An analysis of metaphor used in political speeches responding to the financial crises of 1929 and 2008
ABSTRACT

Metaphor is a highly used rhetorical tool in crisis discourse. *The housing markets that collapse, an economic hurricane that swept the world, a distorted market that creates bubbles...* are just a few examples of metaphors that were sometimes subconsciously perceived during the most recent financial crisis. Since metaphor can influence thoughts and perception, this study examines the metaphor use of political leaders in office during the financial crises of 1929 and 2008 for both the US and the UK. It more specifically analyses the metaphor density in their speeches, as well as what conceptual metaphor themes characterised their crisis rhetoric. To this purpose, 35 speeches made during both financial crises were analysed on metaphor themes in financial context. It was found that overall, there was a higher metaphor use in the recent financial crisis and that American presidents use more metaphors in their speeches than British leaders. The political leaders in office when the crisis hit used more metaphors than their successors. Most political leaders used oversimplifying metaphor themes in their crisis speeches in order to make the crisis more understood and more clear to the people.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to sincerely thank my dissertation advisor Prof. Dr. David Chan for his invaluable help, patience and inspiration. Furthermore, my special thanks are extended to my parents, who gave me the opportunity to study and who have always been there to encourage me or keep both feet on the ground when needed. Major thankfulness also goes to my roommates Kaat and Margot, and to Janis, for being of great mental support. Thanks as well to my cousin Brecht for helping me out with his IT skills. Finally, I would also like to thank all of my close friends and family for their help and support.
CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS........................................................................................................... 8
INTRODUCTION.......................................................................................................................... 9
I.  Background ............................................................................................................................ 10
  1  Economic crises ................................................................................................................... 10
     1.1 1929 ............................................................................................................................. 10
     1.2 2008 ........................................................................................................................... 11
     1.3  Comparison of both crises .......................................................................................... 12
     1.4  Political repercussions ................................................................................................. 13
  2  Political leaders ................................................................................................................... 14
     2.1  United States of America ............................................................................................ 14
        2.1.1  1929 ...................................................................................................................... 14
           2.1.1.1  Herbert Hoover (31st US President from 1929-1933) ................................. 14
           2.1.1.2  Franklin D. Roosevelt (32nd US President from 1933-1945) ..................... 15
        2.1.2  2008 ...................................................................................................................... 16
           2.1.2.1  George W. Bush (43rd US President from 2001-2009) ............................... 16
           2.1.2.2  Barack Obama (44th US President from 2009-2017 Theor.) ................. 17
  2.2  United Kingdom .............................................................................................................. 18
     2.2.1  1929 ......................................................................................................................... 18
        2.2.1.1  Ramsay MacDonald (Prime Minister from 1929-1935) ............................... 18
        2.2.1.2  Stanley Baldwin (Prime Minister: 1923-1924; 1924-1929; 1935-1937) .... 18
     2.2.2  2008 ......................................................................................................................... 19
        2.2.2.1  Gordon Brown (Prime Minister from 2007-2010) ......................................... 19
        2.2.2.2  David Cameron (Prime Minister from 2010-2015 Theor.) .......................... 19
II.  Theory .................................................................................................................................. 21
     1  Metaphor .......................................................................................................................... 21
1.1 Definition ........................................................................................................... 21
1.2 Decorative Approach ....................................................................................... 22
1.3 Conceptual Metaphor Theory ......................................................................... 23
   1.3.1 Conceptual metaphors ........................................................................ 25
   1.3.2 Dead metaphors ............................................................................... 25
1.4 Source versus target domain / metaphorical mapping .................................. 26
1.5 Metaphor perception ....................................................................................... 26
2 Political speech ................................................................................................... 27
   2.1 Metaphor in political speech .................................................................... 27
   2.2 Crisis rhetoric ........................................................................................... 29
   2.3 Rhetorical context ...................................................................................... 30
      2.3.1 Inauguration speeches ................................................................ 32
      2.3.2 The audience ............................................................................... 33
3 Other rhetorical figures ......................................................................................... 34
   3.1 Simile ........................................................................................................... 34
   3.2 Metonymy .................................................................................................. 35
   3.3 Analogy ....................................................................................................... 36
   3.4 Parallelism .................................................................................................. 36
   3.5 Antithesis ................................................................................................... 36
   3.6 Allegory ...................................................................................................... 37
   3.7 Hyperbole .................................................................................................. 37
   3.8 Personification ............................................................................................ 37

III. Methodology ...................................................................................................... 38
1 Corpus ................................................................................................................. 38
2 Analysis ............................................................................................................... 39
IV. Data analysis ...................................................................................................... 43
1 Metaphor density ................................................................................................ 43
   1.1 Comparison of individual leaders ........................................................... 44
   1.2 Historical differences (1929 v. 2008) ..................................................... 45
1.3 Ideological differences ........................................................................................................ 46
1.4 National differences (UK v. US) .......................................................................................... 46

2 Metaphor themes ................................................................................................................... 47
  2.1 Functional use of metaphor themes .................................................................................... 51
    2.1.1 Battle / military ............................................................................................................. 51
    2.1.2 Machine / process / technology ................................................................................... 52
    2.1.3 Construction / build ..................................................................................................... 52
    2.1.4 Journey ........................................................................................................................ 53
    2.1.5 Illness / health .............................................................................................................. 54
    2.1.6 Motion ........................................................................................................................... 54
    2.1.7 Nature/ animal ............................................................................................................. 55
    2.1.8 heroic myth .................................................................................................................. 55
    2.1.9 Unity / encounter/ friendship ....................................................................................... 56
    2.1.10 Game .......................................................................................................................... 56
  2.2 Theme use per speaker ........................................................................................................ 57
    2.2.1 Herbert Hoover ............................................................................................................. 58
    2.2.2 Franklin D. Roosevelt .................................................................................................. 59
    2.2.3 George W. Bush .......................................................................................................... 60
    2.2.4 Barack Obama ............................................................................................................ 61
    2.2.5 Stanley Baldwin .......................................................................................................... 62
    2.2.6 Gordon Brown ........................................................................................................... 63
    2.2.7 David Cameron .......................................................................................................... 64
  2.3 1929 v. 2008 .................................................................................................................... 65
  2.4 Ideological comparison ....................................................................................................... 66
    2.4.1 Republican v. Democrat ............................................................................................... 67
    2.4.2 Labour v. Conservatives .............................................................................................. 69
  2.5 National comparison .......................................................................................................... 70

V. Conclusion ............................................................................................................................ 71

BIBLIOGRAPHY ....................................................................................................................... 73
### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HH</td>
<td>Herbert Hoover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FDR</td>
<td>Franklin Delano Roosevelt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GWB</td>
<td>George Walker Bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BO</td>
<td>Barack Obama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Stanley Baldwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GB</td>
<td>Gordon Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC</td>
<td>David Cameron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC1</td>
<td>first speech of David Cameron (see Appendix 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pers.</td>
<td>Personification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples from Appendix 1 are being referred to in this text as follows:

- (GWB1, Oct 6, 2009, p2) first speech of George W. Bush, October 6, 2009, page 2
- (GB3, p1) third speech of Gordon Brown, page 1

Examples from Appendix 2 are being referred to in this text as follows:

- (BO, p.17, nr.18) Barack Obama, page 17, line number 18
- (FDR, p68, nr.947) Franklin Delano Roosevelt, page 68, line number 947
INTRODUCTION

Given that political leaders carry a heavy burden on their shoulders during times of crisis, their crisis management is of high importance. The way in which they address the nation to respond to prevailing fears and uncertainties can have a great impact on the way they are perceived by the people. While crisis management is a well-researched topic, there is much less existing research on crisis rhetoric (see ‘t Hart & Tindall 2009). It is therefore an intriguing topic for research. Since metaphor forms a considerable part of rhetoric, this study aims at examining metaphor use in crisis discourse, more specifically financial crisis. The way in which political leaders make use of metaphor in financial crises can tell more about the character of their crisis rhetoric. This research is unique in its comparison of metaphor use between the financial crises of 1929 and 2008 for both the United States and The United Kingdom.

The research is based on a double research question. The first examines the density of metaphor in political speech relating to financial crises. The second looks into different metaphor themes used in these speeches responding to financial crises and sees how they characterize crisis rhetoric. In both research questions, the focus will be on four comparisons. The first will compare individual leaders on metaphor use, the second is a comparison of metaphor use between the financial crises of 1929 and 2008, the third compares the metaphor use of the United States with the United Kingdom and the last compares metaphor use between political ideologies.

The metaphors analysed in this study were retrieved from 35 political speeches made by the political leaders in office during both financial crises and of both countries. Due to the lack of relevant speeches for Ramsay MacDonald, UK Prime Minister during the Wall Street Crash, some comparisons involving the UK economic crisis of 1929 could not be carried out.

This paper will first provide a historical background for both crises and for all of the political leaders involved in the study. It will then give a theoretical framework on metaphor and political speech, which was required to identify and analyse metaphor in rhetorical speech. In the result section, the data found will be analysed and discussed.
I. Background

1 ECONOMIC CRISES

1.1 1929

“When America sneezes, the world catches a cold”¹ (Molavi 2011).

The Wall Street Crash occurred on October 29 in 1929, also called “Black Tuesday”, the day on which the American Stock Market collapsed. The crash produced the Great Depression, an era of economic slump and high unemployment that affected the entire Western industrialised world (History 2013a).

After the first World War ended in 1918, wartime recovery, also known as the Reconstruction, resulted in an era of confidence, great economic boom and subsequent prosperity. A rise in consumer spending as well as dramatic political, cultural and social change characterized these “roaring twenties”. Many Americans took part in this affluent “consumer society” and invested their money in the stock market (History 2013b).

However, these “roaring twenties” were followed by the great crash. Since more people and even companies had invested in the stock market, the value of shares had continued to rise. Even those who could not afford to buy stocks, could borrow the share from a broker, called buying “on margin” (Rosenberg 2013b). After stock prices had reached their peak in August 1929, they started fluctuating in September. On Black Thursday and Black Monday stock prices plummeted, but it was on “Black Tuesday” that the selling of 16 million shares caused a complete collapse of prices on the American Stock Market (Rosenberg 2013).

Investment turned down dramatically and people could no longer afford to spend money on consumer products, which led to an economic standstill. By the winter of 1932, the crisis was at its worst: 14 million Americans were left unemployed and more than 20,000 companies had

¹ Allusion to a quote by Klemens von Metternich “when France sneezes, Europe catches a cold”.

gone bankrupt (History 2013a). This Great Depression was to be the longest economic slump in history and would not be over until 1939, when the outbreak of the Second World War heavily depended on American industry (History 2013a).

1.2 2008

As early as the fall of 2007, the first cracks in the global economy came to the surface: US bank Bear Stearns and UK bank Northern Rock began to face liquidity problems (‘t Hart & Tindall 2009a: 14). It was not until September 2008 that the crash of the global bank Lehman Brothers triggered a world-wide crisis. Many stock markets around the world collapsed and many important banks were bailed out by their governments or by other banks, which was later called “the banking crisis”(‘t Hart & Tindall 2009a: 15). The industry too had to be rescued by bail-outs that were mainly financed by tax payers, but even this could not prevent the world from sinking into a global recession which was still in place at the time of writing.

As for the causes of the crisis, many hold financiers themselves as well as central bankers responsible for the crisis. Financiers are regarded as having been too confident while merely having lost track of their risky investments and central bankers are blamed for having tolerated this reckless behaviour (The Economist 2013). This confidence was mainly encouraged by a long period of stable growth and little inflation, called the years of “Great Moderation” (The Economist 2013). It is clear that this global financial crisis, that at the time of writing has been ongoing for half a decade, affected almost everyone in the world and is the worst since the Wall Street Crash of the 1930s.

Many rich countries continue to suffer from the effects of the crisis, since their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has not reached its pre-crisis level. In Europe in particular, where the economic crisis has developed into the euro crisis, many financial institutions have had to be bailed out by their governments (The Economist 2013). Because of these rescue plans, many people shift responsibility for the financial turmoil onto these bailed-out institutions. At the beginning of the crisis, member states of the EU treated the crisis individually; by the fall of 2008, they were moving towards a more common strategy so as to provide a strong European economic response (Fletcher 2009: 181).
The United Kingdom was one of the hardest-hit countries (Pritchard 2009: 114). As early as 2007, the United Kingdom began to suffer from financial difficulties, such as the crash of British bank Northern rock in September of the same year. It was not until American bank Lehman Brothers collapsed in September 2008 that Britain was visibly hit (Pritchard 2009: 117). Consequently, financial institutions such as Royal Bank Scotland, Bradford & Bingley, Barclays and Halifax Bank of Scotland announced huge losses and were later partly nationalised, just like Northern Rock was nationalised in February 2008 (Pritchard 2009: 99).

1.3 Comparison of both crises

The Wall Street Crash is seen as the largest economic crisis in history. However, since the crisis of 2008 has been evolving, many similarities have become apparent. Both crises can be related to each other through their historical development. As such, they were both subject to continuing reduction of financial regulations. (Eichengreen 2009: 56). Their length and severity as well as global consequences made them both go down in world history.

Similarities comprise that both crises had their origins in the USA and both saw an increase in public debt as well as fluctuating prices of assets. The crises of the banks led to lower demand and greater unemployment, which in its turn led to a downfall in production (Lupan 2012: 34).

When the 2008 crisis began to show similar patterns to 1929, experience from the Great Depression enabled politicians to react effectively (Eichengreen 2009: 58). Among those reactive measures was a law similar to one that was invoked during the Great Depression: it enabled the Federal Reserve, a US central banking system, to bail out banks or lend money to other institutions. This attempt to stabilise the market would come to be despised by many Americans (Donatio 2009: 62).

Typical measures in times of crisis, especially for the most affected countries, usually involve cutting down government spending and paying more taxes (‘t Hart & Tindall 2009: 346). The most striking difference between both crises’ measures is that taxes were augmented in the current crisis, but they were reduced in the 1930s (Lupan 2012: 34).
Both crises were also characterised by a change of government. Just like Herbert Hoover was the American president in office in 1929, Bush was the serving president when the 2008 crisis occurred. Since Hoover had failed to be re-elected during the Great Depression, it was important for Bush not to be associated with him so as to remain in office. For Obama, on the contrary, the road had been opened to meet the national need for a new and vigorous economic policy. This desired change had also been brought to the people by Roosevelt, who back in 1933 had convinced Americans of his New Deal (Donatio 2009: 47).

1.4 Political repercussions

“In god we trust, all others pay cash”

Disruptive events such as economic crises can bring about collective discontent, which usually leads to a shift of government between left and right parties (Hall 2009: 96). People will wonder whether the government could have prevented the crisis and assess how resistant it is to the trouble (‘t Hart & Tindall 2009c: 22). In the United States, the financial crisis led to Democrat Obama’s defeat of the Republican Party; in the United Kingdom, Gordon Brown was defeated by Conservative David Cameron (Hall 2009: 96).

Americans will always remain sceptical towards the government, given that this sentiment is among the reasons why the US Constitution was drafted. No matter what governments undertake in the full raging of the financial crisis, their decisions are always highly debated or disapproved of (Hall 2009: 100). Moreover, it is difficult for long-serving governments to appear capable of preventing a crisis from happening in the future (Pritchard 2009: 121). Political leaders running for Presidential (US) or general (UK) elections sometimes try to shift the blame on the incumbent for pursuing faltering policies (McConnell 2009: 320).

A crisis can be an opportunity for presidential candidates to focus on the need for change in policy, mostly one which they want to advocate anyhow. In the case of the US 2008 crisis, neo-liberalism was the economic stance when the crisis hit the country. Consequently,

---

2 Title of a novel (1966) by American humourist Jean Shepard
political parties advocating this economic system had a hard time proposing an alternative system as it would harm their credibility. Other parties could come up with a firm different point of view that was against this failing neo-liberal program (McCaffrie 2009: 303). The crisis therefore was the perfect tool for “neo-keynesians” and those in favour of activist government to see their long-dominating opponents go down (’t Hart & Tindall 2009b: 346). Since the 2008 crisis, neo-liberalism is no longer presumed as the prevailing economic system (Berger 2009: 103).

Depending on the severity of the crisis, the government’s policy can be subject to proposals for very radical reform (’t Hart & Tindall 2009c: 22). Citizens sometimes express their frustrations by switching to radical right parties. Immigration is the perfect illustration for hotly-debated radical issues that have emerged in recent years (Hall 2009: 97). Similar to the 1930s, the feeling of nationalism re-emerged, but to a much lesser extent. This trend can mainly be attributed to the anti-nationalist European Union and to the cooperation of other overall organisations such the IMF. (Maier 2009: 68).

2 POLITICAL LEADERS

2.1 United States of America

2.1.1 1929

2.1.1.1 Herbert Hoover (31st US President from 1929-1933)

In 1929, when the Stock Market collapsed, Herbert Hoover was the President in office. He was a republican and is seen for having left the unemployed in the lurch. His policy was called “rugged individualism”, which meant that people had to help themselves when in trouble, and did not have to expect others to help them out (History Learning Site 2006). In one of his speeches, this is what he said:

"It is not the function of the government to relieve individuals of their responsibilities to their neighbours, or to relieve private institutions of their responsibilities to the public." (Citation by H. Hoover, History Learning Site 2006).
He believed the crisis would soon be over. Even when the crisis was at its worst in 1932, he addressed businessmen, saying “Prosperity is just around the corner”. However, America sunk into the worst crisis in history, with people living in shacks on campsites called “Hoovervilles” and charity soup being called “Hoover stew” (History Learning Site 2006). Hoover did invest money into creating jobs for building projects like the “Hooverdam” or helping the unemployed by the Emergency Relief and Reconstruction Act in 1932, but to little avail (History Learning Site 2006).

There would be no firm governmental help under Hoover until he lost the presidential elections to Franklin D. Roosevelt. This Democrat had convinced the public of his New Deal and thus concluded thirteen Republican years (History Learning Site 2006).

2.1.1.2 Franklin D. Roosevelt (32nd US President from 1933-1945)

In 1932, when the Great Depression was at its worst, Democrat Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected the new US president. Corresponding to the need for change, he was able to foster optimism, saying his famous words “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.” (History 2013a).

With the help of his fireside chats, in which he addressed the public through radio broadcasts, public confidence was gradually being restored. Thanks to these talks, he also managed to sell his New Deal to the public by convincing them it was America’s way out of the recession. This New Deal reformed the financial system (Emergency Banking Act); it created jobs, benefited trade unions and stimulated recovery (National Industrial Recovery Act), but it also took measures to prevent abuses that had taken down the stock market in 1929 (History 2013a). This New Deal, which succeeded in refurbishing the economy, was inspired by Keynesian policies (Donatio 2009: 47). Economist John Maynard Keynes believed that the global economy would recover from the Great Depression by an increase in government spending and a decrease of taxes, since this would incite demand (Investopedia 2013).

However, Roosevelt’s programme began to face criticism because he permitted budget deficiencies, did not want to concede to Labour and had done away with the gold standard
(White House Historic Association 2006). In 1935, Roosevelt responded to these anxious businessmen and bankers by implementing the Social Security Act, which was the first legislation to provide Americans with insurance for unemployment (History 2013a).

In 1936, Roosevelt was re-elected. He was the last president to serve four terms and would lead the United States through the Second World War. His politics helped reduce the depth of the recession to a great extent, but America would only overcome its Great Depression by 1939, when it entered the Second World War (Rosenberg 2013a).

2.1.2 2008

2.1.2.1 George W. Bush (43rd US President from 2001-2009)

When the financial turmoil began in 2007, George W. Bush was serving his second term as Republican US President. He first ignored that there was a crisis by merely avoiding to mention the term “crisis” and ascribing the economic slump to a phase typical of the free market economy. His rhetoric of assuring the people that the government could handle the situation was similar to the one that had proved successful after 9/11, but failed after hurricane Katrina in 2005. Along with the war in Iraq, this approach was one of the reasons why he was not popular anymore at the end of his second term (‘t Hart & Tindall 2009c: 21). According to a poll by the BBC World Service, even many foreign countries held a very negative opinion on Bush, finding that his re-election was detrimental to security and world peace (The Program of International Policy Attitudes 2005).

Bush did acknowledge that there was an economic downturn, but assured that America had a strong economy because of its democratic capitalism. Therefore, he had implemented a new tax policy stimulating consumer spending through the Federal Housing Administration (Donatio 2009: 48). He thus did respond firmly to the crisis by stimulating economic growth and encouraging the expansion of companies. When the crisis grew worse, he came up with a rescue package, protecting individual’s deposits and safeguarding their credit availability (The White House 2010). In the last year of his term, Bush remarkably increased government
spending, mainly on a bail of $700 billion for economic services and the takeover of Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae (De Rugy 2009: 3).

According to Wood (2009), Bush faced one of the most difficult presidencies. A Republican, he advocated free market and was therefore accused of having caused the subprime mortgage crisis through deregulation. This holds not entirely true, but he did pursue some faltering policies, such as condoning to sell an effusive amount of mortgages to people who were not creditworthy (Wood 2009).

Bush’s rhetorical proficiency is a rather controversial issue. He is known for having made many linguistic mistakes in his speeches, which have been referred to as *Bushisms*.

2.1.2.2 Barack Obama (44th US President from 2009-2017 Theor.)

In 2009, Democrat Barack Obama was elected as the first black president of the United States. He had presented himself as bringing change in health care, energy and education policy, a change that was to bring relief to the desperate country (The White House).

Obama had portrayed himself as being against Bush’s war and economic policies. Moreover, he had blamed the Bush Administration along with their neo-liberal policy for the persisting financial turmoil (McCaffrie 2009: 297). On top of that, Obama’s stance was supported by the media, who largely believed in similar causes for the crisis (Donatio 2009: 65). Although Obama’s ideologies were very different of his predecessor’s, he was left with a legacy of Bush policies, such as war strategy, immigration and counterterrorism, that slowed him down (Kuhnhenn 2013).

With the American Recovery and Reinvestment Plan, Obama was convinced that reforming and increasing federal spending on health care, energy and education could help the United States surmount the crisis (Donation 2009: 51). This plan for recovery was a lot more bold and progressive than Bush’s, who had almost ignored the crisis at first. As for other economic

---

3 These have been collected by J. Weisberg in the book *George W. Bushisms: The Slate Book of Accidental Wit and Wisdom by our 43rd President* (2001).
actions, Obama further cut taxation and rose insurance for the unemployed in 2010 (Tax Relief, Unemployment Insurance Reauthorization, and Job Creation Act) (Wolffe 2013).

When Obama became president, many saw him as the one who could “usher in a new era of constructive and peaceful cooperation after 8 erosive years of confrontation, militarism, despotism and bullying by President George W. Bush” (Ziabari 2014).

2.2 United Kingdom

2.2.1 1929

2.2.1.1 Ramsay MacDonald (Prime Minister from 1929-1935)

Ramsay MacDonald was the British Prime Minister from 1929 until 1935. He was elected Prime Minister several months before the Wall Street Crash occurred in the same year. His Labour government was not prepared for it and saw no other solution but reduce public spending, among which the unemployment benefit (BBC 2014). MacDonald remained Prime Minister during the entire Great Depression.

Due to the lack of relevant speeches by MacDonald, he was not included in this research.

2.2.1.2 Stanley Baldwin (Prime Minister: 1923-1924; 1924-1929; 1935-1937)

Baldwin was not Prime Minister during the Crash and subsequent Depression. He, however, became the council lord president of MacDonald’s coalition ministry in 1931. As lord president, he was in favour of the Ottawa agreements (1932) and he wanted tariff adjustments. With these measures, he managed to install an economic protectionism (Encyclopaedia Britannica 2014).
2.2.2 2008

2.2.2.1 Gordon Brown (Prime Minister from 2007-2010)

Not long before the crash, Gordon Brown became Labour Prime Minister of the UK. Before taking office in 2007, Gordon Brown had been Chancellor of the Exchequer. As a consequence, he was indissolubly interconnected with the nation’s economy (McCaffrie 2009: 290).

Since Labour had changed from a centre-left party to New Labour under Tony Blair, the party had decided to become affiliated with neo-liberal economics. Consequently, there was no big economic difference between the Conservative Party and Labour, except for Labour’s belief that public spending was more beneficial to the economy (McCaffrie 2009: 290). For a long period, Brown denied his responsibility for the financial crisis, by which he likely suffered political damage (Pritchard 2009: 119).

As monetary measures to the crisis, Brown lowered the value-added tax (VAT), increased the age of retirement and pumped large sums of money into the economy. (Pritchard 2009: 99). Brown, together with many Britons, was against the European Union’s currency, the Euro. When the crisis struck, the country had a central bank, an interest rate and a currency of its own (Crook 2013). Between 2007 and 2009, there was a substantial depreciation of the pound sterling. The UK especially was bound to be hit very hard. Brown was not very popular while serving as Prime Minister of the UK (Bienkov 2013).

2.2.2.2 David Cameron (Prime Minister from 2010-2015 Theor.)

In 2010, David Cameron was elected Conservative Prime Minister. He led the coalition between the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats. Just like Obama had blamed the Bush government for the global financial crisis, Cameron has also accused the Brown government of having made too much debts. Next to contending that this caused the collapse of Northern Rock, Cameron tried to convince the public that the long-serving Labour party was at the
basis of the problem and had not managed the economy well in the past (McCaffrie 2009: 293).

However, Cameron was criticised for not having come up with a better and clear policy (McCaffrie 2009: 298). Since Tories are in favour of neo-liberalism, Cameron could not abandon this prevailing ideology because that would have been a betrayal to his party (McCaffrie 2009: 298). For example, due to the crisis many were in favour of tightening the financial system so as to avoid irresponsible lending. Cameron along with neo-liberals, however, advocates less market regulation (McCaffrie 2009: 298). Another example was the fact that Cameron was opposed to the government owning of the national bank Northern Rock (McCaffrie 2009: 298).

The political problem of David Cameron can to some extent be compared to the one of US Republican presidential candidate McCain since Tories as well as Republicans advocate a free market. Neither could give up this neo-liberal conviction, as that would have damaged their political credibility, nor stick too strictly to this economic ideology, as that would make them too affiliated with the abdicating President who’s ideology was faltering (McCaffrie 2009: 299).

Compared to the separation of powers in the US, the Westminster system continually interacts with the opposition and therefore has a strong oppositional system. Opposition parties in the US, on the contrary, are fairly hard to acknowledge.
II. Theory

1 METAPHOR

1.1 Definition

A metaphor is “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them.” (Merriam-Webster 2014b). Its meaning is derived from the Greek noun “metaphorā”, which signifies “a transfer” (Oxford Dictionaries 2014). A metaphor thus draws a comparison between two terms, without using the words “as” or “like”, as is done in simile. The things that are compared with one another are from “different classes of experience”, which creates a new understanding through specific use of language. (Burkholder & Henry 2009: 98). The terms focus and frame are indications for the two concepts that are being compared metaphorically by a writer or speaker. The focus is the most essential term and relates to the topic that is being discussed. The frame refers to the other term that is of a different kind of experience from this focus. By bringing together this focus and frame, the metaphor as a rhetorical figure in fact urges the hearer or reader to understand one concept “in terms of” the other concept (Burkholder & Henry 2009: 98).

For example, “the flow of credit is the lifeblood of our economy” (BO, 127, nr.971). This metaphor has a resounding effect because people would not normally see the economy as a physical body. Particularly because of this image that is evoked, hearers of the speech are invited to compare the flow of credit to lifeblood. This makes them perceive the economy as an important and critical living being that needs to be taken care of attentively. Consequently, they will perceive the economy in a different way and even their actions in everyday life may have changed because of it (example by analogy with example of Burkholder & Henry 2009: 98).
However, readers or listeners have to be capable of connecting these two different experiences or meanings in order for the metaphor to be understood (Burkholder & Henry 2009: 98). To this purpose, rhetor and audience must share a common knowledge or have experienced similar things. Consequently, this conditional cooperation enables the metaphor to convey its right effect on the audience (Burkholder & Henry 2009: 99).

In the field of speech analysis, classifying metaphors is a difficult task. Cognitive linguists hold diverse views on the categorisation of metaphorical expressions. Within the study of cognitive linguistics, interest focuses on a limited number of metaphor types, such as conceptual and conventional metaphors (Lesz 2011: 29).

1.2 Decorative Approach

Through history, metaphor was largely defined by the decorative approach. This view attributes an ornamental and poetic function to metaphor and does not see metaphor as influential on thought. Processing metaphorical language is assumed to demand more effort from the recipient than literal language (Deignan 2005: 2). That is why this approach distinguishes metaphor from common language by saying it forms part of poetic language (Lesz 2011: 9).

Greek philosopher Aristotle is seen as a pioneer in the field of rhetoric. He laid the foundations for this classical view on metaphor. According to him, metaphor merely functioned as an embellishment and had to be excluded from argumentation since it caused complexity and ambiguity (Lesz 2011: 10-11). This conviction is in direct contrast with today’s view, which attributes a major role to metaphor in discourse.

The decorative approach mainly discerns creative or poetic metaphors. Creative metaphors are mostly used in literature. They are innovative and uncommon. Native speakers will most probably be aware of their metaphorical character. When encountering a creative metaphor, its meaning is more cognitively demanding to understand and the context is crucial to its interpretation (Lesz 2011: 10). Since these metaphors usually do not occur in political speech, they will not be discussed further here.
The decorative approach has proven controversial and its limits have been revealed by metaphor researchers. Firstly, it does not take into account that metaphor, especially conventional or dead, is omnipresent in language and thus has a major influence on thought. Furthermore, it ignores that different kinds of metaphors can be of the same semantic field. That is why this approach is in sharp contrast with the current Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Deignan 2005: 3-4).

1.3 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Conceptual or Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT) is the most accepted theory that relates metaphor to cognition. As opposed to the decorative approach, this theory states that metaphor “plays a central role in thought, and is indispensable to both thought and language” (Deignan 2005: 4).

The approach was first elaborated by Lakoff and Johnson, who in their pioneering work “Metaphors we live by” (1980) featured its main perceptions. According to them, everyday language is full of conventional metaphors. These are of great importance and they shape our cognition. Writers have concepts in their minds that they express through semantically related metaphors (Deignan 2005: 4). The concepts in our minds are influenced by metaphor, because these help us to grasp the meaning of many abstract notions such as ideas, emotions, plans, time, sociology, etc. that are only vaguely defined by what we have experienced. Therefore, we always try to understand these abstract concepts of which we do not fully make sense by comparing them to concepts that are more clear in our experience or thought (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 115).

For example, the conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMY IS A BUILDING:

- Let it be this government that finally **builds an economy** where no one is left behind (DC, p.214, nr.1129).
- We must **build** a 21st century regulatory **framework** that creates new jobs and grows the American economy (BO, p.107, nr.203).
- We were pioneers of a modern-day **banking system built on trust** (GB, p.154, nr.328).
- The flourishing of moral sentiments is the **foundation** of the **wealth of nations**. (GB p. 181, nr. 1365).

Our perception on the economy is thus structured by this conceptual metaphor that is appealing to positive emotions. It represents the economy as the process of building a strong construction. An economy thus becomes something solid of which every component is crucial to the stability of the whole.

Another example is the conceptual metaphor **A BAD ECONOMY IS A DISEASE**:

- They called our economy **the sick man of Europe** (DC, p. 215, nr. 1142).
- The men who say that they can **cure unemployment** are the men who have said it for years, and have never done anything except increase unemployment. (SB, p. 141, nr. 227).
- It is not merely a **prescription** for short-term spending. (BO p. 118, nr. 629).
- Industries of all kinds, which **have been suffering** in the past from the competition of foreign goods (SB p. 141, nr. 196).
- Complex products like derivatives and securitised loans which were supposed to disperse risk around the world instead **spread contagion** (GB, p. 178 nr. 1253).

This conceptual metaphor connects to the above-mentioned conceptual metaphor **THE ECONOMY IS A BODY**. By representing it now as something sick which needs to be cured, the economy becomes a living creature whose health is precarious and needs serious attention.

Since the concepts in our head structure the way we understand things, our conceptual system is of major importance to our daily perception of reality. Considering that this conceptual system is full of metaphor, our everyday experiences, thoughts or actions are largely affected by metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 3).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also state that metaphors originate from our earliest experiences in life. From the day that we exist, we use these universal experiences to think, which makes them form part of our global perception. Since this thinking is universal, we all understand and form part of the same “metaphorical language” (Goatly 2007: 16). Goatly illustrates this idea by the metaphor “**FREEDOM IS SPACE TO MOVE**”. From our birth onward, we experience how much space we or other objects take in or how we can be short of space.
Through this natural acquisition, this metaphor makes us understand the meaning of such abstract words as freedom (Goatly 2007: 15).

1.3.1 Conceptual metaphors

Given that the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is the most accepted approach on metaphor today, conceptual metaphors are among the most important. They underlie our conceptual system and therefore have a great influence on thought. Since most conceptual metaphors are unconsciously perceived, their power is all the more important. (Deignan 2005: 15). For example, one does not likely remark the metaphor in “I’m feeling down” because it is so deep-seated in daily language. It is because of this entrenchment of the most actively used expressions that their power to influence our minds is significant (Deignan 2005: 15). “In conceptual metaphors the more abstract, cognitively unavailable target domain is explained by means of a concrete and cognitively available one, viz. source domain via the process of mapping”. (Lesz 2011: 13). Examples of conceptual metaphors are metaphors of construction, creation, destruction, etc.

For example, the conceptual metaphor of DESTRUCTION:

- We must **crack down** on trading activity that crosses the line to market manipulation (BO p.109, nr.285).
- The Conservatives say our country is **broken** (GB p.153, nr.282).

The example “Consider the **devastating** news we just received this morning” (BO, p.121, nr.745) can also be seen as a conceptual metaphor of destruction. However, since it is omnipresent in daily language, its meaning has become well-known and it is not perceived anymore as a quirk way of putting something. This metaphor is consequently identified as a dead metaphor.

1.3.2 Dead metaphors

Contrary to what the name indicates, dead metaphors are the most common metaphors in thought and language. They are stereotyped expressions that go unnoticed, but at the same time are very important to our perception of the world (Lesz 2011: 29). It is not very
cognitively demanding to perceive a dead metaphor because they are cliché-ridden and have become conventionalised language. Hence the term “dead”, which also refers to their obsolete character. However, they do have a big impact on the concepts we form in our head. It is especially because of this conventionalised character that we are unaware of their power to influence our minds subconsciously (Goatly 2005: 21-22).

Some examples of dead metaphors:
- “And I am running for President of the United States because the dreams of the American people must not be endangered any more (BO, p.102, nr.33).
- The Fed has cut interest rates several times (GWB, p.68, nr.85).
- We’re taking bold action to deal with it (GWB, p.97, nr.1215).

1.4 Source versus target domain / metaphorical mapping

As mentioned above, metaphor transfers certain characteristics of the focus onto the frame, i.e. the characteristics relevant to the metaphorical comparison. In other words, they are mapped from the source domain onto the target domain. A typical example of this mapping can be illustrated by the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS FIRE. In this example, characteristics of the source domain are analogically mapped onto the target domain. This analogy between both conceptual domains can be illustrated by the fact that anger as well as fire can be kept under control and their intensity can rapidly flare, for example in an “outbreak of fire” or an “outbreak of anger”. Someone who is angry can thus be compared to something burning. In this case, the focus of fire is mapped metaphorically on the frame of anger intensity (Lesz 2011: 15).

1.5 Metaphor perception

As mentioned earlier, metaphors have the powerful ability to influence our thoughts and perception. They can affect the way in which we structure our mind as well as influence the way in which we perceive a certain conception (Lesz, Barbara p.19).
“For example, the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY/COMMODITY has contributed to the fact that this abstract, uncountable expression is now perceived as a quantitative entity. Thus, we can speak of time in terms of commodity as if we owned it or could give it away. Note the following metaphorical expressions: he’s wasting my time, I have spent five hours dancing. This way of conceptualising time is so inherent to Western culture that many consider it objective reality, (…)” (Lesz 2011: 19).

As applied to the examples of THE ECONOMY IS A BUILDING and THE ECONOMY IS A BODY (1.3 Conceptual Metaphor Theory), our perception is also influenced by these conceptual metaphors. By highlighting its vital character and representing it as something big and solid, we perceive it as something very important that needs to be kept alive and deserves a lot of attention. In this way, we may accord more importance to its condition and start to handle accordingly.

2 POLITICAL SPEECH

2.1 Metaphor in political speech

Metaphors have an impact on cognitive perception while at the same time even native speakers do not always realise the presence of metaphor in a speech or text. The sum of these two valuable features results in its power to influence people’s opinions or thoughts and alter their vision on the world. Since politics are closely connected with ideology, metaphors share a great deal in influencing people’s political conviction (Lesz 2011: 21).

In metaphor, the associations made between the focus and the frame can be very direct and easy, but they can also be very intricate and powerful in affecting people’s attitudes. In organising our perception of a certain issue, metaphor suggests a point of view on this issue and thus creates a context for dealing with it (Burkholder & Henry 2009: 100). In this way, metaphor is able to affect the policy convictions of individuals, but also of complete nations (Burkholder & Henry 2009: 111).
As metaphor influences how we think and accordingly act, its cognitive function is of major importance to political speech. Politics deals with complex materials that are sometimes difficult to grasp. That is why metaphor is an indispensable and frequently applied figure of speech in political discourse: it helps people to understand complex concepts and functions as a persuasive tool (Burkholder & Henry 2009: 100).

Metaphor is thus a tool for understanding politics by comparing difficult political matters in the focus with easier and understandable things in the frame. In this way, it has the ability to sort out redundant information or to reorganise information in a more accessible way so as to transmit only the essence of the message (Burkholder & Henry 2009: 100).

Metaphor can also invigorate a message or make a speech more memorable, as well as arouse emotional response. The way in which a metaphor transmits an emotional feeling can be illustrated by calling a political leader “a Hitler”. The emotions aroused or exemplified by this allusion have an influence on how the national leader is perceived. The way in which a political leader can thus influence people’s emotions is one of the principal reasons why they use metaphors in their discourses. Some of the most famous speeches based on inspiring potential followers through metaphorical use were the “I have a dream”-speech of Martin Luther King Jr. and the “thousand points of light” speech of George W. Bush, as well as the “Iron Curtain” address of Winston Churchill (Mio et al. 2005: 288).

The higher the metaphor use in political speeches, the more they seem to inspire followers. This is mainly because these speeches arouse emotions that connect with the topic or rhetor while at the same time communicating what measures need to be taken (Mio et al. 2005: 288). According to a study by Mio et al. (2005) on American presidents’ charisma, presidents that used twice as many metaphors in their inaugural speech were perceived as more charismatic. Passages containing a lot of metaphors were experienced as more inspirational, from which can be deduced that metaphor serves as an inspirational figure of speech. Expressing emotion through body language, however, is also of great importance and can invigorate a political figure’s credibility.

4 Surprisingly, this function draws close to the notion of the decorative metaphor.
2.2 Crisis rhetoric

Next to governing during crises, it is of the utmost importance to know what to communicate to the people and how to say it. Presidents such as Abraham Lincoln, Winston Churchill, John F. Kennedy and Franklin D. Roosevelt went down in history as successful orators for having consoled and inspired their people when they needed it the most (Boin 2009: 309). It can thus be said that rhetoric plays a very important role in managing a crisis.

When a crisis hits a country, the biggest challenge for a political leader is to see it coming as well as to take charge of the situation by proposing a reasonable way out of the crisis. One bad decision can harm their popularity or even curtail their political career (Sundelius 2009: 328).

Typical of a crisis is the high level of uncertainty amongst the people. Political leaders will therefore need to calm the nation down by responding to its prevalent emotions and beliefs as well as by personifying authority (‘t Hart & Tindall 2009b: 332). It is of the utmost importance that crisis leaders look confident. When performing as a leader during a crisis, it is important to gather your people around a common view and to profile yourself as manager of the whole (Boin 2009: 309). If political leaders can successfully portray a crisis as a national threat, which mostly happens through media, they are likely to be seen as regulators of the national interest (‘t Hart & Tindall 2009b: 346). However, taking advantage of a crisis for instituting reforms can create unattainable expectations or damage the leader’s credibility (Boin 2009: 312).

When a financial crisis hits the country, political leaders will usually tone down its severity so as to prevent a break-out of panic and secure consumer confidence. If they do not do this, the resulting panic could seriously harm the national economy by causing stock markets to plummet (Pritchard 2009: 121). Crises also entail an abundance of communication, while at the same time people are lacking information (Sundelius 2009: 324). It is up to the political leader to communicate the right information so as to defeat all kinds of unofficial sources of information diffusing anxiety. It is a hard task for public leaders to respond properly to this
need and build up public credibility, while securing their policy success (McConnell 2009: 316).

Political leaders often try to direct emotions by referring to the past. In this study of crises speeches, there is no doubt that political leaders of today will refer to the Wall Street crash and subsequent Great Depression. This will likely be done to demonstrate the seriousness of the crisis, but also to promote their policy by drawing analogies to successful historical policy. “The point about using analogies in meaning making is not that they are correct; it is that they resonate.” (‘t Hart & Tindall 2009b: 343)

Opposition leaders face an even greater challenge when responding to the crisis, as they have less responsibility and political power (McCaffrie 2009: 287). It is dangerous if multiple leaders try to interpret the same crisis differently, because their assessments could scare investors or affect the stock markets (Boin 2009: 311). It is therefore critical to find the perfect balance between stability and change; and safeguarding the security of societies, while at the same time taking into account its democratic values (Sundelius 2009: 328).

2.3 Rhetorical context

The importance of rhetorical speech is dependent on the context of the speech. This context is determined by the event itself as well as the people involved and the circumstances in which the speech is held. The effect of Martin Luther King’s “I Have a dream” speech, for example, was intensified by the situation in which it was held, namely the fight against segregation. Given that the dream was still to be accomplished and that the speech was held during the March on Washington, it added to the importance of the speech. On top of that, King delivered a vigorous speech and he evoked a lot of images to reinforce his discourse. (Farrell & Young 2009: 34-35). In order to analyse and evaluate a speech properly, it is thus very important to understand its entire rhetorical context.

Analysing the context of a rhetorical speech also shows what particular choices the rhetor has made in function of his discourse. The choices he or she makes are anyhow determined by the context of the speech (Farrell & Young 2009: 36). For example, a speech responding to a
particular crisis. To illustrate the importance of taking into account a context of a political discourse:


The context of a rhetorical discourse includes the event itself, the public, the circumstances and the way in which these three contextual components relate to each other (Farrell & Young 2009: 35).

A context usually consists of two components. The first is the physical context of the event, the second is the political and social context of the rhetorical situation. A clear example of this contextual division is the Gettysburg Address by Abraham Lincoln. When he delivered this speech, he was standing close to the battlefield and the graves of the battle he was addressing. Considering the physical context of the event, this is what he said: “we are met on a great battlefield of that war; we have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place.” As for the political context, the choice of going to Gettysburg was a political choice considering the importance of the event, which was a commemoration of the bloody and lethal battle fought at Gettysburg. Another major political motive was making the news in view of the upcoming presidential campaign (Hill 2009: 41).

As for this research, the political and social context of the rhetorical situation is a financial crisis. The way in which a political leader plays along with its public and the circumstances is of considerable importance. The following example is from a speech by Obama, which was held on September 16, 2008, the month in which the US bank Lehman Brothers crashed and triggered the financial crisis: “So let’s be clear: what we’ve seen the last few days is nothing less than the final verdict on an economic philosophy that has completely failed.” (BO, p.102, nr.30). Considering the date of the speech and the fact that he refers to the event with “what we’ve seen” make this speech have a great rhetorical importance.
2.3.1 Inauguration speeches

Inaugural addresses occur when a new political leader has been elected or when a re-elected political leader enters his second term. After a political leader has taken the oath of office, he or she is to give a speech in which policy proposals and prospects are outlined. These speeches are thus given in a specific situation which influences the nature of the discourse. They differ from other political addresses, such as state of the union speeches or campaign addresses (Benoit 2009: 86-87).

In his inaugural address, the political leader should try to unite the nation. Through his discourse he needs to rally the population around the new administration and its plans. Because a new administration signifies a new beginning, the president or prime minister is usually expected to talk about the change he wants to make or see. In inaugurals that usher in a political leader’s second term, however, emphasis is put on continuity rather than change (Benoit 2009: 86-87). Inaugural speeches are thus a genre in political speech. All genres of discourse contain patterns that typify them. Consequently, these patterns make people expect certain issues to be talked of or reassured of (Kuypers 2009: 372).

US President Barack Obama, for example, is known for his powerful rhetoric. Since language is of great importance in politics, his powerful speeches have attributed a great deal to his political success. Language in politics can help political figures to convince the public as well as to call for engagement into certain practices. A political leader enjoys success when he manages to create a certain affinity with the public as well as to persuade them that he has the required qualities to rule. Metaphor helps a great deal in accomplishing this (Lesz 2011: 5).

Today, however, political leaders tend to be used as the face of a political institution rather than truly represent it. Namely, the address that they may or may not have drafted themselves has gone through a process of adaptation and perfection to the extent that the edited message they bring is not their own anymore. Many others that form part of the team have revised it in function of this organisation, whereof the political leader merely functions as a spokesperson (Hill 2009: 44).
2.3.2 The audience

Besides being expressive, rhetorical speech is also a strategic choice of the rhetor who wants to have an impact on the way in which the audience responds. In order to fully grasp the context of a rhetorical event, a reconstruction of the public is essential (Hill 2009: 40).

A public can be seen as “a community of persons who share values, interests, and outlook.” (Farrell & Young 2009: 34). They have the same opinion about specific ideas, norms, motions, policy, etc. There can also be smaller communities within a public, such as political or ethnic groups. These are capable of confirming community values or particularities as well as appropriate what has been decided or acted upon. By doing this, they informally make these decisions form part of the broader public community truths (Farrell & Young 2009: 34). They can thus have a great influence on political decisions. Even though a public may contain a wide range of disparate groups, the politician is likely to try and characterize the public as a unified whole, for example as a group that stands against a common enemy.

When a crisis occurs, the way in which public opinion develops becomes a precarious issue. The public must be adequately informed to express its opinion or approve of the situation through discussion and interaction with its political leaders (Farrell & Young 2009: 34).

According to Aristotle, the audience primarily function as judges of decision expediency. At ceremonial addresses, for example, auditors are in fact spectators but they even so decide upon whether decisions made by ceremonial participants are advantageous or not. For this, ceremonial speech revolves around praising or blaming political figures in order to group the auditors into a public that forms around common ideas like progress and tolerance (Hill 2009: 42).

Since mass media arose together with 24-hour news broadcasting, the audience is continuously submerged by news coverage. That is why the audience takes on an increasingly important role today (Hill 2009: 42).

The degree to which a speaker is assessed as intelligent is often determined by how he corroborates and structures his argumentation. The way in which values such as justice,
peace, loyalty, courage, charity etc. are elaborated in his speech shows the nature and morality of his personality (Hill 2009: 47).

The impact of a leader’s discourse on the audience shows whether the discourse was successful or not. For example, if the stock market rises after the president held a speech on the economic situation of the country, his speech was successful. However, these consequences can often be misleading, but at the same time they can easily demonstrate success (Hill 2009: 50).

3 OTHER RHETORICAL FIGURES

Metaphor is a figure of speech that is closely connected to other rhetorical figures. When these occur in the same sentence or expression, they may even reinforce one another. Rhetorical figures such as hyperbole, allegory and simile have the capacity to associate, resemble or compare, which is closely related to the analogical aspect of metaphor (Wikipedia 2014). In this chapter, the rhetorical figures of simile, metonymy, parallelism, antithesis, hyperbole and allegory will be discussed in the aforementioned order.

3.1 Simile

Simile is a figure of speech that compares two things with one another, most likely things that are unrelated. To this extent, simile uses the words “like” or “as” to compare things, which is the main way in which it can be distinguished from metaphor. An example of a simple comparison is “He eats like a bird” (Merriam-Webster 2014c).

Both metaphor and simile conjure up images. They use analogy in order to have people adjust to a new concept by projecting this new information onto an already existing belief or idea. In fact, metaphors and simile invigorate and adorn comparisons because they make ideas lively. In rhetoric, their capability to influence the cognition and consequent action of listeners or readers is fundamental. This ability certainly holds for metaphor (Burkholder &
Henry 2009: 97). In literature, especially in poetry, similes are more intricate and elaborate (Merriam-Webster 2014c).

According to Odonoghue (2009), The way in which simile differs from metaphor is not a defined matter. Their effect and meaning differs, but there does not exist a fixed rule that helps distinguish them from each other in specific situations. However, the main difference in effect appears to be the inclusion of “like”. While metaphor is said to refer to a more abstract entity, simile usually refers to something concrete and literal. Because of this literality, some claim that the effect of simile is less significant. Others say that it is precisely because of this explicit call for contemplating the comparison actively, simile is more powerful. In any case, it is the context that is of utmost importance for determining the effect of both figures of speech.

3.2 Metonymy

A rhetorical figure, metonymy implies that one entity is used to refer to another connected entity. For example, a “part for the whole” refers to one part of the entity that is replacing the entity. While metaphor is about understanding or imagining one concept with the help of another concept, metonymy centres upon referring to a concept that is standing for another one. Next to its referential role, it also functions as a tool for understanding. In its “part for the whole” dimension, the choice for a certain part of it indicates what feature is meant to be highlighted (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 35).

The example “More businesses will be shuttered.” (BO, Feb 4, 2009, p.1) illustrates this “part for the whole” metonym. A shutter is a cover that closes a window, which implies that a shuttered business is a closed business. A part for the whole is thus exemplified by the shutters that represent the whole business: a part of the building that is closed refers to the entire building being closed.

Contrary to a “part for the whole”, there is also a “whole of the part”. In the example “Know that America is a friend of each nation and every man, woman and child” (BO, Jan 20, 2009, p.4), America refers to the government of the United States of America. The reason why the
whole of America is used to refer to a smaller part of the country, namely its governing branch, is because it highlights the greatness and importance of the country.

3.3 Analogy

In linguistics, an analogy is “a similarity between like features of two things, on which a comparison may be based”. It does this by creating sentences or words that are referring to existing words, or by reforming words so their meaning can be derived from the original word (Dictionary 2014). Consider the example “He turned into a spendaholic”. The analogy “spendaholic” is no existing English word, but it has been derived from the word “alcoholic”. Since an alcoholic is someone who is addicted to alcohol, it can be understood that a spendaholic is a person who is addicted to spending money. The meaning of a spendaholic can thus be analogically derived from the word it alludes to.

3.4 Parallelism

“Parallelism is the use of components in a sentence that are grammatically the same; or similar in their construction, sound, meaning or meter.” (Literary Devices 2014b). The repetition of this rhetorical function gives a certain rhythm to the construction and makes it easier to read or perceive. In this way, parallelism can have a persuasive function (Literary Devices 2014b). For example, “the God-given promise that all are equal, all are free, and all deserve a chance to pursue their full measure of happiness.” (Obama, inaugural 2009, p.2). In this parallel construction, the repetition of “all are” gives a certain rhythm, balance and flow to the construction that makes it resounding.

3.5 Antithesis

Antithesis is a rhetorical figure that contrasts two or more ideas by positioning them in a parallel structure. As for its effect, it can make a proposition more clear and imposing. When combined with other rhetorical figures, it can reinforce the structure even more (Merriam-
Consider the example “A settlement where both markets and government are seen to be the servants of the people, and never their masters.” (GB, p.148, nr.77). In this construction, the antithesis comprises the opposition of the words servants and masters.

3.6 Allegory

An allegory describes an abstract idea by using figures, characters or events. It describes this idea by telling a story that explains or teaches a certain principle. In this way, it is a kind of symbolic reference that attempts to teach a moral lesson. The most famous example of an allegory is Plato’s “Allegory of a Cave”. It is a narrative that comprises the message of how some can see the light and others can be ignorant (Literary Devices 2014a). In everyday language, it is not a simple task to perceive an allegory. Well-known examples of politicians are G.W. Bush’s use of the term “Axis of Evil” when he was talking about the war that the “allies”, or the allied countries, were about to wage against the “Axis”.

3.7 Hyperbole

A hyperbole is “an extravagant statement or figure of speech not intended to be taken literally”. It has its rhetorical effect through exaggeration. An example of a hyperbole is “to wait an eternity” or “This book weighs a ton” (The Free Dictionary 2014b).

3.8 Personification

A personification is a type of metaphor. It represents an object or an idea as a human being or at least it gives this object or idea human characteristics. In the example “The future of the world demands it” (FDR5, line 1114), the future is presented as the subject that is demanding something, which only a human being could actively do. The future is thus personified in this example (Literary Devices 2014c). Although personification is a sort of metaphor, it was included in this section to explain it briefly. It will, however, not be included in this research.
III. Methodology

1 CORPUS

This research started with an intensive hunt for political speeches responding to financial crises. On the basis of these findings, the corpus was clearly defined. First, the decision was made to compare both financial crises of 1929 and 2008, as well as treat political leaders of both the United Kingdom and the United States. In order to get an accurate overview of the metaphor use per period, two political leaders in office during each crash were selected per country. For each political leader, five speeches were examined to give the most representative average of their metaphorical content.

However, this research immediately met with some complications. For the Wall Street Crash of 1929, the Internet as well as the main online database britishpoliticspeech.org contained no relevant speeches of Ramsey MacDonald, the British Prime Minister at the time of the crash. It was thus decided to leave him out of the corpus and use speeches by Stanley Baldwin, who did not become Prime Minister until 1935 but gave several speeches during the depression. These are the selected leaders:

- Herbert Hoover (US presidency: 1929 - 1933) [Republican] : 5 speeches
- Franklin D. Roosevelt (US Presidency: 1933 - 1945) [Democrat] : 4 speeches
- Stanley Baldwin (UK Prime Ministership: 1935 - 1937) [Conservative] : 4 speeches
- David Cameron (UK Prime Ministership: 2010 - 2015) [Conservative] : 5 speeches
Another problem appeared when only four useful speeches were found for Baldwin as well as for Roosevelt, while this research aimed at five speeches per leader. This made a small reduction in the total amount of analysed speeches from 35 to 33 speeches.

Two political leaders, namely Obama and Roosevelt, became president of the United States during periods of the financial depression. Although their inaugural speeches are also full of financial content, they were not included in the calculation of average metaphor use and theme use per political leader. This is because their situational context was not entirely the same as the other speeches addressing the crisis. They were, however, analysed to see how much their content was influenced by the occasion of an inauguration and how their financial metaphor use accordingly differs. The inaugural of David Cameron, who became Prime Minister during the depression, was not taken up because his speech was very short and did not even specifically talk about the crisis.

2 ANALYSIS

Barbara Lesz’s work (2011) was of considerable help in terms of understanding and applying metaphor identification in this study. Her examination of Obama’s metaphor use in speeches responding to several wars involving Americans was an important example. The way she listed her conceptual metaphors into several themes provided a basis for the metaphor retrieval in this work. Some of these identified themes have also been found in this research, but most other themes have gradually been enlisted when reading through the economic speeches of the study. As the number of discerned themes increased, the process of identifying and classifying the metaphors became more fluent. The themes discerned are: journey, battle, illness, construction, game, body, machine, motion, nature, heroic myth, vision, (non-)restriction, unity, position, supply, container, leadership, balance, liquid, finances, maths, religion, transport, fabric, emotion, book, food, speak, law, disorder, bind, texture, physical action, education, sleep, sound, correspondence, science, sleep, speak, proportion and failure. On account of this great number of themes, they were later reduced to the twenty five most common themes.
However, there was also a lot of ambiguity between the metaphor themes. In these situations, a consistent approach had to be followed. A clear example of ambiguity is about theme overlap between the themes journey and motion. Consider this obvious example of the journey metaphor:

The sooner we address the problem, the sooner we can **get back on the path of** growth and job creation (GWB, p.89, nr.907).

The following example also contains a journey metaphor. However, one could argue that it is also a metaphor of motion:

We’re at a critical moment for our economy, and we need legislation that (…) allows the American economy **to get moving** again (GWB, p.89, nr.875).

Since **to get moving** expresses motion, it could indeed be seen as a motion metaphor. In this research, however, such ambiguous cases had to be clearly distinguished and reflected on. As such, the American economy can here be seen as a person who has been standing still on a path or held back from advancing on a journey and now needs to be stimulated to continue his journey on that path, which in this case can be seen as a path of prosperity.

Another example of ambiguity could be found between the metaphors themselves:

Can we **re-open** Britain for business? (DC, p.201, nr.628).

(…) this country is confident enough to **open up** markets overseas (GWB, p.74, nr.313).

Although these verbs are both very similar forms of the verb **to open**, they were identified by a different metaphor theme. The first example represents Britain as a shop, which makes it a metaphor of finances. The second one is about making a market accessible, which makes it a metaphor of (non-)restriction.
In these cases of ambiguity, it was thus important to contemplate each case separately and to be consistent. The different conceptual metaphor themes are discussed in more detail further on (2. Metaphor themes, p.47).

With the help of this literature study, metaphors were thus more easily identified and they were put into a structured Excel table. An example of this table can be found below (taken from a David Cameron’s speech on October 1, 2008):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DC2</th>
<th>p7</th>
<th>sound</th>
<th>working people are <strong>crying out</strong> for relief</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>p7</td>
<td>illness</td>
<td>working people are crying out for <strong>relief</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>p7</td>
<td>battle</td>
<td><strong>struggle</strong> to make enough to pay the mortgage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>p7</td>
<td>construction</td>
<td>struggle to <strong>make enough</strong> to pay the mortgage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>p7</td>
<td>fabric</td>
<td>we do not believe in tax <strong>cuts</strong> paid for by reckless borrowing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>p7</td>
<td>motion</td>
<td>whose mortgage has <strong>gone up</strong> by four hundred quid a month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC2</td>
<td>p7</td>
<td>motion</td>
<td>but his salary’s <strong>gone down</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the table, the first column indicates that examples have been taken from David Cameron’s second speech in the corpus (DC2). The second column indicates on what page of this speech the example can be found (p7). The third column contains the metaphor theme (e.g. sound) accorded to the example in the fourth column. There is also a fourth column that identified personifications, but these have not been taken into account in order to remain focused on the metaphor themes. This table thus enabled to structure the metaphor themes so as to have them more easily processed when calculating percentages or pouring results into charts.

Furthermore, most of the identified themes involved one of the main metaphoric functions, whether oversimplifying, arousing emotions or convincing politically. These functions were mainly extracted from the work *Rhetorical Criticism* (2009), but were not identified per individual metaphor in the Excel file. They are, however, discussed in the following section (2.1 Functional use of metaphor, p.51) where most of the themes are given one of the three main functions when possible. The outcome of this functional use per political leader enables us to say more about the way in which the financial crisis is represented in terms of coping with it and responding to the uncertainties of the national public.

All selected speeches address the nation about the financial crisis. However, some of them are annual messages which also contain other subjects such as crime, the military, education, aid
to developing countries, etc. In these cases, the passages explicitly referring to subjects other than financial matters were left out from the total word count per speech. This allowed us to concentrate on metaphor in a financial context only and would give a more representative figure of metaphor density.

As mentioned in the theory section above (2.2 Crisis Rhetoric), rhetoric plays an important role in managing a crisis. Metaphors are only one aspect of rhetoric, but they carry a significant weight in terms of rhetorical effect. Since this thesis focuses on metaphors, it was useful not only to see how political leaders used metaphors in their speech, but also to see to what extent they did this. Therefore, the average metaphor use per speaker was calculated so as to see which political leader accorded more importance to it and who’s discourse may have had a greater rhetorical effect. Once the metaphor data had been recorded, the density of metaphor use per speech was first calculated. This percentage was obtained by dividing the number of metaphors used in relation to the economy by the total amount of words and multiplying it by 100. As mentioned before, his total amount of words was counted in financial context only. Subsequently, the average of metaphor use per political leader could be calculated, which allowed the comparison of individual leaders.

The following section will start by comparing the metaphor density of all political leaders included in this research. Their use of metaphor will be compared individually, historically, ideologically and nationally. Then, the metaphor themes discerned in this study will be enlisted and a comparison of the theme use will again be made between all political leaders on an individual, historical, ideological and national level.
IV. Data analysis

1 METAPHOR DENSITY

The graph below shows for each political leader the density of metaphors in speeches that address the financial crises. The percentages represent the average of metaphor use calculated from four to five speeches per leader.

Hoover: 8.7%
Roosevelt: 8.4%
Bush: 11.1%
Obama: 9.5%
Baldwin: 4.3%
Brown: 8.8%
Cameron: 6.4%

Graph 1: percentage of metaphors per 100 words
1.1 Comparison of individual leaders

As the graph shows above, Hoover, Roosevelt and Brown hold a similar percentage of metaphor use, which is between 8 and 9 percent. Obama scores slightly higher. The politicians explicitly deviating from this percentage are Bush, Baldwin and Cameron.

Bush has the highest use of metaphor compared to all other political leaders included in this research. Along with Obama, he is the only one whose selected speeches deal completely with the financial crisis. A striking difference with the other speakers, however, is that he was the only one to include a more personal question round at the end of some speeches. Even when excluding these rounds from the total metaphor count, Bush still holds the highest percentage of metaphor use. This finding stands in contrast with his reputation of stuttering and stumbling over words or his use of sometimes illogical sentence structures. One reasoning could be that his bad rhetorical reputation therefore was compensated by the use of many metaphors, which could have reinforced his discourse.

Baldwin holds the smallest percentage of metaphor use. His speeches contained a lot of topics other than financial ones. His focus is mainly on the great manifesting unemployment instead of talking specifically about the crisis. More than Cameron or Brown, he used similes as well. This low amount of crisis talk might be partially due to the fact that he was not Prime Minister at the moment of the speeches that are included in this research.

Cameron holds the second lowest percentage after Baldwin. His metaphor use is significantly lower than that of his predecessor Brown. Half of Brown’s speeches are entirely dedicated to the financial subject and thereby appear to contain a higher metaphor density. This could explain why Cameron’s metaphor use is much lower, since most of his crisis talk is accompanied by many other political issues too. Even though only passages in which he talked about financial matters were included in the density calculation, his low metaphor density could indicate the lower importance that was accorded to the crisis in his speeches. The great length of his speeches, which was the greatest of all speeches in the corpus, may support this presumption.
Although inaugural speeches were not included in the density calculation, they were however analysed on metaphor density. Both Roosevelt and Obama gave an inauguration address during a financial crisis. Surprisingly, Roosevelt’s inauguration speech contained a distinguishably higher percentage of metaphor use than his other speeches and it was practically fully dedicated to the economic crisis. As for Obama, there was no notable difference between his metaphor density before or after his campaign, but there is a slightly lower metaphor use in his inauguration speech itself. This may be due to the character of inaugural addresses and how leaders may try to meet their requirements. Since he also addresses religious and military issues in this inaugural, he might be talking of the economic situation in a more general context.

1.2 Historical differences (1929 v. 2008)

There is an obvious difference between the metaphor density of both historical crises. Overall, the political leaders of the most recent financial crisis hold a higher percentage in metaphor use, except for Cameron. This could indicate that crisis rhetoric has gained more importance over the years, with America probably according the greatest importance to its rhetorical discourse. This is obvious for Bush and Obama, who seem to accord the biggest importance to crisis discourse and responding to the uncertainties of their people.

Another outstanding distinction is the higher use of metaphor by leaders in power when the financial crisis hit. Both Bush and Brown, who were respectively President and Prime Minister when the 2008 financial crisis hit, used more metaphors than their successors. Herbert Hoover, who was in office at the time of the Wall Street crash, also carries a slightly higher percentage than his successor Roosevelt. This higher use of metaphor in the heat of the financial crisis illustrates the importance political leaders attach to the power of metaphor in times of crisis.
1.3 Ideological differences

The compared results of the previous paragraph, however, could also be due to ideological differences. Since for both American crises, there was a governmental shift of Republicans to Democrats, and for both UK crises, there was a shift of Labour to Conservatives. The higher use of metaphor by Hoover en Bush could thus also be linked to their political ideology, namely Republicans. This comparison of Republicans and Democrats, as well as Labour and Conservatives, is an interesting topic for research. However, due to the limits of this study, no grounded discussion could be held here.

1.4 National differences (UK v. US)

For both crises, there clearly is a lower density of metaphor use among British leaders. Especially during the Wall Street Crash, the difference is striking. Although Baldwin’s available speeches were scarce, half of them accorded a minor importance to the financial situation during the Great Depression. In spite of the lack of speeches from MacDonald, there could not be given a more representative British figure for the 1929 crisis.

A striking difference between nations is the attachment of importance to the crisis in their speeches. Almost all American presidents wholeheartedly devoted their discourses to the economic context, while British Prime Ministers also discussed other national policies in the heat of the crisis. This can be because both financial crises started in the US which made the crisis of utmost importance when communicating to the nation, but also to the world. It could also be an expression of the American vision that represents America as an example for the world and considers itself as the one to take the world out of the crisis.
2 METAPHOR THEMES

The table below lists the twenty five most common themes that were found throughout all speeches from the corpus. They are ranked by mean frequency per speech, starting with the most frequent theme. As illustrated in the methodology section, a consistent approach was needed when themes tended to overlap. Each theme is followed by (an) example(s) taken from miscellaneous speeches in the corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source domain</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Battle</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>In the last eighteen months we have had to <strong>confront</strong> the biggest economic choices the world has <strong>faced</strong> since the 1930s (GB 3, p1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Machine</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>(...) the <strong>gears</strong> of the American financial <strong>system</strong> began <strong>grinding</strong> to a halt (GWB 3, p2).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3. Construction/ build | 19   | Nor did all of our problems begin when the housing market **collapsed** (BO 6, p1).  
 (...)) make those critical investments that will **lay the foundation for** long-term growth and prosperity (BO 3, p1). |
| 4. Journey     | 18   | And if our nation **continues on this course**, the economic damage will be painful and lasting (GWB 4, p1).  
 The sooner we address the problem, the sooner we can **get back on the path of** growth and job creation (GWB 4, p1). |
| 5. Illness/ health | 12   | (...) we no longer **suffer** any anxiety about our currency (SB 2, p6).  
 (...) to **inject life** into our **ailing** economic order (FDR 1, p4).  
 In the long run, Americans have good reason to be confident in our economic **strength** (GWB 2, p2). |
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6. Motion</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Prices and bills keep <em>going up</em> (DC 5, p4). The problems this country faces go far beyond financial crisis and economic <em>downturn</em> (DC 2, p9).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Nature/animal</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>An economic <em>hurricane</em> has swept the world, creating a crisis of credit and of confidence (GB 4, p5). The businesses that are <em>shedding</em> jobs to stay afloat (BO 3, p1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. (non-) restriction</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>The great market of the United States is more and more <em>hedged in</em> by tariffs as the years go by (SB 1, p4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Unity/encounter/friendship</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Our national concern has been to <em>meet</em> the emergencies it has created for us (HH1, p3). We've all got to <em>pull together</em> and take our share of responsibility (BO4, line 732).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Vision</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>A <em>focus on</em> short term rewards created risks for us all (GB 2, p4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Position</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>a <em>standing</em> financial market advisory group to meet regularly (BO 1, p6). …and our financial markets failed to find a <em>firmer footing</em> (BO 1, p8).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Heroic myth</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>This is some intolerable <em>burden</em> on business (DC 2, p14). To <em>save</em> free markets from the most dogmatic of free marketers (GB 5, p4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Supply/provision</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>there are almost five million people in Britain of working age who are <em>out of</em> work and on benefits (DC 2, p15).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Game/sports</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>A nation that <em>tackles</em> problems head on (GWB 3, p4). this will all add up to Britain having one of the most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Term(s)</td>
<td>Count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>container</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>leadership/authority</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>balance/weight</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>liquid/water</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>finances/economy</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>maths</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>religion</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>body</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 23. transport/ ship | 3 | (…) need an **all hands on deck** approach to forging our recovery (BO 5, p2).

how can you **deliver** change when you so clearly haven’t even changed your own party? (GB 3, p17).

| 24. fabric | 3 | The business you built your dreams upon that’s now **hanging by a thread** (BO 6, p1).

(…) we do not believe in tax **cuts** paid for by reckless borrowing (DC 2, p7).

| 25. emotion | 3 | They have increased unemployment and greatly **embarrassed** our financial and credit system (HH 3, p1).

(…) a depression so deep that it is without precedent in modern history (FDR 2, p2).

| table 1: most common metaphor themes in order of their frequency |

---

**Note:** The numbers in the table represent the frequency of the metaphor themes.
2.1 **Functional use of metaphor themes**

As mentioned in the theory section (2.1 *Metaphor in political speech*), metaphors in political discourse tend to be used for three main functions: emotive, oversimplifying or convincing politically. Most themes discerned in this study consequently involve a specific function. Therefore, the most important themes relevant to this study will be discussed on their function in order to link them to the results of this study. Themes having no clear function will not be discussed here, but examples of them can be found in the table above. In section below, every theme is accompanied by some additional examples from the corpus. Words in italics are terms that have been often used in the speeches for the discussed metaphor theme.

### 2.1.1 Battle / military

When using the battle metaphor, a political leader tends to deliver a more combative discourse. He presents the crisis as a threat that needs to be faced or as a battle field though which he is moving or fighting for victory. This metaphor thus aims at representing the financial crisis as a *struggle*, a *challenge* that needs to be *faced, conquered, defeated*, etc. The crisis may thus be represented as a war or battle.

The function of this metaphor theme is emotive, because the leader turns the whole into a dramatic fight. He represents himself as the commander in chief who has the *duty* to lead his army through the war, which in this case implies the financial crisis. He makes himself seem the one in power to *take on, eliminate or beat* the *enemy*, who accounts for all *threats* to financial stability. Consequently, this theme can also be seen as convincing politically.

- So we will rebuild our economy, **battered** by the Brown years of reckless spending and borrowing, taxing and regulation. (DC, p.185, nr.17)
- I appreciate the willingness of congressional leaders to **confront** this situation **head on**. (GWB, p.77, nr.452)
2.1.2 *Machine / process / technology*

The machine metaphor is mostly used to represent the economy as a *system*, for example when talking about the financial system, banking system, tax system, benefit system, etc. This system or machine can *break down, distort, fail*, but it can also be *repaired, fixed or tinkered*.

By using this specific metaphor theme, the leaders are presenting the very complex subject of the economy as something that is a mere system or machine. They are thus oversimplifying the subject to make it more understandable and accessible to the broader public. In this way, people may feel like they actually understand the financial crisis to a certain extent, which evokes a positive feeling. Consequently, the leader can be perceived as a conscientious politician who knows what he is talking about. To a certain extent, this theme could thus also be seen as trying to convince politically.

- The home market absorbs nearly four-fifths of our *output*. (SB, p.137, nr.62)
- Some financial institutions that borrowed money to buy securities in the housing industry must now *repair* their balance sheets before they can make further loans. (GWB, p.68, nr.90)

2.1.3 *Construction / build*

The construction metaphor stands for something that is being created or constructed. Everything that is being *planned, turned into* or *(re)formed* denotes a *creation*. More specifically, this metaphor can also represent the economy or society as a building that needs firm *foundations* or a *framework* to be *stable*. It has to be *built up, established, put in place* or even *cemented* but it can also *collapse* or be *torn down*.

The construction metaphor is a very positive metaphor. It makes the political leader seem the architect who has a well considered plan or who wants to build up something new, which could indicate the function of convincing politically. However, this metaphor mainly aims at oversimplifying complex matters. By using easy, plain verbs like create, plan, form or build, these matters are more easily understood.
- There was a general rush by a large portion of our population to turn bank deposits into currency or gold. (FDR, p.55, nr.760)
- How are we going to rebuild our economy for the long term? (DC, p.189, nr.157)
- The Federal Reserve has taken action to bolster the economy. (GWB, p.68, nr.82)

### 2.1.4 Journey

The journey metaphor places the hearer or reader of the speech in a position of being on a journey, if not together with his country or leader. On that particular journey, one follows a course, path or takes steps in a certain direction. During this travel, one can move forward, but one can also move backward, be held back or even be lost. This metaphor can make people feel that there is still a long way to go in order to get out of the crisis, but that progress is being made and that there is a need to move forward. It implies that advancing is not going to be easy, that there will be obstacles, but that the objective is attainable if effort is provided. In this way, the journey metaphor is responding to emotions since the presentation of this course of events can work as an encouragement. It also has an oversimplifying function, for example when representing the crisis as a deviation from the main road:

- When you’ve taken the wrong road, you don’t just keep going, you change direction. So let’s look at how we got here and how we’re going to get out. (DC, p.189, nrs.174-179)
- my unwavering focus is taking this country through the challenging economic circumstances we face. (GB, p.146, nr.17)
- (…) to make some advances on the security of the assets of closed banks. (HH, p.5, nr.154)
- sometimes if you're going to lead this country, you have to stand in the face of what appears to be a political headwind. (GWB, p76, nr.384)
2.1.5 Illness / health

The illness metaphor represents the financial crisis as a disease. The economy of a country is sick, weakened or suffers from a disease and therefore needs to be cured. To this attempt, it can recover, strengthen or survive if it gets the right prescriptions to heal. The economic health can thus be bad and one should try to make it stronger and resilient.

Functionally, the illness metaphor is applying to emotions. The economy is represented as a sick person of whom we need to take care. It is somewhat as if the sick person cannot help and carries no blame for being sick, but needs aid to recover. Only people capable of providing the right recovery can help this person, because they know what he needs. In this way, the government can be presented as the doctor capable of curing the economy, which may also indicate its function of political conviction.

- Yesterday, Wall Street suffered its worst losses since just after 9/11. (BO, p.102, nr.11)
- They told me debt relief for the poorest was impossible. (GB, p.170, nr.922)
- Employment, agriculture, business—all of these show the steady, if slow, healing of our enormous wound. (HH, p.29, nr.1092)

2.1.6 Motion

The motion metaphor indicates movement. Prices can go up or down, the economy can turn down, taxes can rise, payments can be lowered. It represents everything as a moving object, instead of using more specific technical terms. This makes it have an oversimplifying function.

- So that instead of having a panic rise in interest rates with monetary rise following it, we have exactly the reverse phenomenon—we have a fallen interest rate. (HH, p.2, nr.45)
2.1.7 Nature/animal

The nature metaphor refers to everything created on earth. A particular institution can be a rock of faith, the crisis can be represented as a passing storm or an economic disaster, there can be waves of speculation, etc. Political leaders want the economy to grow, flourish and be a sustainable resource. This more creative metaphor does not have a very clear function, but can be seen as oversimplifying.

- The result has been a distorted market that creates bubbles instead of steady, sustainable growth. (BO, p.104, nr.109)
- The normal result will be for the mortgage and bond market to spring up again. (HH, p.3, nr.77)
- To mobilize the banking resources of the country to meet these conditions, I request the bankers of the Nation to form a national institution of at least $500 million. (HH, p.4, nr.137)

2.1.8 heroic myth

The heroic myth metaphor portrays the leader as a hero. Before him, he has a calling or a task which he needs to achieve. Since he will face challenges to accomplish this, he needs to be brave and bold. It falls to him to save people and be virtuous.

This metaphor theme plays along with people’s emotions through its mythical character. It pictures America or the United Kingdom as a hero who is going to save jobs or rescue the economy. They need to carry the burden of the economic crisis, because it falls to them to overcome it. Political leaders are thus heroically presented as the ones who are cut out to save the country, hence the prevailing function of convincing politically.

- Our Labour government saved Northern Rock so not a single UK depositor lost out. (GB, p.152, nr.250)
- History reminds us that at every moment of economic upheaval and transformation, this nation has responded with bold action and big ideas. (BO, p.130, nr.1097)
2.1.9 Unity / encounter/ friendship

As likely, the theme of unity tries to unify and to evoke the feeling of comradeship. People have to work together, as a team, to get out of the crisis. They have to meet this challenge and address the crisis. This theme is applying to emotions.

- We cannot embrace the administration’s vision of turning over the protection of investors to the industries themselves. (BO, p.109, nr.288)
- And even when they told us last year that a great depression was inevitable and the world could not come together, we did, even when others said it was beyond our grasp. (GB, p.170, nr.924).
- It is to be hoped that the normal balance of executive and legislative authority may be wholly adequate to meet the unprecedented task before us (FDR, p.54, nr.688).

2.1.10 Game

The game metaphor playfully uses terms specific of games, sports or plays. Political leaders want to play by the rules in order to find a fair solution for everyone. They want to tackle problems and see through the same old tricks.

This metaphor theme makes the leader seem strong because it is as if he is practicing sports or is in a competition. It also suggests that the leader is vigilant for pitfalls since he is playing a game. When talking of a fair economy, politicians may try to convince politically for dealing with the crisis correctly, honestly and in a well-considered way. They then become the unbiased referee on which everyone can rely.

- Well-considered and conservative measures will likewise be proposed which will attempt to give to the industrial workers of the country a more fair wage return, prevent cut-throat competition and unduly long hours for labor. (FDR, p.62, nr.997)
- (…) in opposition to political log-rolling and the sectional and group raids on the Treasury for distribution of public money. (HH, p.31, nr.1163)
- I was brought up seeing my parents having to juggle their budget like the rest of us. (GB, p.146, nr.7)
2.2 Theme use per speaker

The twenty five most commonly identified metaphor themes listed in the table above (p.48) are visualised in the graph below. The bars indicate the average of theme use by all seven political leaders included in this research.

As can be deduced from the graph, there are four metaphor themes who stand out from the others: battle, machine, construction and journey. They are by far the most commonly used, followed by the illness, motion and nature themes.

In comparing all individual leaders, each leader’s metaphor use will first be compared to the average in order to see how much they deviate. Then, individual use will be discussed on theme use and corresponding function. Due to great overlap of functions, as could be determined in the previous section (2.1), only the prevailing functions for each theme will be applied. Since comparing twenty five themes would make this study too elaborate, only fifteen of them will be represented in the graphs. They include the fourteen most common themes in descending order, followed by one variable, less frequent theme of which a particular leader scores exceptionally higher than the others. In the graphs that follow, the darkest bars represent the scores of every individual leader, whereas the lighter transparent bars that accompany them show the overall average.
Compared to the average, Hoover has a particularly high score on the illness and nature metaphors, as well as a rather high score on the machine, construction and restriction metaphors. He scores thus very high on three of the four most frequently used themes. He scores very low on the journey and motion metaphors. It is significant that Hoover’s theme use is in many cases above average.

When looking at the metaphor themes he used, it can be said that his crisis discourse is mainly oversimplifying, as for the machine and construction metaphors, but that it is also emotive, considering the illness and battle metaphor themes. The oversimplifying function could indicate Hoover’s more technical discourse in 1931, when the crisis was at its worst.
2.2.2  Franklin D. Roosevelt

Roosevelt’s highest score is on the journey metaphor. Furthermore, he scores rather high on the restriction, vision and supply themes. His score of the four most common themes is rather low, especially the battle metaphor is greatly below average. He also scores much higher on the religion metaphor when compared to the other political leaders.

It can be said that Roosevelt’s discourse is mainly attempting to oversimplify, considering his high use of the machine, construction and journey metaphors, and to arouse emotions, when looking at his use of the battle and journey themes. This finding to some extent can be seen as a confirmation of what we know about Roosevelt’s fireside chats. In these, he namely explained the crisis in a more technical way, which by oversimplifying metaphors could have advanced understanding. These chats were a great success because people felt they were involved in and understood what was happening. By using oversimplifying and emotive metaphors, this aim could have been fortified.

Roosevelt’s inaugural, of which the results were not processed in this graph, was separately analysed on theme use and compared to his average use. In this inaugural, there was a big increase in battle and nature metaphors as well as an increase in religion and heroic myth
metaphors. The battle metaphor rise indicates Roosevelt’s readiness to fight the crisis, which indicates that his inauguration was more trying to convince politically and arouse emotions. This finding is reinforced by the heroic myth metaphor, by which he presents himself heroically. The religion metaphor indicates that religion is an important topic in inaugurals because it plays a very important role in the lives of Americans. His inaugural overall may have been perceived more courageous than his other crisis speeches.

2.2.3 George W. Bush

Compared to the average, Bush has a particularly high score on the motion and unity metaphor themes. He also has a rather high use of the battle, machine and illness metaphors. The container metaphor gets a high percentage in his metaphor use, which deviates from the other leaders’ metaphor use.

Taking into account the battle, journey and unity themes, his discourse is rather emotive. However, the machine, journey and motion metaphors make it a oversimplifying discourse as well.
2.2.4 Barack Obama

Obama’s use of the construction metaphor clearly stands out. He also scores a little higher than average on the illness and vision metaphor themes. It is remarkable that his use of the battle metaphor is very low, which holds the same for the restriction and unity themes. He is the only one of the other political leaders who scores this high on the finances metaphor theme.

In view of his highly used metaphors of construction, machine and journey, his discourse is strongly oversimplifying. His crisis rhetoric may have been more powerful in that he used the finances metaphor very often. This added to the context of the speeches, which was the financial crisis, and can have reinforced his crisis rhetoric.

In his inaugural address, which was also analyzed on metaphor themes but not included in this graph, there is a much higher use of the heroic myth and religion metaphors. This speech’s function tends thus more to convince politically. This finding typifies the character of inaugurals, since Obama was promoting himself as the new President, hence his higher use of heroic myth. The religion theme again shows that religion takes an important place in inauguration speeches, not only in the past but even in present time.
Baldwin’s metaphor use does not correspond to and is everywhere below the average use. He scores the highest on the battle metaphor, and considerably high on the motion, journey and nature metaphors. Surprisingly, among his lowest use are the construction and machine themes. Along with Roosevelt, he is the only one who uses a fairly great amount of religious metaphors.

From the little metaphors he used, his use of the battle, motion and journey metaphors indicate a more emotive discourse. However, there are not many remarkable metaphor uses to concentrate on, since his overall metaphor use is the lowest of all. It could be argued that his speaking style is consequently more plain and direct.
Brown too made great use of the four most common themes. His use of the battle metaphor clearly stands out, followed by the game metaphor theme. Other high scores are on the construction and journey metaphors. Compared to the other politicians, Brown used the heroic myth theme very often. He scores the lowest on the illness and nature themes. His metaphor use differs from the other leaders by his rather high use of the leadership metaphor.

Because of this highly used battle metaphor, his discourse is more emotive. However, this use of the battle metaphor, along with his high use of the game metaphor, indicate the aim of convincing politically. The construction and journey metaphors indicate an oversimplifying function. There is consequently an overlap of three different functions.
2.2.7  David Cameron

Cameron’s highest use of metaphors coincides with the four most common themes, of which he scores the highest on the journey metaphor and the lowest on the battle metaphor. Furthermore, his score on the motion, machine and construction metaphors. He uses the illness, restriction and vision metaphors much less than the other leaders and he is the only one of them who has a score this high on the fabric metaphor.

Cameron’s discourse can be seen as clearly oversimplifying, in view of the construction, machine, journey and motion metaphors.

As mentioned before, Cameron’s inaugural was not taken up because it was very general and did not even specifically refer to the financial crisis. This short and insignificant inaugural may result from the British inauguration culture being less great or important than the American one.
2.3 1929 v. 2008

As shown in the graph comparing metaphor density (p. 44), there are clear differences in metaphor use between both historic crises. For both countries, there is a higher use of metaphor during the most recent crisis of 2008. When looking into their theme use, many differences become apparent as well. The graph below shows only the comparison for the United States, since the UK case could not be compared due to the lack of material for Ramsey MacDonald. In the graph, the darkest bars represent the average theme use of Hoover and Roosevelt together. The lighter transparent bars show the average use of Bush and Obama. Only the themes that showed a clear difference are included.

Surprisingly, there are no significant differences between the four most common themes for both eras. The most interesting contrasts, however, occur with the motion and finances themes, which are used twice as much by the presidents of the 2008 crisis, and the metaphors of religion and emotion, which are used twice as much by the presidents of the 1929 crisis.
The motion metaphor, which is much more highly used in the 2008 crisis, could illustrate how these presidents talked more in detail of the rise or fall in prices and how many other economic activities went up or down as a consequence of the crisis.

The finances metaphor also occurs double as much in the US 2008 crisis. This may indicate the presidents’ creativeness in trying to inspire rhetorically by using rich financial vocabulary in a financial context.

As for the presidents of the 1929 crisis, they used the religion metaphor double as much. This finding is rather typifying for that period, in which great importance was attached to religion. The more we move forward to the present, the more society becomes secularised in which religion is of less value.

Leaders from the 1930s also used twice as many emotion metaphors. This can be explained by their high use of the word *depression*, by which they referred to the financial recession, but it probably simply means that they tried to respond to prevailing emotions or arouse them.

Overall, there are no greatly striking differences in comparing the two periods. On the contrary, it was more interesting to compare both leaders within their own period, since for each crisis there was a change in government ideology.

### 2.4 Ideological comparison

Both financial crises have witnessed within each country an identical change in political ideology. In the United States, there was twice a change from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party. In the United Kingdom, there also was twice a shift from the Labour Party to the Conservative Party. Due to lack of material for Ramsay MacDonald, the UK financial crisis of 1929 will not be treated here. Again, themes that showed little or no difference in use were excluded from the graphs.
2.4.1 Republican v. Democrat

Herbert Hoover, who was a Republican, was in 1933 replaced by Franklin D. Roosevelt, Democrat. When comparing Hoover’s average metaphor use with Roosevelt’s, there are many more striking differences.

Hoover’s use of the illness and nature metaphors is extremely higher than Roosevelt’s. Also the battle, machine and construction metaphors are by far more used by Hoover. On the contrary, it is Roosevelt who clearly beats Hoover in the journey metaphor, as well as in the vision, supply and religion themes.

Although their theme use is completely different, the function of their discourses seem to be similar, namely oversimplifying and emotive.
As for the 2008 crisis, the following graph compares Republican Bush with Democrat Obama.

It is striking that Bush often beats Obama in the most common themes. He scores very high on the battle, motion, restriction and unity metaphors. Obama mainly beats Bush in the construction theme, as well as in the finances, body and transport themes.

It can be deducted from the graph that Bush’s discourse is more concentrated on a few groups of metaphor themes, while Obama uses a great range of different themes. Bush’s discourse also tends to be more combative than Obama’s, given his high use of the battle metaphor. It is rather typical for Obama to use much less battle metaphors, since he’s often seen as a pacifist who is more in favour of creating and building new things, hence his high use of the construction metaphor. The functions of their rhetorical speech are similar, see oversimplifying and emotive, although Bush’s discourse tends to be more emotive than Obama’s.
2.4.2  Labour v. Conservatives

In the UK, there was an ideological shift from Gordon Brown’s Labour Party to the Conservatives under David Cameron.

This comparison shows how Brown has a much higher use of the battle and game metaphors, as well as of the vision and hero metaphors. Strikingly, there are hardly any themes in which Brown is beaten by Cameron, except for the supply, container and fabric metaphors. Even when taking into account that Cameron’s overall metaphor use was 2% lower than Brown’s, there is still a great difference. The functions of the themes they used most commonly were rather the same. These were oversimplifying, emotive and also convincing politically.
2.5 National comparison

A final comparison is made on the national level. In the graph below, the average of Bush and Obama’s metaphor use will be compared to the average metaphor use of Brown and Cameron together. In this way, the US’ metaphor use of the 2008 crisis can be compared to the UK’s.

As the graph shows, the UK leaders overall have a much higher use of the metaphor themes battle, construction and journey, which generally are the most frequently used themes. Otherwise, US leaders used more than the British the illness metaphor theme.

The American use of the illness metaphor is prevailing in this comparison and shows how they see the crisis as a disease, as something that needs to be handled precariously and cured by specific treatments. Their discourse is more emotive, while the UK’s discourse is more oversimplifying and emotive.
V. Conclusion

This metaphorical research mainly consisted of two threads: analysing metaphor density as well as metaphor themes in political speech responding to the financial crises of 1929 and 2008. The focus of this research has shifted to the United States, due to the lack of data for the UK.

The metaphor density in political speech responding to financial crisis was the highest for President George W. Bush. This finding heavily contrasts with his unpopular rhetorical reputation. It is possible that he therefore tried to compensate this by invigorating his discourse with a higher density of metaphor.

When compared historically, there was a higher use of metaphor in the 2008 financial crisis. Both Bush and Obama used most metaphors in their speeches, which indicates that crisis rhetoric has gained more importance over the years, especially in the United States. Compared nationally, US leaders again had a higher density of metaphor use. They almost completely dedicated their speeches to the crisis, while UK leaders mentioned many other policies as well. This again illustrates the importance of crisis rhetoric in the US, but is probably also due to America being at the heart of the financial crisis.

Ideologically, Republicans used more metaphors than Democrats for both US crises. However, this finding also has another situational cause, namely that there twice was a Republican President in office when both crises hit. Presidents and Prime Ministers who were in office when the crises hit used more metaphors in their speech. This clearly illustrates the importance of metaphor in crisis discourse.

The metaphor theme use in the speeches of each political leader showed how they personally tried to tackle the crisis. Most political leaders used oversimplifying metaphor themes, by which they tried to make the crisis more understood by the public. Their representation of financial matters in a more clear and easy way also aimed at giving people a more positive
feeling and appearing capable of leading the country out of the crisis. Their theme use was thus a clear response to the public’s uncertainties and fears.

This study did not go deeper into the metaphor use on an ideological level. It was found that Republicans used more metaphors in their crisis rhetoric than Democrats. This was also the case for Labour Prime Ministers, who used more metaphors than Conservatives during the financial crisis of 2008. Since this finding could not be grounded, it could be an interesting topic for research. Other interesting research that was not carried out in this study could examine how many positive or negative metaphors were used in crisis discourse.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Eichengreen, B. (2009). *A Tale of Two Crises*. In Hemerijck, A., Knapen, B. & van Doorne,
E. (Eds.), *Aftershocks, Economic Crisis and Institutional Choice* (pp. 55-66), Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.


Wolffe, E. (2013). *President Obama's first four years have been defined by a less-than-fruitful struggle for the unity he aspired to as a candidate and by bold, risky decisions*. Retrieved December 10, 2013, from http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/high-hopes-political-realities-obama-term-retrospect-article-1.1243468#ixzz2pSvidxC2


APPENDIX

Both appendices can be found in the separate bundle, containing:

APPENDIX 1: LIST OF SPEECHES
APPENDIX 2: METAPHOR IDENTIFICATION