;

We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own;

And spent trillions of dollars overseas while America's infrastructure has fallen into disrepair and decay.

We've made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has disappeared over the horizon.

One by one, the factories shuttered and left our shores, with not even a thought about the millions upon millions of American workers left behind.

The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes and then redistributed across the entire world.

But that is the past. And now we are looking only to the future.

We assembled here today are issuing a new decree to be heard in every city, in every foreign capital, and in every hall of power.

From this day forward, a new vision will govern our land.

From this moment on, it's going to be America First.

Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families.

We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries making our products, stealing our companies, and destroying our jobs. Protection will lead to great prosperity and strength.

I will fight for you with every breath in my body – and I will never, ever let you down.

America will start winning again, winning like never before.

We will bring back our jobs. We will bring back our borders. We will bring back our wealth. And we will bring back our dreams.

We will build new roads, and highways, and bridges, and airports, and tunnels, and railways all across our wonderful nation.

We will get our people off of welfare and back to work – rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.

We will follow two simple rules: Buy American and Hire American.

We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world – but we do so with the understanding that it is the right of all nations to put their own interests first.

We do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to follow.

We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones – and unite the civilized world against Radical Islamic Terrorism, which we will eradicate completely from the face of the Earth.

At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other.

When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice.

The Bible tells us, "how good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity."

We must speak our minds openly, debate our disagreements honestly, but always pursue solidarity.

When America is united, America is totally unstoppable.

There should be no fear – we are protected, and we will always be protected.

We will be protected by the great men and women of our military and law enforcement and, most importantly, we are protected by God.

Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger.

In America, we understand that a nation is only living as long as it is striving.

We will no longer accept politicians who are all talk and no action – constantly complaining but never doing anything about it.

The time for empty talk is over.

Now arrives the hour of action.

Do not let anyone tell you it cannot be done. No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America.

We will not fail. Our country will thrive and prosper again.

We stand at the birth of a new millennium, ready to unlock the mysteries of space, to free the Earth from the miseries of disease, and to harness the energies, industries and technologies of tomorrow.

A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions.

It is time to remember that old wisdom our soldiers will never forget: that whether we are black or brown or white, we all bleed the same red blood of patriots, we all enjoy the same glorious freedoms, and we all salute the same great American Flag.

And whether a child is born in the urban sprawl of Detroit or the windswept plains of Nebraska, they look up at the same night sky, they fill their heart with the same dreams, and they are infused with the breath of life by the same almighty Creator.

So to all Americans, in every city near and far, small and large, from mountain to mountain, and from ocean to ocean, hear these words:

You will never be ignored again.

Your voice, your hopes, and your dreams, will define our American destiny. And your courage and goodness and love will forever guide us along the way.

Together, We Will Make America Strong Again.

We Will Make America Wealthy Again.

We Will Make America Proud Again.

We Will Make America Safe Again.

And, Yes, Together, We Will Make America Great Again. Thank you, God Bless You, And God Bless America.

4. "Full text: Trump's 2017 U.N. speech transcript". (2017, September 19). *Politico*. Retrieved June 12, 2019, from https://www.politico.com/story/2017/09/19/trump-un-speech-2017-full-text-transcript-242879.

Speech ID: UN

Mr. Secretary General, Mr. President, world leaders, and distinguished delegates: Welcome to New York. It is a profound honor to stand here in my home city, as a representative of the American people, to address the people of the world.

As millions of our citizens continue to suffer the effects of the devastating hurricanes that have struck our country, I want to begin by expressing my appreciation to every leader in this room who has offered assistance and aid. The American people are strong and resilient, and they will emerge from these hardships more determined than ever before.

Fortunately, the United States has done very well since Election Day last November 8th. The stock market is at an all-time high -- a record. Unemployment is at its lowest level in 16 years, and because of our regulatory and other reforms, we have more people working in the United States today than ever before. Companies are moving back, creating job growth the likes of which our country has not seen in a very long time. And it has just been announced that we will be spending almost \$700 billion on our military and defense.

Our military will soon be the strongest it has ever been. For more than 70 years, in times of war and peace, the leaders of nations, movements, and religions have stood before this assembly. Like them, I intend to address some of the very serious threats before us today but also the enormous potential waiting to be unleashed.

We live in a time of extraordinary opportunity. Breakthroughs in science, technology, and medicine are curing illnesses and solving problems that prior generations thought impossible to solve.

But each day also brings news of growing dangers that threaten everything we cherish and value. Terrorists and extremists have gathered strength and spread to every region of the planet. Rogue regimes represented in this body not only support terrorists but threaten other nations and their own people with the most destructive weapons known to humanity.

Authority and authoritarian powers seek to collapse the values, the systems, and alliances that prevented conflict and tilted the world toward freedom since World War II.

International criminal networks traffic drugs, weapons, people; force dislocation and mass migration; threaten our borders; and new forms of aggression exploit technology to menace our citizens.

To put it simply, we meet at a time of both of immense promise and great peril. It is entirely up to us whether we lift the world to new heights, or let it fall into a valley of disrepair.

We have it in our power, should we so choose, to lift millions from poverty, to help our citizens realize their dreams, and to ensure that new generations of children are raised free from violence, hatred, and fear.

This institution was founded in the aftermath of two world wars to help shape this better future. It was based on the vision that diverse nations could cooperate to protect their sovereignty, preserve their security, and promote their prosperity.

It was in the same period, exactly 70 years ago, that the United States developed the Marshall Plan to help restore Europe. Those three beautiful pillars -- they're pillars of peace, sovereignty, security, and prosperity.

The Marshall Plan was built on the noble idea that the whole world is safer when nations are strong, independent, and free. As President Truman said in his message to Congress at that time, "Our support of European recovery is in full accord with our support of the United Nations. The success of the United Nations depends upon the independent strength of its members."

To overcome the perils of the present and to achieve the promise of the future, we must begin with the wisdom of the past. Our success depends on a coalition of strong and independent nations that embrace their sovereignty to promote security, prosperity, and peace for themselves and for the world.

We do not expect diverse countries to share the same cultures, traditions, or even systems of government. But we do expect all nations to uphold these two core sovereign duties: to respect the interests of their own people and the rights of every other sovereign nation. This is the beautiful vision of this institution, and this is foundation for cooperation and success.

Strong, sovereign nations let diverse countries with different values, different cultures, and different dreams not just coexist, but work side by side on the basis of mutual respect.

Strong, sovereign nations let their people take ownership of the future and control their own destiny. And strong, sovereign nations allow individuals to flourish in the fullness of the life intended by God.

In America, we do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to watch. This week gives our country a special reason to take pride in that example. We are celebrating the 230th anniversary of our beloved Constitution -- the oldest constitution still in use in the world today.

This timeless document has been the foundation of peace, prosperity, and freedom for the Americans and for countless millions around the globe whose own countries have found inspiration in its respect for human nature, human dignity, and the rule of law.

The greatest in the United States Constitution is its first three beautiful words. They are: "We the people."

Generations of Americans have sacrificed to maintain the promise of those words, the promise of our country, and of our great history. In America, the people govern, the people rule, and the people are sovereign. I was elected not to take power, but to give power to the American people, where it belongs.

In foreign affairs, we are renewing this founding principle of sovereignty. Our government's first duty is to its people, to our citizens -- to serve their needs, to ensure their safety, to preserve their rights, and to defend their values.

As President of the United States, I will always put America first, just like you, as the leaders of your countries will always, and should always, put your countries first. (Applause.)

All responsible leaders have an obligation to serve their own citizens, and the nation-state remains the best vehicle for elevating the human condition.

But making a better life for our people also requires us to work together in close harmony and unity to create a more safe and peaceful future for all people.

The United States will forever be a great friend to the world, and especially to its allies. But we can no longer be taken advantage of, or enter into a one-sided deal where the United States gets nothing in return. As long as I hold this office, I will defend America's interests above all else.

But in fulfilling our obligations to our own nations, we also realize that it's in everyone's interest to seek a future

where all nations can be sovereign, prosperous, and secure.

America does more than speak for the values expressed in the United Nations Charter. Our citizens have paid the ultimate price to defend our freedom and the freedom of many nations represented in this great hall. America's devotion is measured on the battlefields where our young men and women have fought and sacrificed alongside of our allies, from the beaches of Europe to the deserts of the Middle East to the jungles of Asia.

It is an eternal credit to the American character that even after we and our allies emerged victorious from the bloodiest war in history, we did not seek territorial expansion, or attempt to oppose and impose our way of life on others. Instead, we helped build institutions such as this one to defend the sovereignty, security, and prosperity for all.

For the diverse nations of the world, this is our hope. We want harmony and friendship, not conflict and strife. We are guided by outcomes, not ideology. We have a policy of principled realism, rooted in shared goals, interests, and values.

That realism forces us to confront a question facing every leader and nation in this room. It is a question we cannot escape or avoid. We will slide down the path of complacency, numb to the challenges, threats, and even wars that we face. Or do we have enough strength and pride to confront those dangers today, so that our citizens can enjoy peace and prosperity tomorrow?

If we desire to lift up our citizens, if we aspire to the approval of history, then we must fulfill our sovereign duties to the people we faithfully represent. We must protect our nations, their interests, and their futures. We must reject threats to sovereignty, from the Ukraine to the South China Sea. We must uphold respect for law, respect for borders, and respect for culture, and the peaceful engagement these allow. And just as the founders of this body intended, we must work together and confront together those who threaten us with chaos, turmoil, and terror.

The scourge of our planet today is a small group of rogue regimes that violate every principle on which the United Nations is based. They respect neither their own citizens nor the sovereign rights of their countries.

If the righteous many do not confront the wicked few, then evil will triumph. When decent people and nations become bystanders to history, the forces of destruction only gather power and strength.

No one has shown more contempt for other nations and for the wellbeing of their own people than the depraved regime in North Korea. It is responsible for the starvation deaths of millions of North Koreans, and for the imprisonment, torture, killing, and oppression of countless more.

We were all witness to the regime's deadly abuse when an innocent American college student, Otto Warmbier, was returned to America only to die a few days later. We saw it in the assassination of the dictator's brother using banned nerve agents in an international airport. We know it kidnapped a sweet 13-year-old Japanese girl from a beach in her own country to enslave her as a language tutor for North Korea's spies.

If this is not twisted enough, now North Korea's reckless pursuit of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles threatens the entire world with unthinkable loss of human life.

It is an outrage that some nations would not only trade with such a regime, but would arm, supply, and financially support a country that imperils the world with nuclear conflict. No nation on earth has an interest in seeing this band of criminals arm itself with nuclear weapons and missiles.

The United States has great strength and patience, but if it is forced to defend itself or its allies, we will have no choice but to totally destroy North Korea. Rocket Man is on a suicide mission for himself and for his regime. The United States is ready, willing and able, but hopefully this will not be necessary. That's what the United Nations is all about; that's what the United Nations is for. Let's see how they do.

It is time for North Korea to realize that the denuclearization is its only acceptable future. The United Nations Security Council recently held two unanimous 15-0 votes adopting hard-hitting resolutions against North Korea, and I want to thank China and Russia for joining the vote to impose sanctions, along with all of the other members of the Security Council. Thank you to all involved.

But we must do much more. It is time for all nations to work together to isolate the Kim regime until it ceases its hostile behavior.

We face this decision not only in North Korea. It is far past time for the nations of the world to confront another reckless regime -- one that speaks openly of mass murder, vowing death to America, destruction to Israel, and ruin for many leaders and nations in this room.

The Iranian government masks a corrupt dictatorship behind the false guise of a democracy. It has turned a wealthy country with a rich history and culture into an economically depleted rogue state whose chief exports are violence, bloodshed, and chaos. The longest-suffering victims of Iran's leaders are, in fact, its own people.

Rather than use its resources to improve Iranian lives, its oil profits go to fund Hezbollah and other terrorists that kill innocent Muslims and attack their peaceful Arab and Israeli neighbors. This wealth, which rightly belongs to Iran's people, also goes to shore up Bashar al-Assad's dictatorship, fuel Yemen's civil war, and undermine peace throughout the entire Middle East.

We cannot let a murderous regime continue these destabilizing activities while building dangerous missiles, and we cannot abide by an agreement if it provides cover for the eventual construction of a nuclear program. (Applause.) The Iran Deal was one of the worst and most one-sided transactions the United States has ever entered into. Frankly, that deal is an embarrassment to the United States, and I don't think you've heard the last of it -- believe me.

It is time for the entire world to join us in demanding that Iran's government end its pursuit of death and destruction. It is time for the regime to free all Americans and citizens of other nations that they have unjustly detained. And above all, Iran's government must stop supporting terrorists, begin serving its own people, and respect the sovereign rights of its neighbors.

The entire world understands that the good people of Iran want change, and, other than the vast military power of the United States, that Iran's people are what their leaders fear the most. This is what causes the regime to restrict Internet access, tear down satellite dishes, shoot unarmed student protestors, and imprison political reformers.

Oppressive regimes cannot endure forever, and the day will come when the Iranian people will face a choice. Will they continue down the path of poverty, bloodshed, and terror? Or will the Iranian people return to the nation's proud roots as a center of civilization, culture, and wealth where their people can be happy and prosperous once again?

The Iranian regime's support for terror is in stark contrast to the recent commitments of many of its neighbors to fight terrorism and halt its financing.

In Saudi Arabia early last year, I was greatly honored to address the leaders of more than 50 Arab and Muslim nations. We agreed that all responsible nations must work together to confront terrorists and the Islamist extremism that inspires them.

We will stop radical Islamic terrorism because we cannot allow it to tear up our nation, and indeed to tear up the entire world.

We must deny the terrorists safe haven, transit, funding, and any form of support for their vile and sinister ideology. We must drive them out of our nations. It is time to expose and hold responsible those countries who support and finance terror groups like al Qaeda, Hezbollah, the Taliban and others that slaughter innocent people.

The United States and our allies are working together throughout the Middle East to crush the loser terrorists and stop the reemergence of safe havens they use to launch attacks on all of our people.

Last month, I announced a new strategy for victory in the fight against this evil in Afghanistan. From now on, our security interests will dictate the length and scope of military operations, not arbitrary benchmarks and timetables set up by politicians.

I have also totally changed the rules of engagement in our fight against the Taliban and other terrorist groups. In Syria and Iraq, we have made big gains toward lasting defeat of ISIS. In fact, our country has achieved more against ISIS in the last eight months than it has in many, many years combined.

We seek the de-escalation of the Syrian conflict, and a political solution that honors the will of the Syrian people. The actions of the criminal regime of Bashar al-Assad, including the use of chemical weapons against his own citizens -- even innocent children -- shock the conscience of every decent person. No society can be safe if banned chemical weapons are allowed to spread. That is why the United States carried out a missile strike on the airbase that launched the attack.

We appreciate the efforts of United Nations agencies that are providing vital humanitarian assistance in areas liberated from ISIS, and we especially thank Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon for their role in hosting refugees from the Syrian conflict.

The United States is a compassionate nation and has spent billions and billions of dollars in helping to support this effort. We seek an approach to refugee resettlement that is designed to help these horribly treated people, and which enables their eventual return to their home countries, to be part of the rebuilding process.

For the cost of resettling one refugee in the United States, we can assist more than 10 in their home region. Out of the goodness of our hearts, we offer financial assistance to hosting countries in the region, and we support recent agreements of the G20 nations that will seek to host refugees as close to their home countries as possible. This is the safe, responsible, and humanitarian approach.

For decades, the United States has dealt with migration challenges here in the Western Hemisphere. We have learned that, over the long term, uncontrolled migration is deeply unfair to both the sending and the receiving countries.

For the sending countries, it reduces domestic pressure to pursue needed political and economic reform, and drains them of the human capital necessary to motivate and implement those reforms.

For the receiving countries, the substantial costs of uncontrolled migration are borne overwhelmingly by low-income citizens whose concerns are often ignored by both media and government.

I want to salute the work of the United Nations in seeking to address the problems that cause people to flee from their homes. The United Nations and African Union led peacekeeping missions to have invaluable contributions in stabilizing conflicts in Africa. The United States continues to lead the world in humanitarian assistance, including famine prevention and relief in South Sudan, Somalia, and northern Nigeria and Yemen.

We have invested in better health and opportunity all over the world through programs like PEPFAR, which funds AIDS relief; the President's Malaria Initiative; the Global Health Security Agenda; the Global Fund to End Modern Slavery; and the Women Entrepreneurs Finance Initiative, part of our commitment to empowering women all across the globe.

We also thank -- (applause) -- we also thank the Secretary General for recognizing that the United Nations must reform if it is to be an effective partner in confronting threats to sovereignty, security, and prosperity. Too often the focus of this organization has not been on results, but on bureaucracy and process.

In some cases, states that seek to subvert this institution's noble aims have hijacked the very systems that are supposed to advance them. For example, it is a massive source of embarrassment to the United Nations that some governments with egregious human rights records sit on the U.N. Human Rights Council.

The United States is one out of 193 countries in the United Nations, and yet we pay 22 percent of the entire budget and more. In fact, we pay far more than anybody realizes. The United States bears an unfair cost burden, but, to be fair, if it could actually accomplish all of its stated goals, especially the goal of peace, this investment would easily be well worth it.

Major portions of the world are in conflict and some, in fact, are going to hell. But the powerful people in this room, under the guidance and auspices of the United Nations, can solve many of these vicious and complex problems.

The American people hope that one day soon the United Nations can be a much more accountable and effective advocate for human dignity and freedom around the world. In the meantime, we believe that no nation should have to bear a disproportionate share of the burden, militarily or financially. Nations of the world must take a

greater role in promoting secure and prosperous societies in their own regions.

That is why in the Western Hemisphere, the United States has stood against the corrupt and destabilizing regime in Cuba and embraced the enduring dream of the Cuban people to live in freedom. My administration recently announced that we will not lift sanctions on the Cuban government until it makes fundamental reforms.

We have also imposed tough, calibrated sanctions on the socialist Maduro regime in Venezuela, which has brought a once thriving nation to the brink of total collapse.

The socialist dictatorship of Nicolas Maduro has inflicted terrible pain and suffering on the good people of that country. This corrupt regime destroyed a prosperous nation by imposing a failed ideology that has produced poverty and misery everywhere it has been tried. To make matters worse, Maduro has defied his own people, stealing power from their elected representatives to preserve his disastrous rule.

The Venezuelan people are starving and their country is collapsing. Their democratic institutions are being destroyed. This situation is completely unacceptable and we cannot stand by and watch.

As a responsible neighbor and friend, we and all others have a goal. That goal is to help them regain their freedom, recover their country, and restore their democracy. I would like to thank leaders in this room for condemning the regime and providing vital support to the Venezuelan people.

The United States has taken important steps to hold the regime accountable. We are prepared to take further action if the government of Venezuela persists on its path to impose authoritarian rule on the Venezuelan people.

We are fortunate to have incredibly strong and healthy trade relationships with many of the Latin American countries gathered here today. Our economic bond forms a critical foundation for advancing peace and prosperity for all of our people and all of our neighbors.

I ask every country represented here today to be prepared to do more to address this very real crisis. We call for the full restoration of democracy and political freedoms in Venezuela. (Applause.)

The problem in Venezuela is not that socialism has been poorly implemented, but that socialism has been faithfully implemented. (Applause.) From the Soviet Union to Cuba to Venezuela, wherever true socialism or communism has been adopted, it has delivered anguish and devastation and failure. Those who preach the tenets of these discredited ideologies only contribute to the continued suffering of the people who live under these cruel systems.

America stands with every person living under a brutal regime. Our respect for sovereignty is also a call for action. All people deserve a government that cares for their safety, their interests, and their wellbeing, including their prosperity.

In America, we seek stronger ties of business and trade with all nations of good will, but this trade must be fair and it must be reciprocal.

For too long, the American people were told that mammoth multinational trade deals, unaccountable international tribunals, and powerful global bureaucracies were the best way to promote their success. But as those promises flowed, millions of jobs vanished and thousands of factories disappeared. Others gamed the system and broke the rules. And our great middle class, once the bedrock of American prosperity, was forgotten and left behind, but they are forgotten no more and they will never be forgotten again.

While America will pursue cooperation and commerce with other nations, we are renewing our commitment to the first duty of every government: the duty of our citizens. This bond is the source of America's strength and that of every responsible nation represented here today.

If this organization is to have any hope of successfully confronting the challenges before us, it will depend, as President Truman said some 70 years ago, on the "independent strength of its members." If we are to embrace the opportunities of the future and overcome the present dangers together, there can be no substitute for strong, sovereign, and independent nations -- nations that are rooted in their histories and invested in their destinies; nations that seek allies to befriend, not enemies to conquer; and most important of all, nations that are home to patriots, to men and women who are willing to sacrifice for their countries, their fellow citizens, and for all that

is best in the human spirit.

In remembering the great victory that led to this body's founding, we must never forget that those heroes who fought against evil also fought for the nations that they loved.

Patriotism led the Poles to die to save Poland, the French to fight for a free France, and the Brits to stand strong for Britain.

Today, if we do not invest ourselves, our hearts, and our minds in our nations, if we will not build strong families, safe communities, and healthy societies for ourselves, no one can do it for us.

We cannot wait for someone else, for faraway countries or far-off bureaucrats -- we can't do it. We must solve our problems, to build our prosperity, to secure our futures, or we will be vulnerable to decay, domination, and defeat.

The true question for the United Nations today, for people all over the world who hope for better lives for themselves and their children, is a basic one: Are we still patriots? Do we love our nations enough to protect their sovereignty and to take ownership of their futures? Do we revere them enough to defend their interests, preserve their cultures, and ensure a peaceful world for their citizens?

One of the greatest American patriots, John Adams, wrote that the American Revolution was "effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people."

That was the moment when America awoke, when we looked around and understood that we were a nation. We realized who we were, what we valued, and what we would give our lives to defend. From its very first moments, the American story is the story of what is possible when people take ownership of their future.

The United States of America has been among the greatest forces for good in the history of the world, and the greatest defenders of sovereignty, security, and prosperity for all.

Now we are calling for a great reawakening of nations, for the revival of their spirits, their pride, their people, and their patriotism.

History is asking us whether we are up to the task. Our answer will be a renewal of will, a rediscovery of resolve, and a rebirth of devotion. We need to defeat the enemies of humanity and unlock the potential of life itself.

Our hope is a word and world of proud, independent nations that embrace their duties, seek friendship, respect others, and make common cause in the greatest shared interest of all: a future of dignity and peace for the people of this wonderful Earth.

This is the true vision of the United Nations, the ancient wish of every people, and the deepest yearning that lives inside every sacred soul.

So let this be our mission, and let this be our message to the world: We will fight together, sacrifice together, and stand together for peace, for freedom, for justice, for family, for humanity, and for the almighty God who made us all.

Thank you. God bless you. God bless the nations of the world. And God bless the United States of America. Thank you very much.

5. "State of the Union 2019: Read the full transcript". (2019, February 6). *CNN Politics*. Retrieved June 12, 2019, from https://edition.cnn.com/2019/02/05/politics/donald-trump-state-of-the-union-2019-transcript/index.html.

Speech ID: SU

Madam Speaker, Mr. Vice President, Members of Congress, the First Lady of the United States, and my fellow Americans:

We meet tonight at a moment of unlimited potential. As we begin a new Congress, I stand here ready to work with you to achieve historic breakthroughs for all Americans.

Millions of our fellow citizens are watching us now, gathered in this great chamber, hoping that we will govern not as two parties but as one Nation.

The agenda I will lay out this evening is not a Republican agenda or a Democrat agenda. It is the agenda of the American people.

Many of us campaigned on the same core promises: to defend American jobs and demand fair trade for American workers; to rebuild and revitalize our Nation's infrastructure; to reduce the price of healthcare and prescription drugs; to create an immigration system that is safe, lawful, modern and secure; and to pursue a foreign policy that puts America's interests first.

There is a new opportunity in American politics, if only we have the courage to seize it. Victory is not winning for our party. Victory is winning for our country.

This year, America will recognize two important anniversaries that show us the majesty of America's mission, and the power of American pride.

In June, we mark 75 years since the start of what General Dwight D. Eisenhower called the Great Crusade -- the Allied liberation of Europe in World War II. On D-Day, June 6, 1944, 15,000 young American men jumped from the sky, and 60,000 more stormed in from the sea, to save our civilization from tyranny. Here with us tonight are three of those heroes: Private First Class Joseph Reilly, Staff Sergeant Irving Locker, and Sergeant Herman Zeitchik. Gentlemen, we salute you.

In 2019, we also celebrate 50 years since brave young pilots flew a quarter of a million miles through space to plant the American flag on the face of the moon. Half a century later, we are joined by one of the Apollo 11 astronauts who planted that flag: Buzz Aldrin. This year, American astronauts will go back to space on American rockets.

In the 20th century, America saved freedom, transformed science, and redefined the middle class standard of living for the entire world to see. Now, we must step boldly and bravely into the next chapter of this great American adventure, and we must create a new standard of living for the 21st century. An amazing quality of life for all of our citizens is within our reach.

We can make our communities safer, our families stronger, our culture richer, our faith deeper, and our middle class bigger and more prosperous than ever before.

But we must reject the politics of revenge, resistance, and retribution -- and embrace the boundless potential of cooperation, compromise, and the common good.

Together, we can break decades of political stalemate. We can bridge old divisions, heal old wounds, build new coalitions, forge new solutions, and unlock the extraordinary promise of America's future. The decision is ours to make

We must choose between greatness or gridlock, results or resistance, vision or vengeance, incredible progress or pointless destruction.

Tonight, I ask you to choose greatness.

Over the last 2 years, my Administration has moved with urgency and historic speed to confront problems neglected by leaders of both parties over many decades.

In just over 2 years since the election, we have launched an unprecedented economic boom -- a boom that has rarely been seen before. We have created 5.3 million new jobs and importantly added 600,000 new manufacturing jobs -- something which almost everyone said was impossible to do, but the fact is, we are just getting started.

Wages are rising at the fastest pace in decades, and growing for blue collar workers, who I promised to fight for, faster than anyone else. Nearly 5 million Americans have been lifted off food stamps. The United States economy is growing almost twice as fast today as when I took office, and we are considered far and away the hottest economy anywhere in the world. Unemployment has reached the lowest rate in half a century. African-American, Hispanic-American and Asian-American unemployment have all reached their lowest levels ever recorded. Unemployment for Americans with disabilities has also reached an all-time low. More people are

working now than at any time in our history --- 157 million.

We passed a massive tax cut for working families and doubled the child tax credit.

We virtually ended the estate, or death, tax on small businesses, ranches, and family farms.

We eliminated the very unpopular Obamacare individual mandate penalty -- and to give critically ill patients access to life-saving cures, we passed right to try.

My Administration has cut more regulations in a short time than any other administration during its entire tenure. Companies are coming back to our country in large numbers thanks to historic reductions in taxes and regulations.

We have unleashed a revolution in American energy -- the United States is now the number one producer of oil and natural gas in the world. And now, for the first time in 65 years, we are a net exporter of energy.

After 24 months of rapid progress, our economy is the envy of the world, our military is the most powerful on earth, and America is winning each and every day. Members of Congress: the State of our Union is strong. Our country is vibrant and our economy is thriving like never before.

On Friday, it was announced that we added another 304,000 jobs last month alone -- almost double what was expected. An economic miracle is taking place in the United States -- and the only thing that can stop it are foolish wars, politics, or ridiculous partisan investigations.

If there is going to be peace and legislation, there cannot be war and investigation. It just doesn't work that way! We must be united at home to defeat our adversaries abroad.

This new era of cooperation can start with finally confirming the more than 300 highly qualified nominees who are still stuck in the Senate -- some after years of waiting. The Senate has failed to act on these nominations, which is unfair to the nominees and to our country.

Now is the time for bipartisan action. Believe it or not, we have already proven that it is possible.

In the last Congress, both parties came together to pass unprecedented legislation to confront the opioid crisis, a sweeping new Farm Bill, historic VA reforms, and after four decades of rejection, we passed VA Accountability so we can finally terminate those who mistreat our wonderful veterans.

And just weeks ago, both parties united for groundbreaking criminal justice reform. Last year, I heard through friends the story of Alice Johnson. I was deeply moved. In 1997, Alice was sentenced to life in prison as a first-time non-violent drug offender. Over the next two decades, she became a prison minister, inspiring others to choose a better path. She had a big impact on that prison population -- and far beyond.

Alice's story underscores the disparities and unfairness that can exist in criminal sentencing -- and the need to remedy this injustice. She served almost 22 years and had expected to be in prison for the rest of her life.

In June 1 commuted Alice's sentence -- and she is here with us tonight. Alice thank you for reminding us that

In June, I commuted Alice's sentence -- and she is here with us tonight. Alice, thank you for reminding us that we always have the power to shape our own destiny.

When I saw Alice's beautiful family greet her at the prison gates, hugging and kissing and crying and laughing, I knew I did the right thing.

Inspired by stories like Alice's, my Administration worked closely with members of both parties to sign the First Step Act into law. This legislation reformed sentencing laws that have wrongly and disproportionately harmed the African-American community. The First Step Act gives non-violent offenders the chance to re-enter society as productive, law-abiding citizens. Now, States across the country are following our lead. America is a Nation that believes in redemption.

We are also joined tonight by Matthew Charles from Tennessee. In 1996, at age 30, Matthew was sentenced to 35 years for selling drugs and related offenses. Over the next two decades, he completed more than 30 Bible studies, became a law clerk, and mentored fellow inmates. Now, Matthew is the very first person to be released from prison under the First Step Act. Matthew, on behalf of all Americans: welcome home.

As we have seen, when we are united, we can make astonishing strides for our country. Now, Republicans and Democrats must join forces again to confront an urgent national crisis.

The Congress has 10 days left to pass a bill that will fund our Government, protect our homeland, and secure our southern border.

Now is the time for the Congress to show the world that America is committed to ending illegal immigration and putting the ruthless coyotes, cartels, drug dealers, and human traffickers out of business.

As we speak, large, organized caravans are on the march to the United States. We have just heard that Mexican cities, in order to remove the illegal immigrants from their communities, are getting trucks and buses to bring them up to our country in areas where there is little border protection. I have ordered another 3,750 troops to our southern border to prepare for the tremendous onslaught.

This is a moral issue. The lawless state of our southern border is a threat to the safety, security, and financial well-being of all Americans. We have a moral duty to create an immigration system that protects the lives and jobs of our citizens. This includes our obligation to the millions of immigrants living here today, who followed the rules and respected our laws. Legal immigrants enrich our Nation and strengthen our society in countless ways. I want people to come into our country, but they have to come in legally.

Tonight, I am asking you to defend our very dangerous southern border out of love and devotion to our fellow

citizens and to our country.

No issue better illustrates the divide between America's working class and America's political class than illegal immigration. Wealthy politicians and donors push for open borders while living their lives behind walls and gates and guards.

Meanwhile, working class Americans are left to pay the price for mass illegal migration -- reduced jobs, lower wages, overburdened schools and hospitals, increased crime, and a depleted social safety net.

Tolerance for illegal immigration is not compassionate -- it is cruel. One in three women is sexually assaulted on the long journey north. Smugglers use migrant children as human pawns to exploit our laws and gain access to our country.

Human traffickers and sex traffickers take advantage of the wide open areas between our ports of entry to smuggle thousands of young girls and women into the United States and to sell them into prostitution and modern-day slavery.

Tens of thousands of innocent Americans are killed by lethal drugs that cross our border and flood into our cities -- including meth, heroin, cocaine, and fentanyl.

The savage gang, MS-13, now operates in 20 different American States, and they almost all come through our southern border. Just yesterday, an MS-13 gang member was taken into custody for a fatal shooting on a subway platform in New York City. We are removing these gang members by the thousands, but until we secure our border they're going to keep streaming back in.

Year after year, countless Americans are murdered by criminal illegal aliens.

I've gotten to know many wonderful Angel Moms, Dads, and families -- no one should ever have to suffer the horrible heartache they have endured.

Here tonight is Debra Bissell. Just three weeks ago, Debra's parents, Gerald and Sharon, were burglarized and shot to death in their Reno, Nevada, home by an illegal alien. They were in their eighties and are survived by four children, 11 grandchildren, and 20 great-grandchildren. Also here tonight are Gerald and Sharon's granddaughter, Heather, and great-granddaughter, Madison.

To Debra, Heather, Madison, please stand: few can understand your pain. But I will never forget, and I will fight for the memory of Gerald and Sharon, that it should never happen again.

Not one more American life should be lost because our Nation failed to control its very dangerous border. In the last 2 years, our brave ICE officers made 266,000 arrests of criminal aliens, including those charged or convicted of nearly 100,000 assaults, 30,000 sex crimes, and 4,000 killings.

We are joined tonight by one of those law enforcement heroes: ICE Special Agent Elvin Hernandez. When Elvin was a boy, he and his family legally immigrated to the United States from the Dominican Republic. At the age of eight, Elvin told his dad he wanted to become a Special Agent. Today, he leads investigations into the scourge of international sex trafficking. Elvin says: "If I can make sure these young girls get their justice, I've done my job." Thanks to his work and that of his colleagues, more than 300 women and girls have been rescued from horror and more than 1,500 sadistic traffickers have been put behind bars in the last year.

Special Agent Hernandez, please stand: We will always support the brave men and women of Law Enforcement -- and I pledge to you tonight that we will never abolish our heroes from ICE.

My Administration has sent to the Congress a commonsense proposal to end the crisis on our southern border. It includes humanitarian assistance, more law enforcement, drug detection at our ports, closing loopholes that enable child smuggling, and plans for a new physical barrier, or wall, to secure the vast areas between our ports of entry. In the past, most of the people in this room voted for a wall -- but the proper wall never got built. I'll get it built.

This is a smart, strategic, see-through steel barrier -- not just a simple concrete wall. It will be deployed in the areas identified by border agents as having the greatest need, and as these agents will tell you, where walls go up, illegal crossings go way down.

San Diego used to have the most illegal border crossings in the country. In response, and at the request of San Diego residents and political leaders, a strong security wall was put in place. This powerful barrier almost completely ended illegal crossings.

The border city of El Paso, Texas, used to have extremely high rates of violent crime -- one of the highest in the country, and considered one of our Nation's most dangerous cities. Now, with a powerful barrier in place, El Paso is one of our safest cities.

Simply put, walls work and walls save lives. So let's work together, compromise, and reach a deal that will truly make America safe.

As we work to defend our people's safety, we must also ensure our economic resurgence continues at a rapid pace.

No one has benefitted more from our thriving economy than women, who have filled 58 percent of the new jobs created in the last year. All Americans can be proud that we have more women in the workforce than ever before -- and exactly one century after the Congress passed the Constitutional amendment giving women the right to vote, we also have more women serving in the Congress than ever before.

As part of our commitment to improving opportunity for women everywhere, this Thursday we are launching the first ever Government-wide initiative focused on economic empowerment for women in developing countries. To build on our incredible economic success, one priority is paramount -- reversing decades of calamitous trade policies.

We are now making it clear to China that after years of targeting our industries, and stealing our intellectual property, the theft of American jobs and wealth has come to an end.

Therefore, we recently imposed tariffs on \$250 billion of Chinese goods -- and now our Treasury is receiving billions of dollars a month from a country that never gave us a dime. But I don't blame China for taking advantage of us -- I blame our leaders and representatives for allowing this travesty to happen. I have great respect for President Xi, and we are now working on a new trade deal with China. But it must include real, structural change to end unfair trade practices, reduce our chronic trade deficit, and protect American jobs. Another historic trade blunder was the catastrophe known as NAFTA.

I have met the men and women of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, New Hampshire, and many other States whose dreams were shattered by NAFTA. For years, politicians promised them they would negotiate for a better deal. But no one ever tried -- until now.

Our new U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement -- or USMCA -- will replace NAFTA and deliver for American workers: bringing back our manufacturing jobs, expanding American agriculture, protecting intellectual property, and ensuring that more cars are proudly stamped with four beautiful words: made in the USA.

Tonight, I am also asking you to pass the United States Reciprocal Trade Act, so that if another country places an unfair tariff on an American product, we can charge them the exact same tariff on the same product that they sell to us

Both parties should be able to unite for a great rebuilding of America's crumbling infrastructure.

I know that the Congress is eager to pass an infrastructure bill -- and I am eager to work with you on legislation to deliver new and important infrastructure investment, including investments in the cutting edge industries of the future. This is not an option. This is a necessity.

The next major priority for me, and for all of us, should be to lower the cost of healthcare and prescription drugs -- and to protect patients with pre-existing conditions.

Already, as a result of my Administration's efforts, in 2018 drug prices experienced their single largest decline in 46 years.

But we must do more. It is unacceptable that Americans pay vastly more than people in other countries for the exact same drugs, often made in the exact same place. This is wrong, unfair, and together we can stop it. I am asking the Congress to pass legislation that finally takes on the problem of global freeloading and delivers fairness and price transparency for American patients. We should also require drug companies, insurance companies, and hospitals to disclose real prices to foster competition and bring costs down.

No force in history has done more to advance the human condition than American freedom. In recent years we have made remarkable progress in the fight against HIV and AIDS. Scientific breakthroughs have brought a once-distant dream within reach. My budget will ask Democrats and Republicans to make the needed commitment to eliminate the HIV epidemic in the United States within 10 years. Together, we will defeat AIDS in America.

Tonight, I am also asking you to join me in another fight that all Americans can get behind: the fight against childhood cancer.

Joining Melania in the gallery this evening is a very brave 10-year-old girl, Grace Eline. Every birthday since she was 4, Grace asked her friends to donate to St. Jude Children's Research Hospital. She did not know that one day she might be a patient herself. Last year, Grace was diagnosed with brain cancer. Immediately, she began radiation treatment. At the same time, she rallied her community and raised more than \$40,000 for the fight against cancer. When Grace completed treatment last fall, her doctors and nurses cheered with tears in their eyes as she hung up a poster that read: "Last Day of Chemo." Grace -- you are an inspiration to us all.

Many childhood cancers have not seen new therapies in decades. My budget will ask the Congress for \$500 million over the next 10 years to fund this critical life-saving research.

To help support working parents, the time has come to pass school choice for America's children. I am also proud to be the first President to include in my budget a plan for nationwide paid family leave -- so that every new parent has the chance to bond with their newborn child.

There could be no greater contrast to the beautiful image of a mother holding her infant child than the chilling displays our Nation saw in recent days. Lawmakers in New York cheered with delight upon the passage of legislation that would allow a baby to be ripped from the mother's womb moments before birth. These are living, feeling, beautiful babies who will never get the chance to share their love and dreams with the world. And then, we had the case of the Governor of Virginia where he basically stated he would execute a baby after birth. To defend the dignity of every person, I am asking the Congress to pass legislation to prohibit the late-term abortion of children who can feel pain in the mother's womb.

Let us work together to build a culture that cherishes innocent life. And let us reaffirm a fundamental truth: all

children -- born and unborn -- are made in the holy image of God.

The final part of my agenda is to protect America's National Security.

Over the last 2 years, we have begun to fully rebuild the United States Military -- with \$700 billion last year and \$716 billion this year. We are also getting other nations to pay their fair share. For years, the United States was being treated very unfairly by NATO -- but now we have secured a \$100 billion increase in defense spending from NATO allies.

As part of our military build-up, the United States is developing a state-of-the-art Missile Defense System. Under my Administration, we will never apologize for advancing America's interests.

For example, decades ago the United States entered into a treaty with Russia in which we agreed to limit and reduce our missile capabilities. While we followed the agreement to the letter, Russia repeatedly violated its terms. That is why I announced that the United States is officially withdrawing from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, or INF Treaty.

Perhaps we can negotiate a different agreement, adding China and others, or perhaps we can't --- in which case, we will outspend and out-innovate all others by far.

As part of a bold new diplomacy, we continue our historic push for peace on the Korean Peninsula. Our hostages have come home, nuclear testing has stopped, and there has not been a missile launch in 15 months. If I had not been elected President of the United States, we would right now, in my opinion, be in a major war with North Korea with potentially millions of people killed. Much work remains to be done, but my relationship with Kim Jong Un is a good one. And Chairman Kim and I will meet again on February 27 and 28 in Vietnam. Two weeks ago, the United States officially recognized the legitimate government of Venezuela, and its new

interim President, Juan Guaido.

We stand with the Venezuelan people in their noble quest for freedom -- and we condemn the brutality of the Maduro regime, whose socialist policies have turned that nation from being the wealthiest in South America into a state of abject poverty and despair.

Here, in the United States, we are alarmed by new calls to adopt socialism in our country. America was founded on liberty and independence --- not government coercion, domination, and control. We are born free, and we will stay free. Tonight, we renew our resolve that America will never be a socialist country.

One of the most complex set of challenges we face is in the Middle East.

Our approach is based on principled realism -- not discredited theories that have failed for decades to yield progress. For this reason, my Administration recognized the true capital of Israel -- and proudly opened the American Embassy in Jerusalem.

Our brave troops have now been fighting in the Middle East for almost 19 years. In Afghanistan and Iraq, nearly 7,000 American heroes have given their lives. More than 52,000 Americans have been badly wounded. We have spent more than \$7 trillion in the Middle East.

As a candidate for President, I pledged a new approach. Great nations do not fight endless wars.

When I took office, ISIS controlled more than 20,000 square miles in Iraq and Syria. Today, we have liberated virtually all of that territory from the grip of these bloodthirsty killers.

Now, as we work with our allies to destroy the remnants of ISIS, it is time to give our brave warriors in Syria a warm welcome home.

I have also accelerated our negotiations to reach a political settlement in Afghanistan. Our troops have fought with unmatched valor -- and thanks to their bravery, we are now able to pursue a political solution to this long and bloody conflict.

In Afghanistan, my Administration is holding constructive talks with a number of Afghan groups, including the Taliban. As we make progress in these negotiations, we will be able to reduce our troop presence and focus on counter-terrorism. We do not know whether we will achieve an agreement -- but we do know that after two decades of war, the hour has come to at least try for peace.

Above all, friend and foe alike must never doubt this Nation's power and will to defend our people. Eighteen years ago, terrorists attacked the USS Cole -- and last month American forces killed one of the leaders of the attack.

We are honored to be joined tonight by Tom Wibberley, whose son, Navy Seaman Craig Wibberley, was one of the 17 sailors we tragically lost. Tom: we vow to always remember the heroes of the USS Cole.

My Administration has acted decisively to confront the world's leading state sponsor of terror: the radical regime in Iran.

To ensure this corrupt dictatorship never acquires nuclear weapons, I withdrew the United States from the disastrous Iran nuclear deal. And last fall, we put in place the toughest sanctions ever imposed on a country. We will not avert our eyes from a regime that chants death to America and threatens genocide against the Jewish people. We must never ignore the vile poison of anti-Semitism, or those who spread its venomous creed. With one voice, we must confront this hatred anywhere and everywhere it occurs.

Just months ago, 11 Jewish-Americans were viciously murdered in an anti-semitic attack on the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh. SWAT Officer Timothy Matson raced into the gunfire and was shot seven times

chasing down the killer. Timothy has just had his 12th surgery -- but he made the trip to be here with us tonight. Officer Matson: we are forever grateful for your courage in the face of evil.

Tonight, we are also joined by Pittsburgh survivor Judah Samet. He arrived at the synagogue as the massacre began. But not only did Judah narrowly escape death last fall -- more than seven decades ago, he narrowly survived the Nazi concentration camps. Today is Judah's 81st birthday. Judah says he can still remember the exact moment, nearly 75 years ago, after 10 months in a concentration camp, when he and his family were put on a train, and told they were going to another camp. Suddenly the train screeched to a halt. A soldier appeared. Judah's family braced for the worst. Then, his father cried out with joy: "It's the Americans."

A second Holocaust survivor who is here tonight, Joshua Kaufman, was a prisoner at Dachau Concentration Camp. He remembers watching through a hole in the wall of a cattle car as American soldiers rolled in with tanks. "To me," Joshua recalls, "the American soldiers were proof that God exists, and they came down from the sky."

I began this evening by honoring three soldiers who fought on D-Day in the Second World War. One of them was Herman Zeitchik. But there is more to Herman's story. A year after he stormed the beaches of Normandy, Herman was one of those American soldiers who helped liberate Dachau. He was one of the Americans who helped rescue Joshua from that hell on earth. Almost 75 years later, Herman and Joshua are both together in the gallery tonight -- seated side-by-side, here in the home of American freedom. Herman and Joshua: your presence this evening honors and uplifts our entire Nation.

When American soldiers set out beneath the dark skies over the English Channel in the early hours of D-Day, 1944, they were just young men of 18 and 19, hurtling on fragile landing craft toward the most momentous battle in the history of war.

They did not know if they would survive the hour. They did not know if they would grow old. But they knew that America had to prevail. Their cause was this Nation, and generations yet unborn.

Why did they do it? They did it for America -- they did it for us.

Everything that has come since -- our triumph over communism, our giant leaps of science and discovery, our unrivaled progress toward equality and justice -- all of it is possible thanks to the blood and tears and courage and vision of the Americans who came before.

Think of this Capitol -- think of this very chamber, where lawmakers before you voted to end slavery, to build the railroads and the highways, to defeat fascism, to secure civil rights, to face down an evil empire.

Here tonight, we have legislators from across this magnificent republic. You have come from the rocky shores of Maine and the volcanic peaks of Hawaii; from the snowy woods of Wisconsin and the red deserts of Arizona; from the green farms of Kentucky and the golden beaches of California. Together, we represent the most extraordinary Nation in all of history.

What will we do with this moment? How will we be remembered?

I ask the men and women of this Congress: Look at the opportunities before us! Our most thrilling achievements are still ahead. Our most exciting journeys still await. Our biggest victories are still to come. We have not yet begun to dream.

We must choose whether we are defined by our differences -- or whether we dare to transcend them.

We must choose whether we will squander our inheritance -- or whether we will proudly declare that we are Americans. We do the incredible. We defy the impossible. We conquer the unknown.

This is the time to re-ignite the American imagination. This is the time to search for the tallest summit, and set our sights on the brightest star. This is the time to rekindle the bonds of love and loyalty and memory that link us together as citizens, as neighbors, as patriots.

This is our future -- our fate -- and our choice to make. I am asking you to choose greatness.

No matter the trials we face, no matter the challenges to come, we must go forward together.

We must keep America first in our hearts. We must keep freedom alive in our souls. And we must always keep faith in America's destiny -- that one Nation, under God, must be the hope and the promise and the light and the glory among all the nations of the world!

Thank you. God Bless You, God Bless America, and good night!

APPENDIX III Results

DATA COLLECTION TABLE

Context	SpeechID	Source Domain	Target Domain	Conceptual Metaphor	Metaphor Type
and I say "we" because we are a team	RC	SPORT	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A SPORT	Structural
we will lead our party back to the White House and we will lead our country back to safety, prosperity, and peace	RC	JOURNEY	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY	Structural
we will lead our party back to the White House	RC	PERSON	POLITICAL PARTY	A POLITICAL PARTY IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
and we will lead our country back to safety, prosperity, and peace	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
The crime and violence that today afflicts our nation will soon come to an end	RC	DISEASE	CRIME AND VIOLENCE	CRIME AND VIOLENCE ARE A DISEASE	Structural
safety will be restored	RC	MACHINE	SAFETY	SAFETY IS A MACHINE	Ontological: Entity
The most basic duty of government is to defend the lives of its own citizens	RC	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural
We cannot afford to be so politically correct anymore.	RC	EXPENSIVE	POLITICAL CORRECTNESS	POLITICAL CORRECTNESS IS EXPENSIVE	Structural
Decades of progress made in bringing down crime are now being reversed	RC	MOTION FORWARD	PROGRESS	PROGRESS IS MOTION FORWARD	Structural
In our nation's capital, killings have risen by 50 percent.	RC	UP	MORE	MORE IS UP	Orientational
[killings] are up nearly 60 percent in nearby Baltimore.	RC	UP	MORE	MORE IS UP	Orientational
The number of police officers killed in the line of duty has risen by almost 50 percent	RC	UP	MORE	MORE IS UP	Orientational
he ended the life of an innocent young girl named Sarah Root	RC	JOURNEY	LIFE	LIFE IS A JOURNEY	Structural

one more American life that wasn't worth protecting	RC	EXPENSIVE	PROTECTION	PROTECTION IS EXPENSIVE	Structural
One more child to sacrifice on the altar of open borders.	RC	SACRIFICIAL ALTAR	OPEN BORDERS	OPEN BORDERS ARE A SACRIFICIAL ALTAR	Structural
Household incomes are down	RC	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
the whole world knew it meant nothing	RC	COMMUNITY	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY	Ontological: Personification
our consulate — the symbol of American prestige around the globe — was brought down in flames.	RC	DOWN	WEAKNESS	WEAKNESS IS DOWN	Orientational
the world is far less stable	RC	BUILDING	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
ISIS was not even on the map.	RC	MAP	EXISTENCE	EXISTENCE IS A MAP	Structural
Libya was stable	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Egypt was peaceful	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Iraq was seeing a reduction in violence.	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Iran was being choked by sanctions	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Iran was being choked by sanctions	RC	PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	LAWS	LAWS ARE PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	Structural
Syria was under control.	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
ISIS has spread across the region	RC	SUBSTANCE	ISIS	ISIS IS A SUBSTANCE	Ontological: Substance
Libya is in ruins	RC	BUILDING	NATION	A NATION IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
Egypt was turned over to the radical Muslim brotherhood	RC	OBJECT	NATION	A NATION IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
Iran is on the path to nuclear weapons.	RC	PATHS	POLITICAL DECISIONS	POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE PATHS	Structural
Syria is engulfed in a civil war and a refugee crisis	RC	SUBSTANCE	CIVIL WAR	CIVIL WAR IS A SUBSTANCE	Ontological: Substance
a civil war and a refugee crisis that now threatens the West.	RC	PERSON	CIVIL WAR	CIVIL WAR IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
The problems we face now	RC	AHEAD	PROBLEMS	PROBLEMS ARE AHEAD	Orientational

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poverty and violence at home	RC	HOME	NATION	A NATION IS A HOME	Structural
A change in leadership is required to produce a change in outcomes.	RC	OBJECT	CHANGE	CHANGE IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
I will share with you my plan of action for America.	RC	OBJECT	PLAN OF ACTION	A PLAN OF ACTION IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
our plan will put America first.	RC	FIRST	BETTER	FIRST IS BETTER	Structural
Americanism, not globalism, will be our credo.	RC	PRAYER	NATIONALISM	NATIONALISM IS A PRAYER	Structural
we are led by politicians who will not put America first	RC	FIRST	BETTER	FIRST IS BETTER	Structural
other nations will not treat America with respect.	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
The American people will come first once again.	RC	FIRST	BETTER	FIRST IS BETTER	Structural
My plan will begin with safety at home	RC	НОМЕ	NATION	A NATION IS A HOME	Structural
I will outline reforms	RC	DRAWING	POLITICAL REFORM	POLITICAL REFORMS ARE DRAWINGS	Ontological: Entity
add millions of new jobs and trillions in new wealth	RC	CONTAINER	WEALTH	WEALTH IS A CONTAINER	Ontological: Container
A number of these reforms that I will outline tonight	RC	DRAWING	REFORMS	POLITICAL REFORMS ARE DRAWINGS	Ontological: Entity
these interests have rigged our political and economic system	RC	GAME	POLITICAL SYSTEM	THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A GAME	Structural
she will keep our rigged system in place.	RC	GAME	POLITICAL SYSTEM	THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A GAME	Structural
They are throwing money at her	RC	OBJECT	MONEY	MONEY IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
She is their puppet, and they pull the strings.	RC	PUPPETS	POLITICIANS	POLITICIANS ARE PUPPETS	Structural
deliver a better life for the people	RC	OBJECT	A BETTER LIFE	A BETTER LIFE IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
People who work hard but no longer have a voice.	RC	VOICE	POLITICAL POWER	HAVING POLITICAL POWER IS HAVING A VOICE	Structural
[our political system] has sold out to some corporate lobbyist for cash	RC	OBJECT	POLITICAL SYSTEM	THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
puts our country at risk	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification

trading access and favors	RC	ОВЈЕСТ	POLITICAL POWER	THE POLITICAL POWER IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
I have joined the political arena	RC	SPORT	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A SPORT	Structural
Nobody knows the system better than me	RC	PERSON	POLITICAL SYSTEM	THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
I alone can fix it [the system]	RC	MACHINE	POLITICAL SYSTEM	THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE	Ontological: Entity
the system is rigged against our citizens, just like it was rigged against Bernie Sanders	RC	GAME	POLITICAL SYSTEM	THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A GAME	Structural
trade deals that strip us of our jobs, and strip us of our wealth as a country	RC	PEOPLE	TRADE DEALS	TRADE DEALS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
we are going to fix the system	RC	MACHINE	POLITICAL SYSTEM	THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A MACHINE	Ontological: Entity
We will bring the same economic success to America that Mike brought to Indiana.	RC	OBJECT	ECONOMIC SUCCESS	ECONOMIC SUCCESS IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
liberate our citizens from the crime and terrorism and lawlessness	RC	PRISON	CRIME AND VIOLENCE	CRIME AND VIOLENCE ARE A PRISON	Structural
America was shocked to its core	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
An attack on law enforcement is an attack on all Americans.	RC	NATION	POLICE	THE POLICE IS THE NATION	Structural
I will restore law and order	RC	BUILDING	LAW AND ORDER	LAW AND ORDER IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
In this race for the White House, I am the law and order candidate.	RC	RACE	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A RACE	Structural
France is the victim of brutal Islamic terrorism.	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
This includes working with our greatest ally in the region, the state of Israel.	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
I have said that NATO was obsolete	RC	OBJECT	NATO	NATO IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
NATO will be setting up a new program in order to combat terrorism	RC	PERSON	NATO	NATO IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
I only want to admit individuals into our country	RC	CONTAINER	NATION	A NATION IS A CONTAINER	Ontological: Container
Decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and	RC	INDUSTRY	INMIGRATION	INMIGRATION IS AN INDUSTRY	Structural

higher unemployment					
Decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment	RC	PRODUCTS	WAGES AND UNEMPLOYMENT	WAGES AND UNEMPLOYMENT ARE PRODUCTS	Ontological: Entity
Decades of record immigration have produced lower wages and higher unemployment	RC	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
to send them [wounded families] our love	RC	OBJECT	LOVE	LOVE IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
to stop the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities.	RC	CONTAINER	NATION	A NATION IS A CONTAINER	Ontological: Container
to stop the gangs and the violence, and to stop the drugs from pouring into our communities.	RC	SUBSTANCE	VIOLENCE AND DRUGS	VIOLENCE AND DRUGS ARE A SUBSTANCE	Ontological: Substance
protect the integrity of our lawful immigration system.	RC	PERSON	INMIGRATION SYSTEM	THE INMIGRATION SYSTEM IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the cycle of human smuggling and violence.	RC	CYCLE	VIOLENCE	VIOLENCE IS A CYCLE	Structural
Illegal border crossings will go down.	RC	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
our laws will finally receive the respect they deserve.	RC	PEOPLE	LAWS	LAWS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
Her plan will overwhelm your schools and hospitals,	RC	PEOPLE	SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS	SCHOOLS AND HOSPITALS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
and make it harder for recent immigrants to escape from poverty	RC	PRISON	POVERTY	POVERTY IS A PRISON	Structural
fair trade policy that protects our jobs and stands up to countries that cheat.	RC	PERSON	TRADE POLICY	TRADE POLICY IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
and stands up to countries that cheat.	RC	GAME	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A GAME	Structural
America has lost nearly one-third of its manufacturing jobs	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
America has lost nearly one-third of its manufacturing jobs	RC	OBJECTS	JOBS	JOBS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
I am going to bring back our jobs	RC	OBJECTS	JOBS	JOBS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
I am not going to let companies move to other countries	RC	PEOPLE	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
the job-killing trade deal with South Korea.	RC	PEOPLE	JOBS	JOBS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification

will make America subject to the rulings of foreign governments.	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
any trade agreement that hurts our workers	RC	PERSON	TRADE AGREEMENT	A TRADE AGREEMENT IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
No longer will we enter into these massive transactions	RC	CONTAINERS	TRANSACTIONS	TRANSACTIONS ARE CONTAINERS	Ontological: Container
We are going to enforce all trade violations against any country that cheats.	RC	GAME	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A GAME	Structural
This includes stopping China's outrageous theft of intellectual property	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
one of the greatest job-killers of them all.	RC	PEOPLE	JOBS	JOBS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
We are going to lift the restrictions	RC	OBJECTS	LAWS	LAWS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
put the great miners and steel workers of our country out of work	RC	CONTAINER	WORK	WORK IS A CONTAINER	Ontological: Container
rescue kids from failing schools	RC	DISASTERS	FAILING SCHOOLS	FAILING SCHOOLS ARE DISASTERS	Structural
all of our students who are drowning in debt	RC	SUBSTANCE	DEBT	DEBT IS A SUBSTANCE	Ontological: Substance
to take the pressure [student debt] off these young people	RC	PHYSICAL PRESSURE	DEBT	DEBT IS PHYSICAL PRESSURE	Structural
We will completely rebuild our depleted military	RC	BUILDING	MILITARY	THE MILITARY IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
[other countries] will be asked to pay their fair share.	RC	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
[an amendment] threatens religious institutions with a loss of their tax- exempt status	RC	PEOPLE	LAWS	LAWS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
[an amendment] threatens religious institutions with a loss of their tax- exempt status	RC	PEOPLE	RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS	RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
It is time to show the whole world	RC	COMMUNITY	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY	Ontological: Personification
America is back	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
America is back — bigger, and better and stronger than ever before.	RC	BIGGER	BETTER	BIGGER IS BETTER	Structural
In this journey, I'm so lucky to have at my side my wife, Melania, and	RC	JOURNEY	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY	Structural

my wonderful children					
You will always be my greatest source of pride and joy.	RC	SUBSTANCE	PRIDE AND JOY	PRIDE AND JOY ARE A SUBSTANCE	Ontological: Substance
It's time to deliver a victory for the American people.	RC	OBJECT	VICTORY	VICTORY IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
we must break free from the petty politics of the past.	RC	PRISON	POLITICS	POLITICS ARE A PRISON	Structural
politics, who will say anything to keep a rigged system in place.	RC	GAME	POLITICAL SYSTEM	THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IS A GAME	Structural
we must choose to believe in America.	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
History is watching us now	RC	PERSON	HISTORY	HISTORY IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
I can be your champion in the White House	RC	GAME	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A GAME	Structural
We will make America strong again.	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We will make America proud again.	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We will make America safe again.	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
And we will make America great again.	RC	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
I am your voice.	RC	NATION	PRESIDENT	THE PRESIDENT IS THE NATION	Structural
She congratulated us. It's about us. On our victory	VS	NATION	PRESIDENT	THE PRESIDENT IS THE NATION	Structural
we can work together and unify our great country.	VS	FRAGMENTED OBJECT	NATION	THE NATION IS A FRAGMENTED OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
[a campaign] made up of millions of hard-working men and women	VS	OBJECT	CAMPAIGN	A CAMPAIGN IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
brighter future for themselves and for their family	VS	BRIGHTER	BETTER	BRIGHTER IS BETTER	Structural
expect our government to serve the people	VS	PERSON	GOVERNMENT	THE GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
we will begin the urgent task of rebuilding our nation	VS	BUILDING	NATION	A NATION IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
renewing the American dream	VS	OBJECT	AMERICAN DREAM	THE AMERICAN DREAM IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity

That is now what I want to do for our country	VS	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
I've gotten to know our country so well.	VS	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
It is going to be a beautiful thing	VS	OBJECT	POLITICAL ACTION	POLITICAL ACTION IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
We are going to fix our inner cities	VS	MACHINES	CITIES	CITIES ARE MACHINES	Ontological: Entity
our infrastructure, which will become, by the way, second to none.	VS	FIRST	BETTER	FIRST IS BETTER	Structural
We will embark upon a project of national growth and renewal.	VS	PLANT	NATION	A NATION IS A PLANT	Ontological: Entity
harness the creative talents of our people	VS	RESOURCE	CREATIVITY	CREATIVITY IS A RESOURCE	Structural
We will double our growth	VS	PLANT	NATION	A NATION IS A PLANT	Ontological: Entity
strongest economy anywhere in the world.	VS	PERSON	ECONOMY	THE ECONOMY IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
No dream is too big	VS	OBJECT	DREAM	A DREAM IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
America will no longer settle for anything less than the best.	VS	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
dream big and bold and daring.	VS	BIGGER	BETTER	BIGGER IS BETTER	Structural
We're going to dream of things for our country, and beautiful things and successful things once again.	vs	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We're going to dream of things for our country, and beautiful things and successful things once again.	vs	OBJECTS	OBJECTIVES	OBJECTIVES ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
I want to tell the world community	VS	COMMUNITY	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY	Ontological: Personification
we will always put America's interests first	VS	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
we will always put America's interests first	VS	FIRST	BETTER	FIRST IS BETTER	Structural
very historic victory.	VS	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural
who I know are looking down on me right now	VS	UP	DECEASED PEOPLE	DECEASED PEOPLE ARE UP	Orientational

This political stuff is nasty, and it is tough.	VS	SUBSTANCE	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A SUBSTANCE	Ontological: Substance
You've all given me such incredible support	VS	OBJECT	SUPPORT	SUPPORT IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
a great national effort to rebuild our country	IA	BUILDING	NATION	A NATION IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
the course of America and the world	IA	MOVING OBJECTS	AMERICA AND THE WORLD	AMERICA AND THE WORLD ARE MOVING OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
We will face challenges.	IA	AHEAD	CHALLENGES	CHALLENGES ARE AHEAD	Orientational
We will confront hardships	IA	PERSON	HARDSHIP	HARDSHIP IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
we are not merely transferring power from one Administration to another	IA	OBJECT	POLITICAL POWER	POLITICAL POWER IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
a small group in our nation's Capital has reaped the rewards of government	IA	CROP	POLITICAL POWER	POLITICAL POWER IS A CROP	Ontological: Entity
Washington flourished	IA	LIVING ORGANISM	WASHINGTON	WASHINGTON IS A LIVING ORGANISM	Ontological: Entity
the jobs left	IA	PEOPLE	JOBS	JOBS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
The establishment protected itself	IA	PERSON	GOVERNMENT	THE GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the likes of which the world has never seen before.	IA	COMMUNITY	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY	Ontological: Personification
that a nation exists to serve its citizens.	IA	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Mothers and children trapped in poverty in our inner cities	IA	PRISON	POVERTY	POVERTY IS A PRISON	Structural
an education system, flush with cash	IA	CONTAINER	EDUCATIVE SYSTEM	THE EDUCATIVE SYSTEM IS A CONTAINER	Ontological: Container
crime and gangs and drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country	IA	PEOPLE	CRIME, GANGS, DRUGS	CRIME, GANGS AND DRUGS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
crime and gangs and drugs that have stolen too many lives and robbed our country	IA	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
This American carnage	IA	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural
We share one heart, one home, and one glorious destiny	IA	HOME	NATION	A NATION IS A HOME	Structural

We are one nation	IA	CITIZENS	NATION	THE CITIZENS ARE THE NATION	Structural
sad depletion of our military	IA	RESOURCE	MILITARY	MILITARY IS A RESOURCE	Structural
We've defended other nation's borders while refusing to defend our own	IA	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural
wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has disappeared over the horizon.	IA	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the factories shuttered and left our shores	IA	PEOPLE	FACTORIES	FACTORIES ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
The wealth of our middle class has been ripped from their homes	IA	OBJECT	WEALTH	WEALTH IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
And now we are looking only to the future	IA	AHEAD	FUTURE	THE FUTURE IS AHEAD	Orientational
a new vision will govern our land	IA	PERSON	VISION	VISION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
it's going to be America First	IA	FIRST	BETTER	FIRST IS BETTER	Structural
We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries	IA	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural
We must protect our borders from the ravages of other countries	IA	ATTACKERS	OTHER NATIONS	OTHER NATIONS ARE ATTACKERS	Ontological: Personification
I will fight for you with every breath in my body	IA	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural
America will start winning again	IA	GAME	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A GAME	Structural
We will bring back our jobs.	IA	OBJECTS	JOBS	JOBS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
We will bring back our borders.	IA	OBJECTS	BORDERS	BORDERS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
We will bring back our wealth.	IA	OBJECT	WEALTH	WEALTH IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
And we will bring back our dreams.	IA	OBJECTS	DREAMS	DREAMS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
rebuilding our country with American hands and American labor.	IA	BUILDING	NATION	A NATION IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
We will seek friendship and goodwill with the nations of the world	IA	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification

We will reinforce old alliances and form new ones	IA	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural
unite the civilized world against Radical Islamic Terrorism	IA	COMMUNITY	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY	Ontological: Personification
At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America	IA	FERTILE GROUND	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A FERTILE GROUND	Structural
When you open your heart to patriotism	IA	CONTAINER	HEART	THE HEART IS A CONTAINER	Ontological: Container
We will be protected by the great men and women of our military	IA	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural
Finally, we must think big and dream even bigger.	IA	BIGGER	BETTER	BIGGER IS BETTER	Structural
No challenge can match the heart and fight and spirit of America.	IA	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Our country will thrive and prosper again.	IA	PLANT	NATION	A NATION IS A PLANT	Ontological: Entity
We stand at the birth of a new millennium	IA	PERSON	HISTORICAL PERIOD	A HISTORICAL PERIOD IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions.	IA	PERSON	NATIONAL PRIDE	NATIONAL PRIDE IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
lift our sights	IA	UP	BETTER	UP IS BETTER	Orientational
and heal our divisions.	IA	DISEASE	DIVISION	DIVISION IS DISEASE	Structural
Together, We Will Make America Strong Again.	IA	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We Will Make America Wealthy Again.	IA	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We Will Make America Proud Again.	IA	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We will make America safe again.	IA	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We will make America strong again.	IA	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
devastating hurricanes that have struck our country	UN	ATTACKERS	HURRICANES	HURRICANES ARE ATTACKERS	Ontological: Personification
emerge from these hardships	UN	BODY OF WATER	HARDSHIPS	HARDSHIPS ARE A BODY OF WATER	Ontological: Substance

the United States has done very well since Election Day	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
stock market is at an all-time high	UN	UP	WEALTH	WEALTH IS UP	Orientational
Unemployment is at its lowest level	UN	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
creating job growth	UN	PLANTS	JOBS	JOBS ARE PLANTS	Ontological: Entity
Our military will soon be the strongest it has ever been.	UN	PERSON	MILITARY	THE MILITARY IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
I intend to address some of the very serious threats before us today	UN	AHEAD	THREATS	THREATS ARE AHEAD	Orientational
enormous potential waiting to be unleashed.	UN	ANIMAL	POTENTIAL	POTENTIAL IS AN ANIMAL	Ontological: Entity
But each day also brings news	UN	CLOSE	PRESENT TIME	THE PRESENT TIME IS CLOSE	Orientational
news of growing dangers	UN	PLANTS	DANGERS	DANGERS ARE PLANTS	Ontological: Entity
dangers that threaten everything we cherish and value.	UN	PEOPLE	DANGERS	DANGERS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
Rogue regimes represented in this body not only support terrorists but threaten other nations	UN	PEOPLE	REGIMES	REGIMES ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
Authority and authoritarian powers seek to collapse the values, the systems, and alliances	UN	PERSON	AUTHORITY	AUTHORITY IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
tilted the world toward freedom	UN	OBJECT	WORLD	THE WORLD IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
International criminal networks traffic drugs, weapons, people; force dislocation and mass migration	UN	PEOPLE	CRIMINAL NETWORKS	CRIMINAL NETWORKS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
[criminal networks] threaten our borders	UN	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural
and new forms of aggression exploit technology to menace our citizens.	UN	PEOPLE	NEW FORMS OF AGGRESSION	NEW FORMS OF AGGRESSION ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
and new forms of aggression exploit technology to menace our citizens.	UN	RESOURCE	TECHNOLOGY	TECHNOLOGY IS A RESOURCE	Structural
whether we lift the world to new heights	UN	UP	GOOD	GOOD IS UP	Orientational
or let it fall into a valley of disrepair	UN	DOWN	BAD	BAD IS DOWN	Orientational

to lift millions from poverty	UN	DOWN	POVERTY	POVERTY IS DOWN	Orientational
children are raised free from violence, hatred, and fear.	UN	PRISON	VIOLENCE	VIOLENCE IS A PRISON	Structural
This institution was founded to help shape this better future.	UN	PERSON	THE UNITED NATIONS	THE UNITED NATIONS IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
nations could cooperate to protect their sovereignty, preserve their security, and promote their prosperity.	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
the United States developed the Marshall Plan to help restore Europe.	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the United States developed the Marshall Plan to help restore Europe.	UN	MACHINE	EUROPE	EUROPE IS A MACHINE	Ontological: Entity
Those three beautiful pillar - they're pillars of peace, sovereignty, security, and prosperity.	UN	BUILDINGS	LAWS	LAWS ARE BUILDINGS	Ontological: Entity
The Marshall Plan was built on the noble idea that	UN	BUILDINGS	LAWS	LAWS ARE BUILDINGS	Ontological: Entity
that the whole world is safer when nations are strong, independent, and free	UN	PERSON	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
that the whole world is safer when nations are strong, independent, and free	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
Our success depends on a coalition of strong and independent nations	UN	PERSON	SUCCESS	SUCCESS IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Our success depends on a coalition of strong and independent nations	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
that embrace their sovereignty to promote security, prosperity, and peace for themselves and for the world.	UN	PERSON	SOVEREIGNTY	SOVEREIGNTY IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We do not expect diverse countries to share the same cultures, traditions, or even systems of government	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
We do not expect diverse countries to share the same cultures, traditions, or even systems of government	UN	OBJECTS	CULTURES AND TRADITIONS	CULTURES AND TRADITIONS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
But we do expect all nations to uphold these two core sovereign	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification

duties					
to respect the interests of their own people and the rights of every other sovereign nation	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
this is foundation for cooperation and success.	UN	BUILDING	COOPERATION AND SUCCESS	COOPERATION AND SUCCESS ARE A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
Strong, sovereign nations let diverse countries with different values, different cultures, and different dreams not just coexist, but work side by side on the basis of mutual respect.	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
countries with different values, different cultures, and different dreams	UN	OBJECTS	VALUES, CULTURES, DREAMS	VALUES, CULTURES AND DREAMS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
Strong, sovereign nations let their people take ownership of the future and control their own destiny.	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
Strong, sovereign nations let their people take ownership of the future and control their own destiny.	UN	PRIVATE PROPERTY	THE FUTURE AND DESTINY	THE FUTURE IS PRIVATE PROPERTY	Ontological: Entity
And strong, sovereign nations allow individuals to flourish in the fullness of the life intended by God.	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
And strong, sovereign nations allow individuals to flourish in the fullness of the life intended by God.	UN	PLANTS	PEOPLE	PEOPLE ARE PLANTS	Ontological: Entity
we do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to watch.	UN	OBJECT	WAY OF LIFE	A WAY OF LIFE IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
we do not seek to impose our way of life on anyone, but rather to let it shine as an example for everyone to watch.	UN	SOURCES OF LIGHT	GOOD EXAMPLES	GOOD EXAMPLES ARE SOURCES OF LIGHT	Structural
We are celebrating the 230th anniversary of our beloved Constitution	UN	PERSON	CONSTITUTION	THE CONSTITUTION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
This timeless document has been the foundation of peace, prosperity, and freedom for the Americans and for countless millions around the globe	UN	BUILDINGS	PEACE, PROSPERITY, FREEDOM	PEACE, PROSPERITY AND FREEDOM ARE BUILDINGS	Ontological: Entity
countless millions around the globe whose own countries have found inspiration in [the constitution's]	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification

	I				
respect for human nature, human dignity, and the rule of law.					
countless millions around the globe whose own countries have found inspiration in [the constitution's] respect for human nature, human dignity, and the rule of law.	UN	PERSON	CONSTITUTION	THE CONSTITUTION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
we are renewing this founding principle of sovereignty.	UN	OBJECT	PRINCIPLE	A PRINCIPLE IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
I will always put America first, just like you, as the leaders of your countries will always, and should always, put your country first.	UN	FIRST	BETTER	FIRST IS BETTER	Structural
the nation-state remains the best vehicle for elevating the human condition.	UN	VEHICLE	NATION	A NATION IS A VEHICLE	Ontological: Entity
the nation-state remains the best vehicle for elevating the human condition.	UN	UP	GOOD	GOOD IS UP	Orientational
to create a more safe and peaceful future for all people.	UN	OBJECT	FUTURE	THE FUTURE IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
The United States will forever be a great friend to the world, and especially to its allies	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
or enter into a one-sided deal where the United States gets nothing in return	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
I will defend America's interests above all else.	UN	PESON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
a future where all nations can be sovereign, prosperous, and secure.	UN	PLACE	FUTURE	THE FUTURE IS A PLACE	Structural
a future where all nations can be sovereign, prosperous, and secure.	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
America does more than speak for the values expressed in the United Nations Charter	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Our citizens have paid the ultimate price to defend our freedom and the freedom of many nations represented in this great hall	UN	EXPENSIVE	FREEDOM	FREEDOM IS EXPENSIVE	Structural
America's devotion is measured on the battlefields	UN	SUBSTANCE	DEVOTION	DEVOTION IS A SUBSTANCE	Ontological: Substance
Instead, we helped build institutions such as this one to defend the sovereignty, security, and prosperity	UN	BUILDINGS	INSTITUTIONS	INSTITUTIONS ARE BUILDINGS	Ontological: Entity

for all.					
We are guided by outcomes, not ideology.	UN	JOURNEY	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY	Structural
We have a policy of principled realism, rooted in shared goals, interests, and values.	UN	PLANTS	POLICIES	POLICIES ARE PLANTS	Ontological: Entity
That realism forces us to confront a question facing every leader and nation in this room.	UN	PERSON	QUESTION	THE QUESTION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
It is a question we cannot escape or avoid.	UN	ATTACKER	QUESTION	THE QUESTION IS AN ATTACKER	Ontological: Personification
We will slide down the path of complacency	UN	PATHS	POLITICAL DECISIONS	POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE PATHS	Structural
If we desire to lift up our citizens	UN	GOOD	UP	GOOD IS UP	Orientational
if we aspire to the approval of history	UN	PERSON	HISTORY	HISTORY IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We must protect our nations, their interests, and their futures	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
those who threaten us with chaos, turmoil, and terror.	UN	WEAPONS	CHAOS, TURMOIL TERROR	CHAOS, TURMOIL AND TERROR ARE WEAPONS	Ontological: Entity
a small group of rogue regimes that violate every principle on which the United Nations is based.	UN	PEOPLE	REGIMES	REGIMES ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
[rogue regimes] respect neither their own citizens nor the sovereign rights of their countries.	UN	PEOPLE	REGIMES	REGIMES ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
then evil will triumph	UN	PERSON	EVIL	EVIL IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
No one has shown more contempt for other nations and for the wellbeing of their own people than the depraved regime in North Korea	UN	PEOPLE	REGIMES	REGIMES ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
We were all witness to the regime's deadly abuse	UN	PEOPLE	REGIMES	REGIMES ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
North Korea's reckless pursuit of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles threatens the entire world with unthinkable loss of human life.	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
North Korea's reckless pursuit of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles threatens the entire world with unthinkable loss of human life.	UN	COMMUNITY	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY	Ontological: Personification

some nations would not only trade with such a regime, but would arm, supply, and financially support a country that imperils the world with nuclear conflict	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
No nation on earth has an interest in seeing this band of criminals arm itself with nuclear weapons and missiles.	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
this band of criminals [North-Korea] arm itself with nuclear weapons and missiles.	UN	CRIMINAL BAND	NORTH KOREA	NORTH KOREA IS A CRIMINAL BAND	Ontological: Personification
The United States has great strength and patience, but if it is forced to defend itself or its allies, we will have no choice but to totally destroy North Korea.	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
The United States is ready, willing and able	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
It is time for North Korea to realize that denuclearization is its only acceptable future.	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
I want to thank China and Russia for joining the vote to impose sanctions	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
It is time for all nations to work together to isolate the Kim regime until it ceases its hostile behavior.	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
It is far past time for the nations of the world to confront another reckless regime	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
The Iranian government masks a corrupt dictatorship behind the false guise of a democracy	UN	DISGUISE	DEMOCRACY	DEMOCRACY IS A DISGUISE	Ontological: Entity
state whose chief exports are violence, bloodshed, and chaos	UN	PRODUCTS	VIOLENCE, BLOODSHED, CHAOS	VIOLENCE, BLOODSHED AND CHAOS ARE PRODUCTS	Ontological: Entity
attack their peaceful Arab and Israeli neighbors.	UN	NEIGHBOURHOOD	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD	Structural
shore up Bashar al-Assad's dictatorship	UN	BUILDING	REGIME	A REGIME IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
We cannot let a murderous regime continue these destabilizing activities while building dangerous missiles	UN	PERSON	REGIME	A REGIME IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
It is time for the entire world to join us in demanding that Iran's	UN	COMMUNITY	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY	Ontological: Personification

government end its pursuit of death and destruction.					
and respect the sovereign rights of its neighbors.	UN	NEIGHBOURHOOD	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD	Structural
The entire world understands that the good people of Iran want change	UN	COMMUNITY	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY	Ontological: Personification
Oppressive regimes cannot endure forever	UN	PEOPLE	REGIMES	REGIMES ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
Will they continue down the path of poverty, bloodshed, and terror?	UN	PATHS	POLITICAL DECISIONS	POLITICAL DECISIONS ARE PATHS	Structural
Or will the Iranian people return to the nation's proud roots	UN	PLANT	NATION	A NATION IS A PLANT	Ontological: Entity
The Iranian regime's support for terror is in stark contrast to the recent commitments of many of its neighbors to fight terrorism	UN	PERSON	REGIME	A REGIME IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the recent commitments of many of its neighbors to fight terrorism	UN	NEIGHBOURHOOD	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD	Structural
We agreed that all responsible nations must work together	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
we cannot allow it to tear up our nation	UN	OBJECT	NATION	A NATION IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
and indeed to tear up the entire world	UN	OBJECT	WORLD	THE WORLD IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
It is time to expose and hold responsible those countries who support and finance terror groups	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
The United States and our allies are working together throughout the Middle East	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
our country has achieved more against ISIS in the last eight months than it has in many, many years combined.	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
The actions of the criminal regime of Bashar al-Assad	UN	PERSON	REGIME	A REGIME IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
No society can be safe if banned chemical weapons are allowed to spread.	UN	SUBSTANCE	CHEMICAL WEAPONS	CHEMICAL WEAPONS ARE SUBSTANCES	Ontological: Substance
we especially thank Jordan, Turkey and Lebanon for their role in hosting refugees from the Syrian conflict.	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification

The United States is a compassionate nation and has spent billions and billions of dollars in helping to support this effort.	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
For the cost of resettling one refugee in the United States, we can assist more than 10 in their home region.	UN	НОМЕ	NATION	A NATION IS A HOME	Structural
and which enables their eventual return to their home countries	UN	HOME	NATION	A NATION IS A HOME	Structural
host refugees as close to their home countries as possible.	UN	HOME	NATION	A NATION IS A HOME	Structural
to be part of the [countries'] rebuilding process.	UN	BUILDINGS	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE BUILDINGS	Ontological: Entity
low-income citizens whose concerns are often ignored by both media and government.	UN	PERSON	MEDIA	THE MEDIA IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
low-income citizens whose concerns are often ignored by both media and government.	UN	PERSON	GOVERNMENT	THE GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
The United Nations must reform if it is to be an effective partner in confronting threats to sovereignty, security, and prosperity.	UN	PERSON	THE UNITED NATIONS	THE UNITED NATIONS IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
States that seek to subvert this institution's noble aims have hijacked the very systems that are supposed to advance them.	UN	HIJACKERS	NATIONS	SOME NATIONS ARE HIJACKERS	Ontological: Personification
Major portions of the world are in conflict and some, in fact, are going to hell.	UN	HELL	DESTRUCTION	DESTRUCTION IS HELL	Structural
under the guidance and auspices of the United Nations	UN	PERSON	THE UNITED NATIONS	THE UNITED NATIONS IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
vicious and complex problems	UN	PEOPLE	PROBLEMS	PROBLEMS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
the United Nations can be a much more accountable and effective advocate for human dignity and freedom around the world	UN	PERSON	THE UNITED NATIONS	THE UNITED NATIONS IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Nations of the world must take a greater role in promoting secure and prosperous societies in their own regions.	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
the United States has stood against the corrupt and destabilizing regime in Cuba and embraced the enduring	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification

draam of the Cuber recents to the					
dream of the Cuban people to live in freedom.					
the United States has stood against the corrupt and destabilizing regime in Cuba and embraced the enduring dream of the Cuban people to live in freedom.	UN	PERSON	DREAM	A DREAM IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
we will not lift sanctions on the Cuban government until it makes fundamental reforms.	UN	GOOD	UP	GOOD IS UP	Orientational
We have also imposed tough, calibrated sanctions on the socialist Maduro regime	UN	MACHINES	SANCTIONS	SANCTIONS ARE MACHINES	Ontological: Entity
the socialist Maduro regime in Venezuela, which has brought a once thriving nation to the brink of total collapse.	UN	PERSON	REGIME	A REGIME IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the socialist Maduro regime in Venezuela, which has brought a once thriving nation to the brink of total collapse.	UN	STEEP PLACE	POLITICAL COLLAPSE	POLITICAL COLLAPSE IS A STEEP PLACE	Structural
The socialist dictatorship of Nicolas Maduro has inflicted terrible pain and suffering on the good people of that country.	UN	PERSON	REGIME	A REGIME IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
This corrupt regime destroyed a prosperous nation	UN	PERSON	REGIME	A REGIME IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
by imposing a failed ideology that has produced poverty and misery everywhere it has been tried.	UN	PRODUCTS	POVERTY AND MISERY	POVERTY AND MISERY ARE PRODUCTS	Ontological: Entity
by imposing a failed ideology that has produced poverty and misery everywhere it has been tried.	UN	INDUSTRY	IDEOLOGY	IDEOLOGY IS AN INDUSTRY	Structural
stealing power from their elected representatives to preserve his disastrous rule.	UN	PRIVATE PROPERTY	POWER	POWER IS PRIVATE PROPERTY	Ontological: Entity
their country is collapsing	UN	BUILDING	NATION	A NATION IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
Their democratic institutions are being destroyed.	UN	OBJECTS	INSTITUTIONS	INSTITUTIONS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
As a responsible neighbor and friend	UN	NEIGHBOURHOOD	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD	Structural
That goal is to help them regain their freedom, recover their country, and restore their democracy	UN	BUILDING	DEMOCRACY	DEMOCRACY IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity

That goal is to help them regain their freedom, recover their country, and restore their democracy	UN	OBJECT	FREEDOM	FREEDOM IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
That goal is to help them regain their freedom, recover their country, and restore their democracy	UN	OBJECT	NATION	A NATION IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
I would like to thank leaders in this room for condemning the regime	UN	PERSON	REGIME	A REGIME IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We are fortunate to have incredibly strong and healthy trade relationships with many of the Latin American countries	UN	PEOPLE	TRADE RELATIONSHIPS	TRADE RELATIONSHIPS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
We are fortunate to have incredibly strong and healthy trade relationships with many of the Latin American countries	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
Our economic bond forms a critical foundation for advancing peace and prosperity	UN	BUILDING	PEACE AND PROSPERITY	PEACE AND PROSPERITY ARE A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
peace and prosperity for all of our people and all of our neighbors.	UN	NEIGHBOURHOOD	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A NEIGHBOURHOOD	Structural
We call for the full restoration of democracy and political freedoms in Venezuela.	UN	BUILDING	DEMOCRACY	DEMOCRACY IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
wherever true socialism or communism has been adopted, it has delivered anguish and devastation and failure.	UN	OBJECTS	ANGUISH, DEVASTATION, FAILURE	ANGUISH, DEVASTATION AND FAILURE ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
Those who preach the tenets of these discredited ideologies	UN	RELIGION	POLITICS	POLITICS IS RELIGION	Structural
the continued suffering of the people who live under these cruel systems.	UN	DOWN	BAD	BAD IS DOWN	Orientational
America stands with every person living under a brutal regime.	UN	DOWN	BAD	BAD IS DOWN	Orientational
America stands with every person living under a brutal regime.	UN	STANDING	SUPPORTING	SUPPORTING SOMETHING IS STANDING WITH SOMETHING	Orientational
All people deserve a government that cares for their safety, their interests, and their wellbeing, including their prosperity.	UN	PERSON	GOVERNMENT	THE GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
we seek stronger ties of business and trade with all nations of good will	UN	OBJECTS	TRADE DEALS	TRADE DEALS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity

we seek stronger ties of business and trade with all nations of good will	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
mammoth multinational trade deals	UN	ANIMALS	TRADE DEALS	TRADE DEALS ARE ANIMALS	Ontological: Entity
But as those promises flowed	UN	SUBSTANCES	PROMISES	PROMISES ARE SUBSTANCES	Ontological: Substance
millions of jobs vanished and thousands of factories disappeared	UN	OBJECTS	JOBS	JOBS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
millions of jobs vanished and thousands of factories disappeared	UN	OBJECTS	FACTORIES	FACTORIES ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
Others gamed the system and broke the rules	UN	GAME	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A GAME	Structural
our great middle class, once the bedrock of American prosperity	UN	FERTILE GROUND	AMERICAN PROSPERITY	AMERICAN PROSPERITY IS FERTILE GROUND	Structural
our great middle class was forgotten and left behind	UN	PERSON	MIDDLE CLASS	THE MIDDLE CLASS IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
America will pursue cooperation and commerce with other nations	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
This bond is the source of America's strength and that of every responsible nation	UN	SUBSTANCE	STRENGTH	STRENGTH IS A SUBSTANCE	Ontological: Substance
If this organization is to have any hope of successfully confronting the challenges before us	UN	AHEAD	CHALLENGES	CHALLENGES ARE AHEAD	Orientational
If we are to embrace the opportunities of the future	UN	PERSON	OPPORTUNITIES	OPPORTUNITIES ARE A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
there can be no substitute for strong, sovereign, and independent nations	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
nations that are rooted in their histories and invested in their destinies	UN	PLANTS	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PLANTS	Ontological: Entity
nations that seek allies to befriend, not enemies to conquer	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
nations that seek allies to befriend, not enemies to conquer	UN	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural
nations that are home to patriots	UN	НОМЕ	NATION	A NATION IS A HOME	Structural
Patriotism led the Poles to die to save Poland, the French to fight for a free France, and the Brits to stand strong for Britain.	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification

if we do not invest ourselves, our hearts, and our minds in our nations	UN	MONEY	PEOPLE, HEARTS AND MINDS	PEOPLE, HEARTS AND MINDS ARE MONEY	Ontological: Entity
we will not build strong families, safe communities, and healthy societies	UN	BUILDING	FAMILY, COMMUNITY, SOCIETY	FAMILY, COMMUNITY AND SOCIETY ARE A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
to build our prosperity	UN	BUILDING	PROSPERITY	PROSPERITY IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
Do we love our nations enough to protect their sovereignty and to take ownership of their futures?	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
Do we revere them enough to defend their interests, preserve their cultures	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
That was the moment when America awoke	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
when people take ownership of their future.	UN	OBJECT	FUTURE	THE FUTURE IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
The United States of America has been among the greatest forces for good	UN	FORCE	NATION	A NATION IS A FORCE	Structural
The United States of America has been among the greatest defenders of sovereignty, security, and prosperity for all.	UN	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Now we are calling for a great reawakening of nations, for the revival of their spirits, their pride, their people, and their patriotism.	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
History is asking us whether we are up to the task	UN	PERSON	HISTORY	HISTORY IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
a rebirth of devotion	UN	PERSON	DEVOTION	DEVOTION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
unlock the potential of life itself	UN	LOCKED CONTAINER	POTENTIAL OF LIFE	THE POTENTIAL OF LIFE IS IN A LOCKED CONTAINER	Ontological: Container
Our hope is a word and world of proud, independent nations	UN	COMMUNITY	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY	Ontological: Personification
nations that embrace their duties, seek friendship, respect others	UN	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
This is the true vision of the United Nations	UN	PERSON	THE UNITED NATIONS	THE UNITED NATIONS IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the deepest yearning that lives inside every sacred soul.	UN	CONTAINER	SOUL	THE SOUL IS A CONTAINER	Ontological: Container

every sacred soul.	UN	RELIGIOUS OBJECT	SOUL	THE SOUL IS A RELIGIOUS OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
let this be our message to the world: We will fight together, sacrifice together, and stand together	UN	COMMUNITY	WORLD	THE WORLD IS A COMMUNITY	Ontological: Personification
to defend American jobs	SU	PEOPLE	JOBS	JOBS ARE POPLE	Ontological: Personification
to rebuild and revitalize our Nation's infrastructure	SU	BUILDING	NATION	A NATION IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
pursue a foreign policy that puts America's interests first	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
pursue a foreign policy that puts America's interests first	SU	PERSON	FOREIGN POLICY	FOREIGN POLICY IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
pursue a foreign policy that puts America's interests first	SU	FIRST	BETTER	FIRST IS BETTER	Structural
pursue a foreign policy that puts America's interests first	SU	MOVING OBJECTS	OBJECTIVES	OBJECTIVES ARE MOVING OBJECTS	Structural
There is a new opportunity in American politics, if only we have the courage to seize it.	SU	OBJECT	OPPORTUNITY	OPPORTUNITY IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
the majesty of America's mission	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
to save our civilization from tyranny	SU	PERSON	CIVILIZATION	CIVILIZATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
America saved freedom, transformed science, and redefined the middle class standard of living for the entire world to see.	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
America saved freedom	SU	PERSON	FREEDOM	FREEDOM IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Now, we must step boldly and bravely into the next chapter of this great American adventure	SU	воок	HISTORY	HISTORY IS A BOOK	Structural
We can make our culture richer	SU	WEALTH	CULTURE	CULTURE IS WEALTH	Structural
We can make our culture richer	SU	PERSON	CULTURE	CULTURE IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We can make our faith deeper	SU	CONTAINER	FAITH	FAITH IS A CONTAINER	Ontological: Container
and our middle class bigger and more prosperous than ever before.	SU	BETTER	BIGGER	BIGGER IS BETTER	Structural

embrace the boundless potential of cooperation, compromise, and the common good	SU	PERSON	POTENTIAL	POTENTIAL IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
we can break decades of political stalemate.	SU	OBJECT	LACK OF POLITICAL ACTION	LACK OF POLITICAL ACTION IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
We can bridge old divisions	SU	BODY OF WATER	POLITICAL DIVISION	POLITICAL DIVISION IS A BODY OF WATER	Structural
heal old wounds	SU	PHYSICAL WOUND	POLITICAL DIVISION	POLITICAL DIVISION IS A PHYSICAL WOUND	Structural
build new coalitions	SU	BUILDINGS	COALITIONS	COALITIONS ARE BUILDINGS	Ontological: Entity
forge new solutions	SU	METAL OBJECTS	SOLUTIONS	SOLUTIONS ARE METAL OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
and unlock the extraordinary promise of America's future.	SU	LOCKED CONTAINER	FUTURE	THE FUTURE IS IN A LOCKED CONTAINER	Ontological: Container
we have launched an unprecedented economic boom	SU	VEHICLE	ECONOMIC BOOM	THE ECONOMIC BOOM IS A VEHICLE	Ontological: Entity
Wages are rising at the fastest pace in decades	SU	UP	MORE	MORE IS UP	Orientational
[wages are] growing for blue collar workers	SU	PLANTS	WAGES	WAGES ARE PLANTS	Ontological: Entity
Nearly 5 million Americans have been lifted off food stamps.	SU	UP	GOOD	GOOD IS UP	Orientational
The United States economy is growing almost twice as fast today as when I took office	SU	PLANT	ECONOMY	THE ECONOMY IS A PLANT	Ontological: Entity
we are considered far and away the hottest economy anywhere in the world.	SU	HOTTER	BETTER	HOTTER IS BETTER	Structural
Unemployment has reached the lowest rate in half a century.	SU	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
African-American, Hispanic- American and Asian-American unemployment have all reached their lowest levels ever recorded.	SU	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
Unemployment for Americans with disabilities has also reached an all-time low.	SU	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
My Administration has cut more regulations in a short time than any other administration	SU	OBJECTS	REGULATIONS	REGULATIONS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
Companies are coming back to our country in large numbers	SU	PEOPLE	COMPANIES	COMPANIES ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification

We have unleashed a revolution in American energy	SU	ANIMAL	REVOLUTION	THE REVOLUTION IS AN ANIMAL	Ontological: Entity
America is winning each and every day	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
America is winning each and every day	SU	GAME	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A GAME	Structural
our economy is thriving like never before.	SU	PLANT	ECONOMY	THE ECONOMY IS A PLANT	Ontological: Entity
An economic miracle is taking place in the United States	SU	MIRACLE	ECONOMIC GROWTH	ECONOMIC GROWTH IS A MIRACLE	Structural
We must be united at home to defeat our adversaries abroad.	SU	HOME	NATION	A NATION IS A HOME	Structural
300 highly qualified nominees who are still stuck in the Senate	SU	CONTAINER	SENATE	THE SENATE IS A CONTAINER	Ontological: Container
both parties came together to pass unprecedented legislation	SU	PEOPLE	POLITICAL PARTIES	POLITICAL PARTIES ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
she became a prison minister, inspiring others to choose a better path	SU	PATHS	DECISIONS	DECISIONS ARE PATHS	Structural
States across the country are following our lead	SU	PEOPLE	STATES	STATES ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
America is a Nation that believes in redemption.	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Matthew, on behalf of all Americans: welcome home.	SU	HOME	NATION	A NATION IS A HOME	Structural
protect our homeland	SU	HOME	NATION	A NATION IS A HOME	Structural
putting the ruthless coyotes, cartels, drug dealers, and human traffickers out of business.	SU	ANIMALS	IMMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS	Ontological: Entity
As we speak, large, organized caravans are on the march to the United States.	SU	SOLDIERS	IMMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS ARE SOLDIERS	Structural
We have a moral duty to create an immigration system that protects the lives and jobs of our citizens.	SU	OBJECT	INMIGRATION SYSTEM	AN INMIGRATION SYSTEM IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
working class Americans are left to pay the price for mass illegal migration	SU	EXPENSIVE	INMIGRATION	INMIGRATION IS EXPENSIVE	Structural
lower wages	SU	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
Smugglers use migrant children as human pawns to exploit our laws	SU	GAME	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A GAME	Structural

and gain access to our country.					
Human traffickers and sex traffickers smuggle thousands of young girls and women into the United States and sell them into prostitution and modern-day slavery.	SU	OBJECTS	WOMEN	WOMEN ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
lethal drugs that cross our border and flood into our cities	SU	CONTAINERS	CITIES	CITIES ARE CONTAINERS	Ontological: Container
lethal drugs that cross our border and flood into our cities	SU	LIQUID SUBSTANCE	DRUGS	DRUGS ARE A LIQUID SUBSTANCE	Ontological: Substance
The savage gang, MS-13	SU	ANIMALS	IMMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS ARE ANIMALS	Ontological: Entity
until we secure our border they're going to keep streaming back in.	SU	CONTAINER	NATION	A NATION IS A CONTAINER	Ontological: Container
until we secure our border they're going to keep streaming back in.	SU	LIQUID SUBSTANCE	IMMIGRANTS	IMMIGRANTS ARE A LIQUID SUBSTANCE	Ontological: Substance
I've gotten to know many wonderful Angel Moms, Dads, and families	SU	ANGELS	AMERICAN CITIZENS	AMERICAN CITIZENS ARE ANGELS	Structural
our Nation failed to control its very dangerous border.	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
child smuggling	SU	OBJECTS	CHILDREN	CHILDREN ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
where walls go up, illegal crossings go way down.	SU	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
our thriving economy	SU	PLANT	ECONOMY	THE ECONOMY IS A PLANT	Ontological: Entity
we are launching the first ever Government-wide initiative	SU	VEHICLE	INITIATIVE	THE INITIATIVE IS A VEHICLE	Ontological: Entity
To build on our incredible economic success	SU	BUILDING	ECONOMIC SUCCESS	ECONOMIC SUCCESS IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
We are now making it clear to China that after years of targeting our industries, and stealing our intellectual property,	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the theft of American jobs and wealth has come to an end.	SU	OBJECTS	JOBS	JOBS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
our Treasury is receiving billions of dollars a month from a country that never gave us a dime.	SU	PERSON	TREASURY	THE TREASURY IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Treasury is receiving billions of dollars a month from a country that	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification

never gave us a dime.					
I don't blame China for taking advantage of us	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Another historic trade blunder was the catastrophe known as NAFTA.	SU	NATURAL DISASTER	NAFTA	NAFTA IS A NATURAL DISASTER	Structural
I have met the men and women of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, New Hampshire, and many other States whose dreams were shattered by NAFTA.	SU	OBJECTS	DREAMS	DREAMS ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
I have met the men and women of Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Indiana, New Hampshire, and many other States whose dreams were shattered by NAFTA.	SU	PERSON	NAFTA	NAFTA IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Both parties should be able to unite for a great rebuilding of America's crumbling infrastructure.	SU	BUILDING	NATION	A NATION IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
The next major priority for me, and for all of us, should be to lower the cost of healthcare and prescription drugs	SU	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
in 2018 drug prices experienced their single largest decline in 46 years.	SU	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
disclose real prices to foster competition and bring costs down.	SU	PERSON	COMPETITION	COMPETITION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
disclose real prices to foster competition and bring costs down.	SU	DOWN	LESS	LESS IS DOWN	Orientational
No force in history has done more to advance the human condition than American freedom.	SU	FORCE	FREEDOM	FREEDOM IS A FORCE	Structural
Scientific breakthroughs have brought a once-distant dream within reach.	SU	OBJECT	DREAM	A DREAM IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
My budget will ask Democrats and Republicans to make the needed commitment	SU	PERSON	BUDGET	THE BUDGET IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Together, we will defeat AIDS in America.	SU	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural
Together, we will defeat AIDS in America.	SU	PERSON	AIDS	AIDS IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the fight against childhood cancer.	SU	WAR	POLITICS	POLITICS IS WAR	Structural

			I		
the fight against childhood cancer.	SU	PERSON	CHILDHOOD CANCER	CHILDHOOD CANCER IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
My budget will ask the Congress for \$500 million over the next 10 years to fund this critical life-saving research.	SU	PERSON	BUDGET	THE BUDGET IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
My budget will ask the Congress for \$500 million over the next 10 years to fund this critical life-saving research.	SU	PERSON	CONGRESS	THE CONGRESS IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the chilling displays our Nation saw in recent days	SU	COLD	BAD	COLD IS BAD	Structural
Let us work together to build a culture that cherishes innocent life.	SU	BUILDING	CULTURE	CULTURE IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
Let us work together to build a culture that cherishes innocent life.	SU	OBJECT	LIFE	LIFE IS AN OBJECT	Ontological: Entity
we have begun to fully rebuild the United States Military	SU	BUILDING	MILITARY	THE MILITARY IS A BUILDING	Ontological: Entity
We are also getting other nations to pay their fair share.	SU	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
the United States was being treated very unfairly by NATO	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the United States was being treated very unfairly by NATO	SU	PERSON	NATO	NATO IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
we will never apologize for advancing America's interests.	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
the United States entered into a treaty with Russia in which we agreed to limit and reduce our missile capabilities.	SU	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
Russia repeatedly violated its terms.	SU	PERSON	NATION	A NATION IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
stand with the Venezuelan people in their noble quest for freedom	SU	QUEST	POLITICS	POLITICS IS A QUEST	Structural
the brutality of the Maduro regime	SU	PERSON	REGIME	A REGIME IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
Great nations do not fight endless wars.	SU	PEOPLE	NATIONS	NATIONS ARE PEOPLE	Ontological: Personification
My Administration has acted decisively to confront the world's leading state sponsor of terror: the radical regime in Iran.	SU	PERSON	REGIME	A REGIME IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification

Appendix III

To ensure this corrupt dictatorship never acquires nuclear weapons	SU	PERSON	REGIME	A REGIME IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We will not avert our eyes from a regime that chants death to America and threatens genocide against the Jewish people	SU	PERSON	REGIME	A REGIME IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We must never ignore the vile poison of anti-Semitism, or those who spread its venomous creed.	SU	POISONOUS SUBSTANCE	ANTI-SEMITISM	ANTI-SEMITISM IS A POISONOUS SUBSTANCE	Ontological: Substance
your presence this evening honors and uplifts our entire Nation.	SU	UP	GOOD	GOOD IS UP	Orientational
Our most thrilling achievements are still ahead.	SU	AHEAD	OBJECTIVES	OBJECTIVES ARE AHEAD	Orientational
re-ignite the American imagination.	SU	FIRE	IMAGINATION	IMAGINATION IS A FIRE	Structural
rekindle the bonds of love and loyalty and memory that link us together as citizens, as neighbors, as patriots.	SU	FIRE	LOVE, LOYALTY AND MEMORY	LOVE, LOYALTY AND MEMORY ARE A FIRE	Structural
rekindle the bonds of love and loyalty and memory that link us together as citizens, as neighbors, as patriots.	SU	OBJECTS	LOVE, LOYALTY AND MEMORY	LOVE, LOYALTY AND MEMORY ARE OBJECTS	Ontological: Entity
we must go forward together.	SU	AHEAD	FUTURE	THE FUTURE IS AHEAD	Orientational
We must keep America first in our hearts.	SU	FIRST	BETTER	FIRST IS BETTER	Structural
We must keep freedom alive in our souls.	SU	PERSON	FREEDOM	FREEDOM IS A PERSON	Ontological: Personification
We must keep freedom alive in our souls.	SU	CONTAINER	SOUL	THE SOUL IS A CONTAINER	Ontological: Container