

Investigating Family metaphors in the speeches of American Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama in the United Nations General Assembly

استعارات العائلة في خطابات جورج دبليو بوش وباراك أوباما في الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة

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Abstract

Three salient assumptions suggested by Lakoff (1996 / 2002) in his Morality Politics Theory (MPT): (1) American political positions emerge from two independent moral worldviews that are conceptually entrenched in individuals' beliefs about ideal families. Conservatives tend to promote the strict father (SF) family model whereas Democrats endorse the nurturant parent (NP) family model. (2) The conceptual linking or mapping of ideal parenting models onto politics occurs because people metaphorically conceptualise the nation as a family. (3) Some people may endorse both parenting models (biconceptuals), that is, they can reason about political issues using SF & NP models. Lakoff additionally argues that American politicians use two conceptual metaphors, NATION IS FAMILY and the WORLD COMMUNITY metaphors, to reason about foreign policy. Building on empirical study, this paper seeks to examine Lakoff's (1996 / 2002) assumptions in the speeches delivered by G. W. Bush and Barack Obama in the United Nations General Assembly. The analysis of this research corpus gives different conclusions of that suggested by Lakoff. Firstly, contrary to what was suggested by Lakoff (1996 / 2002), the data shows that Obama can be labeled as SF and G. W. Bush as NP. Secondly, the results reveal that both speakers tend to use more logical literal entailments from the models rather than metaphorical expressions when they speak about various moral political issues.

Keywords: family metaphors, nurturant parent, strict father, metaphorical entailments

المخلص

اقترح جورج لاکوف ثلاث افتراضات بارزة (1996/2002) عند تقديمه لنظريته السياسية الأخلاقية. أول هذه الافتراضات أن الشعب الأمريكي يستعين بمفهوم "العائلة" كنموذج مجازي لفهم الأمور السياسية، فهم يصورون الأمة الأمريكية كعائلة ويستعينون بهذا التصور الاستعاري لفهم وتفسير المواقف والأحداث السياسية. ثانياً: المواقف السياسية الأمريكية تنبثق من رؤيتين أخلاقيتين مستقلتين للعالم، وهي مفاهيم راسخة في معتقدات الأفراد حول نموذج العائلة المثالية، فبينما يميل المحافظون إلى الترويج لنموذج عائلي ذو "أب صارم"، يؤيد الديمقراطيون نموذج عائلة "الوالد العطوف". ثالثاً: قد يستخدم بعض الناس كلا النموذجين الأبوين (ثنائية

المفاهيم) لفهم الأمور السياسية وتفسيرها. يجادل لاكوف أيضا أن السياسيين الأمريكيين يستخدمون استعارة "الامة هي عائلة" واستعارة "المجتمع العالمي" في رسم السياسة الخارجية والتعاطي مع الاحداث والأزمات العالمية. تسعى هذه الورقة، وهي جزء من دراسة تجريبية أوسع، إلى فحص افتراضات جورج لاكوف (2002/1996) في الخطابات التي ألقاها جورج دبليو بوش وباراك أوباما في الجمعية العامة للأمم المتحدة (2001-2016). التحليل العملي لخطابات الرئيسين جورج دبليو بوش وباراك أوباما طرح استنتاجات مختلفة عن تلك التي اقترحها جورج لاكوف. أولاً، على عكس ما اقترحه لاكوف (2002/1996)، تشير الامثلة أن أوباما قد استخدم نموذج الاب الصارم في كلماته بينما ظهر جورج دبليو بوش بمظهر الوالد العطوف. ثانياً، تكشف النتائج أن كلا المتحدثين يميلان إلى استخدام الكثير من الاستنتاجات الحرفية المنطقية المستوحاة من النماذج التصورية (الأب الصارم والوالد الحاضر) بدلاً من التعبيرات المجازية عندما يتحدثان عن مختلف القضايا السياسية الأخلاقية.

الكلمات الدالة: استعارات العائلة، الوالد العطوف، الوالد الصارم، الإستنتاجات المجازية

1. Introduction

Lakoff (2002, p,65) argues that different models of the ideal family are responsible for motivating sets of metaphorical priorities that, in their turn, are responsible for crafting moral conventions in the American society. He (2002,p.iii) contends that political thinking in the United States is dominated by the conceptual metaphor NATION IS FAMILY. When this family metaphor is mapped onto the societal domain, citizens are perceived as metaphoric children and government as a metaphoric parent. MPT suggests that Republicans' political thinking endorses the metaphor centred on the SF model whereas the Democrats derive their political thinking from the conceptual metaphors of the NP. This argument has attracted noticeable attention not only in academia, but also among senior political figures. Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, states that "Lakoff's ideas forever changed the way in which Democratic House members reason about politics" (Feinberg & Wehling, 2018,p.2).

The MPT raises an intriguing question: why did Lakoff opt for family to reason about moral political thinking in the American society? Abdel-Raheem (2019) answers that there are three main reasons for selecting the concept of family as the source domain to understand American politics. First, family is a basic-level concept. It is easily accessible and memorable to us. We learn about this concept in early stages of our lives. Second, the semantic frames and structures are clear and specific in the concept of family. Examples of these semantic frames are the parents and child relationship and the hierarchical structures within the family. Thirdly, the semantic frames in the family are to great extent relevant to moral-political reasoning. Ideas about moral traits and kids can be mapped into moral traits of citizens and moral parenting can be projected to moral governance. More

elaboration about the cognitive models (SF, NP and biconceptualism) will be provided in sections (2, 3, 4) of this article.

In return to the central metaphor NATION IS FAMILY which Lakoff has built his theory on, this metaphor is a result of systematic mappings between the source domain family and the target domain nation. The knowledge of the family and its structures is the source through which we reason about society. The structural components of the family (father, mother and children) are mapped into the American nation. Examples of the cognitive mappings of family and society can be perceived in several metaphorical perceptions such as when parents take care of their children, in return the government shall play a similar role of taking care of its citizens. As children should obey parents, similarly, citizens should obey the government. Family members should stand united in difficult times, in return citizens of the nation should do the same in the times of crisis. Lakoff (2008, p.76) argues that Americans' thinking of society as a family can be manifested ostensibly in conceiving George Washington as the Founding Father of the nation, in soldiers being described as sons and daughters of America, in seeing America as the Homeland, and in referring to the government as 'Uncle Sam'. The following sections will introduce in more details the cognitive models suggested by Lakoff (1996 / 2002) and how they metaphorically used to reason about political matters.

2. Strict Father metaphorical model

Lakoff (1996 / 2002) argues that the Republicans cherish the Strict Father model (SF). The SF model is based on a nuclear family with the father as the principal authority. The key responsibility of the father is to provide the necessary support and protect the family. The primary metaphors for the Republicans are MORALITY IS STRENGTH and MORALITY IS AUTHORITY.

SF model prioritises the values of hierarchy, obedience, and moral strength. Discipline is a central value in this model. The main assumptions which underlie the model are "people are inherently bad, life is difficult, and the world is fundamentally dangerous" (Lakoff, 1996, p.65). It also suggests that children are born "bad" as they intuitively wish to do what they like rather than what is right. Therefore, a strict father is needed to make children behave in a good manner.

The ideas of right and wrong are two absolute categories. Individuals are categorised into winners or losers. What makes a person succeed in this difficult life is the ability to be strong. Our world is an unsafe place and people should be ready to encounter continuous threats. The role of mother in this

model is to support the highest authority (father) to raise the children and to take responsibility for day-to-day duties. The strict father, according to this model, sets the organisational rules and punishes those who violate them. Such practices help to grow a sense of discipline and promote self-denial, which are essential features for moral strength. The table below explains how SF moral views, in Lakoff's opinion (1996), affect Republicans' rational about political and social issues:

Table 1: Republicans' metaphorical interpretation of some socio-political issues

Case	The Republican position	Metaphorical interpretation
Social programs	Republicans detest social programs that devoted to helping poor and weak people. They believe that it is immoral to give something to those people because they have not worked hard to earn it. Support those who are not worthy of it creates immoral forms of dependency by discouraging the development of self-discipline and self-reliance. Punishment, as an alternative, that comes in the form of no help can turn as a stimulus to develop moral strength.	Self-reliance Self-discipline
Abortion	Mothers who choose abortion characteristically belong to one of the two social groups: unmarried teenage or mothers whose displeased pregnancies are seen as the result of uncontrolled sexual behaviour. They could be women who are more leaning to their careers and consider pregnancy as a hindrance for their career future. In the SF morality model, both types of mothers should be subject to punishment through keeping their unwanted children.	Self-discipline

<p>Environment and climate change</p>	<p>The moral order metaphor in the SF model justifies exploitation of the environment on the assumption that God has given men province over nature. Nature is seen as a resource for human wealth and profit and not as a valuable item that should be cared.</p>	<p>Moral order</p>
<p>Multiculturalism</p>	<p>Multiculturalism should be avoided. Different cultures in the US should not reserve their distinctive features. Cultures should assimilate into one American culture. Different cultures would count as a threat to the established order of values. Indeed, multiculturalism is considered the evil of all evils, because it allows for a multiplicity of alternative views on what is moral, thus acting against moral wholeness, moral boundaries, moral authority and moral strength in so far as it blurs the good vs. evil distinction.</p>	<p>moral boundaries and moral wholeness metaphors</p>
<p>Government regulations</p>	<p>The government should control the amount of issued regulations; i.e., they should be kept to the minimum. Consistent with the metaphor of moral self-interest, the Republicans support companies that seek to make the most of profits, since they are essential for maximising investors' profits, as well as providing goods and services. Individuals should be given the freedom to increase their interests lawfully. This considerable factor helps people to succeed in life.</p>	<p>Self-interest</p>

3. Nurturant Parents metaphorical model

The other model suggested by Lakoff is the Nurturant Parent model (NP). The NP model is mainly aligned to Democrats. Empathy is the highest priority value in this model. Family members share responsibility. Support and caring are provided to the entire family members as well. The primary metaphors utilised by this model are MORALITY IS NURTURANCE and MORALITY IS EMPATHY. In the NP model, family consists of two parents or even one. However, if there are two parents within the family, the responsibility is shared between them and neither of them has moral authority over the other. The links between parents and children are based on empathy and love, not punishment. Good communications between parents and children viewed as vital component for growth. Therefore, parents appreciate the importance of providing explanation for their decisions and they welcome questions raised by them about these decisions. In addition to sympathy and good communication, protection of children is a significant concept in NP model as it is a preliminary and essential form of caring. Protection in the NP includes the children safeguarding from external dangers such as drugs, pollution, diseases. Unlike the case with SF model, the sense of obedience in the NP model is not a result of the fear of punishment, but from the sense of love and the desire of the children to please their parents. If children commit a mistake or behave improperly, parents prefer to the restitution rather than retribution(Feinberg et al,2020, p.779). Parents in the NP model seek to make children become more responsible, self-reliant and self-discipline. To do this, they do not adopt sufferance, deprivation and castigation, but they provide the necessary care and respect for the children, as well as teaching them to care for others(Degani, 2015). One of the basic principles parents keen to instil in their children is self-realisation. It indicates that children should have positive and constructive relations with others and should contribute effectively within their community. The model insists that children should empathise with others. Immorality in the NP model described as not being compassionate, empathetic and nurturant to other people. Below are the metaphorical moral priorities of the NP model as suggested by Lakoff (1996 / 2002):

Table 2: Democrats' metaphorical interpretation of some socio-political issues

Case	The Democrats position	Metaphorical interpretation
Social programs	Democrats support social programs as parents (authority or government)	Nurturance and empathy

	should provide care and nurturance for children (citizens).	
Abortion	NP model gives the right for abortion based on the principle the right of choice which is a form of nurturance.	Nurturance for people
Environment	One of the basic principles for Democrats is caring for environment. The government should also provide the public infrastructure and work to reduce the destruction of the environment.	Care
Multiculturalism	Multiculturalism is welcomed in the NP model as parents encourage children to interact positively with different people. Differences are valuable advantage in society.	Empathy
Government regulations	Parents should work hard to guarantee the social justice and fair distribution of wealth for all family members. Therefore, government should interfere to stop 'greedy' corporations and maintain broader prosperity.	Social justice

4. Biconceptualism

Lakoff (1996) argues that advocating or embracing a political model whether a SF or NP is not entirely inclusive. Some people deploy both models when reasoning about various political issues. However, biconceptualism does not mean to embrace the opposite cognitive model ascribed to the politicians in the theory. Lakoff (1996) calls those people as biconceptuals". He argues that politically moderate citizens and swing-voters are examples of this category. However, this is not only manifested on the level of domestic politics, such biconceptualism has been noticed in the foreign policy context as well. Musolff (2016, p.29) argues that:

For Lakoff, even the discourse of ' liberal ' (by US standards) leaders such as the Democrat presidents Clinton and Obama seems to be either a smokescreen 'to mollify people who have Nurturant values, while the real policies are strict father policies ' (in Clinton's case) or an application of STRICT FATHER

punishment strategies against the ‘bad children’ in the WORLD COMMUNITY AS FAMILY, which Obama used in his war rhetoric against Syria, even though ‘his instincts are liberal’ (Lakoff, 2004, p.21; 2013).

Wehling (2013,p.17) states biconceptualism “commonly apply one model to one specific set of issues, and the other to a second specific set of issues”. Feinberg et al. (2020) argue “The endorsement of both models enables biconceptuals of gaining a moderate position about different political issues”. However, research has not exclusively explained whether biconceptuals adapt their political judgments (hence their incline to one model rather than the other) based on the issue in question or because their underlying cognitive political beliefs direct them how to judge or to whom they should vote. Feinberg et al. (2020, p.781) argue that what makes a biconceptual to decide his position will be influenced by the persuasion weight political agents put on their claims. In other words, “arguments framed in strict-father terms should lead biconceptuals to move to the right, while arguments framed in nurturant terms should lead them to move to the left” (Feinberg et al. ,2020, p.781).

5. The WORLD COMMUNITY Metaphor

In his analysis of the foreign policy rhetoric, Lakoff (1999) explains that The World Community metaphor is the most common model that American politicians use when they talk about issues of foreign policies. The mappings suggested by Lakoff for this metaphor can be summarised as following:

Nations	individual people living in a world community
A nation-person's territory	home
The community as neighbourhoods	nearby countries are conceptualized as neighbours
social relationships	International relationships
Friends	Some countries are friends or at least friendly
Enemies	enemies or merely hostile
Impish children	Rogue nations, who do not abide by community norms.
Forces that "police" the neighbourhood.	Regional military forces (e.g., NATO)
Business partnerships	Trade treaties

Health
Strength

Economic health
Military strength

Both models, The World Community and Nation as Family, can be used together to reason about the American political rhetoric in the UN. In this regard, Lakoff (2004, p.91) states that “The same values governing domestic policy should apply to foreign policy whenever possible.” For instance, the protection moral value can be conceptualised in terms of military protection and strong military defence. Caring and responsibility policy can be seen in caring and protecting of the communities around the world. The misbehaved children in the family can be mapped to the rouge states. They need to behave properly, otherwise the SF (The US) can punish them (through economic sanctions or military invasion).

6. Literature review

Wehling (2013,p.1) and Ohl (2013) argue that notwithstanding the academic and political world’s fascination with Moral Political Theory, nonetheless its principal components received limited empirical test to date. This limited empirical investigation is more evident in the case of the discourse not directly directed to the American audience. The few studies (Cienki, 2005& Walters, 2012) conducted to empirically investigate Lakoff’s theory (1996 / 2002) have used American domestic political discourse (election speeches, inauguration speeches, Presidential debates). A survey on the literature about examining Lakoff’s MPT theory in the American presidential speeches in the UNGA resulted in only one study by Hoyt (2015). However, the study does not provide convincing answers about whether the American presidents have used SF& NP models in their speeches. This study comes as a response to the lack of this research direction; however, it is only covering a specific genre (UN American speeches in the UN general assembly) and a limited period of time (2001 – 2016) and just two American presidents namely, G. W. Bush and Barack Obama.

7. Research corpus

The corpus of this article consists of 15 speeches delivered by American presidents G. W. Bush and Barack Obama in the UN General Assembly sessions in the period from 2001 to 2016. The main reason for the selection of this corpus is that the speeches belong to political genre. Accordingly, they are appropriate material to answer the research questions. The speeches were delivered by two American presidents who represent both Republican and Democrat parties; therefore, the speeches will be suitable to

investigating Lakoff's MPT (1996 / 2002) as well. Furthermore, after the events of 9/11 the American political discourse has shifted significantly, hence the analysis of the research corpus will show how some American presidents frame the new political world metaphorically.

8. Research Methodology

To obtain glean insights for the research query, a mixed quantitative and qualitative methods were used to investigate the research data. The first step in the analysis stage was to identify the entire morality political examples used by both speakers. Every sentence in the data was compared to the metaphorical patterns suggested in the SF and NP models. This is followed by attributing the morality examples to either SF or NP models. The next step was to determine whether the morality examples were expressed metaphorically, or they are literal logical entailments from one of the models. The quantitative part of the analysis used to survey the number of examples where G. W. Bush uses a SF expression and the number of the examples Barack Obama using NP. The numbers and percentages calculated will determine which model Presidents G. W. Bush and Barack Obama lean to use in their speeches. It also reflects whether the morality examples extracted from the corpus are metaphorical per se or they are only literal logical entailments of the SF or NP models.

9. Examples analysis

Contrary to what have been suggested by Lakoff (1996 /2002), the analysis of the research data suggests that G. W. Bush has embraced the NP model and Barack Obama incorporated the SF model. The first section of analysis demonstrates that G. W. Bush is not SF or bioconceptual, but rather he endorses the NP model, whereas Barack Obama evidently promotes the SF model. The first part of the analysis will be devoted to examining NP examples in Bush's speeches.

9.1 G. W. Bush as NP

The examples below show how G. W. Bush embraces some of the NP values. This in fact conforms to the assumptions made by Lakoff (1996 / 2002) that conceptualisers could use both metaphorical models of morality to reason about politics. Lakoff (1996 / 2002) defines this phenomenon as (Biconceptualism). G. W. Bush in the examples below promotes the values that are of the highest priorities for the Democrats according to Lakoff's idealised cognitive models.

9.1.1 Nurturance and Empathy values

The two values of nurturance and empathy are interrelated. The essence of nurturance and sympathy values represented in helping people in need unconditionally. However, to be a nurturant you should be a sympathetic in first place. Empathy refers to being able to appreciate others and connect to them according to their own value system (Degani, 2015, p.54).

1	I can promise, too, that America will join the world in helping the people of Afghanistan rebuild their country. (2001)
2	In our struggle against hateful groups that exploit poverty and despair, we must offer an alternative of opportunity and hope. (2001)
3	The United States is joining with the world to supply aid where it reaches people and lifts up lives, to extend trade and the prosperity it brings, and to bring medical care where it is desperately needed. (2002)
4	If we fail to act in the face of danger, the people of Iraq will continue to live in brutal submission. The regime will have new power to bully, dominate and conquer its neighbours, condemning the Middle East to more years of bloodshed and fear. (2002)

The examples above reflect the political values of nurturance and sympathy. These two values are typical of the NP model. Although the nurturance value is also available in the SF model (Lakoff 1996 / 2002), but it is of conditional nature where it is only provided to enhance the strength value (Degani, 2015). Embracing the NP model, G. W. Bush expresses his sympathy with people of Afghanistan (Ex.1) whereas he calls for more work to help poor people (Ex.2). In (Ex.3) Bush mentions that US is giving aid for vulnerable people around the world, whereas in (Ex.4) Bush explains that the world should face the Iraqi regime to save people in Iraq. According to NP model such categories of people are helpless and they are in need of care. Contrary to what has been suggested by Lakoff, the care in these cases is not conditional but motivated by sympathetic grounds. These values in fact represent the opposite pole of the SF values which President G. W. Bush belongs to. Therefore, we may infer that the entailments used by G. W. Bush does not reflect only the SF values in his speeches in the UN. In fact, these entailments suggest that Bush is advocating NP values.

9.1.2 Protection and cross-cultural values

Protection and cross-cultural values are the most salient values in NP model. The authority should provide the necessary protection from different kinds of dangers for children. The sources of danger could be within the

society such as crime, drugs, and homelessness. They could be external such as the assaults by terrorists, military invasions or nuclear weapons attacks.

The cross-cultural value refers to the ability of peaceful coexistence and the accepting of people from various cultural backgrounds. Differences in the NP model are “celebrated rather than looked upon with suspicion” (Degani, 2015, p.57).

5	The civilized world is now responding. We act to defend ourselves and to deliver our children from a future of fear. We choose the dignity of life over a culture of death. We choose lawful change and civil disagreement over coercion, subversion and chaos. Those commitments — hope and order, law and life — unite people across cultures and continents. (2001)
6	The war against terror must not serve as an excuse to persecute ethnic and religious minorities in any country. Innocent people must be allowed to live their own lives, by their own customs, under their own religion. And every nation must have avenues for the peaceful expression of opinion and dissent. When these avenues are closed, the temptation to speak through violence grows. (2001)
7	The Russian children did nothing to deserve such awful suffering and fright and death. The people of Madrid and Jerusalem and Istanbul and Baghdad have done nothing to deserve sudden and random murder. Those acts violate the standards of justice in all cultures and the principles of all religions. (2004)

In his explanation of the SF model, Lakoff argues that cross-culturalism is perceived as an immoral issue. Multiculturalism contradicts with the metaphors of moral boundaries and moral wholeness. These metaphors call for the society members to be united in the way they perceive morality. Cross-culturalism in the SF view is “is considered the evil of all evils” (Degani, 2015, p.53). Contrary to what has been suggested by Lakoff about multiculturalism, we notice in the examples above the sympathetic view of President Bush with people with different cultural backgrounds. In (Ex.5) he mentions that the actions taken to face terrorism is not for the benefit of Americans only, but all people around the world will feel the advantages of such actions. Example (6) explains G. W. Bush’s sympathetic view towards Muslim minorities around the world. He explains that fighting terrorists should not be taken as an excuse to oppress Muslim people. In examples (7) he expresses his good feelings towards Russian children and the victims of terrorism around all the world. Therefore, the claim that Republicans (as SF advocators) are not enthusiastic about Multiculturalism is being challenged

here. Hypothetically Republicans should oppose or resist the concept of multiculturalism on the world stage. Nonetheless, the examples above contradict Lakoff's perception. G. W. Bush shows a positive attitude towards different people from various cultural backgrounds. The examples suggest that he shows more tolerance and openness towards different minorities around the globe.

9.1.3 Equality and fair distribution values

In the moral reasoning theory, Lakoff (1996 / 2002) asserts that MORALITY AS FAIR DISTRIBUTION is a cornerstone metaphor in the NP model. In the NP model, children should be equally nurtured and the parents should share the responsibilities of bringing up children. To cultivate this sense of equality the family members should feel joy and happiness for any success and similarly they feel grief and disappointment for any misfortune. Map that into international relation and foreign policy G. W. Bush (authority) asks the member states to share global wealth with poorer nations and less fortunate peoples.

8	In the twenty-first century, this requires ensuring that people in poor countries have the same opportunity to benefit from the global economy that citizens of wealthy countries have.(2007)
9	America will lead towards that vision, in which all are created equal and free to pursue their dreams. (2007)
10	Overcoming hopelessness requires addressing its causes: poverty, disease and ignorance. Challenging these conditions is in the interest of every nation in this Hall, and democracies are particularly well positioned to carry out that work because we have experience responding to the needs of our own people. (2008)

In the examples above G. W. Bush calls for the world leaders to encourage the value of equality between peoples. He also asks the member states to promote the equal distribution of wealth in the world. In example (8) G. W. Bush argues that all people should enjoy equal opportunities, and the wealth generated by world economy should be shared with less fortunate nations. This call go against a core principle in SF model, In example (11) G. W. Bush confirms that all people born equal and they have the right to be given the chance to chase their dreams. In example (12) the speaker argues that poverty and disease lead to critical societal problems, and they should be eradicated. However, such rhetoric contradicts to the main principle of SF value. It is consistent with the NP values. SF model encourages the value of competition that lead to self-reliance, and consequently making people work

hard to achieve success. It is at the base of the SF model that rich people can get more of the wealth as they are the class who can make the society prosper more. Sharing or giving money to poor people undermines the self-discipline value (Lakoff,2016, p.41). The values of equality and fair distribution have been expressed in literal language. They are transferred into Arabic using literal translation technique.

10. Obama as SF

Degani (2015) argues that there are group of values that define the SF model. These values are strength values (including punishment), self-interest and the nurturant values (nurturant value is available in both SF and NP models). The two most endorsed values of the Republicans are strength and punishment. In the following section, we will find out the values pertinent to SF that has been used by Obama who one would expect to be a NP advocate according to the Moral Politics Theory. Obama utilises the SF principles along with The WORLD COMMUNITY is FAMILY metaphor (section 5) to reason about some foreign political policies.

10.1.1 Strength Value

At the top of the list of the SF values comes the strength value (Moses & Gonzales, 2015). Republicans belief that being strong is the best way to be successful in life. Morally strong people can resist desires that lead to deviations from proper behaviour. Fathers as a top authority in the hierarchy of the model have the power and the right to impose rules and correct any misbehaviour by their children. Hence the “exercise of authority is itself moral” (Wolters, 2012, p.15). Mapping this conceptual view on the foreign policy level, Lakoff (2013) postulates that America could be a parental authority and other countries are children. On that basis, America has the right to exercise its authority to correct any wrongdoings by disobedient or misbehaved children (rouge states). However, the data shows that Obama (who hypothetically endorses NP model) uses the strength tone in his language. As the examples below show, he has repeatedly mentioned that America is strong nation, and it will use its strength as means to implement its foreign policies.

11	All of this must support efforts to strengthen theNPT. Those nations that refuse to live up to theirobligations must face consequences. (2009)
12	the hope that real change is possible and the hope that America will be a leader in bringing about such change. (2009)

13	After all, it is easy to walk up to this podium and point fingers and stoke divisions. Nothing is easier than blaming others for our troubles and absolving ourselves of responsibility for our choices and our actions. Anybody can do that. Responsibility and leadership in the twenty-first century demand more. (2009)
14	We will permit no safe haven for Al-Qaidato launch attacks from Afghanistan or any other nation. We will stand by our friends on the front lines, as we and many nations will do in pledging support for the Pakistani people tomorrow. (2009)
15	But for the sake of Syria — and the peace and security of the world — we must speak with one voice. There is no excuse for inaction. Now is the time for the Security Council to sanction the Syrian regime and to stand with the Syrian people. (2011)
16	But even as we meet our obligations, we have strengthened the treaties and institutions that help stop the spread of those weapons. And to do so, we must continue to hold accountable those nations that flout them. (2011)
17	It should be understood that America will never retreat from the world. We will bring to justice those who harm our citizens and our friends, and we will stand with our allies. (2012)
18	America and our allies will support the people of Ukraine as they develop their democracy and economy. We will reinforce our NATO allies and uphold our commitment to collective self-defence. We will impose a cost on Russia for its aggression, and we will counter falsehoods with the truth. (2014)
19	I lead the strongest military that the world has ever known, and I will never hesitate to protect my country or our allies, unilaterally and by force where necessary. (2015)

As attested by the NP model, the main obligation of the authority figure is to nurture their kids, working hard for their safety, communicating with them in honest and respectable manner. Parents expect their children to behave and treat people in similar manner they raised with. In terms of the foreign policy, Democrats should adopt peaceful diplomacy, seeking to resolve political conflicts and aim to less military solutions. Resorting to physical force is less favourable options in the NP model (Lakoff, 2013). However, the logical entailments above indicate that Obama uses a different conceptual model. The logical entailments emphasise the strength value. This sort of language fits the SF model ascribed to Republicans rather than Democrats. Obama as the authority figure expresses in explicit manner that his country has the most powerful military force in the world, and he is

going to use this force to achieve and protect the interests of his country (Ex. 10). He boldly states that countries do not respect the obligations of NPT will be penalised (Ex. 12, 17). He insists that America will lead the change in the world (Ex. 13), whereas in (Ex.14) Obama rejects the idea that his country is the sole responsible for the problems our world is witnessing calling the world leaders to be more responsible in solving the global issues. In example (Ex.15) Obama threatens that America will hit Al-Qaida severely. As moral authority Obama expresses that America will perform its duties in the world and calls the world to take the necessary action in Syria (Ex.16). He threatens to punish Russia in response to the Russians actions in Ukraine (Ex.19). This tone of strength cannot be made unless the speaker aware that he obtains the necessary strength to make his words into concrete actions.

10.1.2 Punishment value

The source of punishment metaphor comes from the understanding of international relations using family dynamics. Using the SF principles and the metaphorical understanding of WORLD COMMUNITY IS FAMILY suggest that some countries as “parents or heads of the family” whereas other countries are envisaged as children whose behaviour should be controlled. Father as an authority knows what is right and wrong and one of his basic duties is to punish his children when required. On that basis, if a father does not exercise his right of strength, this will be a sign of weakness, which could result in children start thinking to do whatever they want. In other words, children become aware that they can evade any punishment when they commit wrongdoing. The punishment value can take different forms whether a military one in forms of waging wars or military intervention or through imposing economic sanctions or financial settlements (Charteris-Black, 2005, p.271). The following are examples of logical entailments of the punishment value as found in the speeches of Barack Obama.

20	I offered the Islamic Republic of Iran an extended hand last year and underscored that it has both rights and responsibilities as a member of the international community. I also said — in this Hall — that Iran must be held accountable if it failed to meet those responsibilities. And that is what we have done. (2010)
21	If Russia takes that path — a path that for stretches of the post-Cold War period resulted in prosperity for the Russian people — then we will lift our sanctions and welcome Russia’s role in addressing common challenges. (2014)

22	there will be moments when the international community will need to acknowledge that the multilateral use of military force may be required to prevent the very worst from occurring. (2013)
23	I have said before and I will repeat: there is no room to accommodate an apocalyptic cult like the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), and the United States makes no apologies for using our military, as part of a broad coalition, to go after them. (2015)
24	Already, the United States has imposed strong sanctions on Syria's leaders. We supported a transfer of power that would be responsive to the Syrian people. And many of our allies have joined in this effort. (2011)
25	Today, as a new tower is rising at GroundZero, it symbolizes New York's renewal, even as Al-Qaida is under more pressure than ever before. Its leadership has been degraded. Osama bin Laden, a man who murdered thousands of people from dozens of countries, will never endanger the peace of the world again. (2011)
26	We have banned those who abuse human rights from travelling to our country and we have sanctioned those who trample on human rights abroad. And we will always serve as a voice for those who have been silenced. (2011)
27	The attacks on the American civilians in Benghazi were attacks on America. We are grateful for the assistance we received from the Libyan Government and from the Libyan people. There should be no doubt that we will be relentless in tracking down the killers and bringing them to justice. (2012)
28	When I stated my willingness to order a limited strike against the Al-Assad regime in response to its brazen use of chemical weapons, I did not do so lightly. (2013)
29	When Iran agrees to accept constraints on its nuclear programme, that enhances global security and enhances Iran's ability to work with other nations. On the other hand, when North Korea tests a bomb that endangers all of us. And any country that breaks this basic bargain must face consequences. (2016)

This group of examples manifested the punishment value in Obama's speeches. In example (3) Obama stresses the fact that using military power is unavoidable option in some cases. Hence, the punishment concept is essential tool in the Democrats foreign policy strategical policies. In example (1) Obama stressed the fact that Iran deserved the punishment as it has not shown the necessary commitment towards abandoning the nuclear

weapons production. Using the SF and WORLD COMMUNITY IS FAMILY metaphors this could be conceptualised as America is authority and perceives Iran's conduct (production of nuclear weapons) as a child's bad behaviour that deserves punishment. Example (2) Obama expresses that Russia should change its behaviour so sanctions could be lifted. In SF model, the obedience of the authority instructions results in a prize or a reward (Lakoff & Wehling, 2016). Similarly, Russian act of defiance can only lead to sanctions, but if Russians change their behaviour and conform to the authority instructions, they will be rewarded. This is similar to example (10) when Obama mentions the rewards that Iranian reap if they cooperate and make constraints on its nuclear program, however North Korea will face severe consequences if Koreans decide to test a nuclear bomb. In fact, this scenario also triggers the punishment and reward metaphors that Lakoff raises (1996 / 2002) in his Family metaphors model. Examples (4, 6, 8) suggest the Obama's vision in dealing with terrorist groups. There is no choice but to use military force against them. Examples (5, 7, 9) Obama expresses his position from the Syrian war. He says that America exerted the physical punishment represented in air strikes and the economic sanctions. Lakoff (2013) believes that Obama policy towards Syrian war is a manifestation of the SF principles. Al-Assad has been conceptualised as a child who misbehaves and the authority should intervene to deter him from doing wrong for himself and others. Similar to the entailments in the strength group the translators use the literal translation technique to render these logical entailments into Arabic.

11. Discussion of the results

To examine the data more thoroughly and to compare the ways speakers use the morality metaphors the data has been transferred into table (1). The table illustrates the numbers of expressions that reflect the SF and NP political values as suggested by Lakoff (1996/2002) and Degani (2015). A survey on the examples extracted from the research corpus shows the following figures:

Table 3: Statistical survey of morality metaphors

Description	G. W. Bush	Barack Obama	Description	G. W. Bush	Barack Obama
SFmetaphorical entailments	19	6	NP metaphorical entailments	7	56
SFnon-metaphorical	197	49	NP non-metaphorical	49	126

entailments			entailments		
Total entailments SF	216	55	Total entailments NP	56	182
Total number of the entire entailments	509				

There are three prominent results that appear in the table. Firstly, the number of instances where G.W. Bush used SF values and Barack Obama used the NP model metaphorically is relatively small compared with the total number of all entailments. Secondly, the number of times each speaker has applied the opposite model (Bush as NP and Obama as SF) is approximately the same (55 examples for Bush and 56 for Obama). Thirdly, the political values for both SF and NP models were predominantly articulated through literal logical entailments rather than metaphorical language. To study the results in more detail and to make the variations more visible, the results were put into pie charts. The pie charts specify the proportions (metaphorical or using logical literal entailments) in which each speaker expresses his own political values.

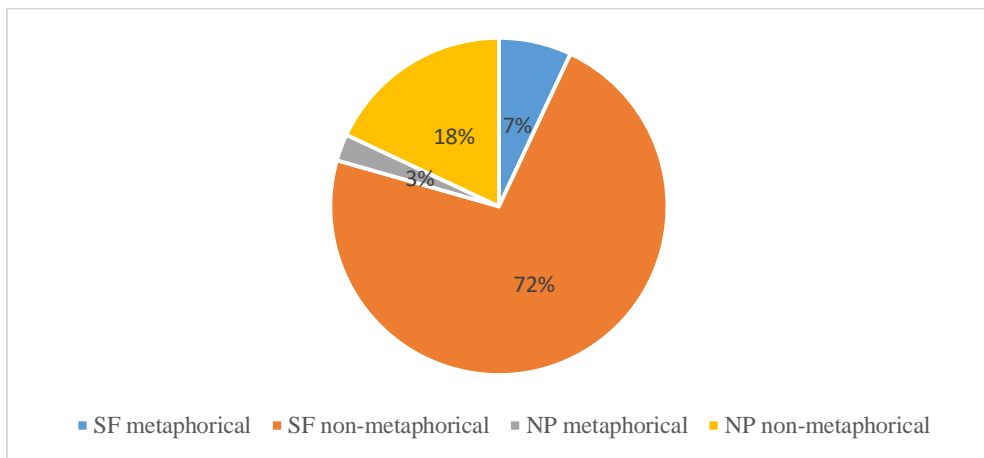


Figure 1: G W. Bush's use of morality metaphors

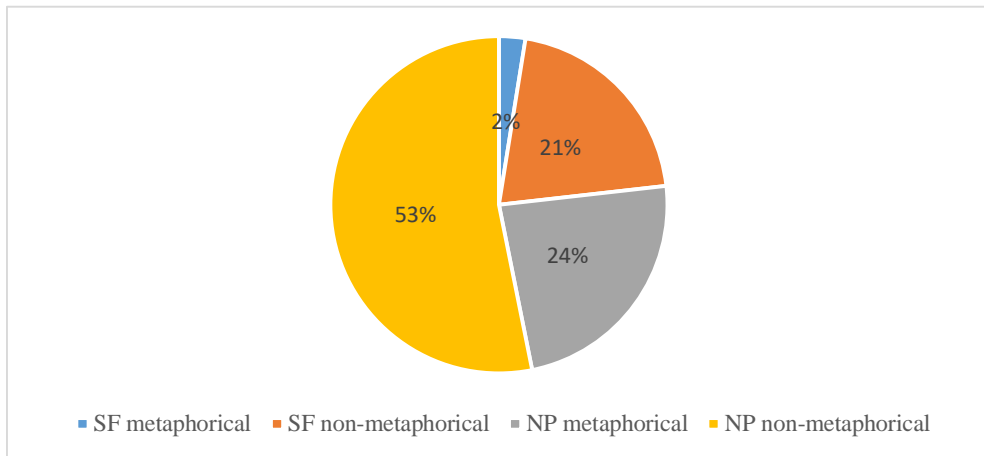


Figure 2: Barack Obama's use of morality metaphors

Figures (8:1) and (8:2) explain what sort of language (metaphorical entailments or non-metaphorical logical literal entailments) G.W. Bush and Barack Obama use to frame their political views. Overall, the largest category in the two pie charts is the use of non-metaphorical entailments by both speakers, whether SF for Republicans or NP for Democrats. However, the use of non-metaphorical entailments was about 20% higher in the case of Bush than his counterpart. It is noticeable also that more than the half of the examples of moral values in Obama's speeches were NP non-metaphorical ones. Strikingly, using metaphorical language was the less common option for both speakers: less than a quarter in both presidents' examples. However, the analysis shows that Obama leans more to NP metaphorical alternatives (24%) than Bush does with SF metaphorical expressions (7%). Analysis indicates that both speakers use both models, rather than only those assigned to them in Lakoff's MPT; but to a lesser extent than their use of the metaphorical or literal entailments ascribed to them originally in the theory. This outcome conforms to Cienki's (2005a, 2005b), Moses and Gonzales' (2015) and Musolff's (2016) outcomes that American politicians do not adhere to one model in their political reasoning. Bush and Obama used the non-metaphorical entailments to a corresponding extent. 18% of the examples in Bush speeches are NP non-metaphorical entailments, whereas 21% of Obama's examples are SF non-metaphorical logical entailments. The two smallest categories in the data employ metaphorical language when switching to the opposite conceptual model for each speaker. In only 3% of all examples did Bush use NP metaphorical expressions, compared with 2% of Obama's SF metaphorical examples.

These results also conform to Cienki's (2005a) and Degani's (2015) argument that logical entailments of the SF and NP models play a considerable role in shaping political opinions for American politicians. The lack of metaphorical entailments and the omnipresence of non-metaphorical ones can be attributed to many factors. One possibility is that the UN General Assembly is not the most suitable platform for American presidents to deploy the NATION IS FAMILY conceptual metaphorical pattern (including SF and NP models) to reason about political issues. However, this assumption could only be verified through analysis of all the speeches of American presidents from the establishment of the UN organisation until the present time. Another possibility is that American presidents deliberately eschew metaphorical language on this platform (UN General Assembly speeches) fearing that such language use may hinder their message from coming across as efficiently as they wish. Such assumptions indicate that politicians' understanding of metaphor is still based on the Classical rhetorical school understanding that metaphor is an ornamental device, rather than on the cognitive view that metaphor is a communicative mechanism. Furthermore, it could be speculated that on such a multinational and multicultural platform as the UNGA, politicians try to avoid utilising metaphors that may lead to political misunderstanding as a result of inaccurate translation.

Literal translation is the omnipresent technique used to transfer the political values from the SL into the TL. This can be attributed to the fact that the logical entailments in the SL do not imply several complex mappings or projections when expressing political values. Conclusion

Within the massive area of linguistic investigation in the field of research in political language and cognition, this article has explored specific aspects of language use in the context of UN general assembly meetings. It has provided a linguistic and cognitive application of Lakoff's (1996 / 2002) MPT. The research corpus is the speeches made by G. W. Bush and Barack Obama during their presidency from 2001 - 2016. The aim was to find out to what extent the two speakers adhered to the models ascribed to them in the MPT theory.

Conclusion

The major outcomes of the analysis of examples in this chapter are: Presidents G. W. Bush and Barack Obama do not strictly adhere to the SF or NP model. However, the data shows that they use the models conversely when they reason about various political issues in the UNGA. Both G. W. Bush and Barack Obama used more logical entailments rather than metaphors to express their moral political values.

The examination of the data show that the metaphors used to embed the political values are to a great extent shared between English and Arabic. Hence, the literal translation can function effectively in rendering these metaphors.

One of the aspects that the analysis could not provide an answer to is the level of metaphoricality for conservatives and liberals. Future studies may adopt different methods to find out whether the result reached here can be generalised for all American presidential rhetoric. This can be achieved through adopting a larger size of a corpus. For instance, compiling the speeches of the entire American presidents in the UNGA and their translation based on the availability. A collaborative project may be conducted by including multiple languages. Researchers may investigate the metaphorical values in the six official languages of the UN.

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