

Masters by Research Thesis

“When they go low, you go high”:

A Metaphor and Metonymy-led Analysis of the Second American Presidential Debate between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump.



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Abstract

Despite its importance within the scholarly field of metaphor research, Conceptual Metaphor Theory, proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), appears to be unable to explain the whole story when examining metaphor and the related concept, metonymy. Specifically, the cognitive view of metaphor is not able to fully explain how and why metaphor and metonymy are used in different contexts or ‘discourses’. One prevalent type of discourse in modern society is political discourse. Scholars have now begun to pay attention to how metaphor and metonymy are used in the context of politics (for example, Charteris-Black, 2011). Within this emerging body of research, one less explored area is that of American presidential debates. Because this is such an understudied area, the debates between two of the most controversial American politicians in 2016, Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump, have not yet been examined.

In my study, I take the second presidential debate between Clinton and Trump and explore how their use of metaphor and metonymy is affected by two factors which are believed to shape all types of discourse: genre and register. I combine both qualitative and quantitative analyses to illustrate throughout that genre and register should be considered in critical metaphor analysis. I also bridge various gaps in the academic literature surrounding critical metaphor and metonymy analysis and critical discourse analysis of American presidential debates. I argue that there are many similarities between the candidates, but that there are nuanced differences which are created due to the aspects of genre and register. I argue that both metaphor and metonymy should be considered and analysed in tandem with each other with regards to genre and register. The results suggest that candidates typically use both metaphor and metonymy to position their ideological views towards topics in often subtle ways. I use corpus data to explore how novel various metaphorical and metonymic constructions are. Throughout, the persuasive effect of these metaphors and metonymies are discussed.

Conventions Used:

SMALL CAPITALS	Indicates a conceptual domain
<u>Underlined Language</u>	Indicates a metaphor I would like to draw attention to
<u>.....</u> <u>Language</u>	Indicates a metonymy I would like to draw attention to
<u>.....</u> <u>Language</u>	Indicates language which is neither a metaphor nor metonymy, but which I would like to draw attention to.
<i>Italics for Words</i>	Indicates a text outside of this paper (E.g. <i>Poetics</i> by Aristotle)
(COCA data)	Indicates that the data comes from the Corpus of Contemporary American English, a database containing authentic examples of American English.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Metaphors and political persuasiveness go hand in hand. More than three hundred years ago, in the seminal book *Leviathan*, philosopher Thomas Hobbes warned that metaphor could lead people to political confusion:

“The Light of humane minds is Perspicuous Words, but by exact definitions first snuffed [...] metaphors, and senseless and ambiguous words, are like *ignes fatui*; and reasoning upon them is wandering amongst innumerable absurdities; and their end, contention, and sedition, or content” (Hobbes, 1996: 36).

In more recent academic discussions surrounding metaphor, scholars in the fields of philosophy, linguistics, and psychology have begun to note how metaphor in everyday contexts can be highly persuasive (for example, Musolff, 2016). In particular, many scholars within these fields have paid specific attention to how metaphor can be used persuasively within the field of politics (for example see Charteris-Black, 2011; Semino and Koller, 2009).

One of the most widely discussed political events of 2016 was the United States of America’s presidential election. The presidential election in the United States of America is particularly significant because political decisions made within this influential country can have an impact on societies across the world. Because of the socio-political power of America, it is important to analyse the ways which American political leaders use metaphor, not only to add to the scholarly field of language analysis but to understand how and why certain politicians are persuasive and the consequences of this persuasiveness.

The two main party candidates were Secretary of Defence, Ms Hillary Clinton (Democrat), and Mr Donald Trump (Republican). Many people viewed both candidates as highly controversial: Clinton had been a politician for more than 30 years, but had voted in favour of many policies with adverse effects; Trump was a businessman who had no political experience and had been accused of sexual assault (see Weigel, 2016). Put simply, Clinton was a disliked politician; Trump was a controversial celebrity.

If metaphors are a powerful political rhetoric device, as argued by scholars such as Charteris-Black (2009; 2011), then this raises questions about what metaphors the candidates decided to use during their election campaigns.

To better understand the significance of metaphors used at particular points in the election campaign, it is useful to know how American campaigns work. Because of this, I outline the American voting system below:

- 1) Voting happens on one specified day across the whole country.
- 2) The goal of both candidates is to get as many votes as possible. If a candidate receives the most votes in one state, it is assumed¹ that the Electoral College voters will give them the number of votes which corresponds to that state.
- 3) The number of votes each Electoral College member can give to a candidate varies by state. Once a candidate receives a total of 270 or more votes from the Electoral College representatives, they win the election.
- 4) In the run up to the election itself, the candidates run different campaigns to persuade voters to vote for them.
- 5) As part of this campaign, the leaders of the major parties are invited to take part in three televised debates.

With regards to the campaign, I am particularly interested in the last section, the debates.

These debates have the potential to reach a vast amount of people. Both the American public and people around the world watch these debates. With advancing modern technology, such as the internet, the debates can be re-watched by audiences in different homes, in different countries, and in different situations.

Within a debate context, analysing metaphor use is a way to explore how politicians influence an audience, and how they present their ideologies to these audiences. However, the use of figurative language must be taken in tandem with other linguistic phenomena. For example, while the use of metaphor can be highly persuasive, if a candidate is completely incomprehensible, or if they declared their hatred for American people, they are likely to be unsuccessful. Hence, there is a need to explore what metaphors politicians use, why they use it, and what effect it may have. By analysing the metaphors and metonymies used by politicians, it could be possible to gain a deeper understanding of the ideologies each candidate holds towards

¹ I have used the word 'assumed' as Electoral College voters may choose to ignore the vote of the general population. However, this is a rare occurrence.

different groups of people and by extension, which ideologies are still accepted in contemporary American society.

Televised debates also generate media attention and invite discussion among many voters concerning the candidates and their policies, which has the potential to broaden their potential influence (Choi and Benoit, 2013). Analyzing metaphor and metonymy use within a televised debate allows us to see how candidates present themselves and their ideologies to large audiences and how they try to convince these large audiences to vote for them.

In this thesis, I explore how the setting of a debate affects the metaphors and metonymies used by Clinton and Trump. I then investigate these figurative language devices in relation to how they are employed in a persuasive way as well as how they can convey different ideologies. Throughout this thesis, I will argue that two factors have an effect on figurative language: genre and register.

In Chapter 2, I give definitions for the key terms used within this project alongside theoretical underpinnings. Namely, I define: metaphor, metonymy, genre, and register. I also argue that there are three aspects to both genre and register and that these must be considered as individual factors affecting language use. Furthermore, I explore how previous studies in the scholarly fields of metaphor research, metonymy research, corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, genre analysis, and register analysis, have shaped this thesis and where this thesis fits into the broader field of critical metaphor analysis. I argue that there is a lack of analysis pertaining to the use of metaphor and metonymy in American Presidential debates. Furthermore, I propose that analyses of metaphor and metonymy need to consider the impact of genre and register. I argue that approaching the data with regards to genre and register provides a more nuanced level of analysis than conventional methods of analysing metaphors. Additionally, I propose that considering metonymy as an equally important aspect to figurative language show that it can enact similar functions to metaphor and deserves equal attention.

Following a review of the theoretical underpinnings of my thesis, in Chapter 3 I outline the methodological procedure I implemented to collect my data. I then outline the analytical procedures applied to Chapters 4, 5, and 6. I explain that there are different methods of metaphor identification, but these current methods have problematic aspects. Hence, in order to overcome these problematic aspects, I propose a combination of three popular identification methods: the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) (Pragglejaz group, 2007), the Metaphor Identification

Procedure VU University (Steen et al., 2010), and the Vehicle Identification Procedure (VIP) (Cameron, 2003). I then argue that Deignan et al. (2013) provide an ideal framework for analysing the effect of genre and register on metaphor and metonymy. I describe the data with regards to this framework but argue that a more nuanced level of analysis is required for each section.

I start my analysis in Chapter 4, where I employ a conventional analytical method: analysing frequencies of linguistic metaphors within source domains. In a similar vein to a substantial number of published analyses, I explore the different types of metaphor Clinton and Trump use and discuss possible reasons for these differences. I quantify the frequencies at which the metaphors occur and then explore them on a qualitative level. I will then argue that while these differences in frequency are thought-provoking, a more nuanced level analysis is required to examine what has affected these metaphors. I argue that this more nuanced level of analysis is best provided by considering the effect of genre and register on the metaphors and metonymies used by the candidates.

In Chapter 5, I begin the nuanced approach to the data by exploring how the elements of genre affect the figurative language employed by Clinton and Trump. I argue that the three factors which compose genre all have some effect on the metaphors and metonymies used by Clinton and Trump. I suggest that Clinton and Trump's identities and membership of different groups have affected the figurative language they use. I also explore how language which shows memberships of various discourse communities can have a persuasive impact on the audience. Furthermore, I propose that metaphors and metonymies can enact different functions in discourse, and therefore, I investigate these functions. Finally, I conclude the chapter by analysing how various stages of the discourse affect how frequently the candidates use metaphors. In order to do this, I explore where within the debate the metaphors are densest. Overall, I highlight how all three aspects have some effect on the metaphors and metonymies utilised by the candidates.

In Chapter 6, I follow a similar structure to Chapter 5 but explore how the three components of register affect the metaphors and metonymies used by Clinton and Trump. I will argue that what the candidates talk about at any given section does not completely restrict the metaphors that Clinton and Trump draw upon, but does encourage them to use particular types of metaphor and metonymy. I will then argue that Clinton and Trump as people have different kinds

of power, but the audience also has some power over both of them. As a result, I will argue that Clinton and Trump tailor their language to appeal to a broad audience. Finally, I contend that Clinton and Trump appear to have different language features, in that Clinton's language appears to be more scripted than Trump's. I argue that levels of spontaneity affects the metaphors and metonymy used.

Lastly, I conclude the thesis by summarising my arguments and highlighting future lines of research. I explain the main aspects to my arguments from the chapters of analysis but suggest that more research beyond the scope of this thesis is still required.

Chapter 2: Background Literature

In this chapter, I explore two aspects of figurative language which are salient within the second presidential debate and are central to the thesis: metaphor and metonymy. The overarching aims of this chapter are: to explore what functions these aspects of figurative language have, what affects how metaphor and metonymy are used, and to highlight gaps in knowledge regarding these aspects of figurative language.

In order to achieve these aims, I start by giving Lakoff and Johnson's definition of metaphor, as derived from previous descriptions given by scholars of philosophy, literature, and drama. I demonstrate the shift from a literary view of metaphor to a conceptual approach. This exploration of the conceptual view of metaphor then leads to a discussion of the criticisms of the most contemporary metaphor theory within cognitive linguistics: Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). The central methodological framework I use in this investigation, the Deignan et al. (2013) framework, seeks to address some of these criticisms, specifically the effect of genre and register on metaphor use. Due to how central they are to the project, I define genre and register and review the relevant literature in order to show how both of these shape language use, and thus form the basis for Deignan et al.'s framework. I will then focus on the ways in which metaphor is used within political discourse, specifically, how metaphor use within political speeches is affected by genre and register.

Following an exploration of the effect of genre and register on metaphor use, I discuss the literature on the related concept: metonymy. Definitions of metonymy are relatively recent. Thus, I outline the definition provided by Littlemore (2015) and review existing research into the use of metonymy in political discourse. The review of the literature reveals that there is a large gaps in the research, as metonymy has not yet been explored extensively within political discourse. Because it has not been explored within political discourse, it also has not been explored within American presidential debate discourse.

Finally, I conclude this chapter by highlighting the gaps in knowledge which are central to this investigation regarding the use of figurative language in American political discourse.

2.1 What is Metaphor?: From Metaphor as a Literary Device to a Conceptual Theory of

Metaphor

In the past, philosophical scholars, such as Burke (1945), have viewed metaphor as a linguistic embellishment which is confined to the fields of literature and poetry. He defines metaphor as: “a device for seeing something in terms of something else” (Ibid: 503). However, more recently it has been argued that metaphor reflects deeper cognitive systems which are influenced by social, and cultural experiences (see for example, Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Within this second school of thought, metaphor is viewed as: “the cognitive process of understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 5). Following a brief overview of the literature on these two approaches, I will then explore how metaphor theory and research has developed since Lakoff and Johnson’s seminal work, and outline the refined conceptual view of metaphor with which I use throughout the thesis.

For many years metaphor was only considered as a literary device. For example, Aristotle (350, BC) was one of the first people to describe metaphor and specifically described it in relation to its use in literature. He defined metaphor in literature as a way to compare dissimilar things: “Metaphor is the application of an alien name by transference either from genus to species” (Ibid: 3). However, Aristotle’s work did not recognise the importance nor function of both literary and non-literary metaphors. For an extensive period of time, many people undertook a view which dismissed metaphors as embellishments of language within literature (for an overview, see Landau et al., 2010: 1046). Many years following Aristotle’s work, Burke (1945: 503) examined how metaphor was used within theatrical texts. He suggested that metaphor “brings out the thisness of a, or the thatness of a this” and that it “tells us something about one character as considered from the point of view of another character. And to consider A from the point of view of B is, of course, to use B as a perspective upon A” (Ibid: 503-504). Burke’s work was distinctive as it was one of the first to revisit metaphor and suggest that it is worthy of further investigation. At this point in history, metaphor had been described on a more nuanced level in comparison to what Aristotle originally stated but was still viewed as bound to the fields of literature and poetry. Hence, while metaphors had drawn some interest from academic researchers, even by the time of Burke’s work, metaphor was only researched in relation to how it was used in literature.

The focus on metaphor as a literary device meant that metaphors used in non-literary language were overlooked. In a critique of the Aristotelian approach to metaphor, Black (1955) used intuitive, decontextualized, non-literary examples of metaphors, in addition to those found in literary texts. While the examples Black gave were intuitive, his work remains distinctive in that it was the first to acknowledge and comment on non-literary metaphors. Within his approach to metaphor, Black argues that metaphors are composed of two key components: *focuses*, which are metaphorically used lexemes in a sentence, and *frames*, which are non-metaphorically used lexemes. He claims: “In general, when we speak of a relatively simple metaphor, we are referring to a sentence or another expression, in which some words are used metaphorically, while the remainder are used non-metaphorically” (Ibid: 27). Black suggested that metaphors are also present in non-literary language and that metaphor is constructed of more nuanced components than originally argued by Aristotle (305, BC.).

More recently, scholars have argued that metaphor operates on a cognitive level (for example, Schubert et al., 2009; Huette et al., 2012; Duffy and Evans, 2016). Lakoff and Johnson’s seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980) has been hailed as a pioneering text in metaphor research, as they were the first to propose Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). They argue that metaphor is both ubiquitous in language, while simultaneously a reflection of a much deeper conceptual system. The relationship between cognitive processes and metaphorical thinking manifests itself in metaphorical linguistic expressions about abstract concepts, such as in metaphors about POLITICS and ARGUMENTS (Deignan, 2005; Lazar, 2009). In other words, metaphors are linguistic demonstrations of this cognitive relationship. Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphors work by mapping the knowledge from one domain (the source domain) on to another (the target domain) (see Gibbs, 2014; Tay, 2014; Figure 1). They also argue that source domains contain networks of culturally specific knowledge. In the interpretation of metaphors, these networks of knowledge are then drawn upon to understand the abstract concept. Hence, the knowledge from the source domain is used to explain a target domain. While, like many cognitive linguists, I broadly align myself with a cognitive view of metaphor, CMT is not without criticism. In the following sub-sections, I explore some of these criticisms which provide a refined view of how CMT should be explored.

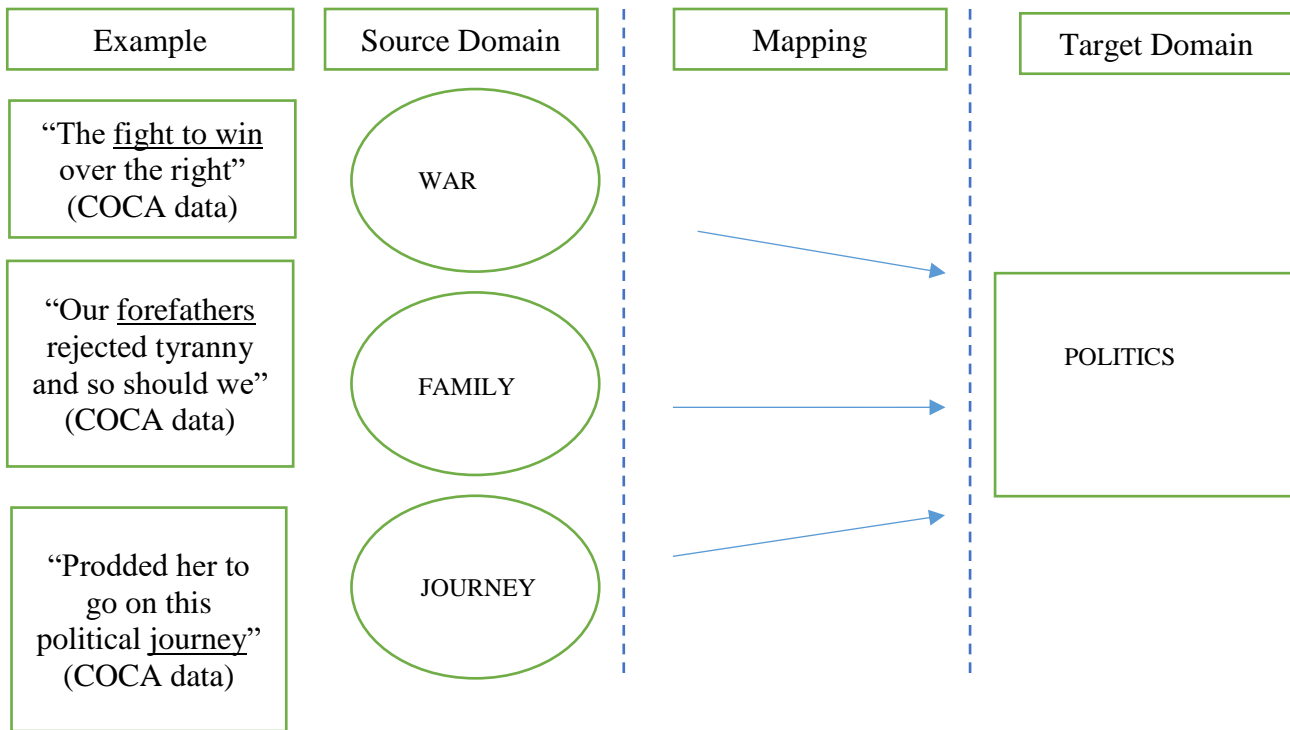


Figure 1: A Visual Representation for the Process of Mapping Using Authentic Examples of American English

2.1.1 Criticism of CMT: The Identification of Metaphors

One of the most prominent criticisms of CMT is that metaphors are difficult to systematically identify because individual analysts may have different definitions of what constitutes a metaphor. As Deignan (2010) points out, researchers must select representative texts for analysis as well as having a reliable metaphor identification procedure. Gibbs’ (2006: 10) comments on CMT resonate with those from Deignan, as he notes that it is important for researchers to identify reliable ways of grouping metaphors semantically and to decide what the target and source domains are. Hence, while CMT provides a framework for an understanding of how metaphors work in language, metaphors must still be systematically identified.

In recent years, there have been attempts to establish a systematic metaphor identification procedure (for example, MIP developed by Pragglez group, 2007; MIPVU developed by Steen et al., 2010; and VIP developed by Cameron, 2003). However, these identification procedures

are still debated, as some linguists still have different classifications for what constitutes a metaphor. In turn, this means that there remains considerable debate amongst metaphor scholars about how to accurately and reliably identify metaphors (I discuss these identification procedures and associated debates in Chapter 3).

Even if metaphors are systematically identified, systematically identifying the source domains can become problematic. In order to overcome this difficulty, Steen (1999:73) offers five steps to identify source domains:

1. Metaphor focus identification
2. Metaphor idea identification
3. Nonliteral comparison identification
4. Nonliteral analogy identification
5. Nonliteral mapping identification

Step 1 pertains specifically to the identification of metaphor in discourse. As I have previously mentioned, this is a contested topic of debate amongst metaphor researchers. Step 2 involves identifying what part of the sentence is metaphorical and what focuses evoke literal references (Black, 1955). These literal concepts can be explicitly stated within the frame or inferred by the analyst. Step 3 aims to set the basis for conceptual metaphor analysis, where comparisons between literal and nonliteral language are highlighted. Step 4 fills in the comparative structure established in step 3 through inference of metaphorical language within a stretch of text. Finally, step 5 is to list these nonliteral analogies as a source and target domain, the relationships they have with each other, and what worldly knowledge is drawn upon in order to process the metaphor. I provide worked examples of this procedure in Chapter 4.

However, even after drawing upon Steen's framework, the extrapolation of conceptual metaphors from linguistic metaphors can still be problematic (see for example Semino et al., 2003). The boundaries between mappings are often viewed as 'fuzzy' as opposed to 'clear cut'. Indeed, in examples provided by Semino et al. (2003), often a single metaphor can be viewed to have multiple possible mappings (see Ibid: 1282). While I attempt to analyse one source domain for any given metaphor, these 'fuzzy' boundaries must be considered throughout any analysis.

2.1.2 Criticism of CMT: A Lack of Authentic Data

One of the earliest criticisms of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) research is that most of the metaphors were intuitive and would be rare in natural spoken discourse (for an overview, see Steen, 2002). Gibbs (2006:10) notes that many examples of metaphors: "may only reflect aspects of the 'idealised' speaker-hearer, but not how people ordinarily speak, or write, in naturalistic discourse". Hence, there is a need to use authentic data to explore how metaphor is used in natural language.

In order to explore metaphor in naturalistic discourse, many contemporary investigations have drawn upon corpus linguistic techniques (for example, see Deignan, 2005). Corpus linguists use computer-based systems to search for patterns and trends in databases of naturally occurring language (Sinclair, 1991: 6). One benefit of drawing on corpus data within metaphor research is that naturally-occurring language provides a more realistic representation of metaphor in use, compared to the intuitive examples used by Lakoff and Johnson (see Deignan, 2005: 27).

Corpus research, including corpus approaches to metaphor, typically falls into two camps: corpus-based and corpus-driven (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). Corpus-based research uses pre-existing hypotheses and tests these against the corpus data. On the other hand, corpus-driven research starts with no assumptions and allows new categories to emerge from the data. While this investigation is not specifically a corpus analysis, I use aspects of corpus-based research to compare examples found within my data to authentic examples found in corpus data.

Hence, while CMT provides an framework for understanding metaphor, hypotheses must be tested against authentic linguistic data, as opposed to intuitive examples. While findings from studies that have tested out theories of metaphor on authentic data has challenged some aspects of CMT research, they have not completely debunked the theoretical basis of CMT.

2.1.3 Criticisms of CMT: Metaphor Use in Discourse

In a similar manner to the criticisms about CMT arising from corpus linguists, Lakoff and Johnson's work does not account for metaphor use within specific discourses. Studies which consider metaphor use in specific discourses are able to explore how metaphors are used to execute multiple functions, such as persuasion. Hart (2011) contextualises and justifies the role of metaphor research in discourse-based analyses, and suggests that discourse-based analyses of metaphor should account for how an audience interprets metaphor, which involves more than

just metaphor identification. Discourse-based studies typically examine metaphor within specific texts, while corpus-based approaches examine metaphor across a large range of texts. In this investigation, I utilise discourse-based approaches to metaphor, but also draw on corpus data for cross-comparisons.

One benefit of discourse-based analyses of metaphor in televised debates is that the data removes complications caused by systematic observation in an ‘unnatural’ environment (for example, see Labov, 1997; Cameron, 2007). Unlike experimental research (for example, Nayak and Gibbs, 1990; Schubert et al., 2009), which requires participants to take part in psycholinguistic experiments, discourse-based studies remove response bias. In psycholinguistic experiments, participants may be tempted to provide the researcher with answers they believe the researcher wants. One benefit of analysing publicly available data is that it removes this informant bias. Furthermore, as the data is publically available, there are less ethical issues to consider, compared to running experiments. Hence, a discourse-based study is perfectly suited to the scope of this project.

2.2 Deignan et al.’s (2013) Figurative Language Framework: The Effect of Genre, and Register on Metaphor in Discourse

Before I explore previous studies which have used discourse-based approaches in the study of metaphor, two key aspects of discourse-based studies need to be addressed: firstly, the effect of genre and secondly the effect of register on metaphor use. It has been argued that metaphor use is related to the discourse of a text (Kövecses, 2008; 2010; Deignan et al., 2013). Additionally, genre and register have also been reported to affect the discourse of a text. Hence, by extension, both genre and register will shape the figurative language used in a text. This section explores the definitions of genre and register, as they are central to the methodological framework I employ, the Deignan et al. (2013) framework. Notably, Deignan et al. (2013) call for more analyses to consider a combined framework which accounts for the effect of both genre and register. Hence, in the following subsections, I start by exploring the elements of genre before running a parallel exploration of the elements which compose register.

2.2.1 Genre

There are multiple definitions of genre, but for this investigation I align myself with Bhatia's (1993:15) notion that genre is: "a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purpose(s) identified and mutually understood by members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs". Deignan et al. (2013: 41-44) draw upon previous genre research and explain that genre is composed of three distinct categories: the discourse community in which it takes place, the purpose of the text, and the staging of a text (or the stages which the text has). In this section, I draw upon the literature which has shaped Deignan et al.'s view of genre and discuss the three components which are central to the genre aspect of the methodological framework.

The first component, the discourse community, is defined by multiple characteristics. Although writing about the academic writing discourse community, rather than political discourse communities, Swales' (1990) work is one of the fundamental texts in genre analysis. He presents six characteristics which define a discourse community:

1. The group have a broadly agreed set of common public goals.
2. The community has mechanisms of intercommunication among its members.
3. Members of the group use its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback.
4. The group utilises and hence possesses one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims.
5. In addition to owning genres, members of the group have acquired some specific lexis.
6. The community has a threshold level of members with a suitable degree of relevant content and discursal expertise. (Swales, 1990: 24-26; 2016)

Since Swale's work, others (such as Becker, 1995) have developed this and propose the inclusion of an additional characteristic:

7. The community develops a sense of "sailential relations", whereby there is a sense of things that do not need to be said or to be spelt out in detail.

These characteristics of a discourse community are best summarised by Barton (2007: 76-76):

“[a discourse community can refer to] a group of people who have texts and practices in common, whether it is a group of academics, or the readers of teenage magazines. [... It can] refer to the people the text is aimed at; it can be the people who read the text; or it can refer to people who participate in a set of discourse practices”.

In Deignan et al.'s (2013) framework, the discourse community is viewed as a flexible, non-homogenous community, which is necessary for the existence of genre (Ibid: 44). In a similar manner to Deignan et al. (2013), I take the first three characteristics Swales (1990: 24-26) offers as aspects which provide useful information about the discourse community, as opposed to those essential to a discourse community's existence. While Deignan et al. (2013) do not take into account Becker's (1995) developments on Swale's work, I consider Becker's additional characteristic to be similar to the first three characteristics, in that it provides useful information but is not necessary to a discourse community's existence.

The second aspect to genre which Deignan et al. (2013) identify is function. Function is particularly concerned with what goals the speaker aims to achieve within the discourse (Martin and Rose, 2007). Bhatia's (1993) comments resonate with those of Martin and Rose (2007), who argue that communicative purpose is central to the identification of genre. In this investigation, Clinton, Trump, the moderators and the audience all have goals. Put another way, function relates to what the role the speaker wants language to perform in order to achieve a particular goal, such as persuading the audience or evaluating ideas.

The final sub-component of genre within the Deignan et al. framework is staging. There is general agreement amongst researchers that different genres have distinct and identifiable stages (Bhatia, 1993; Samraj, 2002; Martin and Rose, 2003; 2007; Hiippala, 2014). Indeed, as Eggins and Martin (1997:236) suggest that “texts which are doing different jobs in culture will unfold in different ways, working through different steps or stages”. Deignan et al. argue that figurative language will be affected by which stage of the genre the text is at.

However, some of these components of genre may have a greater effect on the figurative language used within a text, in comparison to others. For example, within Deignan et al.'s (2013) example of the use of figurative language in spoken communication between an academic expert and non-expert interlocutors, staging only had a small effect on figurative language use (Ibid: 135). As some elements of genre have appeared to have a greater effect on figurative language

use than others, I agree with Deignan et al.'s argument that analyses which only consider the genre of a text may overlook language which is affected by other linguistic factors, such as register.

2.2.2 Register

Deignan et al. (2013) propose that many studies would benefit from exploring register in tandem with genre. Hence, they argue for a combined framework which explores how both genre and register affects figurative language use. In this subsection, I review the literature surrounding the field of register analysis and identify the components of register.

Register refers to Halliday's (1978) pioneering work in the systemic functional school of linguistics. Halliday and Hassan (1985: 12) outline the three components of register:

Field refers to what is happening, to the nature of the social interaction that is taking place [...] **Tenor** refers to who is taking part, the nature of the participants, their status and power [...] and] **Mode** refers to what part language is playing, what the participants are expecting language to do for them in the situation.

Thus, when I refer to register, I refer to how these three components which affect language use.

The notion that both genre and register affect metaphor use is well documented. Cameron (2010: 77) highlights the problem of not considering both genre and register in discourse-based metaphor analyses: "when metaphor is at work in discourse, conceptual metaphor theory is not adequate to explain what is happening". In other words, CMT, without consideration of genre and register, is not adequate at explaining how and why metaphors are used in discourse. Within political discourse, politicians appear to utilise the aspects of genre and register to describe the "unobservable' political world" and to "intensify some perceptions and screen others out of attention" (Pancake, 1993: 283). Pancake suggests that metaphors within written political texts can shape conscious understandings of the world. Hence, the political elite can utilise aspects of genre and register in order to shape the views of the public. While metaphor is prevalent in language (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980), both genre and register can affect the figurative language used in a text. For this reason, I adopt Deignan et al.'s (2013) combined framework of analysing how the components of both genre and register affect figurative language use within a text.

Similar to genre, some of the components of register may have a greater effect on the language used in a text in comparison to others. When considering the aspects of register in tandem with genre, there may be figurative language which is affected by multiple aspects of either genre and / or register. While this investigation aims to keep the aspects of genre and register as separated components for analysis, there may be some aspects of genre and register which overlap, and some uses of figurative language which could be approached from multiple perspectives within the genre and register framework.

2.3 What is Metonymy?

Metonymy is a figurative language device which is very closely related to metaphor. Littlemore (2015: 5) defines metonymy as: “a cognitive and linguistic process whereby one thing is used to refer to something else, to which it is closely related in some way”. While metaphor and metonymy are closely related, the difference between metonymy and metaphor is that “in metonymy the mapping is thought to take place within a single domain” (Ibid: 14). Littlemore later expands on this definition and suggests that, like metaphor, metonymy is “complex, dynamic, nuanced, culturally resonant, and multi-layered” (Ibid: 15). In other words, like metaphor, there are multiple types of metonymy which have multiple uses in different contexts and discourses. However, unlike metaphor research, metonymy research is a relatively new field. While the study of metaphor has changed drastically since Aristotle’s work (350, BC), the field of metonymy research is still emerging. In this section, I draw heavily on Littlemore’s (2015) work, as it is the first extensive book-length review of metonymy that discusses functions and uses in authentic discourse. While Littlemore dedicates sections to explorations of metonymy use within British Political Discourse (Ibid: 145), metonymy use within American Political Discourse has not yet been explored. In the following sub-sections, I explore the relevant literature surrounding metonymy and research into how metonymy is used within political discourse.

Within the field of metonymy research, multiple taxonomies for the different types of metonymy have been proposed (for example Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; 2003; Radden and Kövecses, 1999; 2007; Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez and Marial Uson, 2007). While Lakoff and Johnson treat metonymy as both secondary to and interchangeable with metaphor, Radden and Kövecses provide a much more detailed account of the different types of metonymy. Ruiz de

Mendoza Ibáñez and Marial Uson (2007) develop Radden and Kövecses' taxonomy and explore how the grammar of metonymy affects the use and construction of meaning. While these taxonomies use inauthentic data, they still provide useful categorisations for the different types and uses of metonymy.

One of the most influential taxonomies for the different types of metonymy has been provided by Radden and Kövecses' (1999; 2007). Radden and Kövecses' (1999) summarise a multitude of different metonymies and the functions they provide. However, the examples they offer rely on intuitive data. For this reason, Littlemore (2015) uses the same taxonomy as Radden and Kövecses (1999), but provides authentic data from British English corpora. Furthermore, she disregards Radden and Kövecses' (1999) 'sign' metonymy, in which words stand for concepts they express, as it is too broad to be helpful to her work. Similarly, I disregard this category as it is outside the scope of this investigation. An adapted version of the taxonomy is demonstrated in Figure 2. While Littlemore's adaptation of Radden and Kövecses's taxonomy used data from British English corpora, my taxonomy uses data from COCA, a corpus of contemporary American English (Davies, 2010). Hence, the examples given in Figure 2 are based around American English, the primary justification for this is because the debate which I analyse is in American English. Thus, Figure 2 uses authentic examples in American English to highlight how metonymy may be used within this variety of English.

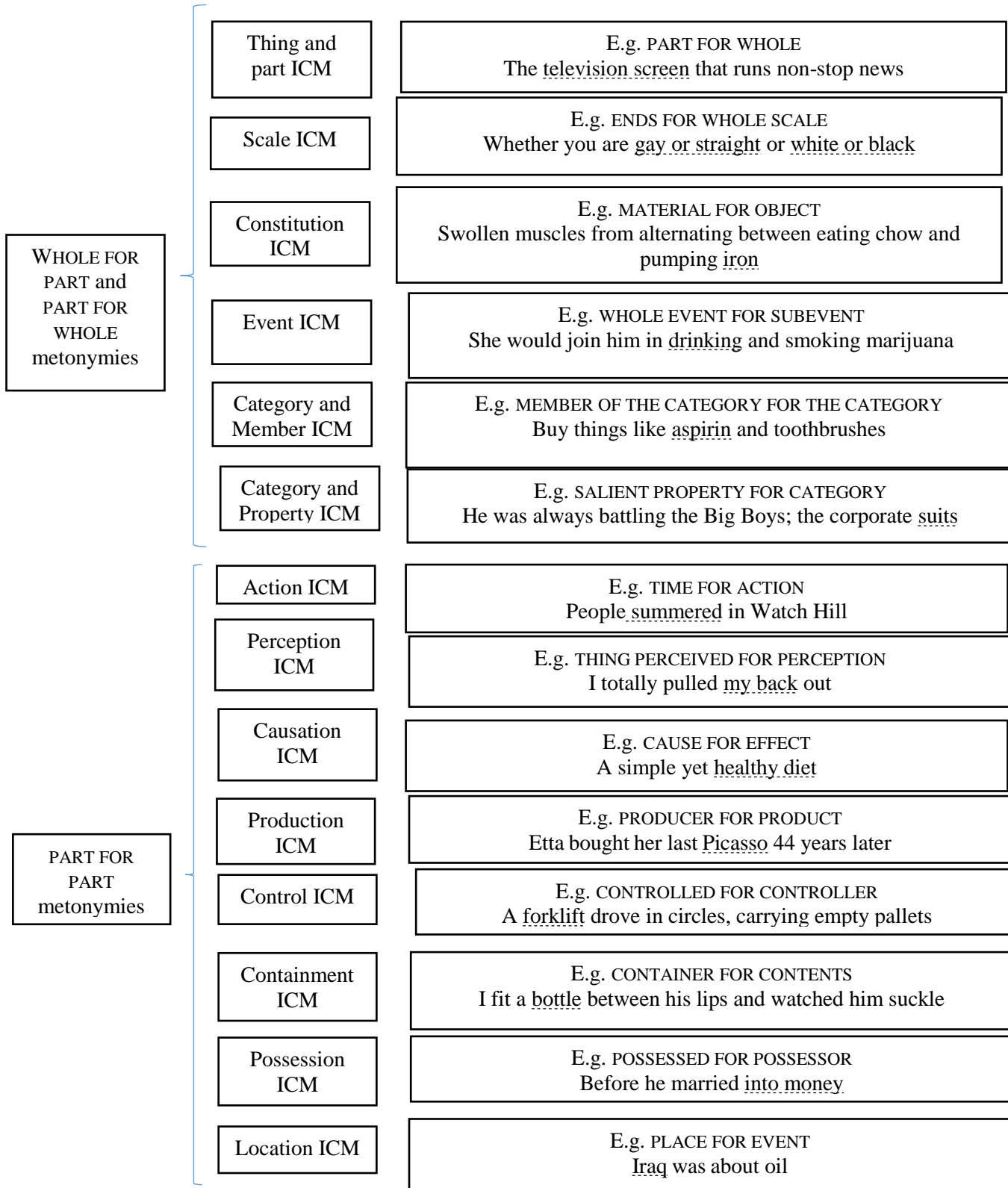


Figure 2: An Adaptation Radden and Kövecses's (1999; 2007) Metonymy Taxonomy Using Authentic Examples of American English

Central to this taxonomy, as well as metonymy in general, is the notion that metonymy relies on ICMs (Idealized Cognitive Models). ICMs reflect the flexible and idiosyncratic nature of knowledge networks in the mind (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Radden and Kövecses, 1999; Littlemore, 2015). These networks of knowledge typically rely on stereotypes, prototypes, and experience. The knowledge of these stereotypes and prototypes is drawn upon in order to access other areas of the ICM. One aspect of the ICM is used in order to access the other parts of the ICM. I highlight this notion in Figure 3 through providing a possible ICM for the president of the USA. For example, referring to the “White House” may actually refer to the president of the United States. For example “ground rules set by the White House” does not mean that the White House itself has set the rules, rather the administrative team working under the President has set rules for within the White House. Thus, the term “the White House” metonymically links the White House to both the President and their administrative team.

The president of the USA has been selected as it is central to this investigation. As both Clinton and Trump are competing for this role, these ICMs play an important role in what metonymies they, and the audience, may use. Immediately following Figure 3, I use authentic data to highlight some metonymies which draw on branches of the ICM.

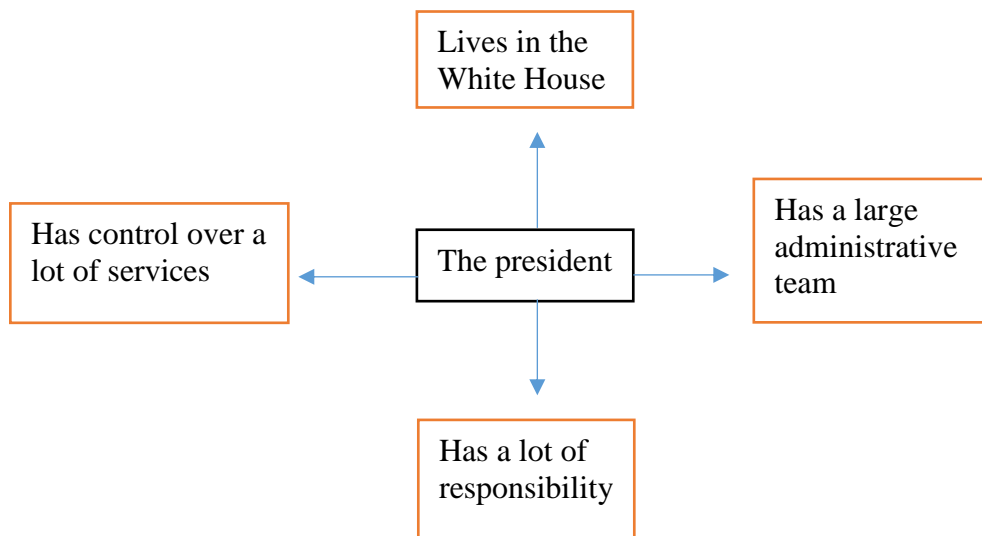


Figure 3: A Possible ICM for The President of the USA

Aspects of the ICM explored with authentic examples:

Lives in the White House:

“speaking on the condition of anonymity under ground rules set by the White House.”

(CoCA data)

The president’s administrative team:

“Bush moved aggressively to overhaul areas such as education” (CoCA data)

Has lots of responsibility:

“This might be, you know, the 3 AM call, some really important thing they have to do on national security” (CoCA data)

Has control over a lot of services:

“will they hold him accountable for Bush’s decision to invade in the first place?”

(CoCA data)

2.4 CMT, Metonymy, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

As previously established, one issue with CMT is that it is often not considered in relation to authentic texts. One of the most prominent academic disciplines concerned with analysing authentic texts is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is often combined with both genre and register analyses in addition to metaphor research (see Fairclough, 1989; Wodak, 1989; Wodak and Meyer, 2001). CDA is situated within the broader scholarly field of Discourse Analysis. In general, Discourse Analysis is the study of how people draw upon their culturally based networks of knowledge to form rules, generalisations and ideas about the world. These rules, generalisations, and ideas are then reproduced in language (see for example, Foucault, 1969; Johnstone, 2002). While discourse analysis explores the relationship between a text and the broader social implications, CDA provides a critical lens with which to explore how ideas and ideologies are expressed in language, and in turn how the language shapes other’s ideologies.

CDA is a method to explore the conventionalised and normative social hierarchies of power, which are sustained and maintained through persuasive uses of language. Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 273) explain this relationship between society and language: “Every instance of language use makes its own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations”. In other words, language, including metaphor, has the power

to shape societal views as well as create, sustain, and normalise power hierarchies. CDA provides a lens to examine how this is done. In relation to the current study, CDA allows the opportunity to explore how Clinton and Trump use language to create, sustain, and normalise power hierarchies within the debate.

Even though CDA is situated within the broader field of Discourse Analysis, it still encompasses multiple sub-disciplines. Within these sub-disciplines, two threads are of particular interest to this investigation: Political Discourse Analysis (for example, Wodak, 2009) and Critical Metaphor Analysis / Metaphor-led Critical Discourse Analysis (for example, Charteris-Black, 2004; 2005; Deignan and Semino, 2010). Political Critical Discourse Analysis examines how the political elite use language, as well as how language is used about the political elite. Chilton and Schaffner (1997:206) justify the need to analyse the language of politics and explain that: “politics cannot be conducted without language, and it is probably the case that the use of language in the constitution of social groups leads to what we call ‘politics’ in a broad sense”. Hence, Political Discourse Analysis, as a sub discipline of critical discourse analysis, is concerned with understanding the nature and function of language within a political context and critiquing the role language enacts in producing and maintaining power in contemporary society (Dunmire, 2012: 735). Of particular interest to this investigation is the function of figurative language in a political context and how this relates to a broader contemporary society.

It is clear that the application of CMT to political discourse can provide “particular insight into why the rhetoric of political leaders is successful” (Charteris-Black, 2005:197). The term proposed for such approaches in Charteris-Black (2004) is ‘Critical Metaphor Analysis’ (CMA). This term offers a perspective on how metaphors are used to sustain and normalise power relationships in a political context. Charteris-Black (2004: 28) explains that metaphors “constitute verbal evidence for an underlying system of ideas - or ideology - whose assumptions may be ignored if we are unaware of them”. Hence, metaphors provide a platform to expose conventionalised social hierarchies and ideologies sustained by the politically elite. In turn, investigations which have adopted this approach have allowed analysts to understand the underlying ideologies of politicians, how these ideologies are portrayed, and how these ideologies relate to a broader contemporary society. However, it should be noted that while CMA allows a platform for analysing how power relationships are sustained and maintained, metaphors used in a sentence in order to portray a certain ideology may not be the focus of that

sentence. In other words, while metaphor may be present in a sentence, it may not be performing the desired function that can be performed by other, non-metaphorical, words. Hence, while CMA allows a route to explore one way in which metaphors sustain and maintain social hierarchies, the function of other aspects of language must be taken in to consideration alongside metaphor in discourse.

Within the field of exploring how ideologies are presented through metaphor, ideologies are viewed as shared social beliefs (Van Dijk, 1998). Moreover, ideologies relate to important social and political issues, namely issues that are relevant for a group and its existence, as opposed to mundane everyday issues, such as favourite colour. This notion that ideology is expressed through metaphor use can be demonstrated when people metaphorically construct ‘in’ and ‘out’ groups. When an ‘in’ group is conceptualised, the group is viewed as a homogenous society which is central to the person constructing the group’s identity. On the other hand, when an ‘out’ group is conceptualised, it is often seen as a threat. For example:

“These foreigners are fast-tracked to receive government-subsidized housing while many have waited 15 years to claim the same right. They take our jobs, our land, and our benefits” (COCA data²).

In this example, immigrants are seen as an ‘out’ group, which poses a risk to members of the ‘in’ group’s job security. Thus, the speaker is able to convey ideologies THAT IMMIGRANTS ARE THIEVES and IMMIGRANTS ARE A RISK TO THE STATE.

Politically charged topics appear to encourage these ‘in’ and ‘out’ group conceptualisations. For example, these conceptualisations have been highlighted in reconciliation talk between a former IRA³ member and a person whose father they killed (Cameron, 2007). Cameron argues that these two people would use metaphor to create different conceptual groups and demonstrate membership of different political groups. This use of metaphor to express political affiliation can be seen on a much larger scale and within much larger groups, such as in nations. For example, George W. Bush used this notion of ‘in’ and ‘out’ groups in an attempt to

² COCA stands for the Corpus of Contemporary American English, a database of naturally occurring American English. I shall return to this database in a later section.

³ The IRA (Irish Republican Army) was an Irish-based terrorist group founded in 1969.

change the American public's ideology to one which conformed to the notion that war against Iraq, and in particular against the forces of Saddam Hussein, was necessary (Meadows, 2006). Meadows argues that this was done through persuasive use of metaphor, which positioned America as an 'in' group and non-Americans as an 'out' group. Bush was able to use persuasive figurative language as he tailored his language according to the genre and register. Despite the fact that he was discussing a very controversial topic, he drew upon figurative language which encouraged a conceptualisation of a fairy tale, whereby the 'out' group were compared to the villains in the fairy tale.

2.4.1 CMT and Political Discourse Analysis

Dumire (2012: 735) notes how political discourse analysis can “refer either to the analysis of political discourse, defined as the text and talk of politicians within overtly political contexts, *or* to a political, i.e., critical, approach to discourse analysis”. I align myself with the former of these approaches, as I aim to undertake a critical approach to the language used by politicians. Within the language used by politicians, scholars argue that many metaphors are deliberately used to convey a particular ideology or point (for example, see Charteris-Black, 2011; Esmail, 2016). Scholars such as Charteris-Black and Esmail argue that this is because politicians are selective in their metaphor use and these conceptual metaphors can be highly persuasive on an audience (Charteris-Black, 2011).

As previously mentioned, political contexts can encourage them/us divides. However, these them/us divides can portray xenophobic ideologies. For example, Sandikcioglu studied metaphors used within the magazines *Time* and *Newsweek*, which commented on the 1991 Gulf War. She argued that these metaphors were used to create an “Us vs. Them” distinction, and in turn, this created a culture of racism (2003: 300). The racism that accompanies an “Us vs. Them” conceptualisation may manifest itself in metaphors used about immigrants and refugees. Santa Ana (1999) examined metaphors in printed media texts of the 1994 political debate in California over an anti-immigrant referendum. He suggested that the texts constructed immigrants negatively by using source domains, such as ANIMALS and PLANTS, which dehumanised them. The state and the nation were also metaphorically constructed as a home, and immigrants were seen as metaphorical threats, such as floods or invasions. In other words, the ideology of anti-

immigration groups was conveyed through metaphor use, where immigrants were dehumanised and seen as a threat to the safety of the ‘in’ group.

When politicians convey ideologies using creative or novel metaphors, they are typically seen as have a more persuasive effect on an audience. However, novel uses of metaphor are seen as rare in political discourse (Mueller, 2010). One example of a novel use of metaphor in political discourse comes from former Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi (see Semino and Masci, 1996). Within his campaign, he drew upon novel metaphors from conventional source domains, such as POLITICS IS SPORTS, and more precisely, metaphors about FOOTBALL. His FOOTBALL metaphors were seen as highly persuasive considering his experience as a football manager. Semino and Koller (2009) revisited this study and contrasted Berlusconi’s use of figurative language with the language used by Emma Bonino, an unsuccessful candidate in the election of the Italian prime minister. They suggested that the metaphors used by Bonino drew on similar source domains, such as SPORTS metaphors, but were less frequent and less novel than Berlusconi’s (Semino and Koller, 2009: 49-51; see also Koller and Semino, 2009). In turn, Semino and Koller argue that creative uses of metaphor, even from conventional source domains, are highly persuasive.

While creative or novel metaphors may be persuasive, questions are raised about how to accurately classify a metaphor as “novel” or “creative”. Replicable non-subjective categories for creative uses of metaphor are difficult to establish. The issue of establishing non-subjective categories for creativity arises because there are no non-subjective points of comparison for defining what constitutes a creative or non-creative use. Mueller (2010) contends that corpus techniques can be used to explore the creative uses of metaphor. The strength of his argument is rooted in his cross comparison between a specific corpus and multiple reference corpora. In other words, if metaphors are rarely used in reference corpora but frequently used in a specific corpus or text, they may be used creatively. Mueller suggests that creative uses of a metaphor are best measured on a cline, as opposed to a binary distinction between “creative” and “not-creative”. Hence, when examining ‘creative’ uses of metaphor, cross-comparison with reference corpora can explore how ‘creative’ or ‘novel’ they are.

Typically, politicians from the same political party draw on similar metaphors. These metaphors are seen to be similar because they are affected by the shared ideologies of party members (Charteris-Back, 2009). However, experience in political discourse communities also

appears to affect the metaphors used by politicians. Similar to the notions proposed by Lakoff (1995; 2002), and Van Dijk (1998) Charteris-Black argues that politicians use similar metaphors to show membership of political groups. However, he also argues that source domains which are prototypical to a specific political party are drawn upon more frequently by those with more experience. Thus, it is possible to suggest that there is a correlation between political experience and the likelihood of drawing on source domains associated with a particular political party.

While politicians can present their ideologies through metaphor use, they can also use metaphor to show that they align themselves with ideologies that the general public view as ‘moral’. After Bill Clinton’s sexual scandal, he used metaphor which suggested he took an ideological position that affairs are bad. Charteris-Black (2011) argues that, after the scandal, Bill Clinton’s speeches contained multiple RENEWAL metaphors, such as “we must all be repairers of the breach” (Ibid: 116-117). These RENEWAL metaphors had two effects: the first was that Bill Clinton was able to align himself with the same ideology as the general public, which in turn begin to restore how he was viewed by the general public. Bill Clinton was able to use metaphor to convince the American public that he was remorseful and that he was still a ‘moral’ president. The second use of this RENEWAL metaphor was to suggest that the Republican Party had destroyed the country and the democrat party were the only ones who could fix it. Hence, Bill Clinton used metaphor strategically to highlight an ideology which positioned himself as favourable, compared to republican counterparts, despite his previous ‘immoral’ actions.

2.4.2 CMT within American Presidential Debates

While I have discussed CMT within different political contexts, the more specific field of American presidential debates is central to this investigation. The presidential debates were one of many opportunities for both Clinton and Trump to draw upon the persuasive power of metaphor. These televised debates were important for both Clinton and Trump as they had the potential to reach a large audience. Clinton and Trump had an opportunity to persuade the potential voters in the debate hall, as well as the many people who were watching from home.

Within political debates, candidates aim to demonstrate knowledge about key political issues and show that they have the ability to synthesise this knowledge before explaining it in layman's terms (Myers, 2008: 130). Debate discourse is distinctive in that it is “representative of

the supra-individual level” as candidates must “[construct] strategic ways of framing issues verbally for the campaign” (Cienki, 2008: 244). While these debates gave both Clinton and Trump an opportunity to draw on the persuasive power of metaphor, they had to remain conscious about the fact that not every audience member has the same political knowledge that they do.

While the debates may appear to be a series of spontaneous responses to pre-planned questions, what may appear to be a spontaneous response could be a well-constructed and pre-formulated response (Myers, 2008:130). These debates have three major groups of people working ‘behind the scenes’ to construct questions and responses. For example, the Committee for Presidential Debates works with the moderator to ensure that questions are fair and unbiased. There are also campaign teams, one for Clinton and one for Trump, who work on responses to potential questions. Wodak (2009: 2) explains that political speeches are typically written by “spin-doctors” but performed by the politicians themselves. Extending on this concept and applying it to debate discourse leads to the idea that what may appear to be spontaneously constructed within the debate may be a well-crafted answer formed by the candidate and their political team beforehand. In turn, the language which gives an “insight into what the candidates are like” (Meyers, 2008:130) may be a fabrication created by a political team. The language used by candidates to demonstrate knowledge and position their ideology may be a complex mixture of personal ideology, professional ideology, and ideologies stemming from suggestions given by members of the campaign team.

One way American politicians and their campaign teams draw on the persuasive power of metaphor is through conceptualising the NATION as a FAMILY. This metaphor encourages the American public to conceptualise the government as a parent and the citizens as children (see, for example Lakoff, 1995; 2002; Ferrari, 2007; Ahrens and Lee, 2011). This metaphor allows politicians to convert family-based morality into political morality. In other words, American politicians and their campaign teams draw upon the models of family-based morality to linguistically articulate unifying moral values within political discourse (Lakoff, 1995; 2002). Lakoff argues that the family-based values of conservative families draw on a “STRICT FATHER model”, in which the public are encouraged to conceptualise society as unruly and only tamable by a STRICT FATHER. He notes that people are encouraged to think that “The world is a dangerous place. It’s a difficult place. And kids are born bad and have to be made good”.

The STRICT FATHER model's counterpart, which is typically employed by liberal politicians, is the "NURTURING PARENT model", which encourages people to view society as something which must be nurtured and cared for, instead of molded in to shape by force. These theoretical models have been supported by empirical evidence in studies, such as those conducted by Ahrens and Lee (2011). Hence, the metaphors used by different politicians aligned with their ideologies, which could be compared to cognitive models of a STRICT FATHER and a NURTURING PARENT. However, these models have not been explored in relation to the figurative language used by Clinton and Trump.

2.4.3 Metonymy within Political Discourse

In a similar vein to the complexities surrounding metaphor use, metonymy use can be influenced by genre and register. Hence, different types of political discourse may contain different types of metonymy. Denroche's (2015) investigation of metonymy use in the 2010 British general election provides good examples of how metonymy can shape the course of a debate. He argues that all three prime ministerial candidates used what he terms "discourse metonymy". Denroche states that discourse metonymy occurs when someone uses metonymy to shift register in a stretch of discourse. In "discourse metonymy", metonymy is used to narrow the focus of the frame of reference. He gives the authentic example of:

"the only criterion for the ThinkTank was that its members should have an IQ of 140. It's a bit like buying a computer, not loading any software, and expecting it to do the computations for you." (Ibid: 111)

Hence, Denroche points out that metonymy can be used at a discourse level, as well as at a textual level. Furthermore, metonymy use within political discourse may be affected by the field. For example, when discussing perceived threats to security, George W. Bush used metonymy to link fascism to Nazis and communism to Russians (Meadows, 2006). Hence, when talking specifically about threats to security, Bush draws on particular conceptual models to metonymically link ideologies which he perceived as negative with negatively perceived social groups. Meadows (2006) highlights how Bush used figurative language to persuade the American public to conform to an ideology that Al Qaeda is negative. As previously mentioned, Bush was able to do this through the use of FAIRY TALE metaphors and metonymies which built on this metaphor. This use metonymy to further create an 'Us vs. Them' divide between the

American people and the Iraqi people. Other researchers have explored metonymy use within data elicited from focus group discussions about the politically charged topic of terrorism. Researchers in this field have argued that metonymy clusters typically overlap with metaphor clusters, and that metonymy use within this field is influenced by cultural views (Biernacka, 2013: 276-278). For example, the use of “Bush” has been used metonymically to refer to the actions of George Bush’s administration and the American government that voted to go to war in Iraq.

Although not yet investigated in depth, metonymy has been used to talk about the group “Daesh”, otherwise referred to as “ISIS” (the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria)⁴. For example, this group is often used metonymically, through general for specific metonymies. To date, only Tabbert (2016: 165) has explored how metonymy is used about Daesh. In his work, Tabbert only explores metonymy about Daesh once, using the authentic example from the Guardian (2015): “How the ‘Pompey Lads’ fell into the hands of ISIS”. He argues that while ‘the hands of ISIS’ could be viewed as a metaphor, it is also seen as metonymic as part of Daesh is standing for the whole organisation. Despite Tabbert providing a useful example, more research is needed into the different metonymy uses in regard to this terrorist group.

2.4.4 Metonymy within US Presidential Debates

There is another gap within the literature on metonymy. To date, no research has comprehensively examined the use of metonymy within American presidential debates. The closest investigations in this field are the ways in which previous presidential candidates have used metonymy in addresses to the nation (for example, Pastor, 2001; Ferrari, 2007), or investigations of how just one type of metonymy is used within a debate (Boyd, 2013). In this subsection, I draw on these examples and highlight aspects which are important to the current investigation.

Within his campaign speeches, Al Gore was able to use metonymy to acknowledge the struggles faced by the African American community (Pastor, 2001). Pastor argues that because Gore referenced Martin Luther King III, he also metonymically acknowledges the deeds of

⁴ Throughout this thesis, I use Daesh when discussing this terrorist group, in order to separate them from Islam.

Martin Luther King Jr., which by extension acknowledges the struggles the African American community faced. In other words, Gore was able to use metonymy to link the social group of African American people to the racial social rights movements in America.

Similar to using metonymy to acknowledge social groups, Boyd (2013) has suggested that metonymies within previous US presidential debates have derived from professions such as plumbers. The use of “Joe the plumber” in previous presidential debates uses the profession of a person to stand for the kind of person associated with that profession. This could be considered a SALIENT PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY metonymy. In this case, plumbers are used to represent someone who is white, male, and working class. By these lines, race can be used to metonymically invoke other characteristics about people of that race. For example:

“I have so many Mexicans working for me now” (COCA data)

In this example, “Mexicans” are seen as people of colour, male, and lower working class. The speaker also seems to convey that they are typically unskilled workers who often do not have the correct working visas.

Boyd’s “Joe the plumber” metonymy bears resemblance to stereotype theory, which proposes that the physical attributes of a group are linked to their ideologies and roles in society (for example, see Hegstrom and McCarl-Nielson, 2002; Koenig and Eagly, 2014). In other words, the ICMs of a social group that some have may allow for access into other ICMs, based on stereotypical views of that group.

While research by Pastor and Boyd provides insights into how metonymy is used within American political discourse, and in particular within presidential campaigns, there remains a gap in the literature. To date, no study has comprehensively explored the use of metonymy within presidential debates. Within this investigation, I am able to contribute to the bridging of this gap.

2.5 Summary of Literature Review: Where the Gaps Exist, What Needs Exploring, and Why.

Throughout this review of the existing literature, I have noted the effect of genre and register on metaphor and metonymy use. I have argued that studies should consider both genre and register,

and align myself with Deignan et al.'s (2013) view that metaphor use should be analysed using a combined framework, whereby the components of both genre and register are analysed. To date, no study has applied this combined framework to American presidential debates. This means that there is a gap in the literature which needs to be explored: the metaphors and metonymies used in American presidential debates need to be analysed with regards to genre and register.

Within these presidential debates, due to how recent the data is, nobody has yet examined the metaphors and metonymies used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump throughout a debate. These contemporary politicians may be using language in ways which are different to previously explored politicians. This gap in the literature is made even more interesting by how contemporary and topical the content is. Hence, not only do I seek to explore how genre and register affect the way metaphor and metonymy is used within a presidential debate, I also seek to analyse new data.

Furthermore, due to how recent the data is, nobody has yet explored how Clinton and Trump use metaphor and metonymy to convey their ideologies. This investigation is novel because it explores how these candidates presented their ideologies through figurative language. This is important because it can reveal bias towards marginalised groups. Considering Trump is currently the president of the United States, revealing this bias could reveal the groups who may be most affected by his policies.

Finally, there have been no extensive investigations which explore the use of metonymy within political debates, nor within a data set as specific as the one used in this investigation. Metonymy, as a persuasive device and as an aspect of figurative language, deserves the attention that metaphor within political discourse has received. I aim to bridge this gap in the literature through analysing how different types of metonymy are used within the second presidential debate. Rather than focusing on one particular metonymy, I am concerned with how different types of metonymy are used and how they are affected by genre and register within the debate

Chapter 3: Methodology

The gap in the literature surrounding the use of metaphor and metonymy in American presidential debates has led to the following research question, along with the following research sub-question:

Research question: “Are there any differences in how Clinton and Trump use metaphor and metonymy in the Second Presidential Debate?”

Research sub-question: “If so, bearing in mind the effect of genre and register, what are the effects of these uses?”

At the time of conducting the research, the second presidential debate had just occurred. Compared to the first debate, I found more obvious cases of figurative language use which could have multiple effects, such as the use of “locker room talk”. Because of this, I decided to focus specifically on the second debate.

In the following section, I discuss the methods I implement to explore these research questions. Firstly, I discuss the methods used to identify metaphors within the debate. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, metaphor identification is one of the main criticisms of CMT (Gibbs, 2006; Deignan, 2010). I explore three possible methods for identifying metaphor: the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) (Pragglejaz group, 2007), the Metaphor Identification Procedure VU (an adapted version of MIP, developed at VU University Amsterdam; Steen et al., 2010) and the Vehicle Identification Procedure (VIP) (Cameron, 2003; Cameron et al., 2009). Once I explain the advantages and drawbacks of each procedure, I will then explain the steps I undertook when identifying the metaphors in the debate.

Following the review of metaphor identification, I run a parallel review of a metonymy identification procedure. Unlike metaphor identification procedures, there has been little work in establishing a rigorous and replicable identification procedure for metonymy. Given the needs of this investigation, developing a new framework for metonymy identification would be far

beyond the scope of this paper. Consequently, I undertake a method established by Biernacka (2013).

Once I have outlined the identification procedures for metaphor and metonymy, I will discuss how source and target domains were identified. As I have already explored this to some degree in Chapter 2, in this chapter I show that there was a significant level of inter-rater reliability in the identification of source domains.

Finally, I outline the analytical procedure, namely Deignan et al.'s (2013) combined framework of genre and register. Within this section, I also describe the similarities in genre and register within the data, before proposing that a more nuanced analysis of the data is required.

3.1 Metaphor Identification

Finding a rigorous methodology for metaphor identification is not easy. Each analyst's intuition of what constitutes a metaphor may be different (Gibbs, 2006). Manual metaphor identification on top of this is time consuming and has room for human error. Given the scope of my project and the aims of the investigation, a systematic method of identifying metaphors, which can be conducted in a reasonable amount of time, is required. In the following sections, I review some of the proposed methods for identifying metaphors within naturalistic discourse.

3.1.1 Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP)

In order to identify metaphors in naturalistic discourse, a group of 9 metaphor researchers - the Pragglejaz group, created the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). The aim of researchers working on MIP was to create a rigorous procedure which could be easily replicated by other researchers. The MIP is as follows:

1. Read the entire text—discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
2. Determine the lexical units in the text—discourse
3. (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
(b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context. For our purposes, basic meanings tend to be —More concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell, and taste. —Related to bodily action. —More precise (as opposed to vague) —Historically older. Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meanings of the lexical unit.

(c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. (Pragglejaz, 2007: 3)

The first step the Pragglejaz group proposes, which is to read the text-discourse to establish an understanding of meaning, is vital to ensure that metaphors can be considered within context. If MIP did not account for the meaning of a text, literal uses of lexemes could be interpreted as metaphorical. For example, when taken out of context, the verb “grew” could be considered both metaphorical and non-metaphorical:

Metaphorical: “My fascination with video games grew out of a longstanding interest in literary and aesthetic texts” (COCA data)

Non-metaphorical: “Georgia farmers grew 499,091 bales of cotton” (COCA data)

In other words, the context can also affect whether or not a lexeme is used metaphorically, and must be considered in analyses.

Central to the Pragglejaz group’s identification is the classification of lexical units. An important distinction should be made between my view of lexical units and the Pragglejaz group’s distinction. While the Praggejaz group typically views lexical units as individual words, I propose that lexical units can be compiled of multiple words. For example, I believe that phrasal verbs should be considered as whole lexical units. This is highlighted in examples such as “I knew I had to get out” (COCA data) (for more information of multi-word lexical units see Lewis, 1997). The Pragglejaz group’s notion of what constitutes the focus of a metaphorical phrase appears to be a drawback of the methodological procedure.

Section 3 (b) appears to be slightly problematic: deciding on a more concrete or historically older meaning can be difficult within a project. Similar to the Pragglejaz group, both corpus data and dictionary definitions must be referred to. One key issue surrounding the Pragglejaz group’s classification of metaphors is what constitutes a basic meaning (Ibid: 27). Within this classification, the Pragglejaz group argues that verbs from nouns are non-metaphorical. However, other researchers disagree. One such researcher who disagrees with the Pragglejaz group is Deignan (2006: 108-110), who highlights how the verb form of the noun of “squirrel”, such as in “the simplest way to squirrel away your stockpile of potatoes” (COCA data) should be considered metaphorical. Deignan’s view of noun to verb metaphors thus appears

more preferable than the Pragglejaz group's approach to noun to verb metaphors. Hence, MIP offers a replicable method for identifying metaphors. However, it may not necessarily capture all metaphors within a text. This suggests that a refined version of MIP is required.

3.1.2 MIPVU

Following criticisms about MIP, Steen et al. (2010) further developed the framework procedure and created Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU). In this section, I discuss some of the criticisms faced by MIP and how MIPVU seeks to account for them. One of the main benefits of MIPVU is that it is more rigorous and replicable across different metaphor research fields.

In a similar vein to MIP, MIPVU relies on manual, bottom-up analysis of naturalistic data.

Steen et al. (2010:25) define the six steps of this manual bottom-up analysis:

1. Find metaphor-related words (MRWs) by examining the text on a word-by-word basis.
2. When a word is used indirectly and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorically used (MRW).
3. When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor (MRW, direct)
4. When words are used for the purpose of lexico-grammatical substitution, such as third person personal pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor (MRW, implicit).
5. When a word functions as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may be at play, mark it as a metaphor again (MFlag).
6. When a word is a new-formation coined, examine the distinct words that are its independent parts according to steps 2 through 5.

The first step of MIPVU bears resemblance to the first step of MIP, in that the metaphor use in context must be established. However, one distinction between MIP and MIPVU is that the

analysis is “word-by-word”⁵, as opposed to running across stretches of text. While the MIPVU uses a list of poly-words from the BNC, this list is rather outdated and may not reflect more recent coinages of poly-words. For example: “ we are going to respect one another, lift each other up”.

In order to fully comprehend steps 2 and 3 of MIPVU, a distinction must be made between direct and indirect metaphors. Direct metaphors are when metaphors are signalled and draw a specific contrast. In direct metaphors, the comparison between the two dissimilar things is obvious. This can be demonstrated in similes, such as “the caregiver will begin to feel like a broken record” (COCA data). Indirect metaphors, on the other hand, do not necessarily draw upon an explicit comparison, but still use knowledge from one domain to explain another. For example “they’ll be sitting on top of the world” (COCA data). In this example, a direct comparison is not made, but the metaphor UP IS GOOD is used. In this example, being ‘up’ or ‘on top’ is compared to being happy.

One aspect where MIPVU differs to MIP is that MIP does not consider similes as metaphorical. Similar to how the MIPVU researchers argue, other metaphor researchers also consider similes to be metaphorical (for example, see Low et al., 2008). Low et al. strongly argue that similes, which are called direct metaphors in MIPVU, should also be considered metaphorical. Given the figurative comparisons elicited by similes, Low et al.’s view that similes should be considered metaphorical shall also be adopted within this thesis.

While I agree with the majority of step four, there are a few issues relating to lexico-grammatical substitutions, namely in third person pronouns. Third person pronouns, such as “they”, may not necessarily always be used metaphorically and may be used in a basic sense. For example, in “they both are involved in everyday activities that promote literacy” (COCA data), “they” is used as a highly conventionalised method of lexico-grammatical substitution and, in a basic sense, refers back to the two people who are the topic. For this reason, this project does not align itself with step 4.

While step 5 initially appears logical, the notion of “may be at play” becomes problematic. For example, the *COBUILD* dictionary (Sinclair, 1987), which is a dictionary compiled of corpus data showing the multiple uses of words, lists the word “like” as having 7

⁵ Steen et al. (2010) use the terms “word” and “lexical unit” interchangeably. As I place more emphasis on poly-words, I have used the term “lexical unit” throughout.

different types of use. While one of these uses may be considered a “signalled” metaphor, some of these uses have basic meanings. Thus, while this step initially seems logical, I believe that it should be considered in greater detail, as opposed to “may be”.

Finally, step 6 appears to be the only logical following step. When there is no point of cross-comparison present in corpora or dictionaries, this method of investigating the individual words within the lexical unit appears to be helpful.

Hence, in comparison to MIP, MIPVU affords a slightly more refined methodology. While some of the steps involved in MIPVU are still problematic, there are some aspects which I agree with, such as considering similes as metaphors. While MIPVU offers a replicable method for identifying metaphors in discourse, there are still some aspects which need to be refined.

3.1.3 Vehicle Identification Procedure (VIP)

Metaphors which run across more than one lexical unit appear to be an overlooked issue in the MIP and MIPVU methodologies. In order to identify metaphorical stretches of text, Cameron et al. (2003; 2009) proposed the Vehicle Identification Procedure (VIP). VIP is closer to Black’s (1955) metaphorical “focus” within a literal “frame”. VIP is advantageous while examining phraseological aspects of metaphor within a discourse text. For example, “the key building blocks are already in place for digital technologies” (COCA data). In this example, according to a VIP analysis “building blocks” and “in place” are used metaphorically, while MIP would only identify “building” and “in”.

However, the methodology afforded by VIP appears to be less replicable and rigorous than the ones afforded by MIP and MIPVU. Hence, while I agree with Cameron et al. (2009) that multi-word lexical units need to be taken as one metaphor, the lack of a rigorous methodology leads to problems relating to ability to replicate the procedure. After reading literature that relates to VIP, the following is the most accurate description of VIP:

- 1) Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.
- 2) Read each sentence individually and question whether or not it is used literally or figuratively.

- 3) (a) For each lexical figurative use of language within the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning).
 - (b) For the assumed vehicle of the figurative language use, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context.
 - (c) If the vehicle has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
- 4) If the stretch of text does not have an individual vehicle, examine whether or not it is used figuratively or literally, through examining the contextual meaning.
- 5) If used figuratively, mark the lexical unit(s) as metaphorical.

I only tentatively suggest these as a potential method for VIP, simply to account for the lack of a rigorously defined method.

3.1.4 A combination of MIP, MIPVU, and VIP

Given the needs of this investigation, a rigorous method of identifying metaphor use in natural discourse must be established. While MIP and MIPVU provide rigorous and replicable methods, there are aspects to these methods which I disagree with. For example, issues around identification of direct metaphors, similes, and metaphorical multi-word lexical units. Thus, issues arise between attempting to achieve the rigorous methodological nature afforded by MIP (VU) and the consideration for metaphors which run across multiple lexical units afforded by VIP.

Hence, it appears as though a synergy between MIP, MIPVU and VIP is needed. I propose conducting the MIP as much as possible, but then cross-referencing multi-word lexical units with VIP in order to achieve a more fine-grained analysis than using them individually. I propose using both MIP and MIPVU but altering some of the classifications. I then intend going over the same text-stretch with an adapted VIP. Thus, I propose the following procedure for metaphor identification:

1. Read the entire text–discourse to establish a general understanding of the meaning.

2. Go through paragraph by paragraph and determine the lexical units within the text-discourse.
3. Determine the lexical units in the text–discourse
 - (a) For each lexical unit in the text, establish its meaning in context, that is, how it applies to an entity, relation, or attribute in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning). Take into account what comes before and after the lexical unit.
 - (b) For each lexical unit, determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given context.
 - (c) If the lexical unit has a more basic current–contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.
4. If yes, temporarily mark the lexical unit as metaphorical
5. Once these lexical units have been marked as metaphorical, read each sentence of the paragraph individually and question whether or not it is used literally or figuratively.
6. If a lexical unit or bundle has not been marked as metaphorical due to the MIP, but are considered metaphorical in VIP, mark it as metaphorical
7. When a lexical unit is used indirectly and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, temporarily mark the word as metaphorically used
8. When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor
9. Re-read the paragraph which has been marked in using this method on a sentence-by-sentence level. Ask which part of the sentence is acting as metaphorical
10. When a word functions as a signal that cross-domain mapping may be at play, mark it as a metaphor
11. If the stretch of text does not have an individual vehicle, examine whether or not it is used figuratively or literally, through how the lexical unit(s) are used within the context
12. Within stages 9-11, where possible, identify the individual words which make a lexical unit or bundle metaphorical

13. If individual words cannot be identified as metaphorical, mark the lexical unit or bundle as metaphorical
14. Repeat the process a second time for assurance that the coding is correct and to account for some human error
15. Cross-reference the results with the results from a second analyst who has followed this same procedure

3.1.5 Lexical Unit Decisions and Linguistic Forms

For the purposes of replication and transparency, this subsection explains how lexical units were decided upon and judgments on whether or not they were used metaphorically. The Cambridge Dictionary of American English (Landau, 1999), a corpus-based dictionary, was used in the identification of lexical units. There were several reasons for this choice, although the primary justification was that it was similar to *The Macmillan Dictionary* used by the Pragglejaz group (2007: 16). Similar to the Macmillan Dictionary, The Cambridge Dictionary of American English is based on a systematically processed corpus of over 100 million words, which in corpus linguistic terms is considered adequate for general language analysis. In addition, unlike the Pragglejaz group, COCA was consulted for additional references and cross-comparison.

In relation to grammatical words such as modals, auxiliaries, prepositions–particles, and infinitive markers, all words were handled initially as individual lexical units and then part of poly-words as and when required. The list from the BNC was consulted and new poly-words were decided upon using frequencies of occurrence in COCA data. In other words, when phrasal verbs, such as “come in”, occurred, they were treated as a single lexical unit. Decisions about the contextual meaning, the basic meaning, and the relationship between any basic meanings and the contextual meaning were then cross-referenced with a second metaphor researcher’s coding.

3.2 Source Domain Identification

Once the metaphors had been identified, I conducted Steen’s (1999) procedure for identifying the source domain of conceptual metaphors (see Chapter 2). While this worked for the majority of metaphors, I cross compared the results with a second analyst. I took the first 150 cases of linguistic metaphors with identified source domains as a representative sample. In order to

ensure the source domains were not identified by chance, I ran an inter-rater reliability test: $\text{Kappa} = 0.326$ SE of kappa = 0.032 95% confidence interval: From 0.262 to 0.390. The strength of agreement was considered 'fair'.

3.3 Metonymy Identification

While I have explored some of the processes for metaphor identification, namely MIP, MIPVU and VIP, the method for metonymy identification is quite different. Similar to the metaphor identification procedure I proposed in 3.1.3, Biernacka's (2013) work manages to combine approaches which bear resemblance to MIP and VIP. However, Biernacka's work uses this combined approach in relation to metonymy, as opposed to metaphor. The procedure she outlines is as follows:

1. Read the entire text to get a general understanding of the overall meaning.
2. Determine lexical units.
3. Decide on metonymicity of each lexical unit:
 - a) For each lexical unit establish its contextual meaning - taking into account how it applies to an entity in the situation evoked by the text, as well as co-text (I.e. the surrounding text; what is said before and after the examined expression).
 - b) For each lexical unit determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the meaning in the given context.
 - c) If the lexical unit has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, and the contextual and basic meanings are different, determine if they are connected by contiguity, defined as relation of adjacency and closeness comprising not only spatial contact but also temporal proximity, causal relations and part-whole relations.
4. If a connection is found in step 3c that is one of contiguity: check backwards and forwards to determine if any other lexical units belong(s) semantically, thus determining the extent of the metonymy vehicle; and mark the lexical unit (or lexical units which belong together) as metonymy vehicle. (Ibid: 117)

A problematic issue with Biernacka's metonymy identification procedure is the loosely worded section 3c. The description is loosely worded to account for the different types of metonymy. This could create some problematic issues due to different interpretations of what constitutes metonymy. In order to overcome this issue in Biernacka's procedure, potential

metonymies will be cross-referenced with Figure 2, Figure 3, and Section 2.4, as these demonstrate my definition of metonymy.

3.4 Analytical Procedure

While methods for identifying metaphor and metonymy are useful, analysis of how these aspects of figurative language are used within the data is equally important. In this subsection, I explain where the data originates from, the transcription procedure, and the inter-rater reliability for metaphor identification. Following this, I reiterate Deignan et al.'s (2013) framework for analysing figurative language use, before explaining the results of an initial analysis of the data. I argue that the data requires a more nuanced analysis using the Deignan et al. framework and that Clinton and Trump's language should be analysed individually.

3.4.1 Information about the Data

This section provides quantified information about the characteristics of the data. The data was transcribed by the New York Times (see New York Times, 2016; Appendix A), which was then cross-referenced with the actual spoken data. The data was then coded in Nvivo for metaphor, source domains of the metaphor, metonymy, type of metonymy, speaker, and staging of genre. Following this, all the data was coded a second time for precision. A second analyst, a PhD student at the University of Warwick⁶, then checked 6,000 words of the coding and identification of metaphor and metonymy, using the metaphor and metonymy identification procedures previously discussed. The second analyst had no part in the interpretation of the results, and only ensured that as many metaphors and metonymies as possible were identified. The strength of agreement between myself and the second analyst was considered 'fair' by an inter-rater reliability test (Kappa= 0.369, SE of kappa = 0.018; 95% confidence interval: From 0.334 to 0.404).

⁶ I would like to thank the PhD student for checking the data. The PhD student is currently examining the use of metaphor in British political discourse at the University of Warwick and wished to remain anonymous.

In relation to field analysis, I draw upon a specific reference corpus of Clinton and Trump's speeches. This corpus consists of 60,000 words for Clinton and 200,000 words for Trump. The corpus was compiled by Brown (2016), and consists of multiple texts of different genres and registers. While I would like to have compiled my own corpus, in order to ensure that all data was rigorously scrutinised, this was not feasible for the scope of this project. I also acknowledge that Brown's text selection for his corpus may be influenced by his own political ideology. I have still used this corpus, as at the time of writing, it was the largest sample of both Clinton and Trump's language outside of presidential debates.

I use the tool 'Wmatrix' (Rayson, 2003; 2008), which semantically tags all words spoken by a participant. This semantic tagging can also be used to semantically tag the source domains of metaphors. For example, "head of an organisation" would be marked as both "height", because of the position within the company, and "body part", because of the head. This means that I am able to compare the semantic fields drawn upon within this particular debate in comparison to other examples of their language.

3.5 Deignan et al.'s (2013) Analytical Framework: A Description of the Data and Why a More Nuanced Analysis is Required

As discussed in Chapter 2, a key finding from the Deignan et al. (2013) investigation is how genre and register can affect metaphor and metonymy use. Central to Deignan et al.'s (2013) framework is the use of hand annotated data. Within this framework, researchers are advised to analyse corpora of the same text type. However, this can be further refined to a singular text, such as the singular text used within this investigation (Ibid: 38-40).

Furthermore, the framework is separated into two overarching components, each with three subsections. Genre, which is composed of: *Discourse Community*, *Function*, and *Staging*; and Register, which contains *Field*, *Tenor*, and *Mode* (see Halliday and Hassan, 1985; Chapter 2). An initial analysis using the framework revealed that most of the language used by Clinton and Trump was affected by genre and register in similar ways.

Both candidates share similar discourse communities: political discourse communities. Both are presidential candidates who share a similar goal: to persuade the audience to vote for them. Furthermore, at the time of this debate, both have already participated in one previous debate of a different genre. This suggests that both are able to command different genres. Hence,

Clinton and Trump meet a number of Swales' (1990) characteristics for the definition of a discourse community.

In relation to function, both candidates want language to enact a similar function: to persuade the audience to vote for them. Because both candidates share this common goal, both draw on figurative language in creative ways, and both combine this figurative language with other features associated with persuasive language, such as repetition.

With regards to staging, the final aspect of register, both candidates share similar overarching stages within the debate. Both candidates are allowed opportunities to respond to questions first, and then are given the chance to offer counter-arguments. Hence, an initial analysis suggests all three aspects of genre appear to be relatively similar within the debate.

An initial analysis suggested that the components of register were the same. As the candidates were able to speak on the same topics, they shared the same field(s). While the field changed throughout the debate, both candidates were allowed to offer their opinion on that field.

In relation to the Tenor, both Clinton and Trump were speaking to the same physical audience. This audience was a captive audience within the debate hall. This suggests that the Tenor, or who is involved in the text, would appear to be the same.

Finally, the mode is spoken, as this is a spoken debate as opposed to a written debate. Hence, both candidates use spoken language and the features associated with it.

An initial analysis would suggest that the language used by Clinton and Trump is shaped by similar factors. However, on a more nuanced level, there are subtle differences in the figurative language they use. Furthermore, there are subtle differences in how the aspects of genre and register affect the figurative language each candidate uses.

Thus, in the following chapters of analysis, I examine the figurative language used by Clinton and Trump individually and apply the Deignan et al. (2013) framework to the data they offer. Hence, the following chapters are an investigation of the nuanced differences in the figurative language they use.

While there initially appear to be many similarities between Clinton and Trump, questions are raised about what made these two controversial candidates so different. Clearly, Clinton and Trump portrayed themselves in different ways and used language to demonstrate both identity and ideology. However, what I am interested in is the ways in which these identities

and ideologies are constructed within the debate, how these may appear similar, or how there may be subtle nuanced differences in the figurative language used by both candidates.

Ultimately, this investigation is important as it casts a critical eye on the ways politicians portray themselves through metaphor and metonymy use. By understanding how the candidates were able to subtly utilise metaphor, not only is the field of metaphor research able to expand, but so is our knowledge about tailoring figurative language to become more persuasive.

Chapter 4: Source Domains

One conventional way to analyse the metaphors used by politicians is to identify which source domains they draw upon, quantify these, and then examine how these source domains are used on a qualitative level (for example, see Charteris-black, 2009; Phillip, 2009; Putz, 2016; also see Negro, 2016 for the same technique applied to metaphors used within printed media). Scholars using this process have been able to clearly highlight and contrast the different metaphors used by different politicians. As I aim to show why it is important to consider genre and register, I start the following analytical chapters by following this analytical process (see Figure 4), which provides a point of contrast. However, by the end of the chapter, I suggest that this method of analysing metaphor and metonymy use is not sufficiently nuanced, and that an analysis which considers genre and register would capture more uses of metaphor and metonymy and would provide more contextual information for why these metaphors and metonymies are used.

In this chapter, I aim to use the source domains which I have identified and listed in Figure 4, in order to explore some similarities and differences in the ways Clinton and Trump use metaphor. I broadly divide this chapter into three subsections: discussion of the same source domains with similar frequencies, the same source domains with dissimilar frequencies, and a section of conclusions and evaluative remarks about this chapter. In the source domains with similar frequencies, I explore how both candidates use metaphors which draw on the same source domains in similar frequencies. In the second subsection, the data suggests that there are very few domains which are exclusively used by Clinton or Trump. This leads me to analyse how the candidates draw on the same source domain in differing frequencies. Finally, I conclude the chapter by summarising the initial findings but argue that an analysis which considers the context in greater detail is needed. This conclusion then sets the backdrop to Chapters 5 and 6.

Source Domain Drawn Upon	Clinton Raw Frequency (Percentage of Clinton's Total Metaphor Frequency)	Trump Raw Frequency (Percentage of Trump's Total Metaphors Frequency)	Examples

ANIMALS	0 (0)	2 (0.65)	they've <u>gone wild</u> with their nuclear program
BUILDINGS AND STRUCTURES	1(0.38)	0 (0)	which serves as a <u>bridge</u> to more renewable fuels
CLEANLINESS	2 (0.77)	4 (1.30)	I support moving toward more <u>clean</u> , renewable energy
COMPUTER SYSTEMS	2 (0.77)	2 (0.65)	they come into the United States in many cases because their <u>system</u> is so slow
CONDUCTING PHYSICAL ACTIONS	49 (18.85)	62 (20.20)	So if we just <u>rip it up</u>
CONFLICT	15 (5.77)	18 (5.86)	Hillary Clinton <u>attacked</u> those same women
CONSTRUCTION	8 (3.08)	2 (0.65)	<u>create</u> millions of new jobs and businesses.
CONDUIT	2 (0.77)	2 (0.65)	And this is a <u>gift</u> to ISIS
CONTAINER	13 (5.00)	31 (10.10)	A but he lives <u>in</u> an alternative reality
HEALTH	2 (0.77)	0 (0)	I never questioned their <u>fitness</u> to serve.
JOURNEY	41 (15.77)	22 (7.17)	Obamacare was <u>the first step</u>
OBJECTS	16 (6.15)	17 (5.54)	So we're going to <u>get a special prosecutor</u>
RESOURCES	3 (1.15)	4 (1.30)	I've <u>spent a lot of time</u> thinking
NATURAL FORCE	15 (5.77)	28 (9.12)	He <u>stuck</u> with me.
PEOPLE / PERSON	32 (12.30)	14(4.56)	from really a <u>very weak country</u>

PLANTS	1 (0.38)	3 (0.98)	We have no <u>growth</u> in this country
PUZZLE	1(0.38)	2 (0.65)	he's going to <u>solve it</u> by repealing it
RENEWAL	4 (1.54)	4 (1.30)	We are going to be <u>thriving</u> again
SEEING	18 (6.92)	32 (10.42)	it is very important for us to <u>make clear</u> to our children
SOUND	1(0.38)	2(0.65)	it's all <u>talk</u> and no action. (N.B This example also involves an element of metonymy)
SPORT	4 (1.54)	8 (2.60)	they go in and they <u>knock out</u> the leadership
VERTICAL ELEVATION	28 (10.77)	43 (14.00)	your deductibles are <u>going up</u>
Total:	258	302	
Lexical Units Spoken:	6231	7214	
Percentage of lexical units which are metaphorical:	4.1%	4.25%	
Figure 4: Frequencies of Linguistic Metaphors within Different Source Domains			

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, I used Steen's (1999) *from linguistic to conceptual metaphor* model to identify the source domains listed in Figure 4. Below, I provide two worked examples of how these source domains were identified using this model (for a full list of linguistic metaphors within source domains, see Appendix B). The first example uses an extract of

Clinton’s language within the debate while the other uses a sample from Trump’s language (see Figure 5).

Text	“Clinton: <i>And I think it is very important for us to make clear to our children that our country really is great because we’re good</i> ”
1. Identification of metaphor-related words	Make clear
2. Identification of propositions	P1 (clear , country ,) P2 (MOD P1 our children ,)
3. Identification of open comparison	[Make clear] [our children]
4. Identification of analogical structure	[unable to see (Make clear)] [in-experienced (our children)]
5. Identification of cross-domain mapping	[Unable to see> Undesirable] [Children> lacking knowledge Inferences:] [Goal of making clear> becoming a desired ability] [Making clear for children> teaching them; allowing them to see]. Inferred Mapping: SEEING IS KNOWING
Text	“Trump: <i>I want to do things that haven’t been done, including fixing and making our inner cities better for the African-American citizens</i> ”
1. Identification of metaphor-related words	Fixing; Making

2. Identification of propositions	P1 (fixing , making ,) P2 (inner cities ,) P3(MOD better ,)
3. Identification of open comparison	[fixing; making] [inner cities]
4. Identification of analogical structure	[something is broken (fixing)] [something needs to be created (making)] [something is currently bad (inner cities)]
5. Identification of cross-domain mapping	Inner cities are bad> Inner cities are broken> Rebuilding them will make them better Inferred mapping: INNER CITIES ARE (BROKEN) OBJECTS > INNER CITIES ARE OBJECTS
Figure 5: My Worked Examples of Steen’s (1999; 2007) <i>From Linguistic to Conceptual Metaphor</i> model.	

While I have used Steen’s (1999; 2007) *from linguistic to conceptual metaphor* model when identifying the source domains of metaphors, this did not work for identifying the types of metonymy. As discussed in Chapter 2, metonymy does not map the knowledge of one domain to another, but rather the mapping takes place within the same domain. This means that the steps in the identification of types of metonymy are different. To date, there is no robust ‘technique’ for identifying the types of metonymy in a text. While some have quantified the relationship types of metonymy (for example, Littlemore and Tagg, 2016), quantified frequencies of the metonymic relationship types would arguably be less informative than the metaphorical source domains. Furthermore, to create a method for identifying the types of metonymy which is as robust as the method of source domain identification is beyond the scope of this project. Thus, unlike the quantifiable figures for metaphor, such as those provided in Figure 4, I do not provide quantified figures for the type metonymies used. In later chapters of analysis, I will interpret metonymy in a

qualitative way, while considering how the factors of genre and register affect metonymy use. In this chapter, however, I give particular focus to metaphor and the source domains drawn upon by Clinton and Trump.

4.1 Same Source Domains with Similar Frequencies

An initial overview of the data synthesised in Figure 4 suggests that Clinton and Trump share multiple similar source domains. I provided the percentages of how often linguistic metaphors belonging to the source domains occurred, in order to normalise the frequencies. For this section, I considered source domains which met the following criteria:

- 1) The source domain(s) must have been used by both candidates at least once
- 2) The frequency difference of metaphors within these source domains must be within 1.5%⁷

The source domains which met these criteria are: CLEANLINESS (Clinton uses 0.77%; Trump uses 1.30%); CONDUIT (Clinton uses 0.77%; Trump uses 0.65%); COMPUTER SYSTEMS (Clinton uses 0.77%; Trump uses 0.65%); CONDUCTING PHYSICAL ACTIONS (Clinton uses 18.86%; Trump uses 20.20 %); CONFLICT (Clinton uses 5.77 % ; Trump uses 5.86%); RESOURCES (Clinton uses 1.15%; Trump uses 1.30%); PLANTS (Clinton uses 0.38%; Trump uses 0.98%); PUZZLE (Clinton uses 0.38%; Trump uses 0.65%); RENEWAL (Clinton uses 1.54%; Trump uses 1.30%); SOUND (Clinton uses 0.38%; Trump uses 0.65%); and SPORTS (Clinton uses 1.54%; Trump uses 2.60%).

As can be seen, many of these occurrences are relatively low. I chose to restrict this analysis to just PHYSICAL ACTIONS and CONFLICT metaphors. Within this subsection, I explore some similarities and differences in the ways Clinton and Trump use linguistic metaphors within these source domains.

4.1.1 PHYSICAL ACTION metaphors

The ways in which Clinton and Trump use PHYSICAL ACTION metaphors are slightly different. While both candidates use CONDUCTING PHYSICAL ACTION IS CONDUCTING A METAPHORICAL

⁷ This cut of point was an arbitrary threshold which was determined after examining the results as a whole.

ACTION metaphors, it appears as though Trump typically uses these about countries. For example:

Trump: “my whole concept was to make America great again”

In this example, Trump appears to conceptualise America as a BROKEN OBJECT, which he wants to metaphorically ‘fix’. This metaphor is interesting because it is not only a metaphor but also a metonymy. This PART FOR WHOLE metonymy uses Trump’s campaign slogan: “Make America Great Again” to refer to Trump’s ideologies, proposed policies, and the campaign events which lead up to the debate.

While Trump only uses this kind of metonymy from a metaphor four times, it often has interesting uses. For example:

Trump: “We’re going to make America safe again”

In this example, Trump modifies his campaign slogan of “make America great again” to be more appropriate to the field of safety. To some degree, this metaphor acknowledges the metonymic link to Trump’s campaign but reworks it to be suitable for the situation.

One main difference between how Clinton and Trump use PHYSICAL ACTION metaphors is the agency within the metaphors. Clinton appears to put herself as the agent of the metaphorical verbs considerably more than Trump (Clinton uses the first person pronoun ‘I’ 16 times, whereas Trump uses it six times). For example:

Clinton: “I’ve laid out a series of actions”

Trump: “I’m going to make our country safe”

Clinton may use more personal pronouns for agency because of a desire to highlight her achievements in politics, and encourage the audience to focus on the positive aspects of her personality (most other uses of this kind of metaphor use personal pronouns such as ‘we’, referring to her, her husband’s, and her political parties’ work). As many of these PHYSICAL

ACTIONS are positive (18 times out of 49 are used to convey something positive), it could be suggested that she tries to place a positive view on her previous actions.

On the other hand, Trump uses many third person personal pronouns (18 occurrences out of 62 use third person personal as the agents of the clause). Of these incidents, 17 are used to pass negative judgments on third parties. For example:

Trump: “She has made bad judgments”

Trump: “he lost his license to practice law”

As most of these occurrences relate to Clinton or people associated with her, I would argue that Trump uses these PHYSICAL ACTION metaphors to try and attack Clinton’s reputation. By contrast, Clinton only places Trump as the agent twice:

Clinton: “will he [Trump] send me back to Ethiopia if he gets elected”

And Clinton: “Donald always takes care of Donald”

It appears that Clinton is less concerned with using this grammatical structure to slander Trump than Trump is with using it to insult Clinton. This finding is thought-provoking because it demonstrates the kind of rhetoric both Clinton and Trump use when talking about others, and shows the stances Clinton and Trump take with regards to each other’s previous experience.

In sum, while both Clinton and Trump appear to use many metaphors in similar frequencies, these frequencies are relatively low. Because of this, I elected to focus this section on the metaphor with the highest occurrence for both candidates, PHYSICAL ACTION metaphors. Trump typically uses these metaphors about countries. Occasionally, these metaphors are used to help refer to his campaign slogan, through PART FOR WHOLE metonymies.

One of the main differences between how the candidates use this metaphor is in the agency of the metaphors. It appears as though Clinton typically uses first person personal pronouns as the agent in these metaphors, while Trump usually uses third person personal pronouns. I have argued that Clinton used first person personal pronouns to pass positive judgments on her previous actions, while Trump used them to slander Clinton’s reputation. I

have also argued that Clinton did not do this to Trump, and appears to be less interested in insulting Trump.

4.1.2 CONFLICT Metaphors

In relation to CONFLICT metaphors, both Clinton and Trump use the metaphorical verb: “Attacked”. The following extracts demonstrate some uses of this metaphorical verb:

Clinton:

“even someone like Captain Khan, the young man who sacrificed himself defending our country in the United States Army, has been subject to attack by Donald.”

Trump:

“Hillary Clinton attacked those same women and attacked them viciously.”

In both these examples, the verb “attacked” positions the opposing candidate as an aggressor who is unjustly harming a vulnerable, marginalised group. Within the 15 times Clinton uses CONFLICT metaphors, 9 relate to helping marginalised groups or groups which face social oppression. However, Trump appears to only use CONFLICT metaphors to talk about marginalised groups 3 times.

On one hand, Clinton uses the verb “attacked” to convey Captain Khan as a victim towards who the audience should feel both empathy and gratitude. She is able to do this by adding the qualifier: “the young man who sacrificed himself defending our country in the United States Army”. On the other hand, Trump conceptualises Clinton as an animalistic aggressor by using the adverb “viciously”. From these two points, it can be suggested that Clinton and Trump both appear to use the same verb in a metaphorical way, in order to enact a similar function: to attack the character of their opponent (see Benoit et al.,2007). However, there are subtle differences created by the language surrounding this verb. Specifically, Clinton uses this additional language to draw attention to the victim (Captain Khan), while Trump uses it to call attention to the assailant (Clinton).

Hence, while some source domains are used in similar frequencies, the ways in which they are used are often subtly different and may be used to enact slightly different functions.

Though, I would also argue that the linguistic metaphors within these source domains must be considered in tandem with the language surrounding the metaphor.

4.2 Same Source Domains with Dissimilar Frequencies

Having discussed situations where the same source domain is drawn upon with similar frequencies, I now examine source domains which both candidates draw upon but with dissimilar frequencies. In order to analyse how metaphors within these source domains are used, I elected to only explore source domains which met the following criteria:

- 1) The source domain(s) must have been used by both candidates at least once
- 2) The frequency difference of metaphors within these source domains must be greater than 1.5%

I highlight the source domains which meet this criterion in Figure 6. The following sub-sections explore some of the most salient findings from the data provided in Figure 6.

Source Domain	Number of Metaphors Clinton Uses Within The Source Domain as a Percentage of Her Overall Metaphorical Language	Number of Metaphors Trump Uses Within The Source Domain as a Percentage of His Overall Metaphorical Language
CONSTRUCTION	3.08	0.65
CONTAINER	5.00	10.10
JOURNEY	15.77	7.17
NATURAL FORCE	5.77	9.12
OBJECT	6.15	5.54
PEOPLE / PERSON	12.30	4.56
SEEING	6.92	10.42

VERTICAL ELEVATION	10.77	14.00
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Figure 6: Source Domains Which Both Candidates Employed but with Differing Frequencies

4.2.1 CONTAINER Metaphors

One of the largest differences appears to be present in the CONTAINER metaphors used by Clinton and Trump. Both Clinton and Trump typically use prepositions in a metaphorical way to evoke the conceptualisation of containers. The following extracts highlight this use of metaphorical propositions:

Clinton: “I will not let anyone into our country that I think poses a risk to us”

Trump: “we stop insurance companies from coming in and competing”

Both these examples demonstrate highly conventional metaphorical propositions (out of a sample of 50 results from 877187 results from COCA, the preposition “Into” was used metaphorically 48 times, see Appendix C). In the debate, the use of the prepositions “in” and “into” typically relates to the discussion of countries. In other words, both Clinton and Trump use the conceptual metaphor of COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER.

However, one difference in the way Clinton and Trump use CONTAINER metaphors in relation to the conceptualisation of containers within nations, is that Trump uses them in negative ways, for example:

“Trump: once we break out the lines”

In this example, Trump is talking about the state boundaries, or “lines”, which restrict access to different medical services and insurances under the medicare policy. Out of the 31 times Trump uses a CONTAINER metaphor, 24 (75%) are used in relation to the COUNTRY or NATION. By contrast, Clinton uses 13 CONTAINER metaphors, of which only 9 (40.9%) relate to the COUNTRY or NATION. One potential explanation for Trump demonstrating a higher frequency of these types of metaphor could be the conventionality of the COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER metaphor. Trump’s persona, as a person the general public can relate to, could encourage these more conventional

metaphors. Furthermore, one interesting finding is that of these 24 occurrences, 17 (70.8%) uses of CONTAINER metaphors relate to America, as opposed to other countries and nations. Similarly, Clinton uses 6 container metaphors about America (66.6%). While both Clinton and Trump conceptualise the America as a CONTAINER, Trump does this more regularly and more frequently than Clinton. However, both candidates use similar proportions of COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER metaphors which relate to the America, as opposed to other countries.

In sum, the CONTAINER metaphors used by Clinton and Trump typically refer to COUNTRIES. These metaphors, which use metaphorical prepositions such as ‘in’ and ‘into’ are typically very conventional. One reason Trump uses more of these conventional metaphors could be in order to appear more relatable to a general public.

4.2.2 CONSTRUCTION Metaphors

It appears as though Clinton and Trump use some CONSTRUCTION metaphors in slightly different ways. I highlight some of these nuanced differences in the following extracts:

Clinton:

“I went to work with Republican mayor, governor and president to rebuild New York”

Trump:

“and we’re going to make America wealthy again, because if you don’t do that, it just — it sounds harsh to say, but we have to build up the wealth of our nation.”

In this example, Clinton is discussing both literal and metaphorical rebuilding. Firstly, as the whole of New York was not destroyed, it can be argued that Clinton uses the metaphor “rebuild” with a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy. This is figurative because of two reasons, the first of which is that Clinton most likely did not do any physical rebuilding herself, but probably implemented legislation and donated money for professionals to do the physical reconstruction on her behalf. Secondly, not only was she trying to rebuild a part of New York, but she was also trying to repair the social structures affected by the 9/11 bombings. These two figurative uses of “rebuild” are reflected in data found in COCA (see Figure 7). What is interesting is the novel way which

Clinton uses metonymy to discuss the physical rebuilding of a conceptual area (such as the whole of New York) and metaphor to discuss the rebuilding of social structures. Clinton uses figurative language to give an illusion that she is someone who does physical work at the same level as many voters, which may encourage others to view her as a relatable figure.

Total Metaphorical Uses (Used as a Metaphor in Conjunction with a Metonymy)	Non-metaphorical
60 (10)	40
<p>Figure 7: The Frequency of the Word “Rebuild” Used Metaphorically and Non-Metaphorically In a Sample From COCA (100 results out of 5229 total results).(See Appendix D for these 100 results in full)</p>	

Trump’s metaphor “Build up” initially appears to be conventional. However, when used in a metaphorical way about MONEY, this metaphor becomes relatively novel. A COCA search revealed that “build up” is only used metaphorically about MONEY four times within a 100 word sample (out of 2758 hits in the corpus). The following examples highlight some of these occurrences:

"You might want to build up credit."

And “You need years of steady saving to build up the kind of balance that will get a big boost from compounding in the home stretch”.

The COCA search also revealed no matches for “wealth” collocating to the right of “Build up” within 2 places (see Appendix E). This suggests that Trump uses this novel metaphor to suggest that the economy is broken and needs fixing.

This example from Trump is interesting because he is a man associated with the construction business does not use multiple CONSTRUCTION metaphors, but does use novel ones when it comes to the field of money.

One of the main differences between Clinton and Trump’s use of CONSTRUCTION metaphor relates to the issues they are discussing. Out of the 9 CONSTRUCTION metaphors Clinton uses, 5 relate to societal change due to the implementation of government policy, such as creating new jobs, and enabling people to access healthcare. On the other hand, Trump only uses

one metaphor twice, “Build up”, to suggest that the current policies have cost too much money. For example, Clinton uses the following construction metaphors:

“23 million new jobs were created⁸”

“to try to fill the gap between people.”

In these examples, the social change which has occurred due to the implementation of government policy is that jobs were created for more Americans. However, Trump’s use of “build up our economy” is the only CONSTRUCTION metaphor which would suggest a judgment of the impact created by government policy. In this example, Trump appears to tacitly suggest that government policy has cost too much and has negatively impacted the economy. Both candidates use CONSTRUCTION metaphors about the result of government policy, but the evaluation these metaphors enacts is vastly different between the two.

In sum, it appears as though Clinton and Trump use CONSTRUCTION metaphors in slightly different ways. An initial analysis may suggest that Trump uses conventional metaphors to discuss MONEY and THE ECONOMY, but a COCA search revealed that he used the verb “build up” was in a novel way, as it related to the target domain of money. Within the COCA data, only 4 results out a sample of 50 results for the phrase “build up” were used about money (see Appendix E). While the frequencies of the metaphor are relatively similar, I would argue that they are used in subtly different ways. Both Clinton and Trump use these CONSTRUCTION metaphors to suggest that something in society is broken and that they want to repair it. However, Clinton uses construction metaphors to discuss rebuilding society and physical space, while Trump uses CONSTRUCTION metaphors in a novel way to discuss money.

4.3 Summary of Findings from the Source Domains Analysis and the Need for an Analysis Which Considers More Contextual Factors

In sum, in this section I have analysed some of the differences in source domains drawn upon by Clinton and Trump, in addition to the differences in the ways similar source domains are used. In

⁸ This metaphor was one of the ‘fuzzy’ boundaries which could also be considered as a having two different source domain: ‘creation’ and ‘construction’.

this summary section, I summarise my findings and explain why an analysis which considers the contextual factors of genre and register is needed.

I have argued that the source domains used by Clinton and Trump can be divided in to two broad groups: source domains with similar frequencies and source domains with dissimilar frequencies. In relation to similar source domains with similar frequencies, I have argued that the target domains were different and the use of evaluation was subtly different between candidates.

With regards to similar source domains with dissimilar frequencies, I showed how the source domains also have similar functions but can be used in subtly different ways. For example, Clinton typically builds on metaphors which are low in frequency, whereas Trump uses them sporadically.

However, I have not been able to account for the effect genre or register has on the way metaphor is used. While I have been able to show quantities of metaphor and have uncovered some interesting findings, these findings do not account for why and how the source domains are used within the context of the debate. Furthermore, as there is no rigorous method for identifying the types of metonymy used, metonymy use has been relatively neglected in this chapter. In the following chapters, I approach the data from a different analytical viewpoint, and focus on the effect of genre and register on the data.

Finally, exploring the effect of genre and register on metaphor and metonymy would allow us to capture metaphors and metonymies in a different way, and this could yield fruitful results. I also argue that an analysis which considers the contextual factors of genre and register would allow us to gain a deeper understanding of both where and why these figurative language devices are used.

Chapter 5: Genre

Having analysed the ways Clinton and Trump use different source domains, I now set out to answer my research question outlined in Chapter 3. Namely: “Taking into account Genre and Register, how do Clinton and Trump use both metaphor and metonymy in the second debate?” The primary argument of this thesis is that the aspects of both genre and register shape figurative language use. This chapter deals with genre, and thus, it is divided into three sections, namely the elements of genre considered by Deignan et al. (2013): Discourse Community, Function, and Staging. In each section, I use the definitions and frameworks outlined in Chapters 2 and 3 to discuss how each component of genre affects the figurative language used by the candidates. I argue that the aspects of genre do indeed affect the way metaphors and metonymies are used, and because of this, the overarching aim of this chapter is to illustrate how genre has affected the language used by the candidates.

With regard to the discourse community, I contend that neither Clinton nor Trump can be categorised into neither single nor shared discourse community because they are only two individual people. Due to the nature of this debate as a genre only allowing for two people on stage, there is not enough evidence of language from others to establish a discourse community. Instead, it is possible to suggest that Clinton and Trump’s membership of different discourse communities outside the debate itself affects their language use.

In relation to function, I note how there are multiple functions of debates as a genre (for example, Benoit et al., 1998; 2003; 2007) and how metaphor is used to not only to meet the functions of the debate genre, but also to enact more functions in a more general sense. I highlight these functions with data and analyse how Clinton and Trump’s language enacts these functions in slightly different ways.

Finally, I broadly divide the debate into three different stages, but argue that there are multiple ‘response cycles’ in the second stage. I analyse the components of these cycles and suggest that there are many similarities between how the candidates use language at these points.

However, I also examine the nuanced differences between how the components affect how the metaphors cluster and their frequency of occurrence.

5.1 Discourse Community

In this section I argue that Clinton and Trump do not meet Swale's criteria for a single nor shared discourse community within this debate. However, through an analysis of the occurrences of metaphor and metonymy, it is possible to infer membership of other discourse communities. Furthermore, it is possible to explore the extent to which the speakers are central members of these discourse communities, and to what degree they display the most prototypical use of figurative language associated with the discourse community.

Within this debate, a discourse community cannot be established using the components provided by Swales (1990; 2016) and Becker (1995) (see Chapter 2). These characteristics appear to become problematic when imposed on this particular single text. For example, they both "have a broadly agreed set of common public goals", which is to persuade the audience to vote for them. However, due to Clinton and Trump being the only presidential candidates on stage, there are too few central members of the political discourse community present to accurately identify a discourse community. However, both candidates are representing members of other discourse communities, in that; different political parties may be considered different discourse communities within a broader political discourse community. While other members of these represented sub-discourse communities (e.g. other politicians) may meet the specifications for what constitutes a discourse community they are not present in the debate itself.

Similar to Semino and Koller's (2010) investigation in to the language used by Tony Blair, I would also argue that they tailor their language to present themselves in ways which draw attention to their identity as a member of these multiple different discourse communities. Therefore, as opposed to analysing the figurative language which establishes Clinton and Trump as members of the same discourse community, I explore how membership of *different* discourse communities has shaped the figurative language they use.

One of the most obvious aspects of Clinton's identity is her membership of political discourse communities. Within these memberships to different discourse communities, a central element of her identity and how she presents herself is her membership of a community of currently serving Congress people. Within this discourse community, Clinton's broadly agreed

upon goal is to work with the government to put forward the views of her constituents and her political party. Clinton demonstrates that she is part of this community in the following extract:

“I worked with Democrats and Republicans to create the Children’s Health Insurance Program. Hundreds of thousands of kids now have a chance to be adopted because I worked to change our adoption and foster care system.”

In this example, Clinton draws on various metaphors and metonymies. She draws on source domains, such as RENEWAL, to show that she is actively taking part in the renewal of government policy. The following extract demonstrates her use of this source domain: “worked to change our adoption and foster care system”. A COCA search revealed that when “change” collocates with “system”, it is often discussed with regards to the struggles associated with change (14 results within a sample of 50 from 1011 total results). For example:

“His survival strategy was meant to ‘fix the system’ not to change it” (COCA data)
And “immigration laws and don't work within the system to effect the change they desire.” (COCA data)

In the first example, “fixing” a problem appears to be something easy, while “changing” a problem seems to be much more challenging. The second example demonstrates how systems are often resilient to change. Hence, Clinton’s identity as someone who is ingrained in political and legal discourse communities appears to encourage the use of this collocation to demonstrate that she can overcome the resistance often created by social and political systems.

In this extract from the debate, Clinton also uses metonymy to situate herself as a member of a political discourse community. She uses the highly conventional metonymy of “Democrats and Republicans” in order to show her dedication to politics and political alignments. She appears to use this as an ENDS FOR WHOLE SCALE metonymy, through which she refers to a spectrum of political affiliations. This ‘conceptual’ scale ranges from politicians who identify with liberal beliefs to those who identify with conservative beliefs. Within this image, Clinton attempts to convince the audience that she will put aside political affiliations to achieve what she believes is the desire of her constituents. Hence, Clinton’s membership of a political discourse community appears to have affected her identity. She is then able to use this affiliation with political discourse communities in an attempt to appeal to the audience.

By contrast, Trump's lack of membership of political discourse communities is a large aspect of his identity and the way he presents himself. Trump is a businessman who is a member of discourse communities typically associated with business instead of politics. One method Trump uses to demonstrate that he is not part of a political discourse community is to create an "Us vs. Them" divide. Trump positions politicians as a negative 'out' group, from which he purposefully detaches himself. I highlight this process of detachment in the following example:

"Over the last year-and-a-half that I've been doing this as a politician, I cannot believe I'm saying that about myself, but I guess I have been a politician."

Similar to Clinton's use of metonymy about "Republicans" and "Democrats", I would argue that Trump's use of "politician" is a conventional metonymy which has different uses. On the one hand, his use of "I cannot believe I'm saying this about myself" before describing himself as a politician demonstrates that part of his ICM of a prototypical politician is that they are undesirable. On the other hand, he could be using this language about politicians to demonstrate that he sympathises with those who are dissatisfied with politicians and the corruption associated with politicians. In sum, Trump appears to preface a GENERAL FOR SPECIFIC metonymy of 'politicians' with negative language to suggest that he views most politicians as negative and unrepresentative of the average American person.

5.1.1 Imagined Audience Design: Tailoring Language for Non-Specific Discourse Communities:

Both Clinton and Trump must tailor their language to members of the audience who are not part of their discourse communities (Barton, 2007: 75). Both candidates must demonstrate that, as politicians, they have the ability to speak "one-to-one to ordinary folk" (Myers, 2008). In order to tailor their language, they may have an idea of the audience who they most want to impress. This would mean that both candidates may have an 'imagined' audience design (Bell, 1984; 2001; Litt, 2012), In other words, the politicians may attempt to address several types of person at once (similar to how Tony Blair tailored his language to be more colloquial in order to appeal to a large audience, see Semino and Koller, 2010; Deignan et al., 2013: 75). Hence, in this subsection, I explore how Clinton and Trump's awareness of differences in discourse

communities may have influenced their figurative language use and how they tailor their language to members of other discourse communities.

Clinton appears to be aware that not all audience members may be part of discourse communities centred around politics and law. For example, when given the question:

“Perhaps the most important aspect of this election is the Supreme Court justice. What would you prioritize as the most important aspect of selecting a Supreme Court justice?”

Clinton responds:

“I think the current court has gone in the wrong direction. And so I would want to see the Supreme Court reverse Citizens United...”.

In this example, Clinton conceptualises POLITICS and the JUSTICE SYSTEM as a JOURNEY through relatively conventional metaphors. She then develops this JOURNEY metaphor with “reverse”, and in doing so, she strengthens a model of politics and law which is easy to conceptualise. In this metaphor, Citizens United, which is a landmark US legal case concerning the regulation of campaign spending by organisations (see *Citizens United vs. FEC*, 2010), appears to be an object at the end of a path. However, Clinton feels this path would lead to danger, where Citizen’s United represents a dangerous turning point, from which the court need to steer clear. In order to prevent this, she feels the vehicle needs to go backwards. To some degree, it could be argued that she views this metaphorical path as a gradient of danger, whereby the further down the path towards Citizens United American goes, the greater danger it is in. Clinton’s knowledge of the justice system appears to be a reflection of identity as someone who has memberships to multiple legal and political discourse communities. I would argue that because Clinton was a lawyer and human rights activist before becoming a senator, she has a good understanding of how political and legal processes work. In this example, both these metaphors are easy to understand and conceptualise due to their conventionality. Clinton’s use of language allows members of non-political and legal discourse communities to access to her conceptual model of how these systems work.

Throughout the debate, Clinton continues to allow people, who are not members of political or legal discourse communities, to access her conceptual models of the justice system. For example at one point, she conceptualises the legal system as a hierarchy:

“Trump: If you were an effective senator, you could have done it. But you were not an effective senator.

Cooper: Please allow her to respond. She didn’t interrupt you.

Clinton: You know, under our Constitution, presidents have something called veto power”.

Clinton acknowledges the legal ‘power’ of the Constitution of the United States, and in turn, situates both herself and Trump below it in a conceptual hierarchy. This use of metaphor in response to Trump also reduces the perception of the power he claims to have. Clinton highlights how Trump appears to conceptualise both himself and Clinton to have more power than the Constitution, the document which forms the basis for fundamental American laws. Thus, by moving both herself and Trump back down this conceptual hierarchy, Clinton changes the way Trump’s power is perceived by the audience, to one which is not above the law. This could be viewed as Clinton threatening Trump’s “face”, which is the public self-image that every person tries to protect (see Brown and Levison, 1987; see also Holtgraves, 2013: 60-65). Hence, Clinton appears to use metaphor to shape the way the audience views Trump. This conceptualisation of the political and judicial systems seems to highlight Clinton’s knowledge gained through membership of these discourse communities, while simultaneously demonstrating that Trump does not have the knowledge that would be gained through membership of these discourse communities.

Throughout the debate, Clinton uses metonymy to highlight her membership of legal discourse communities through demonstrating knowledge of the law. For example, she uses metonymy chains which link NAME FOR EVENT and MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY. This is particularly highlighted in discussion about court cases, which use the name for the court case, but also use the court case to represent all court cases which have rulings on similar law. For example:

“I want a Supreme Court that will stick with Roe v. Wade and a woman’s right to choose”

Here, Clinton metonymically refers to laws about abortion in general with “Roe v. Wade”, which was a landmark legal case held in 1973⁹ (see Jane Roe et al. v. Henry Wade, 1973). By referring to this specific case, Clinton demonstrates her knowledge of two particular aspects of the law: cases which the Supreme Court has ruled on and abortion law. Clinton uses the salient aspect of abortion law within the ICM of “Roe v. Wade” before she reframes this metonymy with the highly conventional metaphor: “a woman’s right to choose”. In this extract, Clinton appears to account for people who do not know the case of Roe vs. Wade, and explains her use of metonymy more clearly, while simultaneously demonstrating knowledge of the justice system. Hence, Clinton reframes the metonymies obtained through her membership of legal and political discourse communities with metaphors which are more understandable to those not within these communities.

Similar to when she discusses legal issues, Clinton uses metonymy when discussing the political system. For example:

“The question was about the Supreme Court. And I just want to quickly say, I respect the Second Amendment. But I believe there should be comprehensive background checks, and we should close the gun show loophole, and close the online loophole.”

Here, Clinton uses two different types of conventional metonymy. The first, “the second amendment” is a CATEGORY FOR SALIENT PROPERTY metonymy. Within this metonymy, she uses the whole of the second amendment to refer specifically to the section which discusses the right to bear arms. In other words, the whole of “the Second Amendment” is used to refer specifically to gun laws. Later in the extract, she expands on these specific laws by using the second type of metonymy: SPECIFIC FOR GENERAL metonymies (the “gun show loophole” and “online loophole”). These metonymies are used to refer to different pieces of government legislation and documentation which are related to the Second Amendment. These uses of metonymy could also be Clinton indicating that she has read these pieces of literature, and by extension, this could be Clinton demonstrating her qualifications to be the next president.

⁹ In this court case, Roe, the plaintiff argued that Texan law prohibited her abortion, as the pregnancy was not caused by rape or incest. The Supreme Court ruled in favour of allowing women nation-wide to abort pregnancies in the first trimester, regardless of how they became pregnant.

Trump's audience design must take into consideration the general public who question whether or not he is qualified for the position of president. The moderators note these concerns from the general public, which makes Cooper ask:

“In the days after the first debate, you sent out a series of tweets from 3 a.m. to 5 a.m., including one that told people to check out a sex tape. Is that the discipline of a good leader?”

Trump's response to this question is deliberately vague:

“TRUMP: No, there wasn't check out a sex tape. It was just take a look at the person that she built up to be this wonderful Girl Scout who was no Girl Scout.

COOPER: You mentioned sex tape.

TRUMP: By the way, just so you understand, when she said 3 o'clock in the morning, take a look at Benghazi. She said who is going to answer the call at 3 o'clock in the morning? Guess what? She didn't answer it, because when Ambassador Stevens...”

In this response, Trump is talking about Alicia Machado, a Venezuelan-born now American citizen who Clinton helped gain American citizenship. I have included the Tweet which is the focus of this question in Appendix F. Trump appears to shift the focus from one of whether or not he is qualified to become a central figure in political discourse communities to a topic which questions the personality traits of two women. This use of language could potentially be seen as a method of vagueness, but also as a method of redirection. In this excerpt, the metaphor “look” is frequently used by Trump to evoke a KNOWLEDGE IS SEEING metaphor. This use of metaphor could be Trump turning a physical action into a political judgment through a process of embodiment, whereby the audience members may conceptualise ‘seeing’ his point of view, and thus find it credible. Furthermore, it is interesting to see how Trump uses the metonymy “girl scout” in a similar way to the “Joe the Plumber” metonymy (Boyd, 2013). In this example, the role of girl scout is equated to values which align with mass American ideals. In other words, Trump also appears to play on the ICM of a girl scout to link the group to ‘innocent’ ideals. Trump then continues and suggests that the woman he is talking about is not innocent, nor aligns herself with what he thinks is the typical American ideology. One reason Trump may use these aspects of figurative language is to undermine members of more politically left wing discourse

communities. Hence, rather than establish his suitability to be a central member of political discourse communities, he avoids the topic in a rather sexist way.

Trump's use of metonymy in this extract is also fascinating. In the above excerpt, Trump uses a SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy when he discusses: "The call at 3 o'clock in the morning". In this metonymy, the call is the result of a dangerous threat towards America and is to inform the president of the situation. Trump turns a negative idea, the idea of being awake at 3 o'clock in the morning to Tweet, into a positive one. Thus, Trump uses two different ICMs and changes aspects of one into another; whereby, he takes a negative aspect for the ICM of Twitter and transforms it into a positive quality within the ICM of a president.

Even though both candidates are participating in the same debate, the language they use would suggest they are talking to different audiences. This is particularly the case for Trump, whose general voting demographic is very different to Clinton's. Trump's language appears to strike a fine balance: not only is it colloquial enough to appeal to an imagined audience who are dissatisfied with those in the political sphere, but it is also littered with subtle ideologies to appeal to prototypical republicans.

5.1.2 Discourse Community Conclusions

In sum, I have examined how membership of multiple discourse communities shaped the language Clinton and Trump used within the debate. I have contended that discourse community membership is central to both candidates' identity and in turn, it has affected their knowledge of the world, and thus the figurative language they use. I have demonstrated that Clinton and Trump used metaphors and metonymies to show membership of these communities. I have contended that Clinton, a politician, uses simple language to help a non-specialist audience view the legal and governmental procedures from her expert standpoint. I have also proposed that Trump uses language which dissociates himself from political discourse communities, in order to appeal to those who are disenfranchised with the political elite.

Throughout this section, I have noted how many of the metaphors and metonymies used were conventional. I have argued that while many of the metaphors and metonymies may appear to be conventional, they enact subtly different, and often multiple, functions

5.2 Function

Various genre scholars have noted that political debates have multiple functions, of which there are three salient functions which are applicable to this specific debate: acclaims (positive statements about oneself), attacks (criticisms of an opponent), and defenses (refutations of attacks from opponents) (see Benoit et al., 2007). With regards to metaphor and metonymy, these functions of the genre are best seen as broad overarching functions which metaphor and metonymy can achieve. Previous literature appears to suggest that metaphors in debate contexts can enact subtler functions than these three aspects (see for example, Semino, 2008; Semino and Koller, 2010). In this sub-section, I explore what functions the metaphors enact and how these contribute to the broader functions of the debate genre.

The functions of metaphor and metonymy within the debate resemble the functions of metaphor as highlighted in the research literature (see for example, Littlemore, 2001; Semino, 2008). Both Littlemore and Semino cite literature which suggests that metaphor can fulfill various functions in different discourse. Of the different functions which have been raised in the literature, the following functions appear to be most pertinent to this debate:

- To evaluate
- To allow the speaker to be deliberately vague
- To provide a framework for ideas
- To make language entertaining and memorable (see Littlemore, 2001: 335-336)

I would argue that the functions of the political debate genre as discussed by Benoit (1999; 2003) are best viewed as macro-level functions, while the functions of metaphor act on a micro-level. I would also argue that that the micro-level functions of metaphor enable the candidates to achieve the macro-level functions of the political debate genre. Therefore, when I explore the micro-level functions that metaphor enact (as noted by scholars such as Littlemore, 2001 and Semino, 2008), I consider them with regard to how they contribute to achieving the macro-level functions.

I highlight the micro-level functions which are enacted by metaphor and metonymy in Figure 8, and use metaphors and metonymies from the data to demonstrate how these functions are fulfilled.

Function	Example (Clinton):	Examples (Trump):
Evaluate	one of the loopholes he <u>took advantage of</u> when he claimed a billion-dollar loss.	I will <u>knock the hell out of</u> ISIS. We're going to <u>defeat</u> ISIS.
Allow the speaker to be deliberately vague	I've spent <u>a lot of time</u> thinking over the last 48 hours about what we <u>heard and saw</u> .	You're going to have <u>plans</u> that are so good, because we're going to have so much <u>competition</u> in the insurance industry.
Provide a framework for ideas	I would <u>go after</u> Baghdadi. I would specifically <u>target</u> Baghdadi, because I think our <u>targeting</u> of Al Qaida leaders — and I was involved in a lot of those operations, highly classified ones	this is <u>like medieval times</u> .
Make language entertaining and memorable	I am reminded of what my friend, Michelle Obama, advised us all: <u>When they go low, you go high</u> .	Excuse me. She just went about 25 seconds <u>over</u> her time.
Figure 8: Functions of Metaphor Arising From the Literature Highlighted Using Data from the Debate		

All these functions overlap multiple times within the data, and different metaphors may fit the criteria of multiple functions. The following extract highlights how one example can have multiple micro-level functions:

“When I hear something like that, I am reminded of what my friend, Michelle Obama, advised us all: When they go low, you go high”.

This example could be considered both evaluative (of what Trump has both said and done), as well as entertaining and memorable. I selected this extract in particular because it was one of the

few instances where the audience broke the agreed upon discourse conventions by applauding. At the beginning of the debate, the moderators state that the audience has been asked not to clap or cheer. Thus, this signalled metaphor appeared to have a positive effect on the audience to a point where they broke the agreed upon conventions of the discourse.

Similarly, the following extract highlights how Trump's language can meet multiple of these functions:

“This is like medieval times.”

In this example, Trump is comparing the actions of Daesh to actions undertaken in medieval times. Hence, this example could be classified as both evaluative (of Daesh), as well as providing a framework for understanding the actions of that group. Similar to the examples provided by Clinton, I have tried to restrict each example to a single function, and I will explore these excerpts in more detail later.

5.2.1 Evaluation

Metaphors with the function of evaluation appear to contribute to meeting some of the macro-level functions of the debate genre. Evaluation allows the speakers to evaluate each other's actions (attack) and evaluate their own actions (acclaim). I highlight how these examples of metaphors with an evaluative function shown in Figure 8 allow Clinton and Trump to meet these functions of the political debate genre.

Clinton uses the metaphor “took advantage of” to evaluate the actions of Trump, and by extension attack his character. This metaphor can be seen as evaluative when cross-compared with a COCA search, which revealed that in a sample of 50 results where the lemur ‘took’ collocated to the left of ‘advantage’ within one slot, four results were directly related to sexual abuse (see Appendix G). A total of 19 occurrences were directly related to undesirable actions or judgments. Other uses of this metaphor were typically neutral or related to sporting-based opportunities, such as taking advantage of a chance to pass a ball. In general, “took advantage of” is seen as a metaphor with negative evaluative properties. By extension, Clinton's could be using metaphor to evaluate Trump's actions, which she views as negative. The evaluative function of metaphor allows Clinton to achieve a function of the political debate genre, as she is able to attack her opponent.

In the example selected for Trump, he appears to conceptualise America and Daesh in an “us vs. them” divide, which allows him to both enact one of the acclaim function of the debate genre. This use of metaphor to conceptualise America as an opponent to Daesh could be used to entice an environment of fear amongst viewers. However, Trump also appears to suggest that the audience has little to fear under his leadership, as they will be able to “knock them out”. This verb is interesting because it is a second metaphor: a SPORTS metaphor.

In this metaphor, Trump appears to conceptualise America as a successful boxer, or similar fighting athlete who has ‘defeated’ Daesh. Considering the debate would be watched by audiences of all ages, it is also interesting to see his modifier of “the hell”. Despite a pragmatic request to monitor his language, he still uses this modifier which could be considered a swear word to some conservative Americans. However, this modifier demonstrates a clear judgmental stance towards Daesh. Not only are they despicable people, whom America are in conflict with, but they are also deserving of being ‘knocked out’ with more force than necessary. Hence, Trump uses metaphors like this which relate to CONFLICT to pass judgment on Daesh. The evaluative function of metaphor allows Trump to achieve the acclaim function of the political debate genre, as he uses this evaluation to promote a positive image about himself.

5.2.2 Allowing the Speaker to be Deliberately Vague

Within the debate, metaphors and metonymies which allow the speaker to be deliberately vague are able to enact two different functions of the political debate genre: acclaims and attacks. In this sub-section, I explore how Clinton and Trump use vague language to meet the functions of the genre.

Before I can explore how Clinton and Trump use metaphor and metonymy to be vague in the debate, a definition of vagueness must be established. Vagueness has multiple definitions. For language to be considered ‘vague’, some argue that it must meet the at least one of following criteria:

- a) it can be contrasted with another word or expression which appears to render the same proposition,
 - b) it is purposefully or unbashfully vague,
- or

c) the meaning arises from intrinsic uncertainty” (Channell, 1994: 193; see also Cutting, 2007: 5).

Others have extended what constitutes vague language and argue that vagueness falls into different grammatical categories. For example, Koester (2007: 41) contends that members of an academic administration discourse community use: vague nouns, vague categories, and vague approximates. For example, Koester suggests that phrases such as ‘or so’ are vague approximates, as they give a non-specific amount. For this investigation, I use the general criteria for vagueness proposed by Channell (1994) as a framework for identifying vague language, but also consider the refined aspects of vagueness (as covered by Cutting, 2007; Koester, 2007). These refined aspects included that there are different grammatical categories which can create vagueness and that vagueness comes in different categories.

Clinton uses vague language when she uses the metaphor: “I’ve spent a lot of time”, which allows her to achieve the acclaim function of the debate genre. This metaphor does not give a specific amount of time and is thus vague by omission (Channel, 1994: 19). This metaphor could also be considered a vague approximate, as Clinton only alludes to an approximate amount of time for how long she has spent thinking about the topic. Each member of the audience will have two benchmarks which create a range of time for how long they believe a leader should think about different topics. One benchmark is a minimum amount of time, while the other is a maximum amount of time. If Clinton gave an exact amount of time, she might fall out of some audience member’s range. This vagueness allows her to appeal to multiple audience members’ views, as she only gives a vague approximation for the amount of time. Thus, the audience is left unable to decide if the time she spent thinking about the topic was too much or too little. Clinton’s use of figurative language to be vague allows her to enact the acclaim function of the broader political debate genre, as she uses this vague language to appear level-headed.

In the latter half of the extract given in Figure 6, Clinton remains vague when she uses: “what we heard and saw”, which allows her to attack Trump’s character. She metonymically refers to an audio recording, in which Trump discusses sexually assaulting a woman. Rather than name the action, Clinton uses a GENERAL FOR SPECIFIC metonymy in addition to an ACTION FOR OBJECT metonymy to refer to Trump’s confession of sexual assault. This general for specific metonymy appears to use the vague noun of ‘what’ in tandem with the vague past tense verbs ‘heard and saw’. Clinton uses this vague language to demonstrate her ideology, one who

condemns sexual assault. By not naming the specific actions, she infers that they are too repulsive to discuss. This ideological stance towards Trump could position him, and by extension people who support his actions, as an ‘out’ group who commit unspeakable acts (for further discussion of vague language to create ‘in’ and ‘out groups’ see Cutting, 2000; 2001; 2007: 8). Clinton is able to attack Trump through the use of vague language. This realizes the macro-level function of attacking within the political debate genre.

Similar to Clinton’s use of vague language discussed in Chapter 4, Trump uses vague language by omission to not be specific, which enables him to achieve the acclaim function of the debate genre. When Trump states: “You’re going to have plans that are so good”, he does not give any examples, costs or information about what these plans will entail. In this example, Trump appears to make the abstract idea of plans into a metaphoric physical entity. However, he does not elaborate on the properties of this physical object. On the surface, Trump uses vague language in a similar way to Clinton, in that he uses it to appear like a competent leader and to allow people to imagine what they think is desirable. However, on a more nuanced level, this use of vague language is different to Clinton’s. Clinton appears to use vague language to appear desirable in relation to personality traits, whereas Trump uses vague language to avoid discussing specific aspects of his policies. In relation to how the audience views the candidates, this point is an interesting finding because Clinton has been viewed as ‘undesirable’ because of her personality, rather than her policies. Whereas, people appear to have not explored the policies Trump offered, but rather voted because of how distant from prototypical politicians he is. Hence, it could be suggested that both candidates tried to use vague language in an attempt to cover up their shortcomings. Similar to Clinton, Trump appears to be able to use vague language to realize the broader genre functions, as this vague language could be interpreted as an acclaim.

5.2.3 Providing a Framework for New Ideas

Within the broader functions of political debates as a genre, metaphor can be used to provide frameworks for new ideas. Within the data, when metaphors were used to provide a framework for new ideas, they enabled the speaker to realize the macro functions of: acclaims and defenses. In this sub-section, I explore the examples given in Figure 8 and how they contribute to realizing these macro functions.

The penultimate function discussed in Figure 6 is to provide a framework for new ideas. Clinton does this and is able to achieve the acclaim function of the debate genre when she states: “I would go after Baghdadi. I would specifically target Baghdadi, because I think our targeting of Al Qaida leaders — and I was involved in a lot of those operations, highly classified ones”

In this extract, Clinton provides a framework for stabilising Syria. She sets out a JOURNEY metaphor with “go after” and then builds on this “target”. In this conceptual journey, the goal is to reach Baghdadi, and once she has achieved this goal, Syria will become stable again. This metaphor draws on a relatively conventional source domain to allow people without specific political knowledge to conceptualise how Clinton aims to achieve her goal. Within this same extract, Baghdadi is metonymically referred to as all the leaders of Daesh, through Clinton’s use of a SPECIFIC FOR GENERAL metonymy. Thus, this is metonymic because Clinton’s goal is to dismantle the whole of Daesh, not just kill Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Thus, to achieve the overarching goal of dismantling Daesh and stabilising Syria, Clinton provides a framework for dismantling Daesh and conceptualises a framework which is similar to a journey. This framework appears to be competent and complete. In turn, this makes Clinton appear to be a competent politician which could act as an acclaim.

As highlighted by Figure 9, Trump provides a framework for understanding the actions of Daesh. He uses a combination of both a simile and a TIME FOR EVENT metonymy in: “this is like medieval times”, which allows him to defend his personality. Trump uses a simile to compare the torturing conducted by members of Daesh to the torturing performed by people in the medieval era. Similar to other uses of metonymy, Trump utilises two different ICMs within this simile. The first is an ICM of Daesh. Within this first ICM, a salient feature for Trump is that they torture people. The second is an ICM of people in the medieval era, where a salient feature for Trump is that individuals in this period would use outdated torture methods. However, within this second ICM, a feature salient to Trump appears to be that these victims of torture were typically innocent and unjustly accused. This metonymy allows Trump to provide a point of comparison for those who do not fully understand the actions of Daesh.

This framework through the use of metonymy comes at an interesting point in the debate. When this framework occurs, Trump has just been accused of sexual assault, but rather than give

a direct response, he tries to deflect the attention to a new concept. Within this debate, this use of figurative language to provide a framework for understanding concepts has a second function: to distract the audience from the current topic. This use of a framework for understanding new ideas enables Trump to enact two different functions of the political debate genre: firstly, he is able to acclaim himself and make himself appear knowledgeable about Daesh. Secondly, he is able to use this framework as a distraction which in turn acts as a defense.

5.2.4 Making Language Memorable and Entertaining

The final function of metaphor which this sub-section deals with is making language memorable and entertaining. Acclaims are possibly the most obvious macro-level function which metaphors with the micro-level function of making the language and entertaining can contribute to achieving, as candidates can look better to the audience. However, within the examples I provide in Figure 8, I noted how the memorable and entertaining language was able to enact the other two macro-level functions: attacking and defending. In this sub-section, I explore how these functions are realized.

Clinton showed that she uses creative and memorable figurative language to achieve the macro-level function of defending oneself. I highlight an example of where she uses this creative and memorable figurative language through the use of a signalled metaphor in Figure 6. As previously discussed, the audience appeared to enjoy the signalled metaphor, as they broke the pre-established discourse conventions. In relation to how creative this metaphor is, there were no uses of “when they go low, you go high” or any variants of this phrase within COCA. A second search revealed that ‘go low’ only collocated within four slots to the left of ‘high’ once. Thus, while this metaphorical stretch of text appears to be creative, it was originally used creatively by someone else. Clinton acknowledges that these are not her words, but they are both creative and memorable. This entertaining and memorable language becomes an attack on Trump and his personality, which the audience clearly enjoy. However, at this point in time, Clinton is also responding to a criticism from Trump, which in turn means she is able to realize a second function of the political debate genre: defence.

In relation to the extract I selected for Trump: “Excuse me. She just went about 25 seconds over her time”, I chose this extract because it is so unabashed to question the integrity of

the moderators. What makes this extract memorable is how Trump appears to view independent moderators as opponents who are conspiring against him. By challenging the moderators, Trump breaks the assumed social conventions of the debate, which becomes striking and memorable. In this example, Trump uses highly conventional metaphors when complaining and challenging the moderators, such as “over”, which conceptualises time as having a boundary that has been passed. In this example, the emphasis of why the language use is memorable is less because a metaphor is used, but because Trump impolitely breaks the social conventions of the debate. In other words, although there are interesting and memorable phrases which contain metaphor, the focus of interest is not always the metaphor itself. With regards to the broader genre functions, this use of memorable language is also slightly different. The literature on functions within the political debate genre typically focus on the relationship between the candidates (Benoit et al., 2007). However, in this extract, Trump appears to attack the moderators, which is different to what would be expected within the genre.

5.3 Conclusions from Function

In sum, I have argued that there are three functions within the political debate genre: acclaims, attacks, and defenses. With regards to metaphor and metonymy use, I have noted that there are more nuanced functions which these aspects of figurative language can fulfill, but ultimately, they relate back to the broader functions of the political debate genre.

I have demonstrated that both Clinton and Trump used language to: evaluate concepts, laws, and policies; be vague within the debate; provide frameworks for understanding ideas; make language entertaining and memorable. I have argued that many of these functions overlapped, but I chose to restrict the analysis to one function for any given metaphor. Furthermore, I have argued that these micro-level functions are used in order to enact the macro-level functions of the political debate genre.

In relation to evaluating concepts, I have argued that Clinton was able to play on language associated with sexual abuse and sexual assault to evaluate Trump’s actions and language. Whereas in the examples I selected, Trump used sports metaphors with modifiers to evaluate the negative actions of Daesh. This micro-level function was able to help achieve the macro-level functions of attacking and acclaiming.

I have argued that throughout the debate, both candidates used aspects of vague language. I used the general criteria for vagueness proposed by Channell (1994) as a loose framework for identifying vagueness but also considered the refined aspects of vagueness, such as classification of vagueness (as covered by Cutting, 2007; Koester, 2007). I have contended that both candidates have been vague by omission, but Clinton has been vague to gain the approval of the audience, whereas Trump has been vague in order to avoid discussing his policies. The uses of figurative language appear to have allowed the candidates to achieve the macro-level functions of attacking and acclaiming.

In relation to proving frameworks for ideas, I have shown that Clinton used and developed on JOURNEY metaphors. These metaphors were relatively conventional and easy to conceptualise but allowed a non-specific audience to access her professional understanding of complex models. I have also contended that, on the other hand, Trump used metonymy to evoke different ICMs which worked to compare one group of people to a less civilised culture obsessed with inhumane methods of torture. The data suggested that the metaphors and metonymies used by Clinton and Trump to provide frameworks for new ideas allowed them to achieve the macro-level functions of acclaims and attacks.

Finally, Clinton's use of quoting Michelle Obama was memorable and entertaining because it encouraged the audience to break the pre-established conventions of the discourse. While this metaphor was novel, it was created by someone else. As Clinton acknowledged that it was created by someone else, she signalled that it was a creative metaphor and was implemented specifically to be entertaining and memorable. On the other hand, Trump himself breaks the conventions of the discourse by accosting the moderators. He accuses them of favouritism. I have argued that while he does use some metaphor while doing this, the fact he confronts the moderators makes that section memorable. This has led me to argue that while metaphor and metonymy may be used in an entertaining and memorable sentence, it is not always the case that they are reason as to why the sentence is entertaining and memorable. This micro-level function allowed Clinton and Trump to achieve the macro-level functions of acclaiming and defending.

5.4 Staging

One way to distinguish between particular forms of communication is to divide them in to distinct stages. Swales (1990) argues that one way to distinguish these stages is based on the

moves found therein. I identified the following three stages in the debate: the first is that the debate opens with an introduction by the moderators. This is then followed by the main body of the debate, which is compiled of multiple cyclical patterns of moves. These cycles have five distinct moves. This finding resonated with previous research in to the use of stages in the 2000 presidential election campaign (see Trent and Friedenber, 2008: 301-305), whereby there are multiple questions which both candidates can answer. These findings also resonate with research in to political debates in other countries, where candidates are often cross-examined and follow similar cyclical response patterns (see Benoit et al., 2007). Figure 9 shows the cycle with characteristics. Finally, the last move is the conclusion of the debate. As the main body of the debate uses these response cycles, and the majority of the debate is within this second move, the following analysis focuses solely on this section.

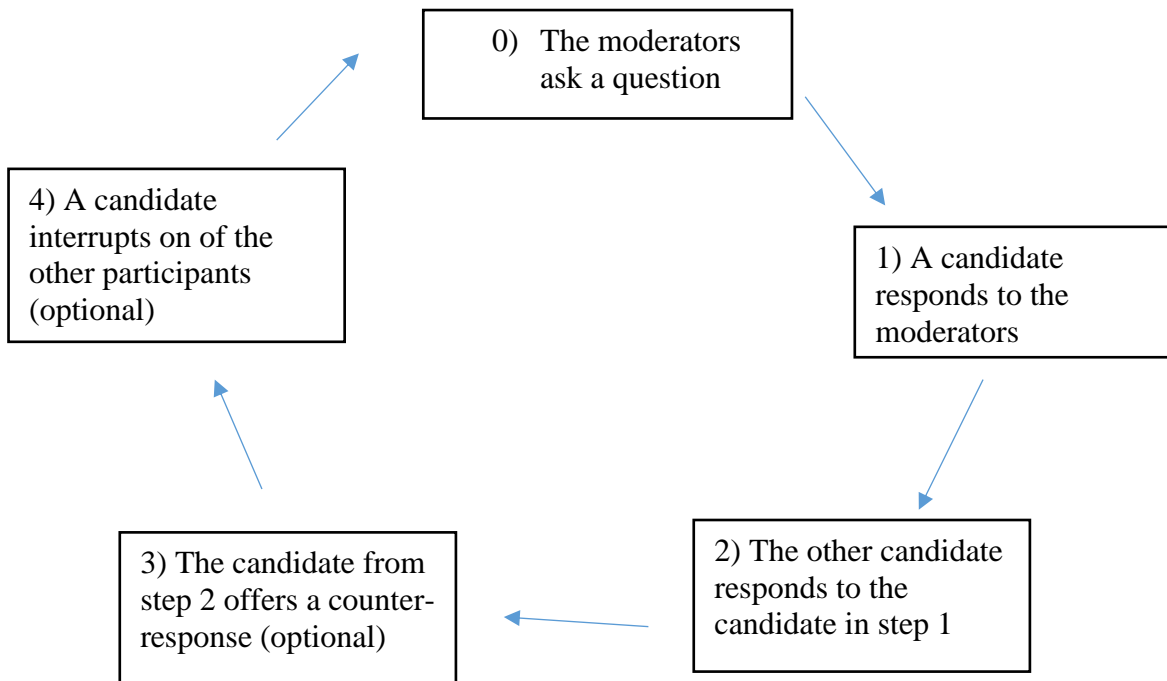


Figure 9: A Visual Representation of the Components Involved in a Response Cycle within the Main Body of the Debate.

Within this cycle, some components of this move are obligatory whilst others are optional. The third and fourth component are when the candidate from component two offers a counter response to the opposing candidate, and when a candidate interrupts one of the other participants. Both of these components are optional, and the order in which they occur can be interchanged with each other. In other words, when both components are present, an interruption may come before a counter response. This flexibility means that there are multiple variations to the response cycle as it is observed in the data¹⁰. For an example showing all these moves in one response cycle, please see Appendix H.

Component of Cycle	Clinton (mean lexical unit count per component)	Trump (mean lexical unit count per component)
Component 0	-	-
Component 1 (Responds first)	9 (251)	9 (253)
Component 2 (Responds second)	8 (300)	8 (278)
Component 3 (Counter response)	7 (69)	7 (149)
Component 4 (Interruption)	2 (12)	24 (16)
Figure 10: A List of the Frequency of How Regularly Each Candidate uses Different Component of a Response Cycle Within the Debate.		

One of the pertinent findings in relation to staging, which appeared in Deignan et al.'s (2013) worked applications of the framework to authentic texts, was metaphor clustering. Deignan et al. argue that metaphor clustering changed depending on the stage of the discourse. I decided to

¹⁰ Typically, throughout the debate, the response cycles are controlled by the moderators. However, I also identified that Clinton has one slightly different response cycle (the final response cycle), where she responds to a question directed at Trump. Although, because of how infrequent this kind of response cycle is, I chose to not analyse the response within that cycle

explore the metaphor clustering within each component of the response cycles. In order to investigate this phenomenon, I created a Moving Metaphor Density Chart. Where the Moving Metaphor Density chart peaks, it can be suggested that metaphors are the densest in this section and have clustered.¹¹ For any given stretch of data, the Moving Metaphor Density Chart shows what percentage of lexical units were metaphorical.

The Moving Metaphor Density Chart (Figure 11) highlights where the metaphors occur throughout debate as a whole. As shown, metaphor frequency typically only peaked at

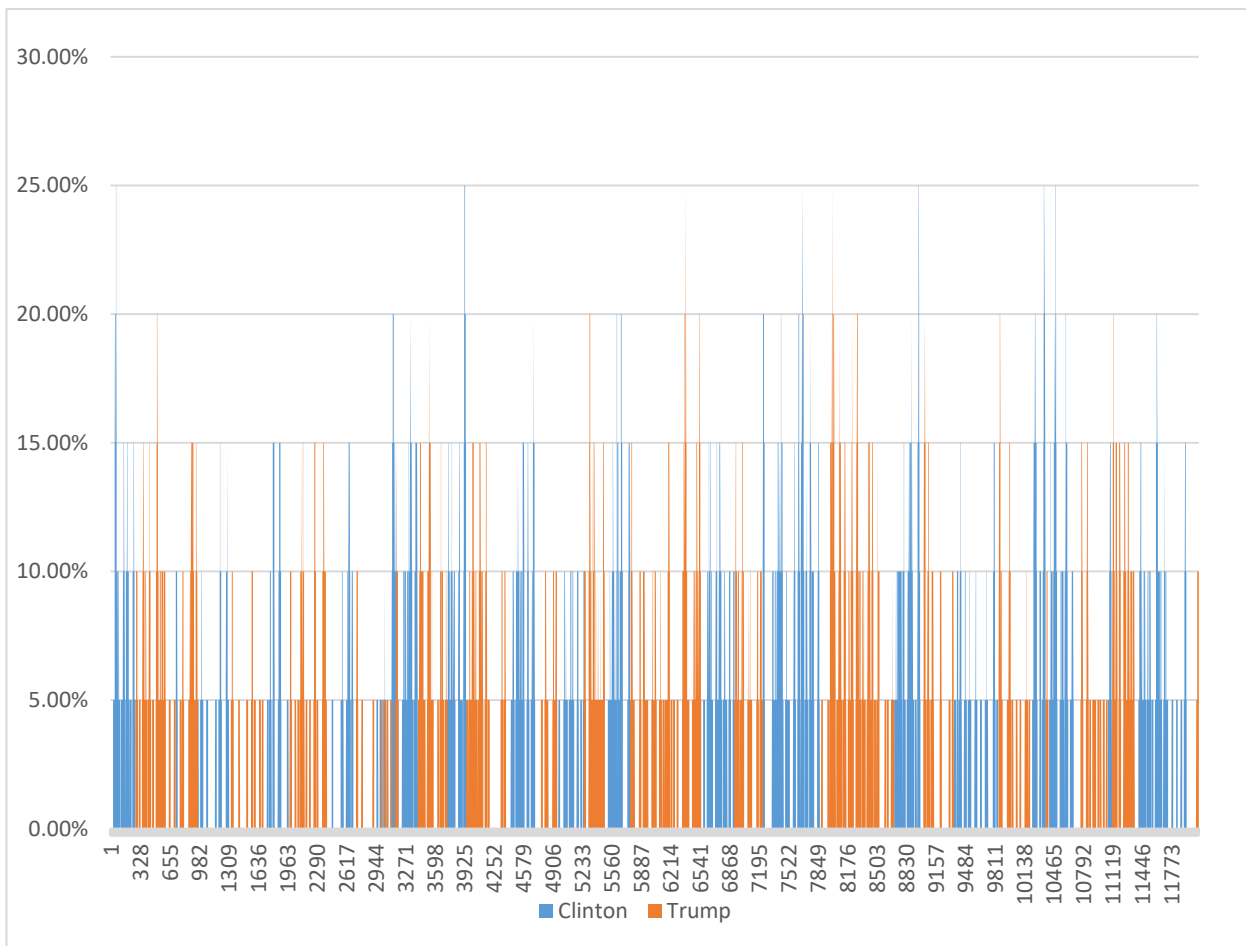


Figure 11: The Moving Metaphor Density Chart for the Whole Debate

¹¹ The X axis for all Moving Metaphor Density Charts represents the cumulative lexical unit count, while the Y axis represents the percentage of metaphorical language for any given stretch of text. The bin size/ window for the chart was intervals of 20. This meant that a single lexical unit created a metaphoric density of 5% within a span of 20 lexical units.

approximately 25%. However, in general, the density of metaphor occurrence was between 5 and 10%.

Following the creation of the Moving Metaphor Density Chart, I then divided the chart according to the boundaries of each response cycle's beginning and end (see Figure 12)¹². For each chart, the X axis represents the cumulative lexical unit count, while the Y axis represents the metaphoric density. In terms of the cycles from an overarching point of view, it can be seen that many of them are relatively similar, with peaks of approximately 20% metaphoric density.

¹² The 'x' axis which represents the cumulative lexical frequency count in figure 12 is different to Figure 11 because 'blank' cells were added between cycles in excel. This was in order to clearly show the boundaries between cycles. These 'blank' cells have not affected the metaphoric density chart's data, but have enabled me to show the boundaries between cycles more clearly.

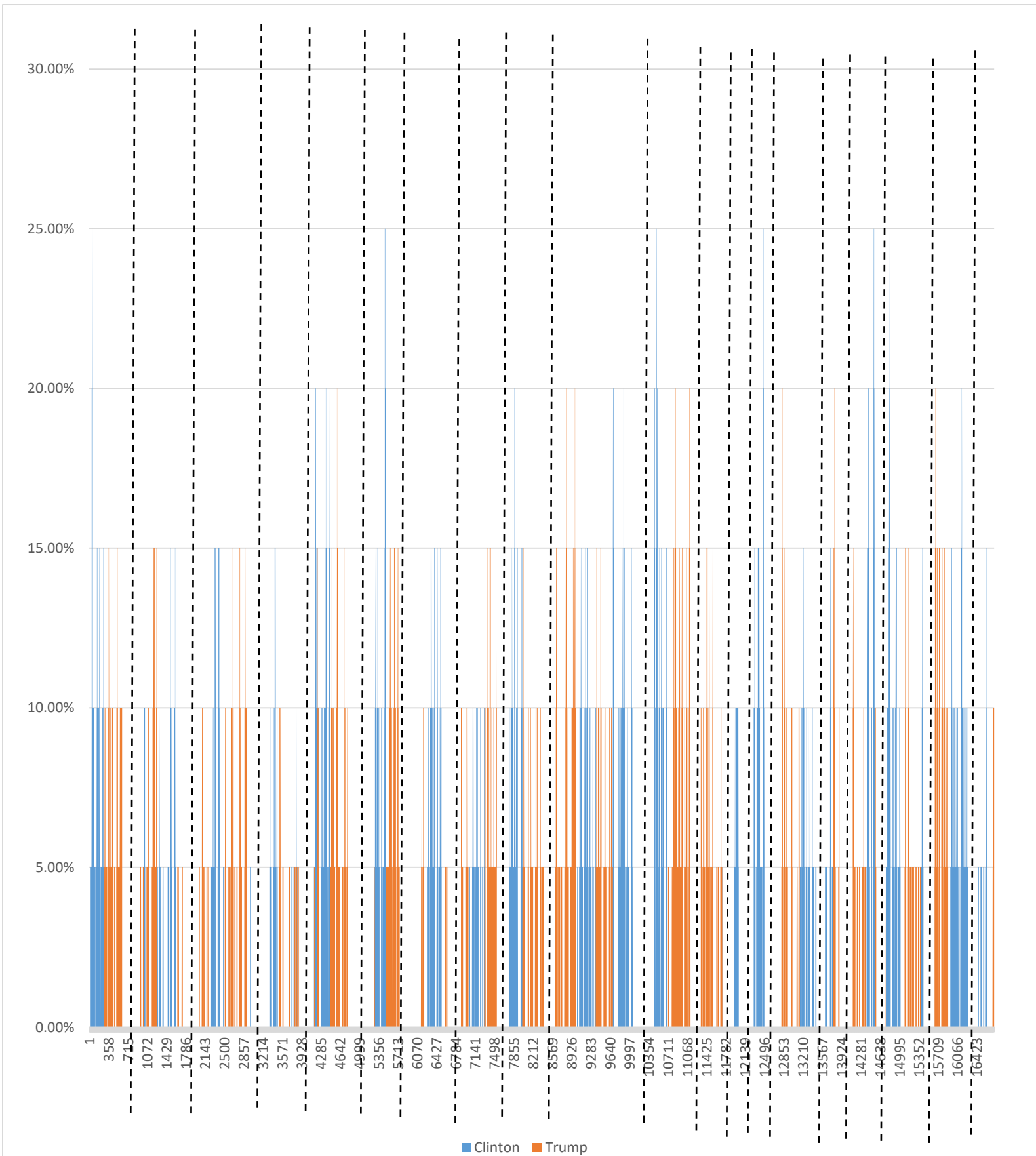


Figure 12: The Moving Metaphor Density Chart for the Whole Debate with Boundary Lines for Each Response Cycle.

In order to gain a more nuanced understanding of how the response cycles affect metaphor clustering, I decided to look at the metaphor density of each component of the response cycle and compare how Trump and Clinton use these components. The following sub-sections explore these components individually. The aim of exploring how the metaphoric density changes at each section is that it allows for a comparison between how Clinton and Trump use metaphors at different and similar, points in the debate.

5.4.1 Component 1

Figure 13 is a Moving Metaphor Density Chart with only the occurrences of component 1 (when a candidate responds to a question first) within response cycles present. One would expect that the density of metaphors may build up over time, as metaphors are used to explain more complex ideas as the response progresses. Within the moving metaphor density chart, ‘peaks’ of metaphors indicate where metaphor density is greatest, and where metaphors have clustered. I explore these metaphor clusters with regards to which component they appear in below.

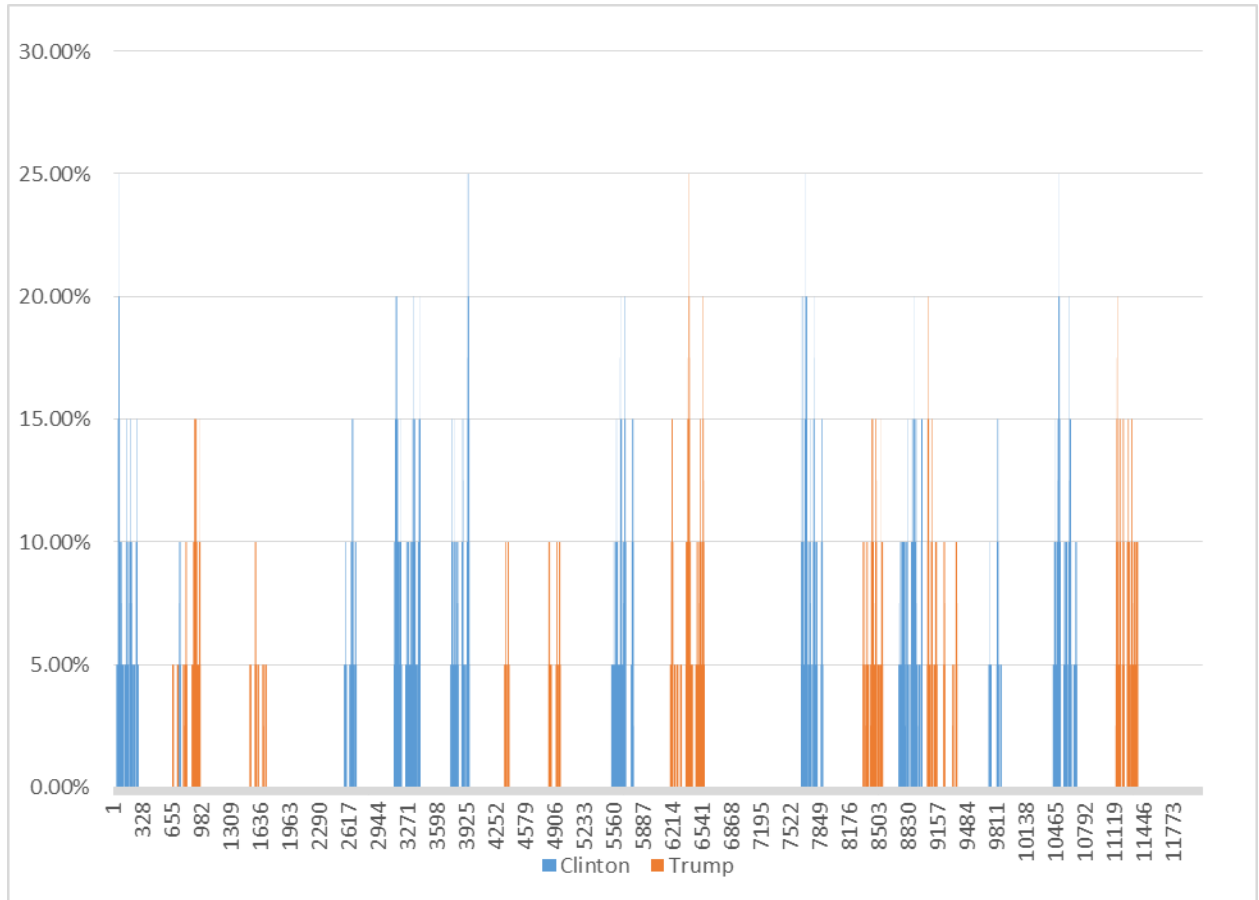


Figure 13- Moving Metaphor Density Chart for the Whole Debate with Only the Data Representing Component 1 Present.

Component 1 occurs a total of 18 times throughout the debate and occurs nine times for each candidate. These occurrences are directly after questions which are asked by either the moderators or audience members. For example, one of the occurrences for Clinton is set up through cooperation between the moderators and an audience member:

“COOPER: Ken Karpowicz has a question.

TRUMP: It’s nice to — one on three.

QUESTION: Thank you. Affordable Care Act, known as Obamacare, it is not affordable. Premiums have gone up. Deductibles have gone up. Copays have gone

up. Prescriptions have gone up. And the coverage has gone down. What will you do to bring the cost down and make coverage better?

COOPER: That first one goes to Secretary Clinton...”

Similarly, Raddatz set up a question for Trump:

“RADDATZ: And why did it morph into that? No, did you — no, answer the question. Do you still believe [...] Would you please explain whether or not the Muslim ban still stands?”

The Moving Metaphor Density Chart suggests that when Trump initially responds, he does not use many metaphor clusters. However, each time the component occurs, the metaphor clusters progressively increase within the component. These metaphor clusters are highlighted particularly well in his sixth occurrence of responding to a question first. In Figure 14, I have replicated Figure 13 but have included a circle of the section to indicate the metaphor density on this particular response cycle. In this sixth occurrence of component 1, Trump’s metaphorical density starts at approximately 5%, before it gradually rises to a metaphoric density of 25%. Other occurrences of this component appear to follow similar trends, whereby the metaphoric density starts low before quickly growing. This growth in density could suggest that Trump begins to use metaphors as the component progresses, but does not commence the response to questions from the audience and moderators with metaphors.

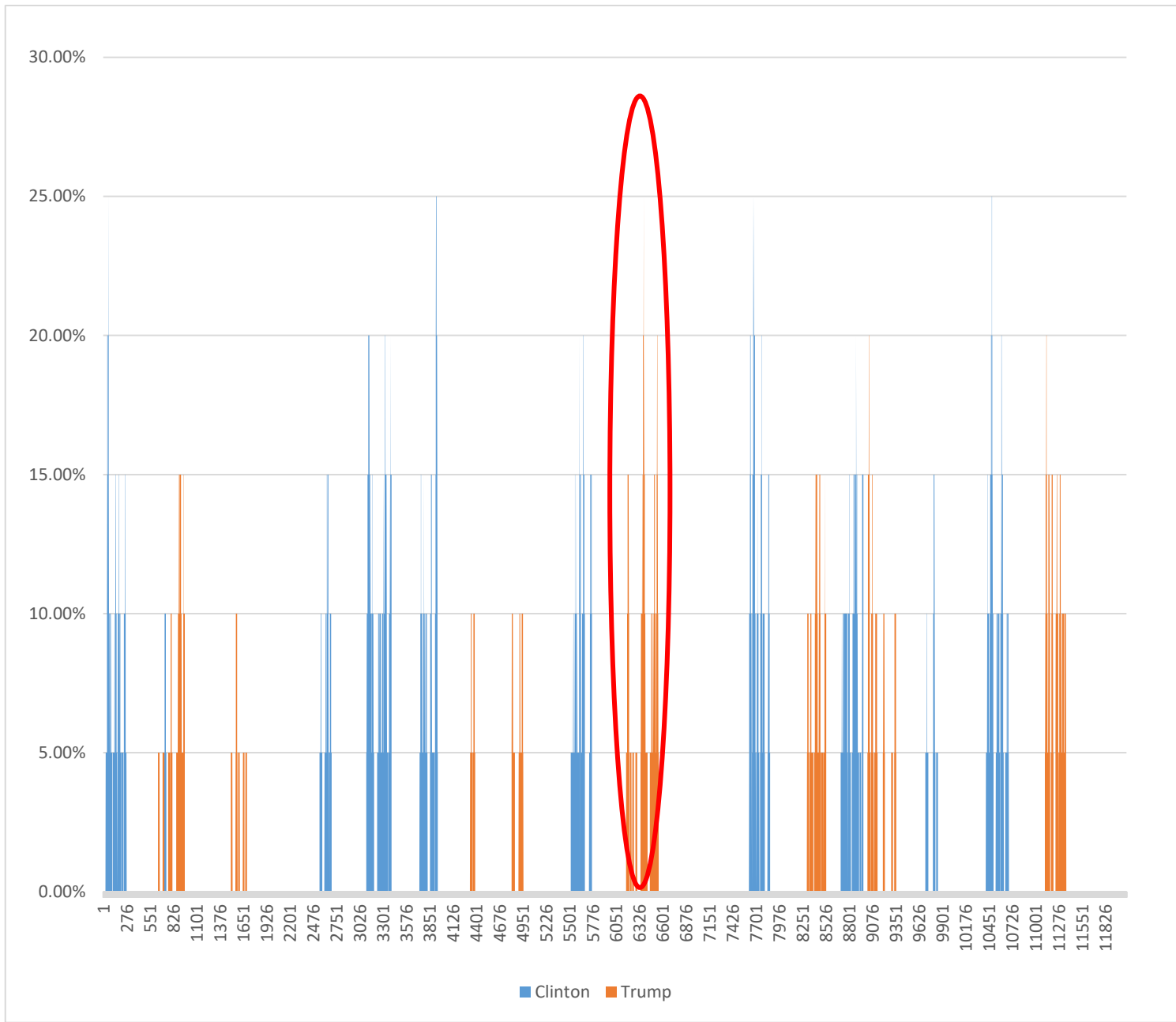


Figure 14: Moving Metaphor Density Chart for the Whole Debate with Only the Data Representing Component 1 Shown and With One With Relevant Excerpt for Trump Highlighted.

Clinton appears to follow a relatively similar trend. Similar to Trump's metaphoric density, I highlight one example which is illustrative of this trend (see Figure 15). Her metaphoric density appears to rise as she progresses through this individual response. It could be suggested that both candidates do not open any of their responses to the moderators nor candidates with metaphoric language.

Within this occurrence, it is also interesting to see how Clinton's metaphoric density drops to 0 before very rapidly picking up to 10% and then ending the section at 20-25%. (see section 1464-1620). This occurs in the following extract:

“Clinton: you may not be able to have insurance because you can't afford it. So let's fix what's broken about it, but let's not throw it away and give it all back to the insurance companies and the drug companies. That's not going to work.”

In this segment, Clinton is discussing the Affordable Care Act and specific healthcare policies she has been working on with the current government. This metaphoric density could also be used to try and reaffirm the complex nature of the policies which Clinton worked. One reason why she may be using these metaphors in an attempt to explain the justification for these policies. (also see also Figure15).

Another potential explanation for the occurrence of so many metaphor clusters in this component is that the candidates may have had time to pre-plan some responses, and may be using some pre-scripted language. However, this is only speculative and would need to be tested in future research where the pre-planned nature of the utterances was known.

Thus far it appears that both Clinton and Trump use relatively similar patterns of metaphor clustering in component 1. However, the metaphors used within these clusters are different and are used to enact different functions.

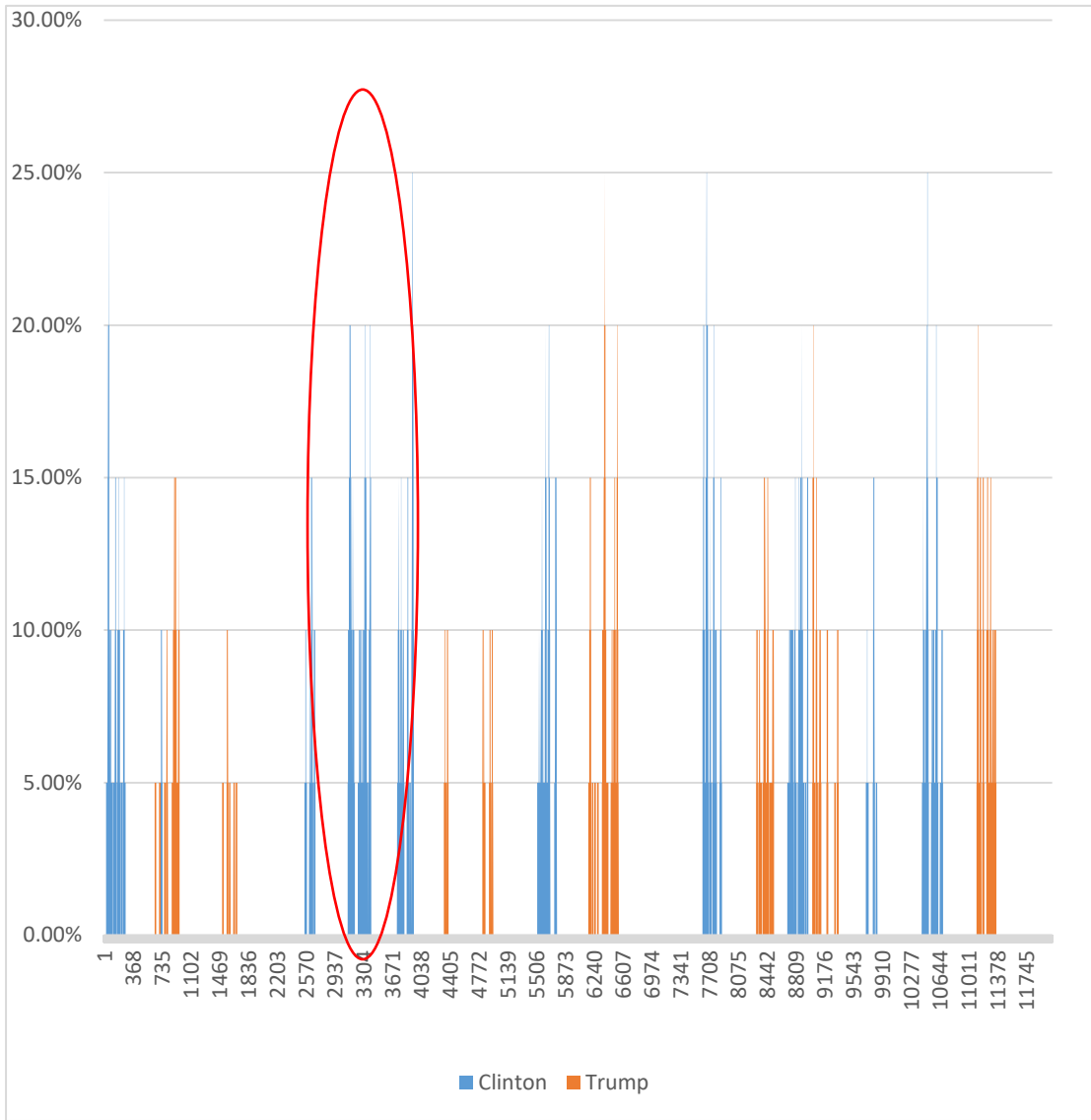


Figure 15: Moving Metaphor Density Chart for the Whole Debate with Only the Data Representing Component 1 Present and With One With Relevant Excerpt for Clinton Highlighted.

5.4.2 Component 2

Figure 16 is the Moving Metaphor Density Chart for only the occurrences of component 2 within the response cycles. In component 2 (when the candidate responds second), I would expect the metaphors density to be relatively high for both candidates, as they would have the time it takes their opponent to complete component 1 to formulate their cohesive response.

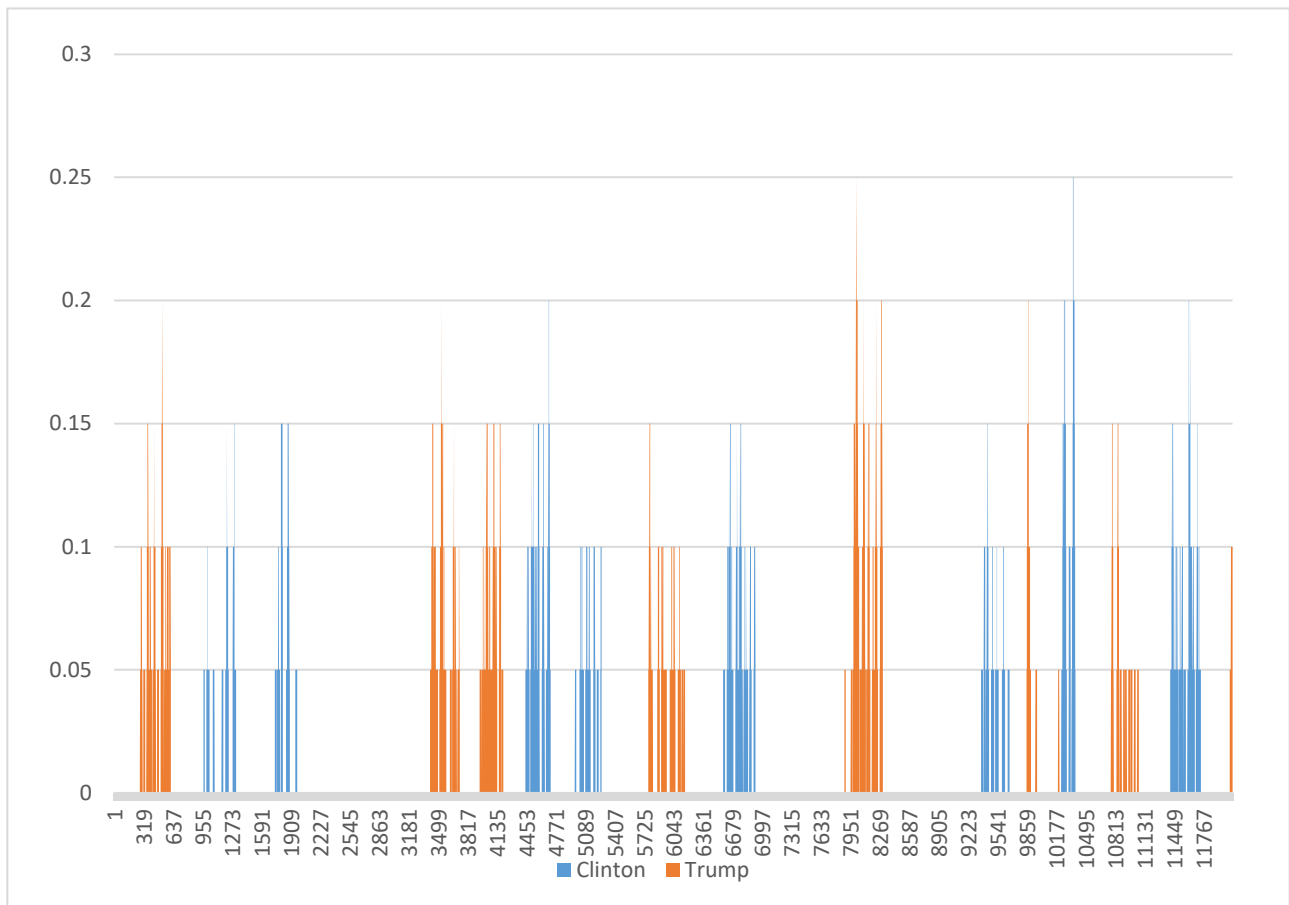


Figure 16: Moving Metaphor Density Chart for the Whole Debate with Only the Data Representing Component 2 Present.

The Moving Metaphor Density Chart for component 2 reveals that the majority of metaphor clustering happens in the last quarter of the debate. In the last quarter of the debate, both Clinton and Trump's metaphor density reaches approximately 25%. However, what they are discussing at these points is different. Clinton's metaphoric density increases to this percentage when she is responding to a question regarding Trump's discipline to be a good leader. At the points where the metaphoric frequency is densest, Clinton is discussing the struggles faced by the Obama administration, the work she did with that administration, and how she plans to develop on that work. For example in:

“So I have a comprehensive energy policy, but it really does include fighting climate change, because I think that is a serious problem. And I support moving toward, more clean, renewable energy as quickly as we can, because I think we can be the 21st century clean energy superpower and create millions of new jobs and businesses”

In this example, Clinton is discussing the problems faced by the Obama administration with regards to how they approached environmental issues, and the struggles they faced in overcoming these issues. In this extract, Clinton is explaining how she will develop on the work she did with Obama with regards to climate change.

By comparison, Trump's metaphoric density increases the most when he is discussing nuclear weaponry in Russia. At this point, Trump is also attacking the Obama administration over their nuclear program. While attacking both the Obama administration and Clinton, Trump uses unusual metaphors and metonymies. For example:

“she talks tough against Russia. But our nuclear program has fallen way behind, and they've gone wild with their nuclear program. Not good. Our government shouldn't have allowed that to happen. Russia is new in terms of nuclear. We are old. We're tired. We're exhausted in terms of nuclear. A very bad thing. Now, she talks tough, she talks really tough against Putin”

In this extract, Trump suggests that Clinton's personality is a PHYSICAL OBJECT, through the use of “tough”. An interesting aspect of this metaphor is that “tough” is used positively here, which contradicts his earlier judgments of Clinton.

Within the above extract, Trump personifies and evaluates both America and Russia through metaphor. This personification draws on YOUNG IS GOOD/OLD IS BAD metaphors. In this extract, America is seen as negative because it is “old”, while Russia is considered to be positive because it is “young”. This notion that old people are perceived as negative while young as positive is supported by corpus investigations (for example, Moon, 2014). Hence, Trump draws on bias about age and applies it to personified countries within a political context. According to Trump, the only way America can become ‘young’, and thus viewed as positive again, is through his leadership.

In the same example, Trump uses the GENERAL FOR SPECIFIC metonymy “Russia” in relation to Clinton, to evaluate her ideologies. Trump refers to specific members of the Russian government, such as Vladimir Putin, in “she talks tough against Russia”. He appears to use this metonymy to position Clinton in opposition to all of Russia, rather than just the specific members of the Russian government. This GENERAL FOR SPECIFIC metonymy appears to be Trump suggesting that Clinton opposes the ideologies of a vast majority, as opposed to those of a select few. Hence, Trump suggests that his competition is less competent for the role of presidency than he is, through this use of metonymy. In the example given above, both candidates use component 2 to compare their ideologies to the ideologies of the current Russian government. By doing this in a response to a candidate’s answer, both Clinton and Trump may be threatening what face the other candidate has built up in component 1.

The function of component 2, to allow the candidates to respond to each other, could have influenced the metaphors and why they cluster. At these points in the debate, the candidates may choose to use more metaphors in order to challenge the mental model of the problem which their opponent has conceptualized (see Van Dijk, 2004). However, they may also be using more metaphors in order to explain where their standpoint on the issue differs.

In addition, like component 1, one reason why these clusters may have appeared could be due to the length of response. Compared to both components 3 and 4, components 1 and 2 have considerably more words. This means that there are more lexical units in which the metaphors may cluster together.

5.4.3 Component 3

By contrast to component 1 and 2, the Moving Metaphor Density Chart for component 3 (when a candidate responds to their opponent's counter response) shown in Figure 17, looks somewhat different. One would expect that the density of metaphors would be quite high from the onset, as similar to the expectations of component 2, the candidates would have time to formulate their counter-response. However, this does not appear to be the case.

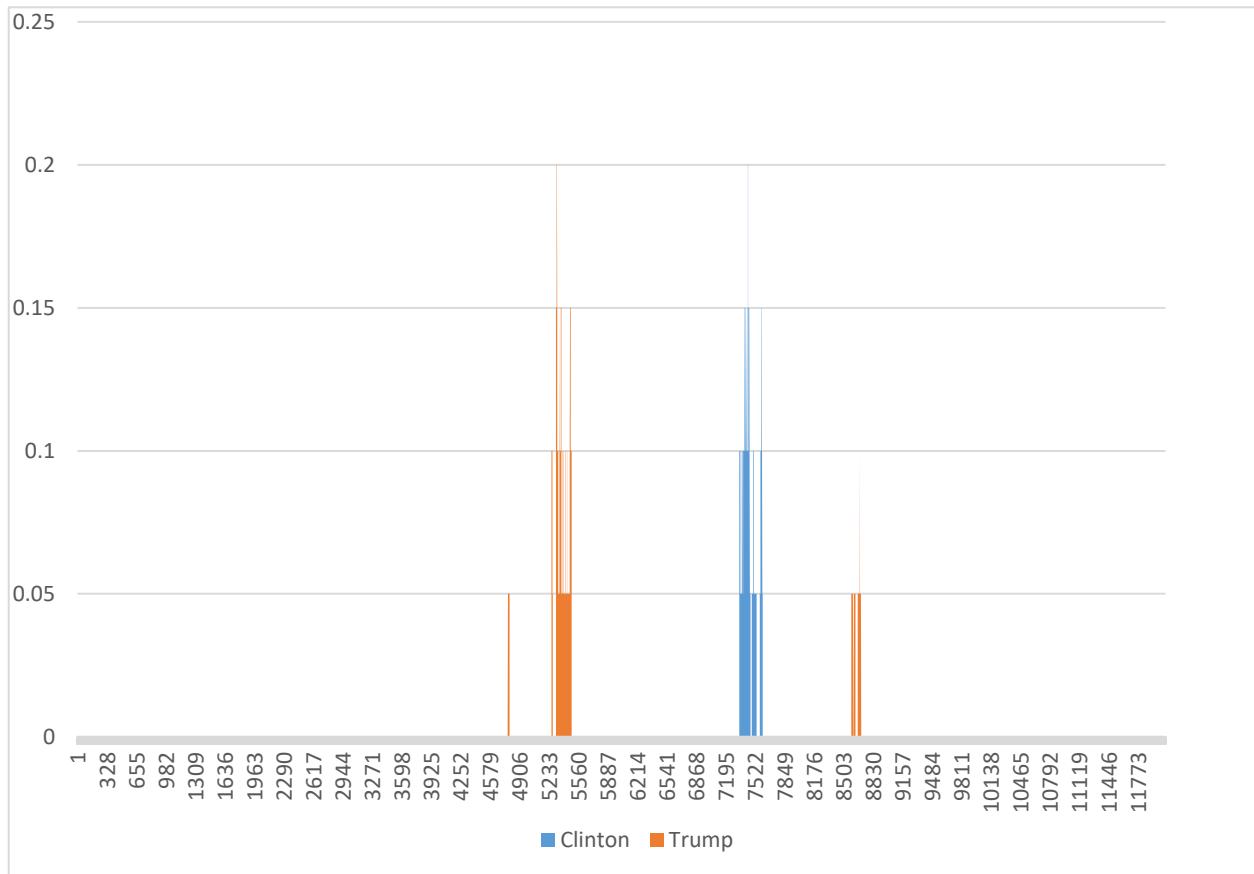


Figure 17: Moving Metaphor Density Chart for the Whole Debate with Only the Data Representing Component 3 Present.

As shown in Figure 17, it appears as though neither candidates use many metaphors in their rebuttal against their opponent's counter response. This is interesting, considering the persuasive power of metaphor. This could suggest that the rebuttals are less planned and less scripted than the responses or counter responses.

The low occurrence of metaphors in this component shows how important the analysis of the metaphors in their generic context might be. It appears as though this component of the discourse does affect metaphor, for neither candidate uses that many metaphors within this component of the response cycle. Further exploration of metaphor use, when politicians are faced with a predictable question compared to when they are faced with a less predictable response in datasets larger than the one considered here, might open up fruitful future lines of inquiry.

5.4.4 Component 4

Compared to components 1, 2, and 3, the metaphoric density in component 4 (when a candidate interrupts their opponent) is different once again. It would be expected that metaphoric density would be relatively low within this component, as many interruptions are shorter than other components (for mean word length, see Figure 10).

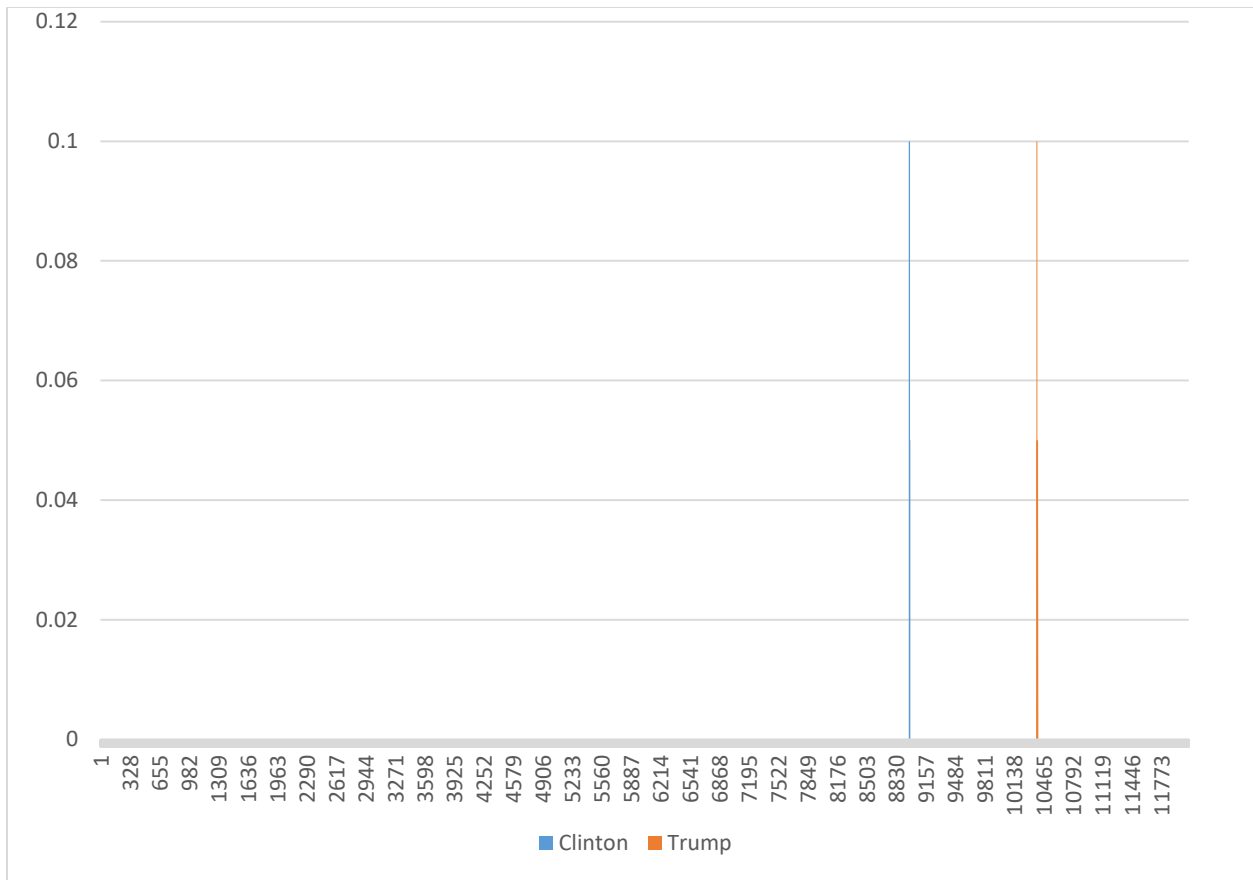


Figure 18: Moving Metaphor Density Chart for the Whole Debate with Only the Data Representing Component 4 Present.

As Figure 18 shows, there are two striking differences between the 4th component and the other components. One difference is how few metaphors are used in component 4. The other is the difference in frequency of occurrence between Clinton and Trump.

Typically, the interruptions from both Clinton and Trump are only a few lexical units long, which may explain why there are so few metaphors used within this component. These interruptions are really interesting, considering what is seen as ‘polite’ in debate-style discourse.

Component 4 is possibly the most salient aspect of Trump’s language within the debate. Throughout the debate, Trump interrupts both Clinton and the moderators 24 times. However, Trump typically uses either no or very few metaphors within these interruptions. On the rare

occasions that metaphors are used in an interruption, the most common include the following extract:

“... so that we will be able to take care of people without the necessary funds to take care of themselves.”

These highly conventional metaphors could have added to the total number of metaphors Trump uses and are rather uninteresting in terms of their persuasive power. However, the content of the interruptions and their function, as opposed to metaphors used within them, are interesting. While the metaphor research has revealed an interesting aspect of Clinton and Trump’s language in the debate, it is not the metaphors which are the most thought-provoking aspect of this component. Typically, these interruptions are used in an attempt to attack Clinton’s persona and pass negative judgment on her, for example:

“RADDATZ: But what would you do differently than President Obama is doing?

CLINTON: Well, Martha, I hope that by the time I — if I’m fortunate...

TRUMP: Everything.”

Quite often, this component occurs in tandem with comments from the moderators and Trump uses them in an attempt to reduce the face of the other parties in the debate. This attack on the other party’s face through the use of interruptions could potentially be reflective of Trump’s persona as someone who does not follow the assumed discourse conventions of a political debate and as someone who separates themselves from traditional political discourse communities and conventions.

By contrast, Clinton very rarely interrupts Trump or the moderators, but when she does, she elaborates on her points in greater depth. While Trump appears to interrupt more frequently, when Clinton does interrupt, despite a similar average word count, she uses the same amount of metaphors within the occurrences of this component. I demonstrate this in the following extract:

“The question was about the Supreme Court. And I just want to quickly say, I respect the Second Amendment. But I believe there should be comprehensive background checks,

and we should close the gun show loophole, and close the online loophole. [...] We have to save as many lives as we possibly can.

The difference in function between Clinton and Trump's interruptions appears to be that she uses them to correct information and try to prevent the spread of misinformation. She also seems to use them to restore what face Trump may have threatened. Thus, one of the differences in the way Clinton and Trump use interruptions (component 4) is the function the interruptions enact. Trump appears to use interruptions to threaten face, while Clinton seems to use them to save face.

What is particularly interesting within the above extract is Clinton's use of emotive metaphor when she states "save as many lives". In this section, Clinton uses metaphor to suggest that there is an epidemic and that the cure is to have tighter gun control. Clinton is able to use this metaphor within the interruption to put forward her ideologies on gun control, while simultaneously preventing Trump from further threatening her face. As part of the debate genre, Clinton appears to use as what little time this interruption affords her wisely, and convey ideological points succinctly.

5.5 Conclusions from Staging

In the analysis of metaphors and genre, the debate was divided into 3 distinct stages: the opening, a set of response cycles, and the ending. Within the response cycles, there are five distinct components. Of these components, four were analysed, as the component 0 only involved the moderators. I also suggested that one of the most interesting findings from the Diegnan et al. (2013) applications of the framework to authentic linguistic data was how different stages, and by extension components, could encourage different metaphor clusters. The analysis of these four components was focused on how they affected metaphor clustering.

In component one (when candidates would respond to the question first), both Clinton and Trump had similar patterns of metaphor clusters. The findings suggested that the metaphor frequency started low within each component 1 of the response cycle and then slowly rose throughout each candidate's response. The data showed that neither candidate opened their

response to a direct question with a high density of metaphors. However, it appeared as though these clusters occur for different reasons, such as length of response and function of component.

With regards to the metaphor clustering in component 2 (when a candidate gave a counter-response to their opponent's argument), the majority of metaphor clustering happened in the last quarter of the debate. One of the nuanced differences for why these clusters appeared was because of what was the topic of discussion at these points is different. Within the data, Trump used more metaphors to attack Clinton's face, while Clinton typically used it to restore and save her face. It appeared as though the function of component 2 was to provide a different point of view and challenge the mental models which the opponent had, in order to persuade the audience that the candidates have a desirable ideology. However, a more nuanced analysis, which includes the field aspect of register, would be able to confirm this.

In component 3 (when a candidate would give a counter response to their opponent's counter response), the data suggests that Trump begins the debate by providing more rebuttals to Clinton's component 2 responses. The metaphors in this section were infrequent, which may have been because both candidates would have had less time to pre-script or pre-plan responses. One interesting finding was that many of these counter responses were interwoven with many interruptions (component 4).

Finally, both Clinton and Trump used interruptions, although Trump used them considerably more. Typically, there were not that many metaphors used within these interruptions. However, Clinton's metaphor clusters within these interruptions were about the same. The function of these interruptions were different, in that Clinton interrupted Trump to prevent the spreading of misinformation, while Trump used them to threaten Clinton and the moderator's face.

5.6 Conclusions from Genre

In sum, this chapter has looked at the three aspects of genre and how they affect the metaphors and metonymies used by Clinton and Trump in the second presidential debate. These components were: the discourse community, the function, and the staging, all of which were analysed individually.

Within the discourse community, it appears as though on the surface, the candidates can be categorized as members of a broad discourse community of politicians. However, due to the nature of the data, a single debate, neither Clinton nor Trump can be categorized as part of a neither single nor shared discourse community as they did not demonstrate Swale's characteristics for a discourse community. However, it appears as though membership of different discourse communities outside this debate affected the candidates' identity, their knowledge of the world, and by extension their figurative language use. I demonstrated that Clinton and Trump used metaphors and metonymies to show membership of these communities.

With regards to the function, political debates as a genre have three functions: to acclaim, to attack, and to defend. The metaphors in general appeared to have different functions, but within this debate the functions of metaphor enabled the candidates to enact the functions of the political debate genre. The functions of metaphor and metonymy were: to evaluate, label new concepts, allow the speaker to be deliberately vague, provide a framework for ideas, and to make language entertaining and memorable. Many of these functions appeared to overlap, but I chose to restrict the analysis to one function. While Trump and Clinton used metaphor and metonymy to enact these functions, the effect of these functions were often subtly different between each other. Each function of metaphor helped Clinton and Trump achieve the broader macro-level functions of the political debate genre.

Finally, I broadly divided the debate into three different stages. Within these three stages, I chose to examine the second stage, as it was the one which contained the most data. This stage was compiled of multiple cyclical patterns of response, of which there were five different components, which I termed components. These components were when: a candidate responds to a question first; a candidate responds to a question after their opponent; a candidate offers a counter response to their opponent's comments (which is a separate occurrence to component 2); a candidate interrupts either the other candidate or the moderators; and a candidate (Clinton) answers a question directed at their opponent (Trump) first. I took the notion of metaphor clustering, when metaphor density becomes greater within a stretch of discourse, and examined how these stages affected Clinton and Trump's metaphor clustering. There were many similarities, but many of the differences occurred due to the topic of discussion or the function the metaphor was enacting within the context of a political debate. I have discussed how this

relates to political debates as a genre and what metaphor is expected to do within each component of the response cycle.

However, while I have explored the metaphors and metonymies used by Clinton and Trump within their generic context, an analysis of the effect of register is still needed to complete the framework and garner a fuller understanding of what affects metaphor use in this debate.

Chapter 6: Register

While I have analysed the effect of genre on the figurative language used by the candidates in the debate, questions remain about how the aspects of the register of the debate have affected the metaphors and metonymies used throughout. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the primary argument of this thesis is that the elements of both genre and register shape figurative language use. In this chapter, I attempt to highlight how the aspects of register (as noted in Chapter 2) influence the metaphors and metonymies Clinton and Trump use in the debate.

I argue that the field does not completely restrict the kinds of metaphors the candidates can use, but rather may heavily influence it. I run a Wmatrix comparison to explore the types of semantic fields Clinton and Trump draw upon and suggest why some fields may be drawn on more frequently than others. I then take two of the most interesting topics and explore these in greater depth.

With regards to Tenor, I argue that the audience design (as discussed in Chapter 5) must also be taken in to account. I take aspects of Bell's (2001) framework, and suggest that the participants are: Clinton, Trump, and the physical audience, and the audience watching at home. I specifically look at how the status and power of the candidates affect their language, how the imagined audience has some power, and how Clinton and Trump try to gain this power.

Finally, I argue that Clinton and Trump demonstrate different features associated with spontaneous speech, and thus it appears as though they have different levels of preparation for the debate. I explore this through the use of spontaneous language features while paying attention to the metaphors used within these features, such as metaphors used in false starts.

6.1 Field

In order to gain more understanding about what semantic fields each candidate drew upon the debate, I ran two Wmatrix comparisons between the language used within this debate and the language the candidates employed in speeches and interviews outside the debate. I found that Clinton discussed three topics significantly more in this debate, compared to outside the debate.

These three fields all relate to government processes. These were ‘politics’ (p. <0.05), ‘government’ (p. <0.05), and ‘general actions / making’ (p. <0.05) (all of these were categories determined by Wmatrix). I have included ‘general actions / making’ as it relates to the actions of government, as opposed to an individual’s actions. As would be expected in the run up to a presidential election and in this presidential debate, Clinton draws on language associated with politics and government procedures more frequently than in her other speeches outside of the presidential debate. I would argue that this is specifically due to the expected content of a political debate.

In comparison to the semantic fields upon which Clinton draws, I found that Trump used significantly more of the following semantic fields than in his other speeches: ‘Green issues’, ‘general appearance’, ‘unnoticeable’, ‘investigations and examinations’ (p < 0.05); ‘health and diseases’, ‘shapes’, ‘time’, ‘the media’ (p<0.01); and ‘areas around houses’, ‘hiding’, ‘groups of people’, ‘comparisons’, ‘paper documents’, and ‘furniture’ (p<0.001) (all of these were categories determined by Wmatrix). Some of these semantic fields, such as health and disease, relate directly to the key questions raised by the audience, as demonstrated in Figure 18. This suggests that in his speeches outside of this debate, Trump does not discuss the same fields as those in the debate. Hence, this large list of semantic fields which Trump uses more in this debate than in his speeches outside of this debate suggests that in his speeches outside of this debate, he does not talk about the policies that the audience are specifically interested in

However, on a more nuanced level, in this debate, there are multiple topics, which are each aimed either directly at a candidate or towards both candidates. Regardless of who the initial question is directed towards, both candidates have the opportunity to respond to the topic. The issues which are discussed in the debate are relatively easy to identify, as the moderators typically sign post them with their questions. I highlight these fields within Figure 18.

Topic:	Example of Questions Asked:
Modeling appropriate behaviour	do you feel you’re modelling appropriate and positive behaviour for today’s youth?
Allegations of Trump sexually assaulting a woman	When you walked off that bus at age 59, were you a different man or did that behavior continue until just recently? (The question directed

	to Clinton on this topic is: “Secretary Clinton, you have two minutes [to respond to Trump]”).)
Clinton’s mishandling of emails	The FBI said that there were 110 classified e-mails that were exchanged, eight of which were top secret, and that it was possible hostile actors did gain access to those e-mails. You don’t call that extremely careless?
Healthcare	What will you do to bring the cost [of the Affordable Care Act] down and make coverage better?
Islamophobia	how will you help people like me deal with the consequences of being labelled as a threat to the country after the election is over?
WikiLeak’s release of Clinton’s paid speeches	is it OK for politicians to be two-faced? Is it acceptable for a politician to have a private stance on issues?
Taxes	what specific tax provisions will you change to ensure the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share in taxes?
Trump’s tax evasion	Did you use that \$916 million loss to avoid paying personal federal income taxes for years? (The question directed to Clinton here is: “Secretary — I want you to be able to respond, Secretary Clinton.”)
The war in Syria	If you were president, what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo?
The role of a president	Do you believe you can be a devoted president to all the people in the United States?
The Supreme Court Justice	What would you prioritize as the most important aspect of selecting a Supreme Court justice?
Renewable energy and climate change	What steps will your energy policy take to meet our energy needs, while at the same time remaining environmentally friendly and minimizing job loss for fossil power plant workers?
Figure 18: A List of Topics Discussed in the Data and Examples of Questions that prompt These Topics.	

6.1.1 The Use of Metaphor and Metonymy Across Fields

Within the debate, there are multiple fields, but the fields do not appear to completely restrict the metaphors Clinton or Trump use to one single topic. In other words, there is no one topic which exclusively uses one particular type of metaphor or metonymy. However, there are

some topics which encourage the candidates to use specific source domains. For example, when discussing the war in Syria, Clinton frequently draws upon CONFLICT metaphors, COUNTRY IS A PERSON metaphors, and GENERAL FOR SPECIFIC metonymies, as highlighted by the following excerpt:

“The Russians in the air, bombarding places, in particular Aleppo, where there are hundreds of thousands of people, probably about 250,000 still left. And there is a determined effort by the Russian air force to destroy Aleppo in order to eliminate the last of the Syrian rebels”

In this extract, Clinton uses multiple figurative devices, but one of the most noticeable is how she personifies both Russia and Aleppo. Clinton conceptualises Russia as an aggressor, who is attacking a defenceless Aleppo. To some degree, this could be Clinton evaluating the motives of Russia, through encouraging people to view Russia as a tormentor.

The metaphors and metonymies could potentially be reflections of Clinton’s underlying ideology towards the war in Syria. For example, she uses metaphors which personify Russia, such as “Russian aggression”. In this example, the metaphor is relatively conventional and demonstrates some similarities to how Tony Blair used conventional metaphors to evaluate crimes within Britain (see Deignan and Semino, 2010; Deignan et al., 2013: 83). The field has clearly influenced Clinton’s use of metaphor, as these metaphors about Russia only appear in two instances: the first is in relation to the war in Syria, while the second is in relation to possible threats to the United States. In other words, to some degree, the field dictates what figurative language is appropriate.

While Clinton personifies Russia, she also uses metonymy when discussing “Russians”, “Russian air force” and “Syrian rebels”. In this extract, Clinton uses two GENERAL FOR SPECIFIC metonymies and one SPECIFIC FOR GENERAL metonymy. ““Russians” are referred to in general when Clinton is specifically referring to the Russian armed forces and administrative teams who have approved attacks on Aleppo. Hence, the racial characteristic of the Russian military becomes the most salient part of the ICM and is used to refer to these people through metonymy. Similarly, there are multiple types of “Syrian rebel”, as some rebels may be politically active in different countries, some may be fighting, and others may be in various locations. Rebellion is a much more complicated process than a collection of people physically fighting. Therefore, Clinton uses part of an ICM to describe a particular type of Syrian rebel, and to rely on racial

ICMs to refer to specific groups of people in Syria. On the other hand, “Russian air force” is used specifically to metonymically refer to a range of Russian military services, such as army, navy, and indeed, air force.

By contrast to Clinton, Trump uses multiple PART FOR WHOLE metonymies in order to refer back to his campaign. Quite often, this metonymic link would not necessarily be associated with the initial sign posted topic of debate. For example, when Trump states:

“We’re going to make America safe again. We’re going to make America great again [...] but we have to build up the wealth of our nation.”

In this section, the original question related to Allegations of Trump sexually assaulting a woman. However, Trump goes off topic and then changes the field to one about the war in Syria. This could suggest that the moderators do not bind the candidates to one field, and that the candidates can change the topic of discussion when they control the floor. However, the vast amount of variation within this field suggests that there is no one pre-determined type of metaphor and metonymy that the candidates must use.

6.1.2 The Topic of Sexual Assault

Having covered how metaphors and metonymies can cut across fields, I now take two examples of fields which encourage different and interesting uses of metaphor and metonymy: namely the field of sexual assault and the field of Islamophobia. I have selected these topics because they are both highly controversial. Both topics relate to allegations of prejudice, which in the most serious cases could be illegal. Within these allegations of prejudice, both are allegations against Trump. I would argue that this would create interesting uses of figurative language from all parties: Clinton, and the moderators, in an attempt to challenge Trump’s reputation, and Trump in an attempt to preserve his reputation.

When initiating the topic, Cooper’s lack of metaphor use is interesting because of how dysphemistic it is:

“COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump. The question from Patrice was about are you both modelling positive and appropriate behavior for today’s youth? We received a lot of questions online, Mr. Trump, about the tape that was released on Friday, as you can

imagine. You called what you said locker room banter. You described kissing women without consent, grabbing their genitals. That is sexual assault. You bragged that you have sexually assaulted women. Do you understand that?

In this extract, Cooper asserts that Trump's actions are sexual assault. He does not use euphemism to cover it, and in this case, overtly suggests that Trump has committed a crime. This lack of ambiguity highlights the gravity of the topic while simultaneously sign posts what the field will be.

When trying to preserve his reputation, Trump uses highly novel examples of metonymy: "TRUMP: No, I didn't say that at all. I don't think you understood what was — this was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I apologize to my family. I apologize to the American people. Certainly I'm not proud of it. But this is locker room talk."

In this metonymy, Trump creates a mental space, which is a prototypical locker room filled with himself and other men who have just exercised (Fauconnier, 1994; Fauconnier and Sweetser, 1996; Evans and Green, 2014). This mental space is 'back stage', where discussion amongst friends should remain private and is used in an attempt mitigate how bad the things he has said are viewed by the audience (see Goffman, 1971; Coates, 1999;). By creating an ICM for locker rooms which incorporates discussion of sexual assault, Trump tries to normalise derogative talk about women's bodies. Thus, Trump is able to use metonymy in a way which normalises sexual assault and downplays the severity of the allegations.

Compared to Trump, Clinton's response does not normalise sexual assault. In her chance to answer questions about the allegations of Trump sexually assaulting a woman, she uses metonymy to be vague, in order to pass judgment. This is shown in the following extract:

"What we all saw and heard on Friday was Donald talking about women, what he thinks about women, what he does to women."

In this extract, "what we all saw and heard" appears to be a metonymic reference for Trump's confession of sexual assault. This appears to be Clinton passing judgment on the actions, in that she suggests they are too horrible to mention. When doing this, she positions Trump as performing a problematic form of masculinity which is detrimental to the advancement of

women's rights (for performing masculinity, see Connell, 1987. Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

6.1.3 The Topic of Islamophobia

The topic of Islamophobia clearly highlights the difference in ideologies between Clinton and Trump. Trump's use of metaphor and metonymy in discussion of Muslim groups typically portrays them as negative. For example, when talking about housing Muslim refugees, Trump uses a COUNTRY IS A CONTAINER metaphor:

“People are pouring into our country, and they're coming in from the Middle East and other places.”

In this example, Trump conceptualises the country as a container, while immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers are conceptualised as a threat which is entering the container. This construction of outsiders being a threat to the contents of the container could be seen as creating an “Us. Vs. Them” divide (similar to those discussed by Van Dijk, 1998; Sandikcioglu, 2003; Meadows, 2006).

Trump's use of “People are pouring into our country” appears to sustain racist ideologies when cross-referenced with corpus data. A COCA search revealed that “pouring” collocates one space to the left of “in” 2207 times, whereas “come” collocates one space to the left of “in” 30304 times. Within the sample taken from the COCA data, “pouring in” was used both metaphorically and positively 18 times in a sample of 50 extracts (see Figure 19), whereas it was used negatively 15 times within a sample of 50 extracts. The other examples were used either non-metaphorically or did not occur with negative / positive lexemes. Within the corpus data, when ‘pouring in’ was used about people, it was typically used negatively. This could suggest that when people use “pour in”, they conceptualise immigrants as a dangerous liquid entering a container. This finding also resonates with previous scholarly research into immigration discourse (for example see Hart, 2010: 152-156; Baker et al., 2013; Musolff, 2015: 45)

This metaphor appears to occur when the metaphor “pouring into” is used about Syrian refugees who are perceived to be a danger to America. When people such as Trump coupled this metaphor with the metonymy “Middle East”, it could cultivate an environment and ideology of

racism and Islamophobia. Trump uses a GENERAL FOR SPECIFIC metonymy when he refers to the “Middle East”. This metonymy positions all people from the Middle East as dangerous, as opposed to those with specific ideologies from specific places. Part of Trump’s ICM for the Middle East is that there are multiple people who identify as Muslim. Similarly, part of Trump’s ICM for Daesh is that they are Muslim. Trump links the two ICMs and suggests that those who are Muslim and from the Middle East are as dangerous as Daesh. Thus, Trump labels the concepts of immigration and hosting new refugees as dangerous to his “in” group, through metonymically relating their religion to Daesh. This finding also resonates with previous research in to the use of the word “Muslim” in the British press and the negative semantics attached to words which collocate with it (see Baker et al., 2013).

1	2015	SPOK	NBC	A	B	C	Come here. Come here. Come here. BILLY-BUSH# All the good things are pouring in online right now. HODA-KOTB# Anyway. You can't really see it that
2	2015	SPOK	CNN	A	B	C	CAMEROTA: All right, from the sports world to the White House, tributes pouring in for ESPN anchor Stuart Scott who lost his long time battle with cancer at
3	2015	SPOK	Fox	A	B	C	trash bag along the shore of Boston Harbor. And at this hour tips are pouring in. Police still have no idea who the mystery girl is, or how
4	2015	SPOK	Fox	A	B	C	people but a smaller country. And we have a lot of people that just pour in that nobody even knows where they come from. So the answer is you
5	2015	SPOK	Fox	A	B	C	bring manufacturing back. You look at Japan with the boats that come in, pouring in with cars. You know what we send Japan? We send them beef
7	2015	SPOK	ABC (1)	A	B	C	the worst was still to come. SUZY-FAVOR-HAMILTO# There was so much hate mail pouring in. The first day, Mark got 600 emails and... ELIZABETH-VARGAS# (Off-
8	2015	SPOK	ABC	A	B	C	, no anything, from Syria on the migration. People are going to come pouring in. And the number he wants is much higher than 10,000. I've
9	2015	SPOK	ABC	A	B	C	that enough. that people are afraid because they think they're just going to pour in, and it's not going to be like that. SARA-HAINES# But the
10	2015	SPOK	Fox	A	B	C	in Syria. We have to keep in mind that ISIS grew as the insurgency poured in to Syria. And all these nations that were involved in backing ISIS had
11	2015	FIC	Bk:OnlyWordsThatAre	A	B	C	he said trying to be good was like standing in heavy surf. The waves pour in and chew the sand around your feet till you're balanced on two hard
12	2015	FIC	Bk:AdventuresLady	A	B	C	in Bombay, Amity was being heralded as the belle of expat society. Invitations poured in, and the family found themselves in even greater demand than that to v
13	2015	FIC	AfricanAmerRev	A	B	C	. Ma took the pack and placed a tea bag in each cup. I poured in the hot water. Didn't splU a drop. " Very nice.
14	2015	FIC	WorldLitToday	A	B	C	The funereal sounds wound down as if they were entering a muffled tunnel only to pour in again, monotonous and entangled with the fatigued bowling that iss
15	2015	FIC	FantasySciFi	A	B	C	You opened a breach into this world and the rabble, the carnival acts have poured in. " " They have no place else to live. " " They
16	2015	FIC	FantasySciFi	A	B	C	. For ages now it had been asleep, its crater filled with seawater that poured in through openings where molten rock once had flowed out. It was called Ragnarol
17	2015	FIC	ParisRev	A	B	C	needs to open her legs as wide as they will go or the flesh, pouring in from every direction, will obstruct him. The single bed, however,
18	2015	FIC	Ploughshares	A	B	C	fingers on the steering wheel of the truck. He listens to the American radio pouring in from the station atop the hill. He hates Ke\$ha. He loves Katy
19	2015	FIC	Ploughshares	A	B	C	He grabs him by the shoulders and blows out the candle. The sodium lamps pour in through the window and light up half the tub orange. In the dark
20	2015	FIC	LiteraryRev	A	B	C	Almost immediately after the firm announced the capabilities of its new lubricant, the orders poured in -- not only from Turkish refiners, but from petrochemica
21	2015	FIC	LiteraryRev	A	B	C	to be the pit boy on silo days, stamping down the ensilage as it poured in? Sometimes I thought I couldn't keep up and I tried to run
22	2015	FIC	LiteraryRev	A	B	C	. He awoke on the couch with used tissues in his hands, the sun pouring in through the window. He was late for work. He reached for the
23	2015	FIC	Commentary	A	B	C	I had the same feeling. My body had been snapped in two and radiance poured in. The candle was extinguished, the lights went on, and the guy
24	2015	MAG	America	A	B	C	collected more than 100 guns from the brawling bikers. Amid reports of other bikers pouring in to Waco to take up the battle, the city was locked down.
25	2015	MAG	Esquire	A	B	C	. In Mississippi. " # She looked out the window, to the light pouring in. # " For real? " she asked. # Stephanie Amanda Lee died
26	2015	MAG	MensHealth	A	B	C	pepper to taste. Heat the olive oil in a medium saucepan on medium. Pour in the sauce and bring it to a boil on high, stirring often.
27	2015	MAG	MotherEarth	A	B	C	it would've been had I made the root cellar from cinder blocks or concrete poured in place, and this storage space has performed even better than I had expect
28	2015	MAG	MotherEarth	A	B	C	fans how they anticipate and avoid food waste in their homes. Hundreds of responses poured in, showing that food " scraps " have a solid standing in the kitche
29	2015	MAG	MotherJones	A	B	C	arson investigators determined that a liquid accelerant such as kerosene or lighter fluid had been poured in Tony's bedroom and the living room. Police arreste
30	2015	MAG	NatGeog	A	B	C	Observatory had to figure out what to name the new planet. Hundreds of letters poured in. " Minerva " was an early front-runner. Lowell's widow, Constance
31	2015	MAG	NatlReview	A	B	C	ran to the door, opened it, and then chaos. " People came pouring in. For a second I thought it was a home invasion. It was
32	2015	MAG	NatlReview	A	B	C	. " # It was indeed a home invasion, but the people who were pouring in were Wisconsin law-enforcement officers. Armed, uniformed police swarmed into the h
33	2015	MAG	Newsweek	A	B	C	. Nurses around the country were in similar positions. " We hear about money pouring in, but it is not getting to us, " Kabba said. "
34	2015	MAG	People	A	B	C	glamorous worldwide debut on the cover of July's Vanity Fair, thousands of well-wishes poured in from around the globeincluding some from stepdaughter Kim
35	2015	MAG	PopMech	A	B	C	of code that will deliver live updates to the NYT Now app as election results pour in tonight. Cowley plugs it in to the app's content management system,
36	2015	MAG	Prevention	A	B	C	, " What should I order? " Advice and go, girl! s poured in, and Kempf went on to enjoy every bite of her quinoa burger,
37	2015	MAG	SatEvenPost	A	B	C	top of mixture. # Mix flour and salt in food processor to blend. Pour in yeast mixture and oil, and blend until dough forms, about 10 seconds
38	2015	MAG	Smithsonian	A	B	C	bits of incubated bone have been encouraging, and plenty of venture capital has already poured in. " I think the science is ready, and just as important,
39	2015	MAG	VegTimes	A	B	C	2 minutes, until mixture is well combined, and goat cheese is softened. Pour in remaining 10 Tbs. cream; increase to medium-high speed, and beat 2 minutes
40	2015	MAG	VegTimes	A	B	C	, or until creamy, but not completely smooth. With machine still running, pour in oil. Stir with spoon, add remaining 2 Tbs. flour, and pulse
41	2015	MAG	VegTimes	A	B	C	or until mushrooms are softened. Stir in flour, and cook 30 seconds. Pour in broth and milk, and cook 3 to 5 minutes, or until sauce
42	2015	MAG	VegTimes	A	B	C	, and sugar in large bowl. Make well in center of mixture, and pour in oil and milk. Whisk vigorously until thin batter forms (it will thicken
43	2015	MAG	NewStatesman	A	B	C	immigration by Han Chinese, who get most of the benefits of the cash being poured in by the central government, is changing the population balance in both te
44	2015	MAG	NewStatesman	A	B	C	seed that over time will germinate. " # Yet recruits and converts are hardly pouring in. The Army has 27,183 soldiers in Britain, down from 48,121 two decades
45	2015	NEWS	WashPost	A	B	C	house " on the spot. I can see why. With all the sunlight pouring in, the 15-by-18-foot L-shaped kitchen area felt right when I sat by myself at
46	2015	NEWS	Atlanta	A	B	C	sugar and salt. Cook until sugar has melted and mixture is boiling. Carefully pour in cream mixture (mixture will expand and foam up) and whisk until smooth
47	2015	NEWS	Denver	A	B	C	, " Gruber said. xFE The calls and complaints from Vista Ridge residents began pouring in to Erie officials and the Colorado Oil and Gas Conservation Commissio
48	2015	NEWS	Austin	A	B	C	's recycling officials did something new this year. They said no. As requests poured in for waivers from the city's recycling rules for multifamily and commercial b
49	2015	NEWS	Austin	A	B	C	starts to soften. Be careful not to burn the chilies or the lemongrass. Pour in the stock, reduce the heat, and cover. Cook the chicken for
50	2015	NEWS	STLouis	A	B	C	Instagram followers, was silent for days. That didn't stop the vitriol from pouring in. " I could care less. I don't go out there to

In the same field as Islamophobia, Trump uses metonymy to maintain and sustain Islamophobic ideologies. For example, Trump states:

“you look at Orlando and you look at San Bernardino and you look at the World Trade Center. Go outside. Look at Paris. Look at that horrible — these are radical Islamic terrorists.”

In this extract, Trump uses PLACE FOR EVENT metonymies to refer back to terrorist attacks within the US. For example, “Orlando” refers to the Pulse nightclub shooting, where a man who identified as Muslim killed 49 people. Within these PLACE FOR EVENT metonymies, Trump uses tragic events with one similar aspect within the ICM: they involved people who identify as Muslim. However, he ignores terrorist attacks caused by people who identify with other faiths or have no faith (such as acts committed by groups such as the Ku Klux Klan; or the mass-shooting at a Plan Parenthood Clinic in Colorado committed by pro-life a Christian in 2015; see Turkewitz and Healey, 2015). Hence, what he appears to do is connect tragic mass-deaths with Islam, and Islam alone. This portrays Islam and those who follow the religion as an “out” group who are dangerous to Americans.

Clinton, by contrast, uses metonymy to accuse Trump of Islamophobia. This can be highlighted in the following extract:

“I’ve heard this question from a lot of Muslim-Americans across our country, because, unfortunately, there’s been a lot of very divisive, dark things said about Muslims. And even someone like Captain Khan, the young man who sacrificed himself defending our country in the United States Army, has been subject to attack by Donald.

I want to say just a couple of things. First, we’ve had Muslims in America since George Washington. And we’ve had many successful Muslims. We just lost a particular well-known one with Muhammad Ali.”

In this example, Clinton establishes an ICM for Muslim-Americans. One aspect to this is that they are victims of an oppressive system and the oppressive views of people like Trump. The ICMs Clinton draws on position Muslim-American people to be integral parts of their communities. Clinton then reaffirms this with a MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY metonymy when she uses “Captain Khan” a recently deceased military captain. When discussing such a sensitive topic, such as Islamophobia, these metonymies could leave a considerable amount to interpretation from the audience, who would impose their own ideologies and aspects of the ICM on to Clinton’s metonymies.

An interesting use of metonymy within this same extract is “Since George Washington”. Clinton uses a PERSON FOR TIME metonymy, in order to refer back to the 18th Century. This could also be an attempt to change the ICMs about Muslim people in the broader American community, by reminding people that Muslim people have been an integral part of America for a considerably long time.

6.2 Conclusions from Field

I started the analysis of the field by exploring what semantic fields the candidates drew upon significantly more in the debate, compared to campaign speeches given in the run up to the debate. The data suggests that Clinton’s language typically related more to governmental policy, while Trump’s used many more semantic fields in this debate than in his speeches. This is indicative of the debate discourse and the language both candidates would use in the run up to an election. One reason Trump could use so many more semantic fields in this debate than others is that he is talking about more topics, which are ones that the audience actually want to make judgments based on. I tentatively would suggest that in speeches outside of the presidential debate, Trump does not explore these topics in much depth.

I then decided to look at the responses to questions asked by the moderators. The questions raised by the moderators were indicators of the multiple fields of the debate. I found that the field did not fully restrict what metaphors and metonymies Clinton and Trump could use, but rather encouraged uses of certain types of metaphor and metonymy. While some were more prevalent in different fields, no metaphor nor metonymy was used specifically in one field alone.

I took two specific fields which were interesting because they pertained to allegations of prejudice: sexual assault and Islamophobia. Within the field of sexual assault, the moderators did

not use figurative language and made the definition of sexual assault unambiguous. However, when Trump tried to defend his action, he used novel metonymies, such as “locker room talk”, which created a mental space in which sexism and sexual assault are acceptable. This was done through suggesting that the locker room was a back stage mental space where this talk was both private and acceptable.

With regards to the field of Islamophobia, it appeared as though Trump used multiple PLACE FOR (TRAGIC) EVENT metonymies with one thing in common: all the events he discussed were committed by Muslim people. Interestingly, Trump neglected to mention terrorist attacks committed by those of other religions or without religion. I argued that this was a subtle way to sustain Islamophobia within America. By contrast, Clinton used metonymy, such as a PERSON FOR TIME metonymy, to establish Muslim Americans as an integral part of the social structures within America. This difference in how metonymy is used between Clinton and Trump on the same field could reflect the underlying ideologies towards marginalised groups, such as the Muslim community.

6.3 Tenor

As mentioned in section 5.1.1, as this is a televised debate, one could suggest that the audience extends beyond the physical debate hall. From Bell’s (1984; 1991) audience design framework, there are three types of participants who can be observed in this debate: the speaker, who is the person communicating the message, the addressees, who are listeners who are known to the speaker; and auditors who are listeners who are not directly addressed, but are known to the speaker (Bell, 1984; 2001; Barton, 2007: 75). When applying this framework to the data, the people watching both in America and around the world could also be considered auditors in Bell’s (1984; 1991) framework.

To reiterate Halliday and Hassan’s (1985: 12) definition, there are three aspects which comprise Tenor: The people taking part, the nature of the participants, and their status and power. With regards to Bell’s audience design framework, this suggests that the people taking part are: the speaker, addressees, and auditors. This suggests that the status and power of these parties need to be explored. In the following section, I explore how the differences between the

candidate's personalities create differences in language. I then explore how the speakers tailor their language to their auditors.

6.3.1 The Candidates

One of the most noticeable differences about the nature of the candidates is the difference in political experience they hold. Clinton, a serving politician with more than 30 years of experience in politics has considerable status and power within a political context. However, she lacks many of the same social equalities which Trump has (for examples of systemic inequality based on gender see Connell, 1987; Glick and Fiske, 2001; Brandt, 2011). One of the most salient examples of the inequality faced by women in politics is that if Clinton were to be successful, she would be the first female president. As Clinton already faces the challenges of being a woman in a patriarchal society, she must account for the American public's generally less favourable view of women. Thus, Clinton also has to demonstrate that her gender has no effect on her capabilities as a politician. In her imagined audience design (as discussed in section 4.2.1; see Bell, 2001), Clinton must tailor her language to an audience which may have already judged her due to her gender. Clinton must demonstrate her knowledge and experience while also appearing likable, capable, in order to appear more suitable for the presidency than Trump.

One way Clinton tailors her language to appear likable is to use the inclusive 'we' when referring to the American people and then use this collective 'we' as the agent of metaphors (similar to Semino and Masci's, 1996 analysis of Blair's language). For example, Clinton states:

“it is very important for us to make clear to our children that our country really is great because we're good. And we are going to respect one another, lift each other up. We are going to be looking for ways to celebrate our diversity”

In this extract, Clinton uses two different metaphors: SEEING IS KNOWING (for example, “make clear”) and UP IS GOOD (such as “lift each other up”). The American people, as a collective whole, are conceptualised as being both knowledgeable and good. Clinton's use of the SEEING IS KNOWING metaphor suggests that she views the American people as having foresight, and in turn intelligence. Further, the UP IS GOOD metaphor suggests that the American people will only

continue to better themselves as a whole. Clinton may be using the inclusive ‘we’ to flatter the audience and by extension show that she has these desirable personality traits.

By contrast, Trump is an inexperienced politician but has experience as a business person. Because of this, he offers an imagined American audience an alternative to recent politicians. He appears to separate himself from a political world which has failed the audience before. This can be seen in the following extract:

“I heard them when they were running for the Senate in New York, where Hillary was going to bring back jobs to upstate New York and she failed.”

In this extract, Trump uses “they” to metonymically refer to members of the Democrat party. In this example, “they”, the Clintons, are seen as representative of the whole Democrat party. Hence, in this PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, the democrat party is conceptualised as a single person. Trump uses this metonymy in tandem with JOURNEY metaphors, such as “running”. This encourages the audience to conceptualise the Democrat party as a person on a journey.

This conceptualisation of the Democrat party as a PERSON ON A JOURNEY works with the later metaphor of “bring back”. Within this metaphor, jobs are seen as an abstract concept within a CONTAINER which the democrat party has set out on a journey to retrieve. To some extent, this conceptualisation of the Democrat party seeking to bring back jobs resonates with previous research where politicians have used figurative language to conceptualise politics as a FAIRY TALE (Lakoff, 1991). Parallels can be drawn between the journey undertaken in a fairy tale and the journey which Trump appears to project.

This fairy tale metaphor is further demonstrated when the previous excerpt is taken with the following extract, which occurs within the same response:

“I’m going to help the African-Americans. I’m going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities.”

In these extracts, the democrat party is conceptualised as the potential hero of the fairy tale who has set out to retrieve the goal for the people: jobs. However, when the hero fails, Trump argues that a new hero, himself, must achieve what the democrats could not.

6.3.2 *The Conceptual Audience: Tailoring Language to Unseen Participants*

The imagined audience, despite being a silent party, appears to have a high level of power. There are two types of imagined audience: the first is the audience in the physical space, the addressees, and the second is those outside of the physical space watching at home, the auditors (Benoit et al., 2007). Apart from a select few addressees who briefly ask the topic question, addressees do not speak and it is rare for them to give an indication of their reaction to what is said on stage. But, if Clinton or Trump fail to impress them, then they would be less likely to vote for them. Hence, the addressees and auditors hold some power of the candidates- they are the ones who decide the victor of the campaign. In turn, this means that the types of ideologues portrayed by the candidates are crucial in this debate.

Clinton's language appears to appeal to an audience who align themselves with the liberal ideologies of: EVERYONE IS EQUAL, and EVERYONE DESERVES REPRESENTATION. These ideologies bear resemblance to the nurturing parent model put forward by Lakoff (2002). However, the ideology that EVERYONE IS EQUAL could resonate with those who feel oppressed by a heterosexual, white, patriarchal society, which could include those who are: racial minorities, sexual minorities, and gender minorities. In other words, Clinton uses language which resonates with the ideologies of minority groups, as she realizes the power they may have in the election.

Clinton also appears to tailor her use of metonymy to appeal to minority groups. Throughout the debate, she uses multiple CATEGORY FOR MEMBERS OF CATEGORY metonymies, in which minority groups as categories and individual members of these minority groups are members of the category. This is highlighted in the following example:

“what he has said about immigrants, African- Americans, Latinos, people with disabilities, POWs, Muslims, and so many others.”

Similar to the Boyd's (2013) example of “Joe the plumber”, these social categories evoke different ICMs about members of those categories. In this extract, Clinton is able to conceptualise all members of these categories as victims of Donald Trump's rhetoric.

The metonymies Clinton uses about marginalised groups typically tend to be linked to positive metaphors, for example:

“We need American Muslims to be part of our eyes and ears on our front lines”

Throughout, Clinton uses metonymies like this to conceptualise Muslim people as a category, which is an integral and useful part of the US. By contrast, when she uses metonymy in a negative way to discuss an entire group of people, the group is portrayed as an enemy of all American people. This is highlighted in the following example:

“It’s also important I intend to defeat ISIS, to do so in a coalition with majority Muslim nations.”

Clinton dissociates Daesh and Islam while simultaneously conceptualising Daesh as an enemy of both the US and Islam. Clinton appears to make an “Us vs. Them” divide between the world and Daesh, but includes Muslim people within the in-group, while the Daesh are conceptualised as the out-group for their actions and ideologies, as opposed to their religion. Similar to the point raised earlier, Clinton’s use of metonymy here could resonate with Muslim communities and those with links to majority Muslim nations.

An interesting point about the language used about minority groups comes from Trump’s use of metonymy and co-occurrence. Trump uses metonymy for different social groups:

“help the African-Americans. I’m going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities”.

In this extract, African-Americans, Latino people, and Hispanic people are viewed as victims. However, an interesting point about these social groups is how they often co-occur with “inner cities”. Trump is the only person in the entire debate to use the term “inner cities”. This phrase occurs with marginalised groups 6 times out of these 10 times. Trump always uses this phrase in a negative way, such as in: “you look at the violence that’s taking place in the inner cities”. Trump’s ICM of inner cities appears to have three key aspects: First, that they are mostly formed of marginalised groups. Second, that social and education systems within these areas are less desirable than the suburbs. And third, that inner cities have a higher crime rate. This method of linking the three together could suggest that Trump views marginalised groups as having the same negative qualities as inner cities. As Baker (2016: 140) notes: “collocates [and co-occurrences] help to imbue words with meaning as words can begin to take on aspects of the meaning of the words that they collocate [and co-occur] with”. Hence, while marginalised groups are seen as a victim that Trump wants to help, he appears to also associate these groups with being part of the problem.

From an imagined audience design perspective, Trump could be appealing to two groups of auditors. On one hand, he could be appealing to auditors from the Republican Party, by utilising the lack of knowledge about marginalised groups which they have. On the other hand, what Trump is doing through this use of metonymy and co-occurrence could be viewed as more divisive. Previous polls showed that marginalised groups typically disliked Trump. Consequently, in this debate, Trump would also want to demonstrate that he is a suitable president for these marginalised groups, in order to get their vote. By placing them as the victims of a system and government, Trump appears to try to win these votes. However, he is able to remain loyal to his racist ideology by associating these groups with negative parts of an inner cities ICM.

6.4 Conclusions from Tenor

There were three components to Bell's (2001) audience design which are applicable to the data: speakers, addressees, and auditors. I contended that these should be explored in relation to Halliday and Hassan's (1985) the components of tenor: the people who took part in the debate, the nature of these participants, and the power they hold. Within this framework, Clinton and Trump were the two primary participants, but the audience at home were 'conceptual' participants.

The personalities and values of the participants appears to have affected their language use. Clinton tried to appeal to a large audience by using the inclusive 'we' as the agent of metaphors, while Trump attempted to position Clinton as unsuccessful. The language the participants used resonated with Lakoff's (1991) STRICT FATHER and NURTURING PARENT models, whereby Trump was language which resembles a strict father and Clinton uses language which resembles a nurturing mother.

I also suggested that the candidates tailored their figurative language to both addressees and auditors. The data suggests that Clinton used metonymy to suggest that Muslim people were an integrated part of American society and dissociated them from the actions of Daesh. Trump used the co-occurrence of "inner cities" with metonymy to link inner cities, something which is perpetually seen as negative, with marginalised racial groups. By extension, this co-occurrence could demonstrate Trump's underlying racist ideology.

In sum, tenor can provide a lens through which to explore the use of metaphor and metonymy, which can reveal ideological stances towards marginalised groups.

6.5 Mode

In order to explore how register has an effect on the figurative language used by Clinton and Trump, this sub-section explores the third and final component to register: Mode.

The mode of this text is not completely straightforward. While the text is spoken, as opposed to written, spoken language in political debates, which may appear spontaneous, may be well-crafted by spin-doctors in advance (Wodak, 2009: 2). Because the language used by candidates may be well-crafted in advance, one could suggest that features associated with spontaneous speech would be less present in pre-scripted responses, as the candidates would have had a chance to rehearse the response.

Within the data, Clinton's language lacks many features associated with spontaneous speech, such as false starts, filler words, and unconscious repetition (Deignan et al., 2013: 85; Cho et al., 2014). She typically remains on topic and is not asked to re-answer questions. Her follow-up questions are not reframed, and in general, she appears to be well-prepared for all the questions. As somebody who is ingrained in political discourse communities, and is a politician, it is conceivable to think that Clinton would have pre-planned responses as this is a regular phenomenon within political debates. Overall, Clinton appears to be well-prepared for the debate, and appears as though she is expecting the language she uses to be persuasive on the audience. This would also suggest that many of the metaphors and metonymies which she used are more likely to be pre-planned.

The difference between Clinton's language and Trump's language is astonishing. Within the data, Trump differs greatly from Clinton's spoken language features. He typically demonstrates more features which would be associated with prototypical spontaneous speech. Trump quite often repeats phrases and re-starts sentences. For example:

“Well, I think I should respond, because so ridiculous. Look, now she's blaming she got caught in a total lie.”

In this extract, he uses incomplete grammatical sentences, such as in “so ridiculous”. Here, Trump misses out the subject of the sentence. Straight after, Trump uses a false start with “now

she's blaming — she got caught in a total lie". To some degree, it could be argued that Trump exhibits similar speech patterns to Tony Blair (see Semino and Koller, 2010), whereby Trump appears to use features associated with colloquial speech. In this extract, Trump's language is also interesting because when he starts to speak after his false start, he uses the metaphor "caught in a total lie". By comparison to the other sentences, what makes this interesting is that it is his only complete grammatical sentence and contains a metaphor. It could be suggested that Trump uses this metaphor to give a succinct evaluation of what Clinton has just said and that it is easiest to do this through the use of a metaphor.

In comparison to Clinton, Trump appears to have a relatively unplanned script. He often does not answer questions accurately or provides insufficient answers. These insufficient answers do not go unnoticed by the moderators. This is highlighted in the following excerpt:

“RADDATZ: Tell me what your strategy is.

TRUMP: ... for weeks — I've been reading now for weeks about Mosul, that it's the harbor of where — you know, between Raqqa and Mosul, this is where they think the ISIS leaders are. Why would they be saying — they're not staying there anymore. They're gone. Because everybody's talking about how Iraq, which is us with our leadership, goes in to fight Mosul.

Now, with these 200 admirals and generals, they can't believe it. All I say is this. General George Patton, General Douglas MacArthur are spinning in their grave at the stupidity of what we're doing in the Middle East.”

In this extract, Trump does not provide details for his political plans and strategies. Rather, he critiques and evaluates previous strategies without offering alternative solutions. This does not allow the audience to judge Trump based on policy, but rather encourages the audience to judge negative aspects of previous policies. One way which Trump distracts from the specific aspects of his policy is to evaluate the current military system. He does this through the use of SPECIFIC FOR GENERAL metonymies in tandem with MEMBER OF CATEGORY FOR CATEGORY metonymies such as: “General George Patton” and “General Douglas MacArthur”. In this example, these generals are representative of all generals who have fallen in battle. Trump combines these metonymies with “spinning in their grave” to judge the current policies in a negative way.

However, he does not expand on this by providing alternative policies. Hence, Trump's style of speech appears to be relatively unplanned as he does not develop on metaphors and metonymies. By contrast Clinton's language, which appears to be written to be spoken, appears to contain more metaphors which develop on each other and provide complete answers to questions as well as alternatives to 'problems'.

6.6 Conclusions from Mode

I have argued that Mode has some effect on the language used by Clinton and Trump in this debate. It appears as though Clinton's language does not display many features associated with spontaneous speech, and one of the most likely reasons for this is because rehearsing pre-scripted responses for debates is a common occurrence for politicians. I have suggested that Clinton used this preparation in order to appear confident and competent as a leader. In turn, I suggested that these pre-scripted responses allowed her to develop on metaphor and metonymies which she set out, while Trump did not develop on metaphors which he initially set out.

Trump, on the other hand, appears to use more features associated with spontaneous speech. This use of these spontaneous speech features was similar to how Tony Blair used language to appeal to a mass audience (see Semino and Koller, 2010). I have argued that because Trump typically goes off topic, the moderators have had to reframe questions multiple times. Overall, it seems as though Trump attempts to distract from his policies, and expects to do this through metaphors and metonymies which evaluate actions. To some degree, it could be argued that this is a feature of spontaneous speech (as he would have had less time to prepare well-thought out arguments). Though, I would only tentatively suggest this as it could also be a feature of his own speech.

6.7 Conclusions

In conclusion, I have argued that register does have some effect on the metaphors and metonymies used by Clinton and Trump. I have highlighted how the different aspects of field, tenor, and mode have affected the language used throughout the debate.

In relation to field, I have argued the field did not completely restrict which source domains Clinton and Trump drew upon. I suggested that different fields encouraged different types of metaphors and metonymy, but no source domain was used exclusively for a single field. I then took two topics which I felt were the most interesting because of their legal implications, the field of sexual assault and Islamophobia, and analysed how these fields encouraged different uses of metaphoric and metonymic language. It appears as though Trump attempted to normalise allegations of sexual assault by using metonymy in order to create a mental space which is backstage and private. This back stage mental space acts as a mitigation technique and detracts from the serious nature of the accusations. Clinton uses this field to suggest that people like Donald Trump who are accused of these acts, are deplorable and too vile to discuss. These fields seem to highlight how certain metaphors and metonymies are appropriate for certain topics of conversation.

With regards to Tenor, I have argued that while Clinton and Trump have personas to upkeep, the imagined audience has a nuanced level of power over them both. While the candidates had different personalities which affected the language they used, they also had to tailor their language to an imagined audience. I referred back to Chapter 5 and the imagined audience design discussed in the discourse community. However, I argued that this was slightly different. In this case, the conceptual audience had to be one which was large and unknown, and had to be persuaded. The language used by Clinton and Trump had to appeal to different social groups. I explored how Clinton and Trump talked about conceptualised minority groups: namely, American-Muslims and African-Americans. It appears as though Clinton has used metonymy in order to show solidarity with Muslims and separate the actions of Daesh from Islam. I have also argued that Trump's use of co-occurrence between the marginalised group "African-Americans" and "Inner cities" sustains a racist ideology, as "Inner cities" is primarily used in a negative context.

Finally, with regards to Mode, Clinton's language appeared to be rehearsed, as it lacked features associated with spontaneous speech. I suggested that this could have been done in order to appear confident, capable, and prepared. This could have been persuasive to an audience, as these are similar qualities to what many look for in a leader. On the other hand, the data suggested that Trump's language is relatively colloquial, as it has many features associated with spontaneous speech. The language he uses has some similarities to how Tony Blair used

language (see Semino and Koller, 2010). I have discussed how he typically breaks the implied conventions for the discourse, and does not answer questions directly. This use of misdirection, and indeed the use of vague language, appears to allow Trump to use other metaphors and metonymies in an evaluative way. In turn, this distracts from the issues associated with the question.

I have been able to highlight how different aspects of genre and register have affected the language, and as a result, the metaphors and metonymies used by Clinton and Trump within this debate. I have proposed that, similar to genre, each element of Register has contributed to shaping the figurative language used throughout the debate.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

The overall aim of this thesis was to research how Clinton and Trump use metaphor and metonymy in different ways within the second presidential debate and to show the need to consider both genre and register in discourse-based analyses of metaphor and metonymy. This aim led to my research question, which was as follows:

“Bearing in mind the effect of genre and register, how do Clinton and Trump use metaphor and metonymy in different ways within the second presidential debate?”

I also created the sub question:

“what are the effects of these uses?”.

In this chapter, I reflect on how I was able to address these questions and the conclusions which can be drawn from analyzing the data with regards to genre and register.

7.1 Main findings

I have argued that metaphors and metonymies are highly persuasive, but how and why they are persuasive has to be considered in relation to the genre and register of a text. Hence, in this thesis, I have explored how metaphor is used by Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump in the context of the second presidential debate. The primary justification for this inquiry has been the controversy surrounding the United States of America’s presidential election, and the persuasive power of metaphor.

In Chapter 4, I employed a conventional method for analysing metaphor in different forms of communication and argued that simply quantifying the source domains and analysing how some of the linguistic metaphors within these source domains are used is limited in its explanatory power. I found that this method of analysis provided some interesting results, but did not quite capture how or why the metaphors and metonymies were used. I argued that the context of the debate had to be considered in a much broader sense, and metonymy use also needed to be considered. In order to account for these contextual factors, I used Deignan et al.’s (2013) framework which considered the effects of genre and register provided a more nuanced level of analysis.

Throughout the analysis which used this framework (Chapters 5 and 6), I have shown that it is not only metaphor which can be powerful, but also metonymy. Furthermore, in line with the more recent approach to figurative language, I have argued that metonymy can enact similar functions to metaphor and thus deserves an equal amount of attention. Within this project, Deignan et al.'s approach has been helpful for seeing how the context of a debate with regards to genre and register, as it has revealed particular aspects of how candidates use metaphor and metonymy. These contextualized uses of metaphor and metonymy reflect the different contextual aspects of broader society, including the socio-cultural context, the generic context and the localized, textual context.

The findings of this thesis broadly suggest that metaphor and metonymy can be used to persuasively to convey socio-cultural attitudes. For example, I have established that both metaphor and metonymy can be used to portray ideologies.

Potentially the most promising finding from this thesis is how metaphor and metonymy can be used to create, maintain and sustain racist and sexist ideologies. For example, I have shown how Trump uses “African American (people)” in co-occurrence with “inner cities”. The adverse associations with Inner cities could give insight into what Trump associates with African American people. As Trump is under constant scrutiny, these ideological implications of metaphor use are of interest to both academic and non-academic commentators. However, future lines of research, both academic and non-academic, would be needed to explore whether or not the debate genre has affected his language, and to what degree other genres affect his use of metaphors and metonymies in co-occurrence with negative ideas to portray similar ideologies.

My analysis of genre also showed how metaphor use was shaped by the stages and purpose of the presidential debate. I have also shown how metaphor and metonymy at certain points may be used to some persuasive effect, such as how Trump and Clinton both use more metaphors when responding to the moderators or giving a counter response to their opponent. I have suggested that metaphor clusters appear at different points in the debate in order to enact different functions, such as to evaluate, and that these are typically in the sections which would be expected to be more pre-planned.

7.2 Methodological Implications

One of the most notable implications arising from this research relates to the methodology used in metaphor analysis.

One important feature of this thesis is the metaphor identification procedure I used. I have argued that MIP, MIPVU, and VIP all have both advantages and drawbacks. Due to these drawbacks, I have called for a synergy of the three methods. I found that the method I proposed was effective for the data considered here, but this should be tested on more data.

With regards to metonymy identification, I have noted how only Beirnacka (2013) has provided a rigorous metonymy identification procedure. While I have been able to implement it in this thesis, I believe future lines of research should continue to test this method on different data sets.

I have also argued for the need to use aspects of corpus linguistics to explore how the language the candidate's use of metaphor and metonymy compared to data afforded in different contexts. In line with Mueller's (2010) research, corpora were used to explore the relative novelty of metaphors and metonymies. In this investigation, I have argued that the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) was representative of American English across multiple different genres. I have used this corpus to compare the language used in the presidential debate to American English in a more general sense.

I used Brown's (2016) compiled corpus of Clinton and Trump's language before the debate, although there are a considerable limitations to this corpus (such as Brown's political ideology which may have affected the selection of texts in the corpus). Given that future research will no doubt explore genres and language varieties beyond those considered here, future research may elect to compare examples from various other corpora, to gain a better understanding of just how novel the metaphors or metonymies are. For example, future research could compare Trump's Tweets with a reference corpus, and then compare this against the findings of this thesis.

7.3 Limitations

No piece of research is without limitations. Potentially the most striking drawback of this piece of research is the fact that I have elected to analyse one debate in depth, as opposed to all three debates. While elements of genre and register may have affected all three debates in similar ways, parallel investigations of those debates would be needed to be certain about whether this is true or not.

A second, fundamental limitation is my personal political ideologies. While I have tried to remain impartial in the analysis, my interpretation of the data may be different to people of different political ideologies. For example, where I have suggested that Clinton's use of "when they go low, you go high" is memorable and entertaining, others may find this less so. In other words, my own intuitions, ideologies, and socialisation may have affected the interpretation of the results.

As the debates were televised, a future line of research may also choose to explore the examples I have analysed from a multi-modal perspective. There has been a considerable amount of cognitive research in to gesture (for example, Cienki, 2013) and into how politicians use gesture (Guilbeault, 2017). However, due to the scope of this project, I have not been able to analyse gesture in tandem with the effect of genre and register on spoken language. Because of this limitation, future research may choose to explore what effect genre and register have on the gestures used by Clinton and Trump.

To some degree, questions are raised as to why Trump uses different metaphors to Clinton. One reason could be because there is a genuine difference in what metaphors he feels are appropriate for the question(s), although another reason could be that he diverges from the topic, which in turn affords different metaphor uses. Further research could sub-divide the topics spoken about within the questions further and look for more commonalities running through both Clinton's and Trump's use of metaphor.

7.4 Final Remarks

Overall, I have argued that Clinton and Trump use metaphor and metonymy to enact a multitude of functions: from persuading an unseen audience to vote for them, to presenting their ideologies in subtle ways, and evaluating the claims and identity of their opponent. In this thesis, I have

argued that genre and register should both be considered in analyses of metaphor in discourse as both affect the use of metaphor and metonymy.

I have attempted to contribute to the field of metaphor analysis by bridging some of the gaps I noted in my literature review, and throughout have explored the effect of genre and register on the metaphors and metonymies used within American presidential debate discourse.

I have used a combined framework which analyses figurative language so as to move towards a more nuanced level of analysis than conventional methods of metaphor analysis. In this data, the effects of genre and register appear to be relatively similar, in so far as both candidates appear to use metaphor and metonymy in order to be persuasive. This persuasiveness appears on two fronts: one is structural (or when and why the metaphors occur), and the other is socio-cultural (such as through conveying their ideological standpoints). However, the kinds of ideologies that were conveyed by each candidate varied. The thesis thus points to the on-going, persuasive power of metaphor and metonymy in American political debate discourse, and in political discourse more generally.

Appendices

Appendix A: Transcript of the Second Presidential Debate

RADDATZ: Ladies and gentlemen the Republican nominee for president, Donald J. Trump, and the Democratic nominee for president, Hillary Clinton.

(APPLAUSE)

COOPER: Thank you very much for being here. We're going to begin with a question from one of the members in our town hall. Each of you will have two minutes to respond to this question. Secretary Clinton, you won the coin toss, so you'll go first. Our first question comes from Patrice Brock. Patrice?

QUESTION: Thank you, and good evening. The last debate could have been rated as MA, mature audiences, per TV parental guidelines. Knowing that educators assign viewing the presidential debates as students' homework, do you feel you're modeling appropriate and positive behavior for today's youth?

CLINTON: Well, thank you. Are you a teacher? Yes, I think that that's a very good question, because I've heard from lots of teachers and parents about some of their concerns about some of the things that are being said and done in this campaign.

And I think it is very important for us to make clear to our children that our country really is great because we're good. And we are going to respect one another, lift each other up. We are going to be looking for ways to celebrate our diversity, and we are going to try to reach out to every boy and girl, as well as every adult, to bring them in to working on behalf of our country. I have a very positive and optimistic view about what we can do together. That's why the slogan of my campaign is "Stronger Together," because I think if we work together, if we overcome the divisiveness that sometimes sets Americans against one another, and instead we make some big goals — and I've set forth some big goals, getting the economy to work for everyone, not just those at the top, making sure that we have the best education system from preschool through college and making it affordable, and so much else.

If we set those goals and we go together to try to achieve them, there's nothing in my opinion that America can't do. So that's why I hope that we will come together in this campaign.

Obviously, I'm hoping to earn your vote, I'm hoping to be elected in November, and I can promise you, I will work with every American.

I want to be the president for all Americans, regardless of your political beliefs, where you come from, what you look like, your religion. I want us to heal our country and bring it together because that's, I think, the best way for us to get the future that our children and our grandchildren deserve.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, thank you. Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: Well, I actually agree with that. I agree with everything she said. I began this campaign because I was so tired of seeing such foolish things happen to our country. This is a great country. This is a great land. I've gotten to know the people of the country over the last year-and-a-half that I've been doing this as a politician. I cannot believe I'm saying that about myself, but I guess I have been a politician.

TRUMP: And my whole concept was to make America great again. When I watch the deals being made, when I watch what's happening with some horrible things like Obamacare, where your health insurance and health care is going up by numbers that are astronomical, 68 percent, 59 percent, 71 percent, when I look at the Iran deal and how bad a deal it is for us, it's a one-sided transaction where we're giving back \$150 billion to a terrorist state, really, the number one terror state, we've made them a strong country from really a very weak country just three years ago.

When I look at all of the things that I see and all of the potential that our country has, we have such tremendous potential, whether it's in business and trade, where we're doing so badly. Last year, we had almost \$800 billion trade deficit. In other words, trading with other countries. We had an \$800 billion deficit. It's hard to believe. Inconceivable.

You say who's making these deals? We're going to make great deals. We're going to have a strong border. We're going to bring back law and order. Just today, policemen was shot, two killed. And this is happening on a weekly basis. We have to bring back respect to law enforcement. At the same time, we have to take care of people on all sides. We need justice. But I want to do things that haven't been done, including fixing and making our inner cities better for the African-American citizens that are so great, and for the Latinos, Hispanics, and I look forward to doing it. It's called make America great again.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump. The question from Patrice was about are you both modeling positive and appropriate behavior for today's youth? We received a lot of questions online, Mr. Trump, about the tape that was released on Friday, as you can imagine. You called what you said

locker room banter. You described kissing women without consent, grabbing their genitals. That is sexual assault. You bragged that you have sexually assaulted women. Do you understand that?

TRUMP: No, I didn't say that at all. I don't think you understood what was — this was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I apologize to my family. I apologize to the American people. Certainly I'm not proud of it. But this is locker room talk.

You know, when we have a world where you have ISIS chopping off heads, where you have — and, frankly, drowning people in steel cages, where you have wars and horrible, horrible sights all over, where you have so many bad things happening, this is like medieval times. We haven't seen anything like this, the carnage all over the world.

And they look and they see. Can you imagine the people that are, frankly, doing so well against us with ISIS? And they look at our country and they see what's going on.

Yes, I'm very embarrassed by it. I hate it. But it's locker room talk, and it's one of those things. I will knock the hell out of ISIS. We're going to defeat ISIS. ISIS happened a number of years ago in a vacuum that was left because of bad judgment. And I will tell you, I will take care of ISIS.

COOPER: So, Mr. Trump...

TRUMP: And we should get on to much more important things and much bigger things.

COOPER: Just for the record, though, are you saying that what you said on that bus 11 years ago that you did not actually kiss women without consent or grope women without consent?

TRUMP: I have great respect for women. Nobody has more respect for women than I do.

COOPER: So, for the record, you're saying you never did that?

TRUMP: I've said things that, frankly, you hear these things I said. And I was embarrassed by it. But I have tremendous respect for women.

COOPER: Have you ever done those things?

TRUMP: And women have respect for me. And I will tell you: No, I have not. And I will tell you that I'm going to make our country safe. We're going to have borders in our country, which we don't have now. People are pouring into our country, and they're coming in from the Middle East and other places.

We're going to make America safe again. We're going to make America great again, but we're going to make America safe again. And we're going to make America wealthy again, because if you don't do that, it just — it sounds harsh to say, but we have to build up the wealth of our nation.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Right now, other nations are taking our jobs and they're taking our wealth.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: And that's what I want to talk about.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, do you want to respond?

CLINTON: Well, like everyone else, I've spent a lot of time thinking over the last 48 hours about what we heard and saw. You know, with prior Republican nominees for president, I disagreed with them on politics, policies, principles, but I never questioned their fitness to serve. Donald Trump is different. I said starting back in June that he was not fit to be president and commander-in-chief. And many Republicans and independents have said the same thing. What we all saw and heard on Friday was Donald talking about women, what he thinks about women, what he does to women. And he has said that the video doesn't represent who he is.

But I think it's clear to anyone who heard it that it represents exactly who he is. Because we've seen this throughout the campaign. We have seen him insult women. We've seen him rate women on their appearance, ranking them from one to ten. We've seen him embarrass women on TV and on Twitter. We saw him after the first debate spend nearly a week denigrating a former Miss Universe in the harshest, most personal terms.

So, yes, this is who Donald Trump is. But it's not only women, and it's not only this video that raises questions about his fitness to be our president, because he has also targeted immigrants, African-Americans, Latinos, people with disabilities, POWs, Muslims, and so many others.

So this is who Donald Trump is. And the question for us, the question our country must answer is that this is not who we are. That's why — to go back to your question — I want to send a message — we all should — to every boy and girl and, indeed, to the entire world that America already is great, but we are great because we are good, and we will respect one another, and we will work with one another, and we will celebrate our diversity.

CLINTON: These are very important values to me, because this is the America that I know and love. And I can pledge to you tonight that this is the America that I will serve if I'm so fortunate enough to become your president.

RADDATZ: And we want to get to some questions from online...

TRUMP: Am I allowed to respond to that? I assume I am.

RADDATZ: Yes, you can respond to that.

TRUMP: It's just words, folks. It's just words. Those words, I've been hearing them for many years. I heard them when they were running for the Senate in New York, where Hillary was going to bring back jobs to upstate New York and she failed.

I've heard them where Hillary is constantly talking about the inner cities of our country, which are a disaster education-wise, jobwise, safety-wise, in every way possible. I'm going to help the African-Americans. I'm going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities. She's done a terrible job for the African-Americans. She wants their vote, and she does nothing, and then she comes back four years later. We saw that firsthand when she was United States senator. She campaigned where the primary part of her campaign...

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump — I want to get to audience questions and online questions.

TRUMP: So, she's allowed to do that, but I'm not allowed to respond?

RADDATZ: You're going to have — you're going to get to respond right now.

TRUMP: Sounds fair.

RADDATZ: This tape is generating intense interest. In just 48 hours, it's become the single most talked about story of the entire 2016 election on Facebook, with millions and millions of people discussing it on the social network. As we said a moment ago, we do want to bring in questions from voters around country via social media, and our first stays on this topic. Jeff from Ohio asks on Facebook, "Trump says the campaign has changed him. When did that happen?" So, Mr. Trump, let me add to that. When you walked off that bus at age 59, were you a different man or did that behavior continue until just recently? And you have two minutes for this.

TRUMP: It was locker room talk, as I told you. That was locker room talk. I'm not proud of it. I am a person who has great respect for people, for my family, for the people of this country. And certainly, I'm not proud of it. But that was something that happened.

If you look at Bill Clinton, far worse. Mine are words, and his was action. His was what he's done to women. There's never been anybody in the history politics in this nation that's been so abusive to women. So you can say any way you want to say it, but Bill Clinton was abusive to women.

Hillary Clinton attacked those same women and attacked them viciously. Four of them here tonight. One of the women, who is a wonderful woman, at 12 years old, was raped at 12. Her client she represented got him off, and she's seen laughing on two separate occasions, laughing at the girl who was raped. Kathy Shelton, that young woman is here with us tonight.

So don't tell me about words. I am absolutely — I apologize for those words. But it is things that people say. But what President Clinton did, he was impeached, he lost his license to practice law. He had to pay an \$850,000 fine to one of the women. Paula Jones, who's also here tonight. And I will tell you that when Hillary brings up a point like that and she talks about words that I said 11 years ago, I think it's disgraceful, and I think she should be ashamed of herself, if you want to know the truth.

(APPLAUSE)

RADDATZ: Can we please hold the applause? Secretary Clinton, you have two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, first, let me start by saying that so much of what he's just said is not right, but he gets to run his campaign any way he chooses. He gets to decide what he wants to talk about. Instead of answering people's questions, talking about our agenda, laying out the plans that we have that we think can make a better life and a better country, that's his choice.

When I hear something like that, I am reminded of what my friend, Michelle Obama, advised us all: When they go low, you go high.

(APPLAUSE) And, look, if this were just about one video, maybe what he's saying tonight would be understandable, but everyone can draw their own conclusions at this point about whether or not the man in the video or the man on the stage respects women. But he never apologizes for anything to anyone.

CLINTON: He never apologized to Mr. and Mrs. Khan, the Gold Star family whose son, Captain Khan, died in the line of duty in Iraq. And Donald insulted and attacked them for weeks over their religion.

He never apologized to the distinguished federal judge who was born in Indiana, but Donald said he couldn't be trusted to be a judge because his parents were, quote, "Mexican."

He never apologized to the reporter that he mimicked and mocked on national television and our children were watching. And he never apologized for the racist lie that President Obama was not born in the United States of America. He owes the president an apology, he owes our country an apology, and he needs to take responsibility for his actions and his words.

TRUMP: Well, you owe the president an apology, because as you know very well, your campaign, Sidney Blumenthal — he's another real winner that you have — and he's the one that got this started, along with your campaign manager, and they were on television just two weeks ago, she was, saying exactly that. So you really owe him an apology. You're the one that sent the

pictures around your campaign, sent the pictures around with President Obama in a certain garb. That was long before I was ever involved, so you actually owe an apology.

Number two, Michelle Obama. I've gotten to see the commercials that they did on you. And I've gotten to see some of the most vicious commercials I've ever seen of Michelle Obama talking about you, Hillary.

So, you talk about friend? Go back and take a look at those commercials, a race where you lost fair and square, unlike the Bernie Sanders race, where you won, but not fair and square, in my opinion. And all you have to do is take a look at WikiLeaks and just see what they say about Bernie Sanders and see what Deborah Wasserman Schultz had in mind, because Bernie Sanders, between super-delegates and Deborah Wasserman Schultz, he never had a chance. And I was so surprised to see him sign on with the devil.

But when you talk about apology, I think the one that you should really be apologizing for and the thing that you should be apologizing for are the 33,000 e-mails that you deleted, and that you acid washed, and then the two boxes of e-mails and other things last week that were taken from an office and are now missing.

And I'll tell you what. I didn't think I'd say this, but I'm going to say it, and I hate to say it. But if I win, I am going to instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation, because there has never been so many lies, so much deception. There has never been anything like it, and we're going to have a special prosecutor.

When I speak, I go out and speak, the people of this country are furious. In my opinion, the people that have been long-term workers at the FBI are furious. There has never been anything like this, where e-mails — and you get a subpoena, you get a subpoena, and after getting the subpoena, you delete 33,000 e-mails, and then you acid wash them or bleach them, as you would say, very expensive process.

So we're going to get a special prosecutor, and we're going to look into it, because you know what? People have been — their lives have been destroyed for doing one-fifth of what you've done. And it's a disgrace. And honestly, you ought to be ashamed of yourself.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, I want to follow up on that.

(CROSSTALK)

RADDATZ: I'm going to let you talk about e-mails.

CLINTON: ... because everything he just said is absolutely false, but I'm not surprised.

TRUMP: Oh, really?

CLINTON: In the first debate...

(LAUGHTER)

RADDATZ: And really, the audience needs to calm down here.

CLINTON: ... I told people that it would be impossible to be fact-checking Donald all the time. I'd never get to talk about anything I want to do and how we're going to really make lives better for people.

So, once again, go to HillaryClinton.com. We have literally Trump — you can fact check him in real time. Last time at the first debate, we had millions of people fact checking, so I expect we'll have millions more fact checking, because, you know, it is — it's just awfully good that someone with the temperament of Donald Trump is not in charge of the law in our country.

TRUMP: Because you'd be in jail.

(APPLAUSE)

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton...

COOPER: We want to remind the audience to please not talk out loud. Please do not applaud. You're just wasting time.

RADDATZ: And, Secretary Clinton, I do want to follow up on e-mails. You've said your handling of your e-mails was a mistake. You disagreed with FBI Director James Comey, calling your handling of classified information, quote, "extremely careless." The FBI said that there were 110 classified e-mails that were exchanged, eight of which were top secret, and that it was possible hostile actors did gain access to those e-mails. You don't call that extremely careless?

CLINTON: Well, Martha, first, let me say — and I've said before, but I'll repeat it, because I want everyone to hear it — that was a mistake, and I take responsibility for using a personal e-mail account. Obviously, if I were to do it over again, I would not. I'm not making any excuses. It was a mistake. And I am very sorry about that.

But I think it's also important to point out where there are some misleading accusations from critics and others. After a year-long investigation, there is no evidence that anyone hacked the server I was using and there is no evidence that anyone can point to at all — anyone who says otherwise has no basis — that any classified material ended up in the wrong hands.

I take classified materials very seriously and always have. When I was on the Senate Armed Services Committee, I was privy to a lot of classified material. Obviously, as secretary of state, I

had some of the most important secrets that we possess, such as going after bin Laden. So I am very committed to taking classified information seriously. And as I said, there is no evidence that any classified information ended up in the wrong hands.

RADDATZ: OK, we're going to move on.

TRUMP: And yet she didn't know the word — the letter C on a document. Right? She didn't even know what that word — what that letter meant.

You know, it's amazing. I'm watching Hillary go over facts. And she's going after fact after fact, and she's lying again, because she said she — you know, what she did with the e-mail was fine.

You think it was fine to delete 33,000 e-mails? I don't think so.

She said the 33,000 e-mails had to do with her daughter's wedding, number one, and a yoga class. Well, maybe we'll give three or three or four or five or something. 33,000 e-mails deleted, and now she's saying there wasn't anything wrong.

And more importantly, that was after getting a subpoena. That wasn't before. That was after. She got it from the United States Congress. And I'll be honest, I am so disappointed in congressmen, including Republicans, for allowing this to happen.

Our Justice Department, where our husband goes on to the back of a airplane for 39 minutes, talks to the attorney general days before a ruling is going to be made on her case. But for you to say that there was nothing wrong with you deleting 39,000 e-mails, again, you should be ashamed of yourself. What you did — and this is after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress.

COOPER: We have to move on.

TRUMP: You did that. Wait a minute. One second.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you can respond, and then we got to move on.

RADDATZ: We want to give the audience a chance.

TRUMP: If you did that in the private sector, you'd be put in jail, let alone after getting a subpoena from the United States Congress.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you can respond. Then we have to move on to an audience question.

CLINTON: Look, it's just not true. And so please, go to...

TRUMP: Oh, you didn't delete them?

COOPER: Allow her to respond, please.

CLINTON: It was personal e-mails, not official.

TRUMP: Oh, 33,000? Yeah.

CLINTON: Not — well, we turned over 35,000, so...

TRUMP: Oh, yeah. What about the other 15,000?

COOPER: Please allow her to respond. She didn't talk while you talked.

CLINTON: Yes, that's true, I didn't.

TRUMP: Because you have nothing to say.

CLINTON: I didn't in the first debate, and I'm going to try not to in this debate, because I'd like to get to the questions that the people have brought here tonight to talk to us about.

TRUMP: Get off this question.

CLINTON: OK, Donald. I know you're into big diversion tonight, anything to avoid talking about your campaign and the way it's exploding and the way Republicans are leaving you. But let's at least focus...

TRUMP: Let's see what happens...

(CROSSTALK)

COOPER: Allow her to respond.

CLINTON: ... on some of the issues that people care about tonight. Let's get to their questions.

COOPER: We have a question here from Ken Karpowicz. He has a question about health care. Ken?

TRUMP: I'd like to know, Anderson, why aren't you bringing up the e-mails? I'd like to know. Why aren't you bringing...

COOPER: We brought up the e-mails.

TRUMP: No, it hasn't. It hasn't. And it hasn't been finished at all.

COOPER: Ken Karpowicz has a question.

TRUMP: It's nice to — one on three.

QUESTION: Thank you. Affordable Care Act, known as Obamacare, it is not affordable. Premiums have gone up. Deductibles have gone up. Copays have gone up. Prescriptions have gone up. And the coverage has gone down. What will you do to bring the cost down and make coverage better?

COOPER: That first one goes to Secretary Clinton, because you started out the last one to the audience.

CLINTON: If he wants to start, he can start. No, go ahead, Donald.

TRUMP: No, I'm a gentlemen, Hillary. Go ahead.

(LAUGHTER)

COOPER: Secretary Clinton?

CLINTON: Well, I think Donald was about to say he's going to solve it by repealing it and getting rid of the Affordable Care Act. And I'm going to fix it, because I agree with you. Premiums have gotten too high. Copays, deductibles, prescription drug costs, and I've laid out a series of actions that we can take to try to get those costs down.

But here's what I don't want people to forget when we're talking about reining in the costs, which has to be the highest priority of the next president, when the Affordable Care Act passed, it wasn't just that 20 million got insurance who didn't have it before. But that in and of itself was a good thing. I meet these people all the time, and they tell me what a difference having that insurance meant to them and their families.

But everybody else, the 170 million of us who get health insurance through our employees got big benefits. Number one, insurance companies can't deny you coverage because of a pre-existing condition. Number two, no lifetime limits, which is a big deal if you have serious health problems.

Number three, women can't be charged more than men for our health insurance, which is the way it used to be before the Affordable Care Act. Number four, if you're under 26, and your parents have a policy, you can be on that policy until the age of 26, something that didn't happen before.

So I want very much to save what works and is good about the Affordable Care Act. But we've got to get costs down. We've got to provide additional help to small businesses so that they can afford to provide health insurance. But if we repeal it, as Donald has proposed, and start over again, all of those benefits I just mentioned are lost to everybody, not just people who get their health insurance on the exchange. And then we would have to start all over again.

Right now, we are at 90 percent health insurance coverage. That's the highest we've ever been in our country. COOPER: Secretary Clinton, your time is up.

CLINTON: So I want us to get to 100 percent, but get costs down and keep quality up.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: It is such a great question and it's maybe the question I get almost more than anything else, outside of defense. Obamacare is a disaster. You know it. We all know it. It's going up at numbers that nobody's ever seen worldwide. Nobody's ever seen numbers like this for health care.

It's only getting worse. In '17, it implodes by itself. Their method of fixing it is to go back and ask Congress for more money, more and more money. We have right now almost \$20 trillion in debt.

Obamacare will never work. It's very bad, very bad health insurance. Far too expensive. And not only expensive for the person that has it, unbelievably expensive for our country. It's going to be one of the biggest line items very shortly.

We have to repeal it and replace it with something absolutely much less expensive and something that works, where your plan can actually be tailored. We have to get rid of the lines around the state, artificial lines, where we stop insurance companies from coming in and competing, because they want — and President Obama and whoever was working on it — they want to leave those lines, because that gives the insurance companies essentially monopolies. We want competition.

You will have the finest health care plan there is. She wants to go to a single-payer plan, which would be a disaster, somewhat similar to Canada. And if you haven't noticed the Canadians, when they need a big operation, when something happens, they come into the United States in many cases because their system is so slow. It's catastrophic in certain ways.

But she wants to go to single payer, which means the government basically rules everything. Hillary Clinton has been after this for years. Obamacare was the first step. Obamacare is a total disaster. And not only are your rates going up by numbers that nobody's ever believed, but your deductibles are going up, so that unless you get hit by a truck, you're never going to be able to use it.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, your time...

TRUMP: It is a disastrous plan, and it has to be repealed and replaced.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, let me follow up with you. Your husband called Obamacare, quote, "the craziest thing in the world," saying that small-business owners are getting killed as premiums double, coverage is cut in half. Was he mistaken or was the mistake simply telling the truth?

CLINTON: No, I mean, he clarified what he meant. And it's very clear. Look, we are in a situation in our country where if we were to start all over again, we might come up with a different system. But we have an employer-based system. That's where the vast majority of people get their health care.

And the Affordable Care Act was meant to try to fill the gap between people who were too poor and couldn't put together any resources to afford health care, namely people on Medicaid.

Obviously, Medicare, which is a single-payer system, which takes care of our elderly and does a great job doing it, by the way, and then all of the people who were employed, but people who were working but didn't have the money to afford insurance and didn't have anybody, an employer or anybody else, to help them.

That was the slot that the Obamacare approach was to take. And like I say, 20 million people now have health insurance. So if we just rip it up and throw it away, what Donald's not telling you is we just turn it back to the insurance companies the way it used to be, and that means the insurance companies...

COOPER: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: ... get to do pretty much whatever they want, including saying, look, I'm sorry, you've got diabetes, you had cancer, your child has asthma...

COOPER: Your time is up.

CLINTON: ... you may not be able to have insurance because you can't afford it. So let's fix what's broken about it, but let's not throw it away and give it all back to the insurance companies and the drug companies. That's not going to work.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, let me follow up on this. TRUMP: Well, I just want — just one thing. First of all, Hillary, everything's broken about it. Everything. Number two, Bernie Sanders said that Hillary Clinton has very bad judgment. This is a perfect example of it, trying to save Obamacare, which is a disaster.

COOPER: You've said you want to end Obamacare...

TRUMP: By the way...

COOPER: You've said you want to end Obamacare. You've also said you want to make coverage accessible for people with pre-existing conditions. How do you force insurance companies to do that if you're no longer mandating that every American get insurance?

TRUMP: We're going to be able to. You're going to have plans...

COOPER: What does that mean?

TRUMP: Well, I'll tell you what it means. You're going to have plans that are so good, because we're going to have so much competition in the insurance industry. Once we break out — once we break out the lines and allow the competition to come...

COOPER: Are you going — are you going to have a mandate that Americans have to have health insurance?

TRUMP: President Obama — Anderson, excuse me. President Obama, by keeping those lines, the boundary lines around each state, it was almost gone until just very toward the end of the passage of Obamacare, which, by the way, was a fraud. You know that, because Jonathan Gruber, the architect of Obamacare, was said — he said it was a great lie, it was a big lie. President Obama said you keep your doctor, you keep your plan. The whole thing was a fraud, and it doesn't work.

But when we get rid of those lines, you will have competition, and we will be able to keep pre-existing, we'll also be able to help people that can't get — don't have money because we are going to have people protected.

And Republicans feel this way, believe it or not, and strongly this way. We're going to block grant into the states. We're going to block grant into Medicaid into the states...

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: ... so that we will be able to take care of people without the necessary funds to take care of themselves.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

RADDATZ: We now go to Gorbah Hamed with a question for both candidates.

QUESTION: Hi. There are 3.3 million Muslims in the United States, and I'm one of them. You've mentioned working with Muslim nations, but with Islamophobia on the rise, how will you help people like me deal with the consequences of being labeled as a threat to the country after the election is over?

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, you're first.

TRUMP: Well, you're right about Islamophobia, and that's a shame. But one thing we have to do is we have to make sure that — because there is a problem. I mean, whether we like it or not, and we could be very politically correct, but whether we like it or not, there is a problem. And

we have to be sure that Muslims come in and report when they see something going on. When they see hatred going on, they have to report it.

As an example, in San Bernardino, many people saw the bombs all over the apartment of the two people that killed 14 and wounded many, many people. Horribly wounded. They'll never be the same. Muslims have to report the problems when they see them.

And, you know, there's always a reason for everything. If they don't do that, it's a very difficult situation for our country, because you look at Orlando and you look at San Bernardino and you look at the World Trade Center. Go outside. Look at Paris. Look at that horrible — these are radical Islamic terrorists.

And she won't even mention the word and nor will President Obama. He won't use the term "radical Islamic terrorism." Now, to solve a problem, you have to be able to state what the problem is or at least say the name. She won't say the name and President Obama won't say the name. But the name is there. It's radical Islamic terror. And before you solve it, you have to say the name.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton? CLINTON: Well, thank you for asking your question. And I've heard this question from a lot of Muslim-Americans across our country, because, unfortunately, there's been a lot of very divisive, dark things said about Muslims. And even someone like Captain Khan, the young man who sacrificed himself defending our country in the United States Army, has been subject to attack by Donald.

I want to say just a couple of things. First, we've had Muslims in America since George Washington. And we've had many successful Muslims. We just lost a particular well-known one with Muhammad Ali.

CLINTON: My vision of America is an America where everyone has a place, if you're willing to work hard, you do your part, you contribute to the community. That's what America is. That's what we want America to be for our children and our grandchildren.

It's also very short-sighted and even dangerous to be engaging in the kind of demagogic rhetoric that Donald has about Muslims. We need American Muslims to be part of our eyes and ears on our front lines. I've worked with a lot of different Muslim groups around America. I've met with a lot of them, and I've heard how important it is for them to feel that they are wanted and included and part of our country, part of our homeland security, and that's what I want to see.

It's also important I intend to defeat ISIS, to do so in a coalition with majority Muslim nations. Right now, a lot of those nations are hearing what Donald says and wondering, why should we cooperate with the Americans? And this is a gift to ISIS and the terrorists, violent jihadist terrorists.

We are not at war with Islam. And it is a mistake and it plays into the hands of the terrorists to act as though we are. So I want a country where citizens like you and your family are just as welcome as anyone else.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton.

Mr. Trump, in December, you said this. "Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country's representatives can figure out what the hell is going on. We have no choice. We have no choice." Your running mate said this week that the Muslim ban is no longer your position. Is that correct? And if it is, was it a mistake to have a religious test?

TRUMP: First of all, Captain Khan is an American hero, and if I were president at that time, he would be alive today, because unlike her, who voted for the war without knowing what she was doing, I would not have had our people in Iraq. Iraq was disaster. So he would have been alive today.

The Muslim ban is something that in some form has morphed into a extreme vetting from certain areas of the world. Hillary Clinton wants to allow hundreds of thousands — excuse me. Excuse me..

RADDATZ: And why did it morph into that? No, did you — no, answer the question. Do you still believe... TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her? You interrupt me all the time.

RADDATZ: I do.

TRUMP: Why don't you interrupt her?

RADDATZ: Would you please explain whether or not the Muslim ban still stands?

TRUMP: It's called extreme vetting. We are going to areas like Syria where they're coming in by the tens of thousands because of Barack Obama. And Hillary Clinton wants to allow a 550 percent increase over Obama. People are coming into our country like we have no idea who they are, where they are from, what their feelings about our country is, and she wants 550 percent more. This is going to be the great Trojan horse of all time.

We have enough problems in this country. I believe in building safe zones. I believe in having other people pay for them, as an example, the Gulf states, who are not carrying their weight, but they have nothing but money, and take care of people. But I don't want to have, with all the problems this country has and all of the problems that you see going on, hundreds of thousands of people coming in from Syria when we know nothing about them. We know nothing about their values and we know nothing about their love for our country.

RADDATZ: And, Secretary Clinton, let me ask you about that, because you have asked for an increase from 10,000 to 65,000 Syrian refugees. We know you want tougher vetting. That's not a perfect system. So why take the risk of having those refugees come into the country?

CLINTON: Well, first of all, I will not let anyone into our country that I think poses a risk to us. But there are a lot of refugees, women and children — think of that picture we all saw of that 4-year-old boy with the blood on his forehead because he'd been bombed by the Russian and Syrian air forces.

There are children suffering in this catastrophic war, largely, I believe, because of Russian aggression. And we need to do our part. We by no means are carrying anywhere near the load that Europe and others are. But we will have vetting that is as tough as it needs to be from our professionals, our intelligence experts and others.

But it is important for us as a policy, you know, not to say, as Donald has said, we're going to ban people based on a religion. How do you do that? We are a country founded on religious freedom and liberty. How do we do what he has advocated without causing great distress within our own country? Are we going to have religious tests when people fly into our country? And how do we expect to be able to implement those?

So I thought that what he said was extremely unwise and even dangerous. And indeed, you can look at the propaganda on a lot of the terrorists sites, and what Donald Trump says about Muslims is used to recruit fighters, because they want to create a war between us.

And the final thing I would say, this is the 10th or 12th time that he's denied being for the war in Iraq. We have it on tape. The entire press corps has looked at it. It's been debunked, but it never stops him from saying whatever he wants to say.

TRUMP: That's not been debunked.

CLINTON: So, please...

TRUMP: That has not been debunked.

CLINTON: ... go to HillaryClinton.com and you can see it.

TRUMP: I was against — I was against the war in Iraq. Has not been debunked. And you voted for it. And you shouldn't have. Well, I just want to say...

RADDATZ: There's been lots of fact-checking on that. I'd like to move on to an online question...

TRUMP: Excuse me. She just went about 25 seconds over her time.

RADDATZ: She did not.

TRUMP: Could I just respond to this, please?

RADDATZ: Very quickly, please.

TRUMP: Hillary Clinton, in terms of having people come into our country, we have many criminal illegal aliens. When we want to send them back to their country, their country says we don't want them. In some cases, they're murderers, drug lords, drug problems. And they don't want them.

And Hillary Clinton, when she was secretary of state, said that's OK, we can't force it into their country. Let me tell you, I'm going to force them right back into their country. They're murderers and some very bad people.

And I will tell you very strongly, when Bernie Sanders said she had bad judgment, she has really bad judgment, because we are letting people into this country that are going to cause problems and crime like you've never seen. We're also letting drugs pour through our southern border at a record clip. At a record clip. And it shouldn't be allowed to happen.

ICE just endorsed me. They've never endorsed a presidential candidate. The Border Patrol agents, 16,500, just recently endorsed me, and they endorsed me because I understand the border. She doesn't. She wants amnesty for everybody. Come right in. Come right over. It's a horrible thing she's doing. She's got bad judgment, and honestly, so bad that she should never be president of the United States. That I can tell you.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Mr. Trump. I want to move on. This next question from the public through the Bipartisan Open Debate Coalition's online forum, where Americans submitted questions that generated millions of votes. This question involves WikiLeaks release of purported excerpts of Secretary Clinton's paid speeches, which she has refused to release, and one line in particular, in which you, Secretary Clinton, purportedly say you need both a public and private position on certain issues. So, Tu (ph), from Virginia asks, is it OK for politicians to

be two-faced? Is it acceptable for a politician to have a private stance on issues? Secretary Clinton, your two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, right. As I recall, that was something I said about Abraham Lincoln after having seen the wonderful Steven Spielberg movie called “Lincoln.” It was a master class watching President Lincoln get the Congress to approve the 13th Amendment. It was principled, and it was strategic.

And I was making the point that it is hard sometimes to get the Congress to do what you want to do and you have to keep working at it. And, yes, President Lincoln was trying to convince some people, he used some arguments, convincing other people, he used other arguments. That was a great — I thought a great display of presidential leadership.

But, you know, let’s talk about what’s really going on here, Martha, because our intelligence community just came out and said in the last few days that the Kremlin, meaning Putin and the Russian government, are directing the attacks, the hacking on American accounts to influence our election. And WikiLeaks is part of that, as are other sites where the Russians hack information, we don’t even know if it’s accurate information, and then they put it out.

We have never in the history of our country been in a situation where an adversary, a foreign power, is working so hard to influence the outcome of the election. And believe me, they’re not doing it to get me elected. They’re doing it to try to influence the election for Donald Trump.

CLINTON: Now, maybe because he has praised Putin, maybe because he says he agrees with a lot of what Putin wants to do, maybe because he wants to do business in Moscow, I don’t know the reasons. But we deserve answers. And we should demand that Donald release all of his tax returns so that people can see what are the entanglements and the financial relationships that he has...

RADDATZ: We’re going to get to that later. Secretary Clinton, you’re out of time.

CLINTON: ... with the Russians and other foreign powers.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Well, I think I should respond, because — so ridiculous. Look, now she’s blaming — she got caught in a total lie. Her papers went out to all her friends at the banks, Goldman Sachs and everybody else, and she said things — WikiLeaks that just came out. And she lied. Now she’s blaming the lie on the late, great Abraham Lincoln. That’s one that I haven’t...

(LAUGHTER)

OK, Honest Abe, Honest Abe never lied. That's the good thing. That's the big difference between Abraham Lincoln and you. That's a big, big difference. We're talking about some difference.

But as far as other elements of what she was saying, I don't know Putin. I think it would be great if we got along with Russia because we could fight ISIS together, as an example. But I don't know Putin.

But I notice, anytime anything wrong happens, they like to say the Russians are — she doesn't know if it's the Russians doing the hacking. Maybe there is no hacking. But they always blame Russia. And the reason they blame Russia because they think they're trying to tarnish me with Russia. I know nothing about Russia. I know — I know about Russia, but I know nothing about the inner workings of Russia. I don't deal there. I have no businesses there. I have no loans from Russia.

I have a very, very great balance sheet, so great that when I did the Old Post Office on Pennsylvania Avenue, the United States government, because of my balance sheet, which they actually know very well, chose me to do the Old Post Office, between the White House and Congress, chose me to do the Old Post Office. One of the primary area things, in fact, perhaps the primary thing was balance sheet. But I have no loans with Russia. You could go to the United States government, and they would probably tell you that, because they know my sheet very well in order to get that development I had to have.

Now, the taxes are a very simple thing. As soon as I have — first of all, I pay hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes. Many of her friends took bigger deductions. Warren Buffett took a massive deduction. Soros, who's a friend of hers, took a massive deduction. Many of the people that are giving her all this money that she can do many more commercials than me gave her — took massive deductions.

I pay hundreds of millions of dollars in taxes. But — but as soon as my routine audit is finished, I'll release my returns. I'll be very proud to. They're actually quite great.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

COOPER: We want to turn, actually, to the topic of taxes. We have a question from Spencer Maass. Spencer?

QUESTION: Good evening. My question is, what specific tax provisions will you change to ensure the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share in taxes?

COOPER: Mr. Trump, you have two minutes.

TRUMP: Well, one thing I'd do is get rid of carried interest. One of the greatest provisions for people like me, to be honest with you, I give up a lot when I run, because I knock out the tax code. And she could have done this years ago, by the way. She's a United States — she was a United States senator.

She complains that Donald Trump took advantage of the tax code. Well, why didn't she change it? Why didn't you change it when you were a senator? The reason you didn't is that all your friends take the same advantage that I do. And I do. You have provisions in the tax code that, frankly, we could change. But you wouldn't change it, because all of these people gave you the money so you can take negative ads on Donald Trump.

But — and I say that about a lot of things. You know, I've heard Hillary complaining about so many different things over the years. "I wish you would have done this." But she's been there for 30 years she's been doing this stuff. She never changed. And she never will change. She never will change.

We're getting rid of carried interest provisions. I'm lowering taxes actually, because I think it's so important for corporations, because we have corporations leaving — massive corporations and little ones, little ones can't form. We're getting rid of regulations which goes hand in hand with the lowering of the taxes.

But we're bringing the tax rate down from 35 percent to 15 percent. We're cutting taxes for the middle class. And I will tell you, we are cutting them big league for the middle class.

And I will tell you, Hillary Clinton is raising your taxes, folks. You can look at me. She's raising your taxes really high. And what that's going to do is a disaster for the country. But she is raising your taxes and I'm lowering your taxes. That in itself is a big difference. We are going to be thriving again. We have no growth in this country. There's no growth. If China has a GDP of 7 percent, it's like a national catastrophe. We're down at 1 percent. And that's, like, no growth. And we're going lower, in my opinion. And a lot of it has to do with the fact that our taxes are so high, just about the highest in the world. And I'm bringing them down to one of the lower in the world. And I think it's so important — one of the most important things we can do. But she is raising everybody's taxes massively.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, you have two minutes. The question was, what specific tax provisions will you change to ensure the wealthiest Americans pay their fair share of taxes?

CLINTON: Well, everything you've heard just now from Donald is not true. I'm sorry I have to keep saying this, but he lives in an alternative reality. And it is sort of amusing to hear somebody who hasn't paid federal income taxes in maybe 20 years talking about what he's going to do. But I'll tell you what he's going to do. His plan will give the wealthy and corporations the biggest tax cuts they've ever had, more than the Bush tax cuts by at least a factor of two. Donald always takes care of Donald and people like Donald, and this would be a massive gift. And, indeed, the way that he talks about his tax cuts would end up raising taxes on middle-class families, millions of middle-class families.

Now, here's what I want to do. I have said nobody who makes less than \$250,000 a year — and that's the vast majority of Americans as you know — will have their taxes raised, because I think we've got to go where the money is. And the money is with people who have taken advantage of every single break in the tax code.

And, yes, when I was a senator, I did vote to close corporate loopholes. I voted to close, I think, one of the loopholes he took advantage of when he claimed a billion-dollar loss that enabled him to avoid paying taxes.

I want to have a tax on people who are making a million dollars. It's called the Buffett rule. Yes, Warren Buffett is the one who's gone out and said somebody like him should not be paying a lower tax rate than his secretary. I want to have a surcharge on incomes above \$5 million.

We have to make up for lost times, because I want to invest in you. I want to invest in hard-working families. And I think it's been unfortunate, but it's happened, that since the Great Recession, the gains have all gone to the top. And we need to reverse that.

People like Donald, who paid zero in taxes, zero for our vets, zero for our military, zero for health and education, that is wrong.

COOPER: Thank you, Secretary.

CLINTON: And we're going to make sure that nobody, no corporation, and no individual can get away without paying his fair share to support our country.

COOPER: Thank you. I want to give you — Mr. Trump, I want to give you the chance to respond. I just wanted to tell our viewers what she's referring to. In the last month, taxes were the number-one issue on Facebook for the first time in the campaign. The New York Times published three pages of your 1995 tax returns. They show you claimed a \$916 million loss, which means you could have avoided paying personal federal income taxes for years. You've

said you pay state taxes, employee taxes, real estate taxes, property taxes. You have not answered, though, a simple question. Did you use that \$916 million loss to avoid paying personal federal income taxes for years?

TRUMP: Of course I do. Of course I do. And so do all of her donors, or most of her donors. I know many of her donors. Her donors took massive tax write-offs.

COOPER: So have you (inaudible) personal federal income tax?

TRUMP: A lot of my — excuse me, Anderson — a lot of my write-off was depreciation and other things that Hillary as a senator allowed. And she'll always allow it, because the people that give her all this money, they want it. That's why.

See, I understand the tax code better than anybody that's ever run for president. Hillary Clinton — and it's extremely complex — Hillary Clinton has friends that want all of these provisions, including they want the carried interest provision, which is very important to Wall Street people. But they really want the carried interest provision, which I believe Hillary's leaving. Very interesting why she's leaving carried interest.

But I will tell you that, number one, I pay tremendous numbers of taxes. I absolutely used it. And so did Warren Buffett and so did George Soros and so did many of the other people that Hillary is getting money from. Now, I won't mention their names, because they're rich, but they're not famous. So we won't make them famous.

COOPER: So can you — can you say how many years you have avoided paying personal federal income taxes?

TRUMP: No, but I pay tax, and I pay federal tax, too. But I have a write-off, a lot of it's depreciation, which is a wonderful charge. I love depreciation. You know, she's given it to us. Hey, if she had a problem — for 30 years she's been doing this, Anderson. I say it all the time. She talks about health care. Why didn't she do something about it? She talks about taxes. Why didn't she do something about it? She doesn't do anything about anything other than talk. With her, it's all talk and no action.

COOPER: In the past...

TRUMP: And, again, Bernie Sanders, it's really bad judgment. She has made bad judgment not only on taxes. She's made bad judgments on Libya, on Syria, on Iraq. I mean, her and Obama, whether you like it or not, the way they got out of Iraq, the vacuum they've left, that's why ISIS

formed in the first place. They started from that little area, and now they're in 32 different nations, Hillary. Congratulations. Great job.

COOPER: Secretary — I want you to be able to respond, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Well, here we go again. I've been in favor of getting rid of carried interest for years, starting when I was a senator from New York. But that's not the point here.

TRUMP: Why didn't you do it? Why didn't you do it?

COOPER: Allow her to respond.

CLINTON: Because I was a senator with a Republican president.

TRUMP: Oh, really?

CLINTON: I will be the president and we will get it done. That's exactly right.

TRUMP: You could have done it, if you were an effective — if you were an effective senator, you could have done it. If you were an effective senator, you could have done it. But you were not an effective senator.

COOPER: Please allow her to respond. She didn't interrupt you.

CLINTON: You know, under our Constitution, presidents have something called veto power. Look, he has now said repeatedly, "30 years this and 30 years that." So let me talk about my 30 years in public service. I'm very glad to do so.

Eight million kids every year have health insurance, because when I was first lady I worked with Democrats and Republicans to create the Children's Health Insurance Program. Hundreds of thousands of kids now have a chance to be adopted because I worked to change our adoption and foster care system. After 9/11, I went to work with Republican mayor, governor and president to rebuild New York and to get health care for our first responders who were suffering because they had run toward danger and gotten sickened by it. Hundreds of thousands of National Guard and Reserve members have health care because of work that I did, and children have safer medicines because I was able to pass a law that required the dosing to be more carefully done.

When I was secretary of state, I went around the world advocating for our country, but also advocating for women's rights, to make sure that women had a decent chance to have a better life and negotiated a treaty with Russia to lower nuclear weapons. Four hundred pieces of legislation have my name on it as a sponsor or cosponsor when I was a senator for eight years. I worked very hard and was very proud to be re-elected in New York by an even bigger margin than I had been elected the first time. And as president, I will take that work, that bipartisan

work, that finding common ground, because you have to be able to get along with people to get things done in Washington.

COOPER: Thank you, secretary.

CLINTON: I've proven that I can, and for 30 years, I've produced results for people.

COOPER: Thank you, secretary.

RADDATZ: We're going to move on to Syria. Both of you have mentioned that.

TRUMP: She said a lot of things that were false. I mean, I think we should be allowed to maybe...

RADDATZ: No, we can — no, Mr. Trump, we're going to go on. This is about the audience.

TRUMP: Excuse me. Because she has been a disaster as a senator. A disaster.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, we're going to move on. The heart-breaking video of a 5-year-old Syrian boy named Omran sitting in an ambulance after being pulled from the rubble after an air strike in Aleppo focused the world's attention on the horrors of the war in Syria, with 136 million views on Facebook alone.

But there are much worse images coming out of Aleppo every day now, where in the past few weeks alone, 400 people have been killed, at least 100 of them children. Just days ago, the State Department called for a war crimes investigation of the Syrian regime of Bashar al-Assad and its ally, Russia, for their bombardment of Aleppo.

So this next question comes through social media through Facebook. Diane from Pennsylvania asks, if you were president, what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo? Isn't it a lot like the Holocaust when the U.S. waited too long before we helped? Secretary Clinton, we will begin with your two minutes.

CLINTON: Well, the situation in Syria is catastrophic. And every day that goes by, we see the results of the regime by Assad in partnership with the Iranians on the ground, the Russians in the air, bombarding places, in particular Aleppo, where there are hundreds of thousands of people, probably about 250,000 still left. And there is a determined effort by the Russian air force to destroy Aleppo in order to eliminate the last of the Syrian rebels who are really holding out against the Assad regime.

Russia hasn't paid any attention to ISIS. They're interested in keeping Assad in power. So I, when I was secretary of state, advocated and I advocate today a no-fly zone and safe zones. We need some leverage with the Russians, because they are not going to come to the negotiating

table for a diplomatic resolution, unless there is some leverage over them. And we have to work more closely with our partners and allies on the ground.

But I want to emphasize that what is at stake here is the ambitions and the aggressiveness of Russia. Russia has decided that it's all in, in Syria. And they've also decided who they want to see become president of the United States, too, and it's not me. I've stood up to Russia. I've taken on Putin and others, and I would do that as president.

I think wherever we can cooperate with Russia, that's fine. And I did as secretary of state. That's how we got a treaty reducing nuclear weapons. It's how we got the sanctions on Iran that put a lid on the Iranian nuclear program without firing a single shot. So I would go to the negotiating table with more leverage than we have now. But I do support the effort to investigate for crimes, war crimes committed by the Syrians and the Russians and try to hold them accountable.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: First of all, she was there as secretary of state with the so-called line in the sand, which...

CLINTON: No, I wasn't. I was gone. I hate to interrupt you, but at some point...

TRUMP: OK. But you were in contact — excuse me. You were...

CLINTON: At some point, we need to do some fact-checking here.

TRUMP: You were in total contact with the White House, and perhaps, sadly, Obama probably still listened to you. I don't think he would be listening to you very much anymore.

Obama draws the line in the sand. It was laughed at all over the world what happened.

Now, with that being said, she talks tough against Russia. But our nuclear program has fallen way behind, and they've gone wild with their nuclear program. Not good. Our government shouldn't have allowed that to happen. Russia is new in terms of nuclear. We are old. We're tired. We're exhausted in terms of nuclear. A very bad thing.

Now, she talks tough, she talks really tough against Putin and against Assad. She talks in favor of the rebels. She doesn't even know who the rebels are. You know, every time we take rebels, whether it's in Iraq or anywhere else, we're arming people. And you know what happens? They end up being worse than the people.

Look at what she did in Libya with Gadhafi. Gadhafi's out. It's a mess. And, by the way, ISIS has a good chunk of their oil. I'm sure you probably have heard that. It was a disaster. Because

the fact is, almost everything she's done in foreign policy has been a mistake and it's been a disaster.

But if you look at Russia, just take a look at Russia, and look at what they did this week, where I agree, she wasn't there, but possibly she's consulted. We sign a peace treaty. Everyone's all excited. Well, what Russia did with Assad and, by the way, with Iran, who you made very powerful with the dumbest deal perhaps I've ever seen in the history of deal-making, the Iran deal, with the \$150 billion, with the \$1.7 billion in cash, which is enough to fill up this room. But look at that deal. Iran now and Russia are now against us. So she wants to fight. She wants to fight for rebels. There's only one problem. You don't even know who the rebels are. So what's the purpose?

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump, your two minutes is up.

TRUMP: And one thing I have to say.

RADDATZ: Your two minutes is up.

TRUMP: I don't like Assad at all, but Assad is killing ISIS. Russia is killing ISIS. And Iran is killing ISIS. And those three have now lined up because of our weak foreign policy.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, let me repeat the question. If you were president...

(LAUGHTER)

... what would you do about Syria and the humanitarian crisis in Aleppo? And I want to remind you what your running mate said. He said provocations by Russia need to be met with American strength and that if Russia continues to be involved in air strikes along with the Syrian government forces of Assad, the United States of America should be prepared to use military force to strike the military targets of the Assad regime.

TRUMP: OK. He and I haven't spoken, and I disagree. I disagree.

RADDATZ: You disagree with your running mate?

TRUMP: I think you have to knock out ISIS. Right now, Syria is fighting ISIS. We have people that want to fight both at the same time. But Syria is no longer Syria. Syria is Russia and it's Iran, who she made strong and Kerry and Obama made into a very powerful nation and a very rich nation, very, very quickly, very, very quickly.

I believe we have to get ISIS. We have to worry about ISIS before we can get too much more involved. She had a chance to do something with Syria. They had a chance. And that was the line. And she didn't.

RADDATZ: What do you think will happen if Aleppo falls?

TRUMP: I think Aleppo is a disaster, humanitarian-wise.

RADDATZ: What do you think will happen if it falls?

TRUMP: I think that it basically has fallen. OK? It basically has fallen. Let me tell you something. You take a look at Mosul. The biggest problem I have with the stupidity of our foreign policy, we have Mosul. They think a lot of the ISIS leaders are in Mosul. So we have announcements coming out of Washington and coming out of Iraq, we will be attacking Mosul in three weeks or four weeks.

Well, all of these bad leaders from ISIS are leaving Mosul. Why can't they do it quietly? Why can't they do the attack, make it a sneak attack, and after the attack is made, inform the American public that we've knocked out the leaders, we've had a tremendous success? People leave. Why do they have to say we're going to be attacking Mosul within the next four to six weeks, which is what they're saying? How stupid is our country? RADDATZ: There are sometimes reasons the military does that. Psychological warfare.

TRUMP: I can't think of any. I can't think of any. And I'm pretty good at it.

RADDATZ: It might be to help get civilians out.

TRUMP: And we have General Flynn. And we have — look, I have 200 generals and admirals who endorsed me. I have 21 Congressional Medal of Honor recipients who endorsed me. We talk about it all the time. They understand, why can't they do something secretively, where they go in and they knock out the leadership? How — why would these people stay there? I've been reading now...

RADDATZ: Tell me what your strategy is.

TRUMP: ... for weeks — I've been reading now for weeks about Mosul, that it's the harbor of where — you know, between Raqqa and Mosul, this is where they think the ISIS leaders are. Why would they be saying — they're not staying there anymore. They're gone. Because everybody's talking about how Iraq, which is us with our leadership, goes in to fight Mosul. Now, with these 200 admirals and generals, they can't believe it. All I say is this. General George Patton, General Douglas MacArthur are spinning in their grave at the stupidity of what we're doing in the Middle East.

RADDATZ: I'm going to go to Secretary Clinton. Secretary Clinton, you want Assad to go. You advocated arming rebels, but it looks like that may be too late for Aleppo. You talk about

diplomatic efforts. Those have failed. Cease-fires have failed. Would you introduce the threat of U.S. military force beyond a no-fly zone against the Assad regime to back up diplomacy?

CLINTON: I would not use American ground forces in Syria. I think that would be a very serious mistake. I don't think American troops should be holding territory, which is what they would have to do as an occupying force. I don't think that is a smart strategy.

I do think the use of special forces, which we're using, the use of enablers and trainers in Iraq, which has had some positive effects, are very much in our interests, and so I do support what is happening, but let me just...

RADDATZ: But what would you do differently than President Obama is doing?

CLINTON: Well, Martha, I hope that by the time I — if I'm fortunate...

TRUMP: Everything.

CLINTON: I hope by the time I am president that we will have pushed ISIS out of Iraq. I do think that there is a good chance that we can take Mosul. And, you know, Donald says he knows more about ISIS than the generals. No, he doesn't.

There are a lot of very important planning going on, and some of it is to signal to the Sunnis in the area, as well as Kurdish Peshmerga fighters, that we all need to be in this. And that takes a lot of planning and preparation.

I would go after Baghdadi. I would specifically target Baghdadi, because I think our targeting of Al Qaida leaders — and I was involved in a lot of those operations, highly classified ones — made a difference. So I think that could help.

I would also consider arming the Kurds. The Kurds have been our best partners in Syria, as well as Iraq. And I know there's a lot of concern about that in some circles, but I think they should have the equipment they need so that Kurdish and Arab fighters on the ground are the principal way that we take Raqqa after pushing ISIS out of Iraq.

RADDATZ: Thank you very much. We're going to move on...

TRUMP: You know what's funny? She went over a minute over, and you don't stop her. When I go one second over, it's like a big deal.

RADDATZ: You had many answers.

TRUMP: It's really — it's really very interesting.

COOPER: We've got a question over here from James Carter. Mr. Carter?

QUESTION: My question is, do you believe you can be a devoted president to all the people in the United States?

COOPER: That question begins for Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Absolutely. I mean, she calls our people deplorable, a large group, and irredeemable. I will be a president for all of our people. And I'll be a president that will turn our inner cities around and will give strength to people and will give economics to people and will bring jobs back.

Because NAFTA, signed by her husband, is perhaps the greatest disaster trade deal in the history of the world. Not in this country. It stripped us of manufacturing jobs. We lost our jobs. We lost our money. We lost our plants. It is a disaster. And now she wants to sign TPP, even though she says now she's for it. She called it the gold standard. And by the way, at the last debate, she lied, because it turned out that she did say the gold standard and she said she didn't say it. They actually said that she lied. OK? And she lied. But she's lied about a lot of things.

TRUMP: I would be a president for all of the people, African- Americans, the inner cities. Devastating what's happening to our inner cities. She's been talking about it for years. As usual, she talks about it, nothing happens. She doesn't get it done.

Same with the Latino Americans, the Hispanic Americans. The same exact thing. They talk, they don't get it done. You go into the inner cities and — you see it's 45 percent poverty. African- Americans now 45 percent poverty in the inner cities. The education is a disaster. Jobs are essentially nonexistent.

I mean, it's — you know, and I've been saying at big speeches where I have 20,000 and 30,000 people, what do you have to lose? It can't get any worse. And she's been talking about the inner cities for 25 years. Nothing's going to ever happen.

Let me tell you, if she's president of the United States, nothing's going to happen. It's just going to be talk. And all of her friends, the taxes we were talking about, and I would just get it by osmosis. She's not doing any me favors. But by doing all the others' favors, she's doing me favors.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, thank you.

TRUMP: But I will tell you, she's all talk. It doesn't get done. All you have to do is take a look at her Senate run. Take a look at upstate New York.

COOPER: Your two minutes is up. Secretary Clinton, two minutes?

TRUMP: It turned out to be a disaster.

COOPER: You have two minutes, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Well, 67 percent of the people voted to re-elect me when I ran for my second term, and I was very proud and very humbled by that.

Mr. Carter, I have tried my entire life to do what I can to support children and families. You know, right out of law school, I went to work for the Children's Defense Fund. And Donald talks a lot about, you know, the 30 years I've been in public service. I'm proud of that. You know, I started off as a young lawyer working against discrimination against African-American children in schools and in the criminal justice system. I worked to make sure that kids with disabilities could get a public education, something that I care very much about. I have worked with Latinos — one of my first jobs in politics was down in south Texas registering Latino citizens to be able to vote. So I have a deep devotion, to use your absolutely correct word, to making sure that an every American feels like he or she has a place in our country.

And I think when you look at the letters that I get, a lot of people are worried that maybe they wouldn't have a place in Donald Trump's America. They write me, and one woman wrote me about her son, Felix. She adopted him from Ethiopia when he was a toddler. He's 10 years old now. This is the only one country he's ever known. And he listens to Donald on TV and he said to his mother one day, will he send me back to Ethiopia if he gets elected?

You know, children listen to what is being said. To go back to the very, very first question. And there's a lot of fear — in fact, teachers and parents are calling it the Trump effect. Bullying is up. A lot of people are feeling, you know, uneasy. A lot of kids are expressing their concerns. So, first and foremost, I will do everything I can to reach out to everybody.

COOPER: Your time, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Democrats, Republicans, independents, people across our country. If you don't vote for me, I still want to be your president.

COOPER: Your two minutes is up.

CLINTON: I want to be the best president I can be for every American.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, your two minutes is up. I want to follow up on something that Donald Trump actually said to you, a comment you made last month. You said that half of Donald Trump's supporters are, quote, "deplorables, racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic." You later said you regretted saying half. You didn't express regret for using the

term “deplorables.” To Mr. Carter’s question, how can you unite a country if you’ve written off tens of millions of Americans?

CLINTON: Well, within hours I said that I was sorry about the way I talked about that, because my argument is not with his supporters. It’s with him and with the hateful and divisive campaign that he has run, and the inciting of violence at his rallies, and the very brutal kinds of comments about not just women, but all Americans, all kinds of Americans.

And what he has said about African-Americans and Latinos, about Muslims, about POWs, about immigrants, about people with disabilities, he’s never apologized for. And so I do think that a lot of the tone and tenor that he has said — I’m proud of the campaign that Bernie Sanders and I ran. We ran a campaign based on issues, not insults. And he is supporting me 100 percent.

COOPER: Thank you.

CLINTON: Because we talked about what we wanted to do. We might have had some differences, and we had a lot of debates...

COOPER: Thank you, Secretary.

TRUMP: ... but we believed that we could make the country better. And I was proud of that.

COOPER: I want to give you a minute to respond.

TRUMP: We have a divided nation. We have a very divided nation. You look at Charlotte. You look at Baltimore. You look at the violence that’s taking place in the inner cities, Chicago, you take a look at Washington, D.C.

We have an increase in murder within our cities, the biggest in 45 years. We have a divided nation, because people like her — and believe me, she has tremendous hate in her heart. And when she said deplorables, she meant it. And when she said irredeemable, they’re irredeemable, you didn’t mention that, but when she said they’re irredeemable, to me that might have been even worse.

COOPER: She said some of them are irredeemable.

TRUMP: She’s got tremendous — she’s got tremendous hatred. And this country cannot take another four years of Barack Obama, and that’s what you’re getting with her.

COOPER: Mr. Trump, let me follow up with you. In 2008, you wrote in one of your books that the most important characteristic of a good leader is discipline. You said, if a leader doesn’t have it, quote, “he or she won’t be one for very long.” In the days after the first debate, you sent out a

series of tweets from 3 a.m. to 5 a.m., including one that told people to check out a sex tape. Is that the discipline of a good leader?

TRUMP: No, there wasn't check out a sex tape. It was just take a look at the person that she built up to be this wonderful Girl Scout who was no Girl Scout.

COOPER: You mentioned sex tape.

TRUMP: By the way, just so you understand, when she said 3 o'clock in the morning, take a look at Benghazi. She said who is going to answer the call at 3 o'clock in the morning? Guess what? She didn't answer it, because when Ambassador Stevens...

COOPER: The question is, is that the discipline of a good leader?

TRUMP: ... 600 — wait a minute, Anderson, 600 times. Well, she said she was awake at 3 o'clock in the morning, and she also sent a tweet out at 3 o'clock in the morning, but I won't even mention that. But she said she'll be awake. Who's going — the famous thing, we're going to answer our call at 3 o'clock in the morning. Guess what happened? Ambassador Stevens — Ambassador Stevens sent 600 requests for help. And the only one she talked to was Sidney Blumenthal, who's her friend and not a good guy, by the way. So, you know, she shouldn't be talking about that.

Now, tweeting happens to be a modern day form of communication. I mean, you can like it or not like it. I have, between Facebook and Twitter, I have almost 25 million people. It's a very effective way of communication. So you can put it down, but it is a very effective form of communication. I'm not un-proud of it, to be honest with you.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, does Mr. Trump have the discipline to be a good leader?

CLINTON: No.

TRUMP: I'm shocked to hear that.

(LAUGHTER)

CLINTON: Well, it's not only my opinion. It's the opinion of many others, national security experts, Republicans, former Republican members of Congress. But it's in part because those of us who have had the great privilege of seeing this job up close and know how difficult it is, and it's not just because I watched my husband take a \$300 billion deficit and turn it into a \$200 billion surplus, and 23 million new jobs were created, and incomes went up for everybody. Everybody. African-American incomes went up 33 percent.

And it's not just because I worked with George W. Bush after 9/11, and I was very proud that when I told him what the city needed, what we needed to recover, he said you've got it, and he never wavered. He stuck with me.

And I have worked and I admire President Obama. He inherited the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. That was a terrible time for our country.

COOPER: We have to move along.

CLINTON: Nine million people lost their jobs.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we have to...

CLINTON: Five million homes were lost.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we're moving.

CLINTON: And \$13 trillion in family wealth was wiped out. We are back on the right track. He would send us back into recession with his tax plans that benefit the wealthiest of Americans.

RADDATZ: Secretary Clinton, we are moving to an audience question. We're almost out of time. We have another... TRUMP: We have the slowest growth since 1929.

RADDATZ: We're moving to an audience question.

TRUMP: It is — our country has the slowest growth and jobs are a disaster.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Secretary Clinton, we want to get to the audience. Thank you very much both of you.

(LAUGHTER)

We have another audience question. Beth Miller has a question for both candidates.

QUESTION: Good evening. Perhaps the most important aspect of this election is the Supreme Court justice. What would you prioritize as the most important aspect of selecting a Supreme Court justice?

RADDATZ: We begin with your two minutes, Secretary Clinton.

CLINTON: Thank you. Well, you're right. This is one of the most important issues in this election. I want to appoint Supreme Court justices who understand the way the world really works, who have real-life experience, who have not just been in a big law firm and maybe clerked for a judge and then gotten on the bench, but, you know, maybe they tried some more cases, they actually understand what people are up against.

Because I think the current court has gone in the wrong direction. And so I would want to see the Supreme Court reverse Citizens United and get dark, unaccountable money out of our politics. Donald doesn't agree with that.

I would like the Supreme Court to understand that voting rights are still a big problem in many parts of our country, that we don't always do everything we can to make it possible for people of color and older people and young people to be able to exercise their franchise. I want a Supreme Court that will stick with Roe v. Wade and a woman's right to choose, and I want a Supreme Court that will stick with marriage equality.

Now, Donald has put forth the names of some people that he would consider. And among the ones that he has suggested are people who would reverse Roe v. Wade and reverse marriage equality. I think that would be a terrible mistake and would take us backwards.

I want a Supreme Court that doesn't always side with corporate interests. I want a Supreme Court that understands because you're wealthy and you can give more money to something doesn't mean you have any more rights or should have any more rights than anybody else.

So I have very clear views about what I want to see to kind of change the balance on the Supreme Court. And I regret deeply that the Senate has not done its job and they have not permitted a vote on the person that President Obama, a highly qualified person, they've not given him a vote to be able to be have the full complement of nine Supreme Court justices. I think that was a dereliction of duty.

I hope that they will see their way to doing it, but if I am so fortunate enough as to be president, I will immediately move to make sure that we fill that, we have nine justices that get to work on behalf of our people.

RADDATZ: Thank you, Secretary Clinton. Thank you. You're out of time. Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Justice Scalia, great judge, died recently. And we have a vacancy. I am looking to appoint judges very much in the mold of Justice Scalia. I'm looking for judges — and I've actually picked 20 of them so that people would see, highly respected, highly thought of, and actually very beautifully reviewed by just about everybody.

But people that will respect the Constitution of the United States. And I think that this is so important. Also, the Second Amendment, which is totally under siege by people like Hillary Clinton. They'll respect the Second Amendment and what it stands for, what it represents. So important to me.

Now, Hillary mentioned something about contributions just so you understand. So I will have in my race more than \$100 million put in — of my money, meaning I'm not taking all of this big money from all of these different corporations like she's doing. What I ask is this.

So I'm putting in more than — by the time it's finished, I'll have more than \$100 million invested. Pretty much self-funding money. We're raising money for the Republican Party, and we're doing tremendously on the small donations, \$61 average or so.

I ask Hillary, why doesn't — she made \$250 million by being in office. She used the power of her office to make a lot of money. Why isn't she funding, not for \$100 million, but why don't you put \$10 million or \$20 million or \$25 million or \$30 million into your own campaign?

It's \$30 million less for special interests that will tell you exactly what to do and it would really, I think, be a nice sign to the American public. Why aren't you putting some money in? You have a lot of it. You've made a lot of it because of the fact that you've been in office. Made a lot of it while you were secretary of state, actually. So why aren't you putting money into your own campaign? I'm just curious.

CLINTON: Well...

(CROSSTALK)

RADDATZ: Thank you very much. We're going to get on to one more question.

CLINTON: The question was about the Supreme Court. And I just want to quickly say, I respect the Second Amendment. But I believe there should be comprehensive background checks, and we should close the gun show loophole, and close the online loophole. COOPER: Thank you.

RADDATZ: We have — we have one more question, Mrs. Clinton.

CLINTON: We have to save as many lives as we possibly can.

COOPER: We have one more question from Ken Bone about energy policy. Ken?

QUESTION: What steps will your energy policy take to meet our energy needs, while at the same time remaining environmentally friendly and minimizing job loss for fossil power plant workers?

COOPER: Mr. Trump, two minutes?

TRUMP: Absolutely. I think it's such a great question, because energy is under siege by the Obama administration. Under absolutely siege. The EPA, Environmental Protection Agency, is killing these energy companies. And foreign companies are now coming in buying our — buying

so many of our different plants and then re-jiggering the plant so that they can take care of their oil.

We are killing — absolutely killing our energy business in this country. Now, I'm all for alternative forms of energy, including wind, including solar, et cetera. But we need much more than wind and solar.

And you look at our miners. Hillary Clinton wants to put all the miners out of business. There is a thing called clean coal. Coal will last for 1,000 years in this country. Now we have natural gas and so many other things because of technology. We have unbelievable — we have found over the last seven years, we have found tremendous wealth right under our feet. So good. Especially when you have \$20 trillion in debt.

I will bring our energy companies back. They'll be able to compete. They'll make money. They'll pay off our national debt. They'll pay off our tremendous budget deficits, which are tremendous. But we are putting our energy companies out of business. We have to bring back our workers.

You take a look at what's happening to steel and the cost of steel and China dumping vast amounts of steel all over the United States, which essentially is killing our steelworkers and our steel companies. We have to guard our energy companies. We have to make it possible.

The EPA is so restrictive that they are putting our energy companies out of business. And all you have to do is go to a great place like West Virginia or places like Ohio, which is phenomenal, or places like Pennsylvania and you see what they're doing to the people, miners and others in the energy business. It's a disgrace.

COOPER: Your time is up. Thank you.

TRUMP: It's an absolute disgrace. COOPER: Secretary Clinton, two minutes.

CLINTON: And actually — well, that was very interesting. First of all, China is illegally dumping steel in the United States and Donald Trump is buying it to build his buildings, putting steelworkers and American steel plants out of business. That's something that I fought against as a senator and that I would have a trade prosecutor to make sure that we don't get taken advantage of by China on steel or anything else.

You know, because it sounds like you're in the business or you're aware of people in the business — you know that we are now for the first time ever energy-independent. We are not dependent upon the Middle East. But the Middle East still controls a lot of the prices. So the

price of oil has been way down. And that has had a damaging effect on a lot of the oil companies, right? We are, however, producing a lot of natural gas, which serves as a bridge to more renewable fuels. And I think that's an important transition.

We've got to remain energy-independent. It gives us much more power and freedom than to be worried about what goes on in the Middle East. We have enough worries over there without having to worry about that.

So I have a comprehensive energy policy, but it really does include fighting climate change, because I think that is a serious problem. And I support moving toward more clean, renewable energy as quickly as we can, because I think we can be the 21st century clean energy superpower and create millions of new jobs and businesses.

But I also want to be sure that we don't leave people behind. That's why I'm the only candidate from the very beginning of this campaign who had a plan to help us revitalize coal country, because those coal miners and their fathers and their grandfathers, they dug that coal out. A lot of them lost their lives. They were injured, but they turned the lights on and they powered their factories. I don't want to walk away from them. So we've got to do something for them.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton...

CLINTON: But the price of coal is down worldwide. So we have to look at this comprehensively.

COOPER: Your time is up.

CLINTON: And that's exactly what I have proposed. I hope you will go to HillaryClinton.com and look at my entire policy.

COOPER: Time is up. We have time for one more...

RADDATZ: We have...

COOPER: One more audience question.

RADDATZ: We've sneaked in one more question, and it comes from Karl Becker.

QUESTION: Good evening. My question to both of you is, regardless of the current rhetoric, would either of you name one positive thing that you respect in one another?

(APPLAUSE)

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, would you like to go first?

CLINTON: Well, I certainly will, because I think that's a very fair and important question. Look, I respect his children. His children are incredibly able and devoted, and I think that says a lot

about Donald. I don't agree with nearly anything else he says or does, but I do respect that. And I think that is something that as a mother and a grandmother is very important to me.

So I believe that this election has become in part so — so conflict-oriented, so intense because there's a lot at stake. This is not an ordinary time, and this is not an ordinary election. We are going to be choosing a president who will set policy for not just four or eight years, but because of some of the important decisions we have to make here at home and around the world, from the Supreme Court to energy and so much else, and so there is a lot at stake. It's one of the most consequential elections that we've had.

And that's why I've tried to put forth specific policies and plans, trying to get it off of the personal and put it on to what it is I want to do as president. And that's why I hope people will check on that for themselves so that they can see that, yes, I've spent 30 years, actually maybe a little more, working to help kids and families. And I want to take all that experience to the White House and do that every single day.

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump?

TRUMP: Well, I consider her statement about my children to be a very nice compliment. I don't know if it was meant to be a compliment, but it is a great — I'm very proud of my children. And they've done a wonderful job, and they've been wonderful, wonderful kids. So I consider that a compliment.

I will say this about Hillary. She doesn't quit. She doesn't give up. I respect that. I tell it like it is. She's a fighter. I disagree with much of what she's fighting for. I do disagree with her judgment in many cases. But she does fight hard, and she doesn't quit, and she doesn't give up. And I consider that to be a very good trait.

RADDATZ: Thanks to both of you.

COOPER: We want to thank both the candidates. We want to thank the university here. This concludes the town hall meeting. Our thanks to the candidates, the commission, Washington University, and to everybody who watched.

RADDATZ: Please tune in on October 19th for the final presidential debate that will take place at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. Good night, everyone.

Appendix B: Source Domains identified with all Linguistic Metaphors Within these Source Domains

B1 ANIMALS (Clinton frequency: 0; Trump frequency: 2)

Clinton:

Trump:

They've gone wild with their nuclear program

I've gotten to see some of the most vicious commercials

B2 BUILDINGS (Clinton frequency:1; Trump frequency: 0)

Clinton:

Which serves as a bridge to more renewable fuels

Trump:

B3 CLEANLINESS (Clinton frequency: 2; Trump frequency: 4)

Clinton:

I support moving toward more clean, renewable energy

we can be the 21st century clean energy superpower

Trump:

the 33,000 e-mails that you deleted, and that you acid washed,

you delete 33,000 e-mails, and then you acid wash them

or bleach them, as you would say,

Gadhafi's out. It's a mess.

B4 COMPUTER SYSTEMS (Clinton frequency: 2; Trump frequency: 2)

Clinton:

and foster care system
we might come up with a different system

Trump:

they come into the United States in many cases because their system is so slow
I know nothing about the inner workings of Russia

B5 CONDUCTING A PHYSICAL ACTION (Clinton frequency 49; Trump frequency: 62)

Clinton:

So if we just rip it up
other sites where the Russians hack information
I did vote to close corporate loopholes.
I've produced results for people
I do support the effort
what I can to support children and families
he is supporting me
nine justice that get to work
to try to reach out to every boy and girl,
I want us to heal our country and bring it together
I want to send a message
That's where the vast majority of people get their health care.
We by no means are carrying anywhere near the load
we don't even know if it's accurate information, and then they put it out.
I think we've got to go where the money is.
I did vote to close corporate loopholes
voted to close,
I've been in favor of getting rid of carried interest for years
I don't think American troops should be holding territory

I can to reach out to everybody.
they've not given him a vote
some of the important decisions we have to make here at home
well, we turned over 35,000
our intelligence community just came out and said
the Russian government, are directing the attacks
Warren Buffett is the one who's gone out and said somebody like him
no individual can get away without paying his fair share
take a \$300 billion deficit and turn it into a \$200 billion surplus
I will immediately move to make sure that we fill that
I was making the point that it is hard sometimes to get the Congress to do what you want
We have to make up for lost times,
to get health care for our first responders
I will take that work, that bipartisan work
that finding common ground,
Syrian rebels who are really holding out
we can take Mosul.
I watched my husband take a \$300 billion deficit
Nine million people lost their jobs.
Five million homes were lost.
Donald always takes care of Donald
maybe they tried some more cases,
We have to save as many lives as we possibly can.
no evidence that anyone hacked the server
I want very much to save what works
where an adversary, a foreign power, is working so hard
people who have taken advantage of every single break
the loopholes he took advantage of
make sure that we don't get taken advantage of
I want to send a message

Trump:

my whole concept was to make America great again
We're going to make great trade deals.
It's called make America great again
I'm going to make our country safe.
We're going to make America safe again
We're going to make America great again,
where your plan can actually be tailored
We're cutting taxes
we are cutting them big league
She has made bad judgments
She's made bad judgments on Libya
Kerry and Obama made into a very powerful nation
we could make the country better
They'll make money.
other nations are taking our job
they're taking our wealth.
Get off this question.
Go outside. Look at Paris.
Her papers went out to all her friends at the banks,
I'll release my returns.
I'd do is get rid of carried interes
We're getting rid of carried interest provisions
she's given it to us.
General George Patton, General Douglas MacArthur are spinning in their grave
will give strength to people and will give economics to people and will bring jobs back.
and she also sent a tweet out at 3 o'clock in the morning
Hillary Clinton wants to put all the miners out of business.
But we are putting our energy companies out of business
they are putting our energy companies out of business

We're going to bring back law and order
We have to bring back respect
where Hillary was going to bring back job
he lost his license to practice law.
why she's leaving carried interest.
We're getting rid of regulation
Very interesting why she's leaving carried interest.
they want to leave those lines
Warren Buffett took a massive deduction.
Soros, who's a friend of hers, took a massive deduction.
We lost our jobs
We lost our money
We lost our plants.
Many of her friends took bigger deductions
you can take negative ads on Donald Trump.
Her donors took massive tax write-offs.
Hillary is getting money from
every time we take rebels,
I believe we have to get ISIS
will give economics to people
Her donors took massive tax write-offs.
if it's the Russians doing the hacking.
She complains that Donald Trump took advantage of the tax code.
We have to guard our energy companies
She doesn't give up.
We are killing — absolutely killing our energy business
which essentially is killing our steelworkers

B6 CONFLICT (Clinton frequency: 15; Trump frequency: 18)

Clinton:

Donald insulted and attacked them
even dangerous to be engaging in the kind of demagogic rhetoric that Donald has about Muslims.
I intend to defeat ISIS,
We are not at war with Islam
what Donald Trump says about Muslims is used to recruit fighters
are directing the attacks, the hacking on American accounts
the Russians in the air, bombarding places
The Russian air force to destroy Aleppo
without firing a single shot.
as well as Kurdish Peshmerga fighters,
they need so that Kurdish and Arab fighters on the ground
I went to work for the Children's Defense Fund
That's something that I fought against as a senator
it really does include fighting climate change
So conflict-orientated

Trump:

Hillary Clinton attacked those same women
and attacked them viciously
their lives have been destroyed for doing one-fifth
we could fight ISIS together,
whether it's in Iraq or anywhere else, we're arming people
So she wants to fight
She wants to fight for rebels.
Assad is killing ISIS.
Russia is killing ISIS.
Iran is killing ISIS
Right now, Syria is fighting ISIS.
We have people that want to fight both at the same time.
which is us with our leadership, goes in to fight Mosul
the Second Amendment, which is totally under siege by people like Hillary Clinton

because energy is under siege by the Obama administration

Under absolutely siege.

She's a fighter.

But she does fight hard

B7 CONSTRUCTION (Clinton frequency: 8; Trump frequency: 2)

Clinton:

we're going to really make lives better;

So let's fix what's broken about it

they want to create a war between us.

We need some leverage with the Russians,

I would go to the negotiating table with more leverage

23 million new jobs were created

create millions of new jobs and businesses.

to try to fill the gap between people

Trump:

But we have to build up the wealth of our nation

It was just take a look at the person she built up to be

B8 CONDUIT (Clinton frequency: 2; Trump frequency: 2)

Clinton:

And this is a gift to ISIS

And this would be a massive gift

Trump:

I will bring our energy companies back

We have to bring back our workers

B9 CONTAINER (Clinton frequency: 15; Trump frequency: 33)

Clinton:

to bring them in
I will not let anyone into our country
when people fly into our country?
but he lives in an alternative reality.
we will have pushed ISIS out of Iraq
we take Raqqa after pushing ISIS out of Iraq
You know, right out of law school,
one of my first jobs in politics was
get dark, unaccountable money out of our politics
steelworkers and American steel plants out of business.
it sounds like you're in the business
you're aware of people in the business
the principal way that we take Raqqa after pushing ISIS out

Trump:

People are pouring into our country
they're coming in from the Middle East
If you did that in the private sector
It's maybe the question I get almost more than anything else, outside of defense
we stop insurance companies from coming in and competing
Once we break out
once we break out the lines
by keeping those lines, the boundary lines around each state, it was almost gone
We're going to block grant into the states
block grant into Medicaid
People are coming into our country
hundreds of thousands of people coming in from Syria
in terms of having people come into our country,
we can't force it into their country
I'm going to force them right back into their country
we are letting people into this country

We're also letting drugs pour through our southern border
She wants amnesty for everybody. Come right in
the way they got out of Iraq
now they're in 32 different nations
what she did in Libya with Gadhafi
Gadhafi's out. It's a mess
which is enough to fill up this room.
we have announcements coming out of Washington and coming out of Iraq
or \$30 million into your own campaign?
Why aren't you putting some money in?
why aren't you putting money into your own campaign?
foreign companies are now coming in
we have found tremendous wealth right under our feet

B10 HEALTHINESS (Clinton frequency: 2; Trump frequency: 0)

Clinton:

I never questioned their fitness to serve.
that raises questions about his fitness to be our president,

Trump:

B11 JOURNEY (Clinton frequency: 41; Trump frequency: 22)

Clinton:

I think if we work together, if we overcome the divisiveness
I've set forth some big goals
we go together to try to achieve them
to go back to your question
but he gets to run his campaign any way he chooses
When they go low, you go high.
if I were to do it over again

the most important secrets that we possess, such as going after bin Laden
if we repeal it, as Donald has proposed, and start over again,
we would have to start all over again.
if we were to start all over again,
we just turn it back to the insurance companies
we need to reverse that
here we go again
starting when I was a senator from New York.
they had run toward danger and gotten sickened by it.
every day that goes by
every day that goes by
they are not going to come to the negotiating table
I would go after Baghdadi. I would specifically target Baghdadi,
when I ran for my second term
I started off as a young lawyer working against discrimination
To go back to the very, very first question
divisive campaign that he has run,
I'm proud of the campaign that Bernie Sanders and I ran
We ran a campaign based on issues
We are back on the right track
He would send us back into recession
the current court has gone in the wrong direction
I would want to see the Supreme Court reverse Citizens United
Donald has put forth the names of some people
people who would reverse Roe v. Wade
and reverse marriage equality
that would be a terrible mistake and would take us backwards.
the only candidate from the very beginning of this campaign
I don't want to walk away from them
I've tried to put forth specific policies and plans
we don't leave people behind

I'd like to get to the questions that the people have brought here tonight
I want to take all that experience to the White House

Trump:

I began this campaign because I was so tired
I heard them when they were running for the Senate
That was long before I was ever involved
a race where you lost fair and square
I'm watching Hillary go over facts.
she's going after fact after fact
to go back and ask Congress for more money
Hillary Clinton has been after this for years.
Obamacare was the first step
it was almost gone until just very toward the end of the passage of Obamacare
We are going to areas like Syria where they're coming in by the tens of thousands
we want to send them back to their country
I give up a lot when I run, because I knock out the tax code
because we have corporations leaving
They started from that little area
our nuclear program has fallen way behind
They end up being worse than the people
All you have to do is take a look at her Senate run.
I will have in my race more than \$100 million put in
Coal will last for 1,000 years
I'll be a president that will turn our inner cities around
he's the one that got this started,

B12 OBJECTS (Clinton frequency: 16; Trump frequency: 17)

Clinton:

which is a big deal

taken advantage of every single break
we should close the gun show loophole
and close the online loophole.
insurance companies can't deny you coverage
paying his fair share to support our country.
also advocating for women's rights
a decent chance to have a better life
When I was on the Senate Armed Services Committee
you can be on that policy until the age of 26
I would go to the negotiating table
maybe clerked for a judge and then gotten on the bench
he used some arguments
convincing other people, he used other arguments.
I would have a trade prosecutor
the most consequential elections that we've had.
best way for us to get the future

Trump:

Their method of fixing it is
We have to repeal it and replace it
it has to be repealed and replaced.
we should get on to much more important things
ISIS has a good chunk of their oil
something that in some form has morphed into a extreme vetting
We have a divided nation
We have a very divided nation
We have a divided nation
we're going to
So we're going to get a special prosecutor
You know, when we have a world
You're going to have plans

Obama said you keep your doctor
you keep your plan.
Including fixing and making our inner cities better

B13 RESOURCES (Clinton frequency: 3; Trump frequency: 2)

Clinton:

I've spent a lot of time thinking
Russia hasn't paid any attention to ISIS.
I've spent 30 years, actually maybe a little more, working to help kids

Trump:

We know nothing about their values
a very powerful nation and a very rich nation,
She called it the gold standard.
it turned out that she did say the gold standard and she said she didn't say it.

B14 NATURAL FORCE (Clinton frequency: 15; Trump frequency: 28)

Clinton:

there is a determined effort by the Russian air force to destroy Aleppo
I would not use American ground forces in Syria
they would have to do as an occupying force.
we will have pushed ISIS out of Iraq
he said you've got it, and he never wavered.
He stuck with me.
\$13 trillion in family wealth was wiped out.
a Supreme Court that will stick with Roe v. Wade
that will stick with marriage equality
clean energy superpower
women can't be charged more than men
we will have vetting that is as tough as it needs to be
since the Great Recession, the gains have all gone to the top

kids now have a chance to be adopted
the way it's exploding and the way Republicans are leaving you

Trump:

ISIS happened a number of years ago in a vacuum that was left
we can't force it into their country

I'm going to force them right back into their country
the way they got out of Iraq, the vacuum they've left
she has been a disaster as a senator

A disaster.

It was a disaster.

everything she's done in foreign policy has been a mistake and it's been a disaster.

I think that it basically has fallen.

It basically has fallen.

NAFTA, signed by her husband, is perhaps the greatest disaster trade deal

It stripped us of manufacturing job

It is a disaster.

I would just get it by osmosis.

I'm shocked to hear that.

our country has the slowest growth

jobs are a disaster

jobs are a disaster

B15 PERSON/ PEOPLE (Clinton frequency: 32; Trump frequency: 14)

Clinton:

I told him what the city needed
this is the America that I know and love
this is the America that I will serve
That's what America is.

We need American Muslims to be part of our eyes and ears on our front lines.

We by no means are carrying anywhere near the load
getting the economy to work for everyone,
when we're talking about reining in the costs
Medicare, [...] which takes care of our elderly and does a great job doing it,
Including saying, look, I'm sorry, you've got diabetes
without causing great distress within our own county
a foreign power, is working so hard
we should demand that Donald release all of his tax returns
I want a Supreme Court that doesn't always side with corporate interests
The Kurds have been our best partners in Syria
This is the only one country he's ever known.
I told him what the city needed, what we needed to recover
I would like the Supreme Court to understand that
a Supreme Court that understands because you're wealthy
China is illegally dumping steel in the United States
the Middle East still controls a lot of the prices.
The entire press corps has looked at it.
I believe, because of Russian aggression

Trump:

we're giving back \$150 billion to a terrorist state,
we've made them a strong country
from really a very weak country
China dumping vast amounts of steel all over the United States
the Gulf states, who are not carrying their weight,
take a look at Russia, and look at what they did this week
We sign a peace treaty
The biggest problem I have with the stupidity of our foreign policy,
They'll respect the Second Amendment and what it stands for,
We're tired
Environmental Protection Agency, is killing these energy companies

B16 PLANTS (Clinton frequency: 1; Trump frequency: 3)

Clinton:

the entanglements and the financial relationships that he has...

Trump:

We have no growth in this country

There's no growth.

And that's, like, no growth.

B17 PUZZLE (Clinton frequency: 1; Trump frequency: 1)

Clinton:

he's going to solve it by repealing it

Trump:

Now, to solve a problem

B18 RENEWAL (Clinton frequency: 4; Trump frequency: 4)

Clinton:

I want us to heal our country

which takes care of our elderly

who had a plan to help us revitalize coal country

what we needed to recover, he said you've got it,

Trump:

we will be able to take care of people

they have nothing but money, and take care of people.

We are going to be thriving again

the plant so that they can take care of their oil.

B19 SEEING (Clinton frequency: 18; Trump frequency: 32)

Clinton:

it is very important for us to make clear to our children
We are going to be looking for ways to celebrate
But I think it's clear to anyone
he clarified what he meant. And it's very clear.
My vision of America is an America where everyone has a place,
It's also very short-sighted and even dangerous
and that's what I want to see.
we see the results of the regime by Assad
some of it is to signal to the Sunnis in the area
I think when you look at the letters that I get
those of us who have had the great privilege of seeing this job up close
get dark, unaccountable money out of our politics
So I have very clear views
I hope that they will see their way to doing it
but they turned the lights on and they powered their factories
we have to look at this comprehensively.
will check on that for themselves so that they can see that, yes, I've spent 30 years

Trump:

I was so tired of seeing such foolish things
When I watch the deals being made
when I watch what's happening with some horrible things
I look forward to doing it.
they look at our country
If you look at Bill Clinton
And all you have to do is take a look at WikiLeaks
to get a special prosecutor to look into your situation
we're going to look into it,

When they see hatred going on,
all of the problems that you see going on, hundreds of thousands of people coming in from
Syria
Look at what she did in Libya
But if you look at Russia
just take a look at Russia,
look at what they did this week,
You take a look at Mosul.
you go into the inner cities and — you see it's 45 percent poverty
All you have to do is take a look at her Senate run
You look at Charlotte
You look at Baltimore
You look at the violence that's taking place in the inner cities
you take a look at Washington, D.C.
here wasn't check out a sex tape.
It was just take a look at the person
take a look at Benghazi
I'm looking for judges
I think, be a nice sign to the American public
You take a look at what's happening to steel
paces like Pennsylvania and you see what they're doing to the people

B20 SOUND (Clinton frequency: 1; Trump frequency: 1)

Clinton:

I think that says a lot about Donald

Trump:

Why can't they do it quietly?

B21 SPORT (Clinton frequency: 4; Trump frequency: 8)

Clinton:

throw it away
let's not throw it away
I would specifically target Baghdad
I think our targeting of Al Qaida leaders
young people to be able to exercise their franchise.

Trump:

we're going to have so much competition in the insurance industry
she got caught in a total lie
because I knock out the tax code
We're exhausted in terms of nuclear.
I think you have to knock out ISIS.
American public that we've knocked out the leaders,
they go in and they knock out the leadership
he's another real winner that you have

B22 OUTCOMES (Clinton frequency: 2; Trump frequency: 0)

Clinton:

we see the results of the regime
I think that would be a very serious mistake.

Trump:

B23 VERTICAL ELEVATION (Clinton frequency: 28; Trump frequency: 43)

Clinton:

Premiums have gotten too high.
But we've got to get costs down
his tax cuts would end up raising taxes on middle-class families

parents are calling it the Trump effect. Bullying is up.
voting rights are still a big problem
You know, under our Constitution
we are going to respect one another, lift each other up
not just those at the top
a series of actions that we can take to try to get those costs down
which has to be the highest priority
if you're under 26
We've got to provide additional help to small businesses
that's the highest we've ever been
get costs down and keep quality up.
the biggest tax cuts they've ever had,
Americans as you know — will have their taxes raised,
somebody like him should not be paying a lower tax rate
I want to have a surcharge on incomes above \$5 million.
the gains have all gone to the top.
a treaty with Russia to lower nuclear weapons.
one of my first jobs in politics was down in south Texas
incomes went up for everybody
African-American incomes went up 33 percent.
who have not just been in a big law firm
And I regret deeply that the Senate has not done its job
Obama, a highly qualified person,
the price of oil has been way down.
But the price of coal is down worldwide

Trump:

health care is going up by numbers
It's going up at numbers

one of the biggest line items very shortly.
your rates going up
your deductibles are going up,
it was a big lie
That's the big difference
That's a big, big difference.
Many of her friends took bigger deductions
took massive deductions.
I'm lowering taxes actually,
Hillary Clinton is raising your taxes
She's raising your taxes really high.
But she is raising your taxes
I'm lowering your taxes.
that our taxes are so high,
just about the highest in the world.
I'm bringing them down
one of the lower in the world
she is raising everybody's taxes massively.
When I go one second over, it's like a big deal.
We have an increase in murder
the biggest in 45 years.
I'm not taking all of this big money from all of these different corporations
we're doing tremendously on the small donations
because we have corporations leaving — massive corporations
corporations and little ones
little ones can't form
She's raising your taxes really high.
So you can put it down
20 of them so that people would see, highly respected
highly thought of,
We're raising money

I will tell you that when Hillary brings up a point like that
why aren't you bringing up the e-mails?
which goes hand in hand with the lowering of the taxes.
But we're bringing the tax rate down
We're down at 1 percent.
And we're going lower, in my opinion.

Appendix C: The Use of ‘into’ in COCA

<u>1</u>	range of understanding about print and non-conventional literacy behaviors that begins before schooling and leads into conventional reading, speaking, viewing, and thinking " (Zygouris-Coe, 2001,
<u>2</u>	well prepared and less stressed in a crisis. When calling an ambulance or checking into an ER, thinking of everything is difficult; but with the notebook handy,
<u>3</u>	a plant that can change daily brings life to someone who can not get out into nature. Bringing in objects from the house or telling about the condition of the
<u>4</u>	That nurse is looking at me funny " or " I think someone has gotten into my bank account. " The caregiver may want to say, " Now you
<u>5</u>	is vital, some school-district leaders have already begun planning and implementing purposeful communication practices into their school systems (Walters, 2013). The approaches they use are varied
<u>6</u>	and demand may become what Ingersoll and Smith (2003) have called pouring water into a bucket with holes in it. Teacher educators have many responsibilities in their roles
<u>7</u>	regard to preparing candidates for finding jobs. I discuss where to fit job searching into an already full curriculum and how to teach all aspects of the search process.
<u>8</u>	students know this information when entering the program. Although candidates should not be scared into changing their majors based on anecdotal stories, clear communication from professors and other teachers
<u>9</u>	students' drive to succeed. The authors offer steps for adding or reinstating subjectivity into classroom grading practices. # In a society where education focuses on objective learning standards
<u>1</u> <u>0</u>	lab reports, or projects. Hence, the first step of grading subjectively comes into play again: subjective categories should be in alignment with the objective tools being used
<u>1</u> <u>1</u>	. Next, we examined these statements, grouped them, and finally coded them into themes. # Results # Research Question 1. To answer the first research question
<u>1</u> <u>2</u>	also provided an opportunity for students to combine out-of-school literacies with academic literacies by tapping into their digital world. # The instructional approach through Concept-Oriented Reading Instruction (CORI)
<u>1</u> <u>3</u>	on the Power Point, it was hard to put every aspect of the tour into a smooth, and understandable presentation. But I was excited to take on the
<u>1</u> <u>4</u>	, 2012; Kist, 2002). # Bringing aspects of students' experience into the classroom allowed my students to construct their identities within their social environment, provided
<u>1</u> <u>5</u>	(3), 397-433. # Hennessy, S. (2006). Integrating technology into teaching and learning of school science: A situated perspective on pedagogical issues in research
<u>1</u> <u>6</u>	and communicating with students via social networking platforms. # Bringing such digital tool use into the classroom provides students with opportunities to write in and reflect critically upon the social
<u>1</u> <u>7</u>) have found that studying individuals' literacy practices outside school can provide valuable insight into their overall literacy development. Given the value of students' nonacademic literacies, students
<u>1</u> <u>8</u>	ideological contexts that affect everything we write (Canagarajah, 2002). # Research into nonacademic digital literacies has shown that individuals exercise similar critical literacy skills through instant message
<u>1</u> <u>9</u>	demonstrated that users engage in a complex array of literacy " moves " that take into consideration the rhetorical situation created by a user's web of connections on the site

<u>2</u> <u>0</u>	choices as rhetorical. # Much recent scholarship that describes practices for bringing digital literacies into writing classrooms has emphasized the potential for fostering students' critical literacy skills through the
<u>2</u> <u>1</u>	social learning is predicated on the fact that it immerses learners in processes of induction into the 'ways' of becoming 'full practitioners'? and getting hands-on practice
<u>2</u> <u>2</u>	of the need to switch between netspeak and formal writing when writing for school called into question her identity as a student. She said that students would have more opportunities
<u>2</u> <u>3</u>	that takes considerable practice to learn. Inviting forms of language use such as netspeak into classroom writing practices offers students the chance to reflect on and understand the ways they
<u>2</u> <u>4</u>	rather than, in her words, " bringing somebody that I'm not " into the classroom. She suggested that such an assignment could draw on the skills she
<u>2</u> <u>5</u>	drawing on Craig's and Sarah's ideas for bringing students' existing digital literacies into writing courses, teachers must keep two cautions in mind. First, in any
<u>2</u> <u>6</u>	to promote students' critical digital literacies. By bringing students' nonacademic digital literacies into writing education, teachers can facilitate students' critical thinking about the technologies they use
<u>2</u> <u>7</u>	figures and actors move through time and space, and the technical conventions that go into filming (Mills, 2011b). You have also looked at transmediation in the
<u>2</u> <u>8</u>	interaction between media, and " the specific ways that multimodal composers bring multiple media into play with one another as part of a single, overall composing process " (
<u>2</u> <u>9</u>	Kalantzis, 2000). These videos can take on many different forms and fit into curricula in a variety of ways, including artistic videos, documentaries, claymation,
<u>3</u> <u>0</u>	watch one another's videos on their own and then make comments, which fed into the students' creativity (see Figure 2). # Kathy: So,
<u>3</u> <u>1</u>	And here is where the students pushed the boundaries a bit by bringing something new into the mix in the classroom that had a transformative and productive effect. # According
<u>3</u> <u>2</u>	. The authors briefly discuss their previous work in this area, and then move into a discussion of how the material spaces in which students create videos profoundly shape the
<u>3</u> <u>3</u>). The interactive potential of multiple media: Integrating digital video and Web-based reading into inquiry projects. <i>Voices from the Middle</i> , 17(3), 36-43. # Schatzki, T.
<u>3</u> <u>4</u>	West Australian Study in Adolescent Book Reading (WASABR) were analyzed to provide insight into the influence of friend encouragement, friend attitude, and the peer group attitude on
<u>3</u> <u>5</u>	, using Qualtrics survey software, or in paper form, with results subsequently entered into Qualtrics. All data were stored in Qualtrics on a cloud. The survey contained
<u>3</u> <u>6</u>	argument for differentiating between the two with greater rigor. Further correlation analysis is revealed insight into the significance of this influence, and whether or not it is equal for boys
<u>3</u> <u>7</u>	underpins the importance for researchers to resist the urge to subsume " friend " influences into more general, broader peer influences without qualification. # There are many ways to
<u>3</u> <u>8</u>	gives students a chance to read toward a movie experience, and perhaps gain insight into the next big book/film phenomenon. Letting students have input in defining what is "
<u>3</u> <u>9</u>	deeper understanding of the literate practices within their own discipline, and stimulate further inquiry into disciplinary ways with words. # Broaden Conceptions of Text and Literacy # Promoting disciplinary
<u>4</u> <u>0</u>	, Charbonnet, S., & Henkel, M. (2008). Integrating reading into middle school science: What we did, found, and learned. <i>International Journal</i>

<u>4</u> <u>1</u>	data sources and types were signaled by reoccurring codes. These codes were then placed into larger categories; reoccurring categories resulted in themes. # We also used discourse analysis
<u>4</u> <u>2</u>	held a silent auction, allowing the public to bid to have their dogs incorporated into the plot, and one of the list members had won the auction. Other
<u>4</u> <u>3</u>	to access online sites with such remarks as, " Copy and paste this link into your browser. " To assist others in becoming computer savvy, Linda shared a
<u>4</u> <u>4</u>	very special framed memorial square is to receive a gift with so much love built into it as much a gift from Mira as from you. I do believe she
<u>4</u> <u>5</u>	source of comfort. # One list member created a stylized graphic of Mira going into the light (departing for heaven) by modifying a photograph of Lu and Mira
<u>4</u> <u>6</u>	(Williams & Murphy, 2002). List members in this forum initiated others into literate cultures by acting as literacy agents online, recommending, summarizing, and reviewing
<u>4</u> <u>7</u>	go in and the moves you made during the missions. The game also went into detail on what you had to do and gave you hints along the way.
<u>4</u> <u>8</u>	relation to more traditional literature. # There are many reasons for bringing popular culture into the classroom, including the opportunity to tap into the evident pleasure and active engagement
<u>4</u> <u>9</u>	many reasons for bringing popular culture into the classroom, including the opportunity to tap into the evident pleasure and active engagement often entailed, the ability to build bridges between
<u>5</u> <u>0</u>	in students' lives and to avoid attempting to take it over, turning it into school. We need to recognize and respect what popular culture means in students'

Appendix D: The Use of 'Rebuild' in COCA

<u>1</u>	themselves again in the biblical roots of religious life and to use this foundation to rebuild community life. This will require new models suitable for adults who have come together
<u>2</u>	I doing here? I had come to see them. # Hanoi, bustling to rebuild itself, is a beautiful little city, with tree-lined streets, more bicycles than
<u>3</u>	human relationships. When trust, respect, or communication erodes, our struggle to rebuild the relationship proves our commitment to and love for the other person. Feeling bothered
<u>4</u>	, and industriousness. In the 1930s, the Works Progress Administration did more than rebuild the nation's infrastructure. It hired 40, 000 artists and other cultural
<u>5</u>	during a tragedy, it provides a way to make sense of that tragedy and rebuild your life. If your life has been a struggle with illness or doubt,
<u>6</u>	to discuss the return of another sort of European historical pathology Vladimir Putin's attempt to rebuild the Russian empire at the expense of, among others, Leanc?'s
<u>7</u>	many, many people feel that through this loss, there is an opportunity to rebuild in a new and better way. Out of any loss, there's an
<u>8</u>	helped develop #Respond-With Love, a Ramadan initiative that crowdfunded more than \$110,470 to help rebuild the eight southern Black churches that were burned after the Emanuel AME Church shooting.
<u>9</u>	or car payments in advance, Oliver suggests. # Give yourself a cushion. Rebuild your emergency fund, aiming for three to six months of living expenses, Griffin
<u>10</u>	4122788 has run The 4123196, a Birmingham-based nonprofit she founded to help those victims rebuild their lives. To date she's rescued more than 200 women, housing
<u>11</u>	with Henry and Charles. They were also prompted by the king's need to rebuild a 'royal affinity' of support among the nobility, which had been weakened
<u>12</u>	thinned, allowing light to hit the bulbs' leaves, allowing the bulbs to rebuild their energy stores. Fall-flowering bulbs to plant under trees include Cyclamen hederifolium and autumn
<u>13</u>	you've tapped the account, what if it takes more than a year to rebuild it? # TREATMENT: Lean on a Roth. Say you're contributing \$200
<u>14</u>	\$200 a month to a Roth IRA. You don't have to stop to rebuild emergency savings, says Austin financial planner Garrett Prom. Just " keep those new
<u>15</u>	# Sell bonds. If you aren't funding a Roth and are looking to rebuild emergency savings all at once, do it in the most tax-efficient way. Instead
<u>16</u>	at the metal recycling center in San Diego. # Though Niederhoffer had chosen to rebuild his business without Keeley after the Thai collapse, he hadn't cast him out
<u>17</u>	Mary said, and smiled. " Volunteers came from all over to help us rebuild . They stayed at my house for a long time. They did a great
<u>18</u>	plan, Congress and the states would get two years to find the money to rebuild what's left of the country. # 19th Amendment # What it does:
<u>19</u>	years to add pumps, construct a fire station at a higher elevation, and rebuild portions of the sea wall that nearly encircles the island. But options are limited.
<u>20</u>	knocked out his power of speech and his peripheral vision. He now works to rebuild his mind with mental tasks like counting backward from 50, but he suffers daily

<u>2</u> <u>1</u>	my junior and senior years I went to the Netherlands on a summer program to rebuild dikes washed out by the great flood of 1953. I photographed and co-authored a
<u>2</u> <u>2</u>	the defense industrial base, which is so complex and would take so long to rebuild that, if it were lost, it could be lost forever. # Military
<u>2</u> <u>3</u>	. To deter or, in the worst case, battle China, we must rebuild our naval and air forces far beyond their current levels, and construct new,
<u>2</u> <u>4</u>	bridge. This is really going to hurt. The District Department of Transportation must rebuild the span that takes 16th Street NW over Military Road NW. Military Road gets
<u>2</u> <u>5</u>	done here for political reasons. " Holder said that his team " had to rebuild this department " and that it was " a little irresponsible " for Hill folks
<u>2</u> <u>6</u>	n't all driven by the United States. The Obama administration's efforts to quietly rebuild relationships here are starting to have an effect, analysts say. " You now
<u>2</u> <u>7</u>	architect Shalom Baranes. " The whole point of cities is to rejuvenate, to rebuild , to densify. And if you get overly concerned about shadows, then it
<u>2</u> <u>8</u>	of likable youngsters such as Trent Murphy and Preston Smith. A slow and patient rebuild sounds fine in April, but who wants to be slow and patient when a
<u>2</u> <u>9</u>	Secure Communities program. " " We see this as DHS kind of rebranding to rebuild the trust they lost with a lot of local law enforcement agencies, " she
<u>3</u> <u>0</u>	have been through so much. This Administration will finish the job of helping them rebuild . In 2014, we balanced our budget in a way that was honest,
<u>3</u> <u>1</u>	see a long series of state-level elections, in which the party can begin to rebuild . Let's hope, for Germany's sake, that they succeed. Anna
<u>3</u> <u>2</u>	my addiction to the front, got me into treatment and that allowed me to rebuild the relationship with my wife. " Ehlo resigned his coaching job to undergo treatment
<u>3</u> <u>3</u>	traded during a tumultuous offseason in which the Braves dove headfirst into a plan to rebuild for 2017 and beyond while attempting to stay competitive in the interim. " When
<u>3</u> <u>4</u>	ground zero in war theater, if this country can spend billions of dollars to rebuild a foreign nation after war, " he said, " why shouldn't we
<u>3</u> <u>5</u>	, " he said, " why shouldn't we spend a few million to rebuild a community after its ground zero experiences in this country? " That's experiences
<u>3</u> <u>6</u>	that held them back, " Evans said. " It's a chance to rebuild . " That word --- rebuild --- has become Amanda Momin's mantra. The
<u>3</u> <u>7</u>	Evans said. " It's a chance to rebuild. " That word --- rebuild --- has become Amanda Momin's mantra. The 23-year-old had been in and out
<u>3</u> <u>8</u>	their lessons. Two years later, voters passed a \$1.7 billion bond referendum to rebuild an interstate and install light rail alongside. In 2004, voters approved the all-transit
<u>3</u> <u>9</u>	officials said. Louisiana New Orleans: The Audubon Commission approved a \$7.1 million contract to rebuild its Louisiana Nature Center in Joe Brown Park, the Times-Picayune reported. The center
<u>4</u> <u>0</u>	" rallied (and ate) at a fundraiser/cookout to help Bryan and Nikki Furman rebuild after their restaurant, B's Cracklin' Barbeque, burned down, the Morning
<u>4</u> <u>1</u>	yet, it would be shortsighted to tear it down and go for a total rebuild . " Still, the White Sox also are realistic, knowing their 0.95 ERA

<u>4</u> <u>2</u>	has made Frazier an attractive trade chip on a fourth-place club that might choose to rebuild -- has largely been about better execution and an improved approach that have helped his
<u>4</u> <u>3</u>	, \$24million deal with Dallas a year ago paved the way for the Mavericks' rebuild . Without the financial flexibility gained from his below-market deal, the Mavs couldn't
<u>4</u> <u>4</u>	(29-62) What went right: Not much. The Phillies have been in rebuild mode all year, though Ryan Howard has hit 15 home runs and is on
<u>4</u> <u>5</u>	their overall depth is awful. It will take new GM Scot McCloughan time to rebuild it.
<u>4</u> <u>6</u>	the first hours after the 9/11 attacks, Americans and New Yorkers were determined to rebuild quickly at Ground Zero. But the task was impossibly complicated; the rail lines
<u>4</u> <u>7</u>	improved and should contend for a wild card berth. The Braves have entered full rebuild mode. The Phillies? It's going to get ugly in the City of
<u>4</u> <u>8</u>	for more than 1 1/2 years for federal money so they can come back to rebuild . Before the flood, there were 2,035 people who called Lyons home. Now
<u>4</u> <u>9</u>	he later learned that because his home was in a floodway, he could not rebuild on his property. He secured some funding from the federal government but more money
<u>5</u> <u>0</u>	program being administered by the town, but those residents haven't been able to rebuild yet. The rest have chosen to sell their lots while others just moved on
<u>5</u> <u>1</u>	to sell their lots while others just moved on, she said. Choosing to rebuild David Orback chose to rebuild his longtime home on Park Street. He had to
<u>5</u> <u>2</u>	others just moved on, she said. Choosing to rebuild David Orback chose to rebuild his longtime home on Park Street. He had to redo his first floor totally
<u>5</u> <u>3</u>	seemingly endless bureaucratic arm wrestling match with town officials over attempts to get permits to rebuild their homes. They confronted town leaders at a public meeting earlier this month demanding
<u>5</u> <u>4</u>	nine businesses two years ago, and federal floodplain rules make it nearly impossible to rebuild so close to the river. His store and the Inn of Glen Haven,
<u>5</u> <u>5</u>	reforms under Chinese leader Deng, launched in the early 1990s, has not helped rebuild China's spiritual infrastructure, decimated during war and the Cultural Revolution. China's
<u>5</u> <u>6</u>	problem, he warns: It is not easy, after a lapse, to rebuild trust with people. " The building of networks is much more difficult than the
<u>5</u> <u>7</u>	sprawling megalopolis of 18 million people. " We're talking about the need to rebuild Russia's economy from the grassroots, " says Alexei Devyatov, chief economist for
<u>5</u> <u>8</u>	, resistance, and Israeli arrests of elected officials Hold national parliamentary and presidential elections Rebuild the PLO to include Hamas and Islamic Jihad, and better engage the Palestinian people
<u>5</u> <u>9</u>	is a right for everyone, something that helps victims and their families begin to rebuild their lives. " When we started DASH, it was really important that we
<u>6</u> <u>0</u>	The show benefits the Barnabas Connection, which is helping Wimberley and its residents to rebuild . \$20-\$25. 2-10 p.m. 12225 Highway 290 West. nuttybrown.com. - P.B. Also: The
<u>6</u> <u>1</u>	obtain the written permission of the father. Highways: Raising billions of dollars to rebuild Interstate 70 and repair other roads and bridges could draw debate, though legislators may
<u>6</u> <u>3</u>	Max Scherzer is expected to sign somewhere shortly. As part of their overdue rebuild , the Philadelphia Phillies may finally deal Cole Hamels, who has four years remaining

<u>6</u> <u>4</u>	beginning of the Wrigley makeover. The Cubs will continue to tear things down, rebuild them, install the required amenities and cover it all with as much gloss as
<u>6</u> <u>5</u>	occur at a faster rate than the rate at which the bone is able to rebuild itself, according to the University of Wisconsin's sports medicine department. Panthers coach
<u>6</u> <u>6</u>	. Tom Corbett in the November election, described his proposal as an effort to rebuild the middle class by investing in schools, attracting solid jobs and making government more
<u>6</u> <u>7</u>	- how to maintain freedom and order in the newly emerging nations - how to rebuild the stature of American science and education - how to prevent the collapse of our
<u>6</u> <u>8</u>	the morning and do your job. " A complete overhaul Huntington's first roster rebuild didn't take hold. Eight days after taking the job Sept. 25, 2007
<u>6</u> <u>9</u>	Church building in Beaver Falls in 2008, the members' first impulse was to rebuild . But the declining congregation had barely been getting by before the fire, so
<u>7</u> <u>0</u>	a year ago and 4.7 cents per gallon lower than a month ago. AMISH REBUILD BURNED BUSINESS NEW CASTLE, Pa. - Some Amish neighbors have helped a Western Pennsylvania
<u>7</u> <u>1</u>	BUSINESS NEW CASTLE, Pa. - Some Amish neighbors have helped a Western Pennsylvania businessman rebuild a saw-sharpening shop that burned in a fire less than two months ago. Kaufman
<u>7</u> <u>2</u>	several Amish neighbors - many of whom are customers of the business - gathered to rebuild it Saturday. The owner said he's already open on a limited basis and
<u>7</u> <u>3</u>	years, the CONCACAF soccer body wants to pass sweeping new leadership rules to help rebuild . The North and Central American and Caribbean governing body published anti-corruption proposals today after
<u>7</u> <u>4</u>	owner George Mowl promised the state - which still owns the land - he would rebuild the resort in exchange for a lease through at least 2033. A bank foreclosed
<u>7</u> <u>5</u>	, the company is taking 734 out of service for a federally mandated inspection and rebuild , so it's on its " farewell for now " tour. The railroad
<u>7</u> <u>6</u>	cops out on the street. " City staff also aided in the plan to rebuild the department, hiring part-time analysts and transferring a clerical employee to CMPD to help
<u>7</u> <u>7</u>	Executive Tom Hatch all said they are optimistic about the Police Department's ability to rebuild quickly. " I think that it comes down to credibility, " Sharpnack said
<u>7</u> <u>8</u>	was promoted to fire captain in 2001. Wearing two hats he was asked to rebuild the headquarter's fitness center and coordinate the recruit training program. Paul helped with
<u>7</u> <u>9</u>	cops out on the street. " City staff also aided in the plan to rebuild the department, hiring part-time analysts and transferring a clerical employee to CMPD to help
<u>8</u> <u>0</u>	Executive Tom Hatch all said they are optimistic about the Police Department's ability to rebuild quickly. " I think that it comes down to credibility, " Sharpnack said
<u>8</u> <u>1</u>	will take swift and immediate steps towards addressing the issues within its organization to quickly rebuild a culture with strong ethical practices that will restore the reputation of the games for
<u>8</u> <u>2</u>	, The McAlester News-Capital reported. Oregon Oakridge: State contractors completed a project to rebuild a tunnel on Highway 58 southeast of Eugene. The Register-Guard reported that the project
<u>8</u> <u>3</u>	credits, which Ukraine won't be able to repay, but as aid to rebuild its collapsing economy. Aslund has called for a Marshall Plan to save Ukraine,
<u>8</u> <u>4</u>	Ukraine is more difficult than the one faced by postwar Europe because it needs to rebuild economically while the war is still going on in this case, the war caused by

<u>8</u> <u>5</u>	in November, is the just-installed party leader and now has months of work to rebuild an organization decimated by the rout. He will have to guide the party as
<u>8</u> <u>6</u>	human. For this purpose, a significant attempt has been made by Christians to rebuild their relationships with different Christian groups and members of other religions. # Even though
<u>8</u> <u>7</u>	than to love one's neighbor, here we see that it is easier to rebuild a relationship with God through repentance than to rebuild relationships between people within the context
<u>8</u> <u>8</u>	see that it is easier to rebuild a relationship with God through repentance than to rebuild relationships between people within the context of a community. The Parable of the Neglected
<u>8</u> <u>9</u>	tribal rituals and ways of life. 7 Indigenous traditionalists, 8 who are attempting to rebuild native practices after centuries of oppression, are understandably wary of interreligious or intercultural events
<u>9</u> <u>0</u>	compassion and may You rest within it, as You have spoken. May You rebuild it soon in our days as an eternal structure and may You speedily establish the
<u>9</u> <u>1</u>	. I used coding and thematic awareness categorization strategies to deconstruct, rearrange, and rebuild the data, incorporating Maxwell's three types of categories in the process: (
<u>9</u> <u>2</u>	the 1460s (until after Cosimo's death in 1464, when the decision to rebuild it was made by his son Piero il Gottoso). Herzner shows that documentation
<u>9</u> <u>3</u>	's in Rome another--its destruction, regardless of the urgent motives of the community to rebuild , was not a project lightly undertaken. In fact, the builders initially appear
<u>9</u> <u>4</u>	jihadists would ward off Shiite influence in Syria, fight and topple Assad, and rebuild the country according to Ankara's ideological and geostrategic preferences. # Ideologically, the
<u>9</u> <u>5</u>	as a result of a call to teacher librarians in Australia to " rethink, rebuild , and rebrand " their school libraries (Hay, 2010). # As
<u>9</u> <u>6</u>	and confidence- and morale-building is vital. The new Government has two choices - to rebuild an NHS practice nurses can be proud to serve, or to oversee its descent
<u>9</u> <u>7</u>	first time a military General held this position. Marshall presented a comprehensive plan to rebuild Europe soon after his appointment (Mee 33-34). Charles Mee argues that American
<u>9</u> <u>8</u>	Mee 33-34). Charles Mee argues that American policymakers who created the plans to rebuild and boost productivity in Europe felt only America stood between' " red slavery "
<u>9</u> <u>9</u>	skills will enable me to provide the leadership needed during the coming years as we rebuild CEC into the " premier organization for special educators. " # The top three to
<u>1</u> <u>0</u> <u>0</u>	of military aid from the Ming. # As Chos? n slowly began to rebuild , the country was invaded by the Manchus in 1636. The Koreans fought back

Appendix E: The Use of 'build up' in COCA.

<u>1</u>	have started at this part. HODA-KOTB# No, No, because you have to build up . Go. (Hoda Kotb and Kathie Lee Gifford singing) KATHIE-LEE-GIFFORD#
<u>2</u>	absence of rain in a given week, you can't tie that into the build up unprecedented of carbon dioxide and methane and other greenhouse gases. We know there
<u>3</u>	. The grass will come through that light layer and over time you can slowly build up the grade, get rid of those low spots, get rid of standing
<u>4</u>	about. In fact today, we're going to be watching all this warm build up Thursday. It stays down south, but we start to see it cool
<u>5</u>	. It's going to be interesting nights. A lot of momentum could be build up out of this. VINITA-NAIR# You can come back and talk about the dress
<u>7</u>	when you are ready, you can commit to permanence. We want to build up a population on Mars and -- and we can do that, because we
<u>8</u>	. And I will also bring back wealth to our country. And I will build up our military, so that nobody is going to mess with us. And
<u>9</u>	way I know to make America safe is to confront the enemy over there and build up people in the region who will fight. The good for us, what
<u>1</u> <u>0</u>	that you brought up and it was about this deal, that somehow they can build up as long as it is in a secret facility -- PERINO# Right. The
<u>1</u> <u>1</u>	House does continue to believe, that a successful counterterrorism strategy is one that will build up the capacity of the central government, to have local fighters on the ground
<u>1</u> <u>2</u>	more straight ahead. (BEGIN-VIDEO-CLIP) TRUMP# One of the things we have to do is build up our military so strong and so powerful... (CHEERS-AND-APPLAUSE) TRUMP#... that nobody's
<u>1</u> <u>3</u>	Dusseldorf, where he sometimes stayed, torn-up sick notes for Lubitz are helping prosecutors build up a picture of the 27-year-old. " The fact that a ripped-up current sick
<u>1</u> <u>4</u>	is a little bit less than the year they had the year before -- you build up tensions inside. On the other hand, to suggest that those tensions have
<u>1</u> <u>5</u>	doing the same thing here. You will find an escalating tendency: as we build up . they'll build up. This has been the pattern of the past
<u>1</u> <u>6</u>	. You will find an escalating tendency: as we build up. they'll build up . This has been the pattern of the past: it will be the
<u>1</u> <u>7</u>	Soviet people are used to living on a low standard of living. If they build up an external threat, or an image that this is for patriotic reasons,
<u>1</u> <u>8</u>	. I doubt it very much. to make it credible, they have to build up the Chinese. This is a very easy thing for them to do because
<u>1</u> <u>9</u>	they have to create alarms and excursions overseas to justify a buildup? Will they build up . or will our increase in military spending cause them to be more interested
<u>2</u> <u>0</u>	to work something out with Iran, and to torpedo this deal means Iran can build up its nuclear program. SEN-JOHN-THUNE# Well, I'm not -- I don't
<u>2</u> <u>1</u>	not make it an event that they dread, but an event that we really build up and they actually look forward to. JUDY-WOODRUFF# Those are some of the stories
<u>2</u> <u>3</u>	China has recently tried to expand its claim by dumping tons of sand to build up small reefs into islands capable of holding military equipment. MAN# China would rather

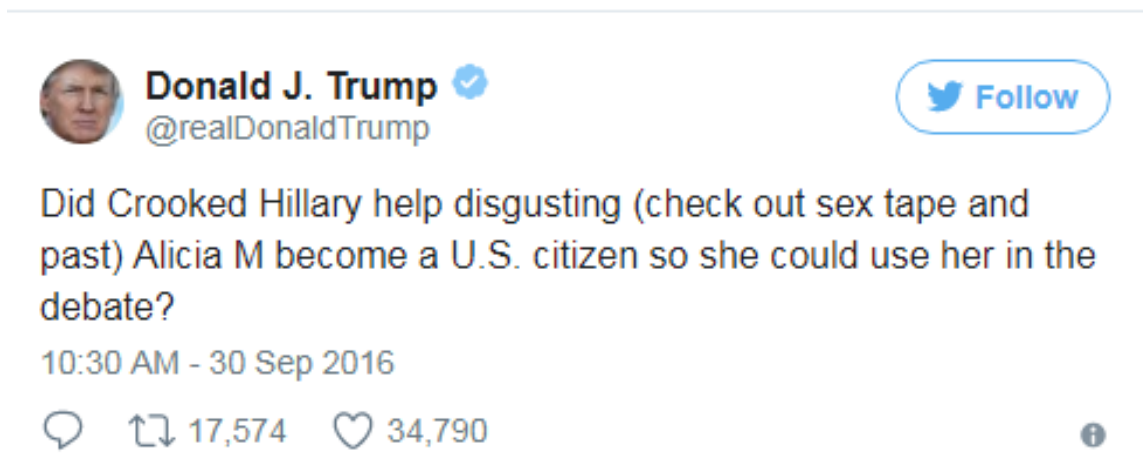
<u>2</u> <u>4</u>	do stand-up now? I do colleges, but I need to, like, build up a real set of, like, " hey, you ever notice?
<u>2</u> <u>5</u>	to retreat especially at his own home. But, first he's got to build up a good self defense case. Without that, stand-your-ground will go nowhere.
<u>2</u> <u>6</u>	The brisk air dried his throat, making breathing difficult. He worked hard to build up saliva and relieve the parching. # He needed to do something and fast.
<u>2</u> <u>7</u>	# " I take strips of plasticine and apply them between the markers, then build up all the tissue-depth points. " # " It sounds kind of iffy,
<u>2</u> <u>8</u>	smile. # Clayton Guthrie nodded in agreement. " That sort of thing can build up from a slow beginning, " the little detective said, shaping the brim
<u>2</u> <u>9</u>	There's a fellow comes by here who knows the ground in Russia. We build up the ranges to look like China and Russia and then the jets come over
<u>3</u> <u>0</u>	after the jets. Sometimes I send my bastardos out on Saturday and Sunday to build up the ranges. " He saw the mountain and began slowly to gain altitude
<u>3</u> <u>1</u>	I mean picking up after them. Anything they break up, we go and build up again. That's why it eats me when people come out here to
<u>3</u> <u>2</u>	" He stood up again, said, " How long did it take to build up enough mojo to make it all work? " Barlow said nothing. Jack
<u>3</u> <u>3</u>	, but then mentioned, in an offhand manner, " You might want to build up credit. " " Credit? " " Yes. A conditional vow in
<u>3</u> <u>4</u>	on a regular basis, about every four months although the intervals lengthen as you build up a bit of a surface and get ahead. And while I'm there
<u>3</u> <u>5</u>	in the family tree. She had her own ideas. She was careful to build up to it. She had one chance to watch for his reaction. One
<u>3</u> <u>6</u>	month or so, " he said. " But all I really did was build up false hope for everyone. As 78 for the Westbrooks, I committed a
<u>3</u> <u>7</u>	Are you auditing me? " " I just don't see why you'd build up all these -- " " He was sick and went out. Floating on
<u>3</u> <u>8</u>	case deus ex Murray. If I did that, then I'd have to build up some anxiety for Squish to warrant a resulting argument between him and Cousin Murray
<u>3</u> <u>9</u>	for a man and a woman on their wedding day. It is given to build up the church. Married couples have a calling and a special charism that should
<u>4</u> <u>0</u>	depleted quickly. No object below 65 Jupiter masses (0.06 solar mass) can build up enough heat to fuse lithium, which means that it should show up in
<u>4</u> <u>1</u>	(80mm) and non-tracking mounts. In both cases, excessive heat wouldn't build up within the scope. And, indeed, I had no problems viewing through
<u>4</u> <u>2</u>	societies. " Economic transactions like trading, for instance, typically require people to build up trust over time. In other words, key aspects of society depend on
<u>4</u> <u>3</u>	of a shopper, but lately I've spent more than usual on clothing to build up a wardrobe for my new job. " # ON DEBT: " My
<u>4</u> <u>4</u>	but used a wide range of offices, gifts and his own personal charisma to build up an effective personal affinity among the ranks of the nobility upon whom his reign

<u>4</u> <u>5</u>	It's especially important to leach these bottom-watered plants regularly as otherwise salts may certainly build up in the soil. # Q: I grew dahlias in large pots this
<u>4</u> <u>6</u>	, the sugars produced in the leaves are used for growth, but they also build up in the sap. In most years, the super-saturated sap uses the sugar
<u>4</u> <u>7</u>	32% # Education costs 13% # Insurance costs 12% # SOURCE: American Express # BUILD UP YOUR TOLERANCE TO BUDGET EMERGENCIES # AILMENT: Life's curveballs and surprises.
<u>4</u> <u>8</u>	tough to do in a plan alone. You need years of steady saving to build up the kind of balance that will get a big boost from compounding in the
<u>4</u> <u>9</u>	A. Check out the growing list of " test optional " colleges. # B. Build up other aspects of their college applications. # C. Try to improve their scores
<u>5</u> <u>0</u>	the temptation to pick the first-year spears that come up. The plants need to build up their strength for three years before they are harvestable. (Well, OK
<u>5</u> <u>1</u>	" allowed with restrictions " by organic-certification rules. With repeated use, it can build up to levels in soil that can be toxic to 4127677 # Fusarium Wilt #
<u>5</u> <u>2</u>	in the same spot every year, overwintered pests, disease spores and nematodes can build up in that bed's soil. A lack of rotation also means that the
<u>5</u> <u>3</u>	by Haywood's sickle-cell disease, a genetic condition in which misshapen red blood cells build up in the blood vessels and cause infections, strokes, and excruciating episodes of
<u>5</u> <u>4</u>	strikes with more troops, if necessary. In Syria, he would do more to build up so-called moderate forces and establish safe zones for them, together with a no-fly
<u>5</u> <u>5</u>	and on the trails. For those who prefer to keep a faster pace and build up a list of their butterfly sightings, however, there are plenty of places
<u>5</u> <u>6</u>	reference images of Wallace at varying ages. From them, I was able to build up an accurate three-dimensional image of Wallace, age around thirty-five. # When the
<u>5</u> <u>7</u>	As this sedge lives from year to year, its dead parts from previous seasons build up to form mounds, or hummocks. Some of the hummocks, particularly those
<u>5</u> <u>8</u>	, " Ramachandran said. " Corruption is often used as an excuse to not build up the local system. " # SALARIES ARE NOT SEXY # WHAT IS OBVIOUS
<u>5</u> <u>9</u>	the Sandbox modes is that in Story you'll have limited funds and will literally build up Kerbin's space program from scratch, researching more advanced parts as you get
<u>6</u> <u>0</u>	circadian rhythm where they are highest in the morning, drop steadily, and then build up again overnight. Researchers from the National Institutes of Health found depressed patients tend
<u>6</u> <u>1</u>	. Sometimes it springs from mistakes: The Wicks Looper, which allows you to build up loops very slowly with only two controls, originated when I was trying to
<u>6</u> <u>2</u>	, Nevada. One-hour events need a longer track, but with five miles to build up speed, 200-meter records shoot up. # GRAPH: Record speeds, in
<u>6</u> <u>3</u>	is interested in developing hardware to treat soldiers' PTSD. Our goal is to build up the science and the tools so that everyone can use them. # Within
<u>6</u> <u>4</u>	EXERCISES # Stronger muscles make it easier. Working key pelvic-floor and sphincter muscles can build up strength to hold back urine. Several times a day, squeeze like you
<u>6</u> <u>5</u>	and builds endurance. Ten minutes a day is a good start, but slowly build up to 150 minutes of cardio a week. # Go to **32;4042;TOOLONG for more

<u>6</u> <u>6</u>	13320 Dairy's not the only way to build up your bones. A new study shows that fruits and veggies are high in
<u>6</u> <u>7</u>	month or so," he said. "But all I really did was build up false hope for everyone. As for the Westbrooks, I committed a felony
<u>6</u> <u>8</u>	. Raising children, teaching Sunday School, agitating for social change, working to build up valued social institutions - these kinds of generative efforts often involve as much frustration
<u>6</u> <u>9</u>	delivery of medicine and supplies - may be the best model. # Polio helped build up the capacity of countries with poor health systems, including a global laboratory and
<u>7</u> <u>0</u>	momentum and gets pulled in by a planet's gravity. The dark matter particles build up in the planet's interior, where they bang into and annihilate each other
<u>7</u> <u>1</u>	of New Hampshire in Durham says the technique should help scientists piece together how thunderclouds build up the tremendous electric fields required for lightning. Balloons and airplanes can make similar
<u>7</u> <u>2</u>	. A lot of people just don't understand this pope. He wants to build up a consensus among the church. Probably, if anything would have saddened the
<u>7</u> <u>3</u>	home, even riches if they go to join ISIS - to take part in, and build up , what they believe will become a utopian society. Some of those who
<u>7</u> <u>4</u>	? " echoed unanswered on Twitter and Facebook. Yet the families were starting to build up a picture of what had happened. They approached contacts in the security forces
<u>7</u> <u>5</u>	limits the ability of architects to sculpt their buildings with shadow in mind, to build up instead of out, creating slender shadows instead of squat ones. Washington also
<u>7</u> <u>6</u>	person with a very big truck could put them to a better use than to build up a landfill. No, the Royal Consort didn't want the Empress to
<u>7</u> <u>7</u>	by decades of poverty and violent crime, grow. They will invite developers to build up local streets in exchange for more units of affordable housing. They will invest
<u>7</u> <u>8</u>	if you don't increase the demand for healthy food, if you don't build up our culinary skills and work on our food preferences, plopping down a grocery
<u>7</u> <u>9</u>	Sometimes," she said, "you have to start from the bottom and build up ." the shifting south. This is the latest installment of an occasional series by
<u>8</u> <u>0</u>	time is going to bring, but we're starting to lay the foundation and build up the infrastructure," said Carr. "Will we be a Silicon Valley
<u>8</u> <u>1</u>	n't one of them. He figures college basketball's regular season and conference tournaments build up to the crescendo of March Madness. "Look at the NFL,"
<u>8</u> <u>2</u>	he'll unveil details this month about the Twin Cities program, including plans to build up job and youth programs in the region's Somali community, which has suffered
<u>8</u> <u>3</u>	into your 60s or even into your 70s to delay drawing down your savings and build up a nest egg. "I'm contributing not only to my expenses,
<u>8</u> <u>4</u>	at the park's fields. "I'd love to see an alumni base build up of kids that have come through the program and have broken the cycle of
<u>8</u> <u>5</u>	provided the body of the state; now, they believed, religion needed to build up its soul. One of his students was Eli Sadan, whose unit had
<u>8</u> <u>6</u>	caromed from one political crisis to the next as a series of governments struggled to build up the state and corral former rebels, while also attempting to stick to a

<u>8</u> <u>7</u>	It takes big speeches - big things and small things. " So can Clinton build up trust with voters, especially the swing voters she will need in what is
<u>8</u> <u>8</u>	country and a record for the state. That gives candidates like Graham time to build up their profile, if they can raise enough money to last until February.
<u>8</u> <u>9</u>	to customers who weren't paying their bills, the utility allowed those customers to build up a lot of debt, Gutierrez said. " We saw customers with an
<u>9</u> <u>0</u>	moving in, " he said. " I really hope the city decides to build up , rather than pushing us out. " Contact Gary Dinges at 512-912-5987.
<u>9</u> <u>1</u>	most people don't function that way. Most of us have some time to build up to a higher level of excitability or alertness. " It is not yet
<u>9</u> <u>2</u>	accountability, but are ultimately within the government's grasp. " When private companies build up big databases of personal information, the government can demand or buy that information
<u>9</u> <u>3</u>	than radar- and sonar-based sensors, the lasers scan light reflected by potential obstacles to build up a map that estimates those obstacles' position, then avoids them by applying
<u>9</u> <u>4</u>	build and modernize their nuclear forces, but they say they don't need to build up to the level we and the Russians have because they say they just want
<u>9</u> <u>5</u>	the game takes great skill and can result in serious surprises. One person can build up a large repertoire of string figures on a single pair of hands, but
<u>9</u> <u>6</u>	sounds. It directly ties into phonics which with the letters names and helps readers build up skills to make of words. Once students are able to blend the letter
<u>9</u> <u>7</u>	weed thousands of items from outdated collections, professional development, and continuing support to Build Up Inquiry Learning and Development through collections. The BUILD grants, through a competitive
<u>9</u> <u>8</u>	of independent factors, and then a set of nested multivariate models were run to build up the final model step-by-step. The first model included ethnicity and gender to obtain
<u>9</u> <u>9</u>	After the initial experiences students have in middle school general music, the teacher should build up a music and language vocabulary. Music vocabulary includes rhythmic and tonal patterns.
<u>1</u> <u>0</u> <u>0</u>	practice, it is important that students receive sufficient opportunities to respond with feedback to build up accuracy and improve their handwriting speed.

Appendix F: Trump’s Tweet Which Mentions ‘Sex Tape’



Appendix G: The Occurrences of ‘took’ which Collocate with ‘advantage’ in COCA

1	No, I said I had nothing to do -- but I said, I took advantage of the situation once it happened. And that is exactly what I said
2	what? And, she does come from a lot of trauma. He totally took advantage of her. PINSKY# That is right. SCHACHER# He should be charged with
3	vividly and learily and right on the money that she was in trouble and he took advantage of that with his own flesh and blood. Judy. HO: That
4	was much for them to do. comedians were way more bored, and I took advantage of that. TERRY-GROSS# So it must've been odd for you, like
5) They're very sexy pin-up girls, and the Harvard boys of the 1940s took advantage of them and brought them to their dorm rooms. That's for radio
6	to stop the war in Ukraine. At the same time, hundreds of people took advantage of a brief truce to escape the fighting between Ukrainian troops and pro-Russian rebels
7	you want to call it that, coming out of Washington. And therefore they took advantage of an opportunity to present themselves as being reasonable at a time when our

<u>8</u>	love, that we enjoy so much. And it was pivotal that we basically took advantage of this visit, because how often do we have a person like him
<u>9</u>	And that's what the campaign says, that the " New York Times " took advantage of an elderly gentleman. This guy was 83 years old, and then
<u>1</u> <u>0</u>	assume, by some of the others that those are businesses not personal. They took advantage of the business bankruptcy law. And, of course, Carly Fiorina threw
<u>1</u> <u>1</u>	like a twig. The hunter, still a tricky fellow if lately defeated, took advantage of the lapse in his prey's attention. He simply stuffed the quarreling
<u>1</u> <u>2</u>	over to eat with the in-laws much -- whose, I don't know much -- and took advantage of the trip to drop off the curtains at the dry cleaners on the
<u>1</u> <u>3</u>	in the back of each of our minds was the sure knowledge that if they took advantage there'd be a report to the parole officer, and that report would
<u>1</u> <u>4</u>	beige vomit bucket upon a low corinthian column, white towel draped beside. Bob took advantage of the kind offer. Wiping his mouth, he got his bearings.
<u>1</u> <u>5</u>	, when the rest of the gang saw the disaster at the ranch, they took advantage of the late hour to flee in a general southerly direction, where they
<u>1</u> <u>6</u>	She loves her sisters. She just needs to laugh. She worries now she took advantage , playing tricks like that. " Why did such ideas come? "
<u>1</u> <u>7</u>	the anatomy lab. Although we had twenty-four-hour access, no one I knew really took advantage of it, even though the dorms were just across the street. After
<u>1</u> <u>8</u>	my own, I paid no attention to the fearsome soldiers or the criminals who took advantage of the chaos to loot and rob. Several times I saw people fall
<u>1</u> <u>9</u>	protests was this: the university students made legitimate demands; however, international forces took advantage of them. Supposedly, the international forces were working against the entire socialist
<u>2</u> <u>0</u>	Crashing the wedding hadn't worked. Young Us would still marry. Young Me took advantage of the momentary distraction to lunge at me. " Wait! " I
<u>2</u> <u>1</u>	rotation and the longer-term magnetic cycles on the visible disks of stars. # Wilson took advantage of this effect to measure just the dark cores of the two calcium lines
<u>2</u> <u>2</u>	the stars align properly, television careers do, too. On paper, Ross took advantage of many opportunities during and after <i>Girlfriends</i> : She dabbled on the big screen
<u>2</u> <u>3</u>	' and false claimants' to power. The West, as always, took advantage of that vacuum, backing its own clients and proxies, who in early
<u>2</u> <u>4</u>	' (confiscation). # The account books make it clear that the family took advantage of the amnesty with alacrity. A separate heading covered payments incurred in her
<u>2</u> <u>5</u>	ways to maximize his land's potential without increasing the workload. # His design took advantage of a southeast-facing slope to capture sunlight and thereby lengthen the growing season,
<u>2</u> <u>6</u>	Fata's. # According to the testimony provided by Fata's victims, the doctor repeatedly took advantage of this connection, as well as fear, to obscure the uselessness of
<u>2</u> <u>7</u>	power tools. Rather than build the shelves out from a flat wall, I took advantage of the depth of the wall and created simple inset shelves. As time
<u>2</u> <u>8</u>	course, faced cronyism and financial shortages that Pompeii has today. But Packard staffers took advantage of private money to hire new specialists. One of the site's biggest

<u>2</u> <u>9</u>	financing they need. In Madison, Wis., a three-year-old brewery called MobCraft recently took advantage of a new law to raise \$67,000 in growth capital from 52 Wisconsin residents
<u>3</u> <u>0</u>	of his office, addressing the country several times, including Friday, when he took advantage of a new report from the International Monetary Fund that maintained, as the
<u>3</u> <u>1</u>	that rolled to the fence. Will smacked a hard single. Players who walked took advantage of passed balls and ran as if they'd stolen more than a base
<u>3</u> <u>2</u>	of trustees, said Thursday that the depositions confirmed his "suspicion that Mark Emmert took advantage of Rod Erickson's vulnerability. He knew that Rod Erickson was now the
<u>3</u> <u>3</u>	from the glut of shortstops to become the starting second baseman, but big-league pitchers took advantage of his swing-from-the-heels approach. That always has been a significant part of the
<u>3</u> <u>4</u>	years later. He also told me how important it was to make sure I took advantage of "free money" my employers would give me in a matching contribution
<u>3</u> <u>5</u>	who looked out of place out there. He went out there, and he took advantage of it. Sometimes, you look at film and you see all the
<u>3</u> <u>6</u>	. I knew that would create opportunities for me." After that, Madrid took advantage of every business and educational opening that came along. Since arriving back in
<u>3</u> <u>7</u>	. "The goalie change may have moved the meter slightly, as the Blues took advantage of a slashing penalty against Hartnell. Stastny pounced on a rebound and beat
<u>3</u> <u>8</u>	the inning, however, scored on a groundout when Kris Bryant rounded third and took advantage of the Cardinals' attempt to turn an inning-ending double play. The lead
<u>3</u> <u>9</u>	on the state's agriculture will be woven in throughout the research. "We took advantage of what some of the strengths of the state were, and clearly plant
<u>4</u> <u>0</u>	the first time since his brief and disappointing Wrigley debut on opening night, Lester took advantage of his mulligan. He took a no-hitter in the seventh before a couple
<u>4</u> <u>1</u>	should play in a straight line. We weren't in straight lines and they took advantage of it. We took penalties that took any momentum we had, that
<u>4</u> <u>2</u>	, the Washington politicians gave an antitrust exemption to the football owners. The owners took advantage of this gift by our lawmakers. They leveraged their monopoly and promoted a
<u>4</u> <u>3</u>	miscues is one reason why experimental tutors made more assists, the experimental tutors also took advantage of these opportunities more often than did the comparison tutors. Experimental tutors assisted
<u>4</u> <u>4</u>	Lyons, who was himself awarded a prize in the Concours de l'an II.5 Both took advantage of the new opportunities for exhibition and patronage on offer in the wake of
<u>4</u> <u>5</u>	retreat from the professional activity embraced at the beginning of her career.6 # Nisa Villers took advantage of the window of opportunity that opened up for her in the aftermath of
<u>4</u> <u>6</u>	its socially subversive connotations. 71 During the years when this was tolerated, Villers took advantage of the opening for innovative dress and embraced it as an opportune subject for
<u>4</u> <u>7</u>	energetic magnitude irradiated in each point. Additionally, Cury et al (13) took advantage of a significantly higher number of suture points than those used in the surgical
<u>4</u> <u>8</u>	. Unfortunately, not many of the students with high incidence disabilities followed through and took advantage of these opportunities. The rural mathematics teacher reported, "You can push
<u>4</u> <u>9</u>	claimed by "Zionist" historians during the nineteenth century and beyond. These historians took advantage of Jewish mythology to create a Jewish nation, which both exists and does

5 his band mates left their instruments at his house to make rehearsing easier. Mitchell took advantage of the
0 accessible drums and practiced on the left-behind drum set whenever possible.

Appendix H: An Example of a Response Cycle with All Components

COOPER: Just for the record, though, are you saying that what you said on that bus 11 years ago that you did not actually kiss women without consent or grope women without consent?

TRUMP: I have great respect for women. Nobody has more respect for women than I do.

COOPER: So, for the record, you're saying you never did that?

TRUMP: I've said things that, frankly, you hear these things I said. And I was embarrassed by it. But I have tremendous respect for women.

COOPER: Have you ever done those things?

TRUMP: And women have respect for me. And I will tell you: No, I have not. And I will tell you that I'm going to make our country safe. We're going to have borders in our country, which we don't have now. People are pouring into our country, and they're coming in from the Middle East and other places.

We're going to make America safe again. We're going to make America great again, but we're going to make America safe again. And we're going to make America wealthy again, because if you don't do that, it just — it sounds harsh to say, but we have to build up the wealth of our nation.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: Right now, other nations are taking our jobs and they're taking our wealth.

COOPER: Thank you, Mr. Trump.

TRUMP: And that's what I want to talk about.

COOPER: Secretary Clinton, do you want to respond?

CLINTON: Well, like everyone else, I've spent a lot of time thinking over the last 48 hours about what we heard and saw. You know, with prior Republican nominees for president, I disagreed with them on politics, policies, principles, but I never questioned their fitness to serve. Donald Trump is different. I said starting back in June that he was not fit to be president and commander-in-chief. And many Republicans and independents have said the same thing. What we all saw and heard on Friday was Donald talking about women, what he thinks about women, what he does to women. And he has said that the video doesn't represent who he is.

But I think it's clear to anyone who heard it that it represents exactly who he is. Because we've seen this throughout the campaign. We have seen him insult women. We've seen him rate women on their appearance, ranking them from one to ten. We've seen him embarrass women on

TV and on Twitter. We saw him after the first debate spend nearly a week denigrating a former Miss Universe in the harshest, most personal terms.

So, yes, this is who Donald Trump is. But it's not only women, and it's not only this video that raises questions about his fitness to be our president, because he has also targeted immigrants, African-Americans, Latinos, people with disabilities, POWs, Muslims, and so many others.

So this is who Donald Trump is. And the question for us, the question our country must answer is that this is not who we are. That's why — to go back to your question — I want to send a message — we all should — to every boy and girl and, indeed, to the entire world that America already is great, but we are great because we are good, and we will respect one another, and we will work with one another, and we will celebrate our diversity.

CLINTON: These are very important values to me, because this is the America that I know and love. And I can pledge to you tonight that this is the America that I will serve if I'm so fortunate enough to become your president.

RADDATZ: And we want to get to some questions from online...

TRUMP: Am I allowed to respond to that? I assume I am.

RADDATZ: Yes, you can respond to that.

TRUMP: It's just words, folks. It's just words. Those words, I've been hearing them for many years. I heard them when they were running for the Senate in New York, where Hillary was going to bring back jobs to upstate New York and she failed.

I've heard them where Hillary is constantly talking about the inner cities of our country, which are a disaster education-wise, jobwise, safety-wise, in every way possible. I'm going to help the African-Americans. I'm going to help the Latinos, Hispanics. I am going to help the inner cities. She's done a terrible job for the African-Americans. She wants their vote, and she does nothing, and then she comes back four years later. We saw that firsthand when she was United States senator. She campaigned where the primary part of her campaign...

RADDATZ: Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump — I want to get to audience questions and online questions.

TRUMP: So, she's allowed to do that, but I'm not allowed to respond?

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