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Sara Rose Hotaling
shota002@odu.edu

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Conceptual Metaphor Usage In Glenn Youngkin's 2021 Gubernatorial Campaign

Sara Rose Hotaling

Department of Applied Language Studies, Old Dominion University

ENGL 370: Introduction to Linguistics

Professor Beth Backes

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Abstract

In “Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language,” Lakoff and Johnson suggest that conceptual metaphors pervade everyday language and produce the reality of our world. Conceptual metaphors act similarly within the occupational register of political campaigns in that they both support and construct a set of beliefs that become the reality of politicians, political parties, and constituents. In this language research, the conceptual metaphors employed by Virginia Governor Glenn Youngkin during his 2021 gubernatorial campaign were identified, analyzed, and categorized. The corpus of this research consists of two gubernatorial debates, three campaign speeches, and one television interview. An example of conceptual metaphor usage by Youngkin, is his use of POLICY IS WEAPON as in (1):

“I'm gonna protect the right to work and Terry McAuliffe is gonna get rid of it and it's gonna be the death blow for Virginia.” (Youngkin, 2021)

Results show POLITICS IS WAR and its subset of systematic conceptual metaphors is employed by Youngkin to perform face-threatening acts against his opponent. Additional evidence supports the claim that conceptual metaphor usage as a persuasive device in campaign register relies heavily on both a systematicity of metaphorical concepts and cultural coherence. Lastly, Youngkin’s use of metaphors to discuss the economy, suggests an intentional shift in register from a financial occupational register to a situational register. This shift represents a cognizance of discontinuity between his cultural common ground and his audience, meaning that this specific usage of conceptual metaphors is employed with the primary motivation of expanding audience comprehension.

Keywords: conceptual metaphors, politics, source domain, target domain

1.0 Introduction

Historically and presently, Virginia is at the forefront of political conversation in the United States. Divided as ever, the 2021 gubernatorial race was a turning point for Virginia politics. When Glenn Youngkin defeated Terry McAuliffe on November 2, 2021, to become the Governor of Virginia, it was the first time in twelve years that a Republican won a statewide office in the state. Thereby, when analyzing the ways in which conceptual metaphors can manipulate and operate within the modern American binary political system, Glenn Youngkin's gubernatorial campaign rhetoric presents itself as an urgent candidate for investigation.

In this study, an analysis will be conducted of a language corpora created specifically for this research; with language collected from Virginia Governor Glenn Youngkin's 2021 gubernatorial campaign. In the first section, the background of Governor Glenn Youngkin, supplemental information on my research topic, and the research question is addressed. In the second section, published literature relevant to conceptual metaphors in political discourse and to this research is discussed. Section 3 details the corpora of this research and the data collection processes. Section 4 describes the results of the study, presented with the most salient data graphed to show analysis. Conclusively, section 5 will address the sociolinguistic implications of the results presented in section 4, discuss trends in the data, and address future research opportunities and goals.

1.1. Background

Glenn Youngkin, is a white, college-educated Republican politician from Virginia. Born in 1966, he grew up in Richmond and Virginia Beach, Virginia, and went on to attend Rice University where he was awarded an engineering degree. He went on to receive his MBA from Harvard Business School and earn a job at Carlyle Group, one of the largest private equity

mega-funds in the world. As a businessman, Youngkin accrued an immense amount of wealth during his time at Carlyle. Forbes estimates his net worth to be approximately $440 million. Youngkin has served as Governor of Virginia since January 15, 2022.

1.2. Conceptual Metaphor

The manner in which individuals conceptualize the world is, by nature, metaphorical (Lakoff 1988). Thereby, the use of conceptual metaphors in everyday speech has a direct and causal effect on reality and worldly perception. The purpose of conceptual metaphors is often to express ideas that everyday language struggles to encapsulate. To Michael Reddy's "conduit metaphor," ideas are objects that we place into containers (linguistic expressions). Communication is the act of putting an object into a container and sending it to the receiver who then takes the object (idea) out of the container (linguistic expression). Understanding that linguistic expressions are containers for meanings, we can also assume that whoever is unpacking the meaning from the container is doing so within his/her own perception of such ideas. Therefore, although conceptual metaphors in political speech are "packaged" the same way as they are in everyday speech, it can be argued that within a system of binary structure such as the state of current American politics, the packaging and unpacking of meaning is very much dependent upon which side of the binary the container is being sent to and from.

When examining theories of face and politeness it is observed that in modern American politics, directness is a stated value. In debates, speeches, interviews, and campaigns, constituents want to hear a politician's opinion stated clearly, directly, and without ambiguity. However, there are many complexities within ideologies, that direct and colloquial verbiage fails to adequately express. Thereby, in one way or another, politicians- or rather, those who write for politicians, often lean consciously or subconsciously on metaphor to express their views.

Variances in the connotation of conceptual metaphors exist between the subsection of campaign speech and general political discourse. Thereby, this study supports the claim that political campaign speech, as a subsect of political discourse, fosters its own set of frequently used conceptual metaphors which in turn aid in actively molding the language and reality of binary politics as it is currently known.

1.3. Research Question

The research aims to investigate the conceptual metaphors utilized by Virginia Governor Glenn Youngkin in his gubernatorial campaign, the implications of their usage as persuasive linguistic devices, and their role within the modern American political binary. The following research question has been formulated:

Which conceptual metaphors are employed in Virginia Governor Glenn Youngkin's campaign register and what are the implications of their use?

2.0 Literature Review

In one of the most influential writings on conceptual metaphor, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson illustrate the ways in which conceptual metaphors are reality in *"Conceptual Metaphor in Everyday Language"* (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) present an organized view of metaphor that extends beyond "flowery" language and poetic verbiage. They suggest that there is a systematicity of metaphorical concepts. This means that the way people understand concepts of metaphorical speech actually systematically shapes the way their language describes that concept. Essentially, there is a conceptual network that characterizes concepts through metaphor, and such characterizations direct language to follow. Thereby, we can understand concepts through the metaphorical linguistic expressions we use because the expressions in turn create the way we understand the concepts. Within the systematicity of

metaphorical concepts, there exists the subcategorization of entailment, which links metaphors and builds upon conceptual understanding. For example, "TIME IS MONEY entails TIME IS A LIMITED RESOURCE (MONEY IS A LIMITED RESOURCE) entails TIME IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY (A LIMITED RESOURCE IS A VALUABLE COMMODITY) (Lakoff 1980)." This system of metaphor, as presented by Lakoff and Johnson, uses metaphor to build upon the understanding of the target concept (target domain), TIME. This concept will be referenced in this study's analysis of conceptual metaphor within the political binary to demonstrate how different binary positionings create either similar or contrasting systems of metaphorical concepts.

2.1. Conceptual metaphor in political discourse

In the study *"Conceptual Metaphor in Political Communication,"* Nikolina Borčić, Ph.D., Igor Kanižaj, Ph.D. and Svea Kršul (2016) posture an argument that conceptual metaphors in political speech align specifically with movement, personification, and reification. The study examines one interview with Ivo Josipović in 2009 as he ran for the Croatian presidency and one conducted in 2012 as the President of Croatia. In relation to this research, the analysis of the former is most significant, as it is campaign discourse. In a summary of pre-existing research on conceptual metaphor and politics, Borčić et al., state that the ontological conceptual metaphors of POLITICAL TOPIC IS REIFICATION, POLITICAL TOPIC IS PERSON, and the structural conceptual metaphor of POLITICAL TOPIC IS JOURNEY/DESTINATION, are most pervasive in political discourse. In Borčić et al.'s preliminary interview analysis of the interviews conducted for their study, the aforementioned claim of the dominance of these conceptual metaphors in political discourse was supported. Borčić et al. expand on the support of such claims, by concluding that the domains of personification, reification, and movement are more

common in socio-political points of discourse than economic ones. This latter claim is relevant to this research as it argues parallel claims of conceptual metaphor usage in socio-political vs. economic campaign promise and expands upon such studies.

Parenthetical to my claim, an additional conclusion that can be drawn from this study is that within the use of A PARTY IS A PERSON, opinion is expressed through an affirmative value judgment. This claim is supported by Borčić et al. 's example (1) of section 3.3.1, in which speaking as a Croatian Presidential candidate Ivo Josipović makes a positive claim about the current President- a member of his own party. In doing this, he uses an affirmative value judgment of the president to mirror parallel judgments- of support and allegiance- to his party, the SDP, and their concurrent successes. In relation to my research, this is a valuable conclusion to keep in mind, as the modern American system of hyper-binary politics reinforces a need to highlight allegiance to one's side of the binary, almost always through party affiliation. Therefore, it leads language analysis researchers to pay closer attention to how the A PARTY IS A PERSON conceptual metaphor can be utilized to produce affirmative value judgments, which further enhance the binary by implicating allegiance and thereby inherent divisiveness.

In *"Conceptual Metaphors in Political Discourse in Croatian, American and Italian Newspapers,"* Nataša Stojan and Sonja Novak Mijić (2019) examined the ways in which Croatian politicians employ conceptual metaphors and their source domains in comparison to American and Italian politicians. In all three languages, they found parallel usage of POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS SPORTS, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, and POLITICS IS A PLAY. Stojan and Mijić argue that POLITICS IS SPORTS metaphors enhance a spirit of competitiveness, but also of order. This directly contradicts the use of war metaphors which present instability. They suggest that the image of politics being seen as "unpredictable,

tumultuous, and even merciless," is often crafted by the use of metaphors of war by politicians. In this regard, metaphors of sport become a stabilizing factor; as there are sets of rules, teamwork, and other positive aspects. This claim will be later proven to either align or misalign with Glenn Youngkin's employment of gameplay metaphors.

As highlighted, there are many studies that investigate the ways in which conceptual metaphors exist and operate within political discourse. The purpose of this research is to add a 'prequel' to the dialogue surrounding politicians' usage of conceptual metaphors by specifically highlighting campaign speech and recognizing such as its own unique subsect of the modern American political register. Doing so at a time where the rigidly binary structure of electoral politics in America, and more specifically, Virginia, is hyper-polarized, this survey of a hotly contested gubernatorial race will serve as both an introduction to and representation of conceptual metaphor usage in political campaign register.

3.0 Method

3.1. Description of Research Tools

To conduct language analysis research six sources of speech evidence from Governor Glenn Youngkin's gubernatorial campaign were collected: two gubernatorial debates, three campaign rally speeches, and one television interview. The first piece of evidence analyzed was a transcript of the first Virginia Gubernatorial Debate between Terry McAuliffe and Glenn Youngkin. The debate occurred on September 16, 2021, hosted by the Appalachian School of Law. The debate was sponsored by the Virginia Association of Broadcasters and moderated by USA Today Washington Bureau Chief Susan Page. The transcript utilized for analysis was provided by WTVR CBS 6 Richmond's Local News archive. The second piece of evidence, in coherence with the first, was the second and final Virginia Gubernatorial Debate between Terry

McAuliffe and Glenn Youngkin. This debate was held on September 28, 2021, at Northern Virginia Community College's Alexandria campus. Chuck Todd, host of NBC's "Meet the Press," moderated the event. The transcript referenced for analysis was produced by C-SPAN.

The third piece of evidence used for data collection was Glenn Youngkin's Full Interview with 10 News (WSLS 10) anchor John Carlin, published on October 27, 2021. WSLS-TV is a television station whose call sign refers to 'Shenandoah Life Station.' The station is an associate of NBC and is licensed to broadcast in Roanoke, Virginia. They are owned by Graham Media Group, Virginia, LLC. The interview was published on WSLS-TV's website and their Youtube channel.

Campaign rally speeches are their own genre of speech. For data collection of this specific category of speech, three different campaign speeches were compiled. The first campaign speech and the fourth overall piece of evidence is a transcript of Glenn Youngkin's speech at the '1776 Action' rally, deemed 'Rally to Save our Schools,' in Loudoun Country, Virginia on September 9, 2021. The hosting and organizing group, '1776 Action,' according to their website, is focused on the goal of 'stopping the anti-American indoctrination of [Our] Children and Grandchildren.' This event was broadcasted through a live stream on 1776 Action's Facebook page. The unedited video of his speech was published on their Youtube channel, and a corresponding transcript was published on their website. Disregarding the hosting organization's introduction, the video and transcript from their website were used to conduct a language analysis. For the second campaign speech and fifth piece of evidence, an unedited video of a rally hosted by Glenn Youngkin in Chesapeake, Virginia on October 25, 2021, was chosen. Posted to the Forbes Breaking News YouTube channel, the video shows Glenn Youngkin standing in front of a crowd, delivering a campaign speech. The video is titled, "'America Needs

Virginia To Stand Up For Parents': Glenn Youngkin Slams School Boards, Democrats." The video itself, however, shows the entirety of his speech- from when he walks on stage- to when he walks off. It does not include the speakers before him. For the third campaign speech and sixth piece of evidence, Glenn Youngkin's campaign rally in Danville, Virginia on October 26, 2021, was selected. This rally was live-streamed and recorded by the "Right Side Broadcasting Network."

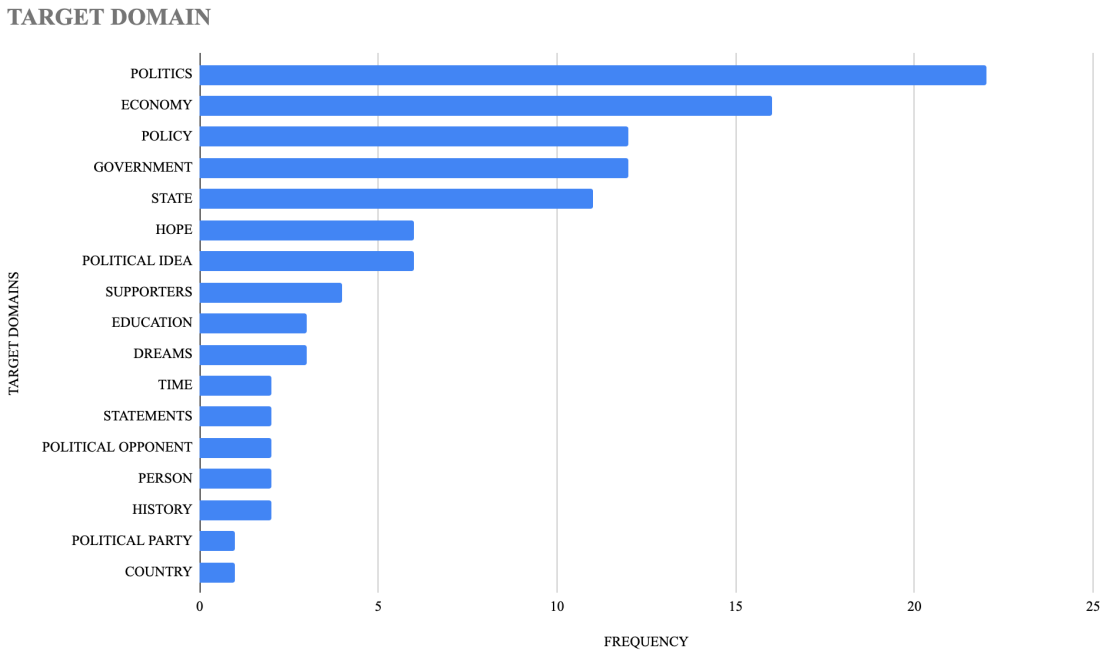
3.2. Description of Data Collection Procedures

The methodology utilized in the data collection process was tertiary: listen, identify, and organize. Each video, and corresponding transcript if applicable, was notated at a baseline of two times. The first time, to listen for and identify conceptual metaphor examples; the second time, to be cognizant of context and to identify any missed examples while adding supplemental context to those already listed. Organized based on the campaign speech source, each example of metaphor was entered into a table and listed with its corresponding conceptual metaphor label. This table can be found in Appendix A. Then, extrapolating from the table, the list of metaphors was reorganized into a spreadsheet where the metaphors were organized based on target and source domain. Target and source domain examples were quantified and graphed as seen in Appendix B. Appendix B also shows the quantification of total conceptual metaphor labels from all source examples.

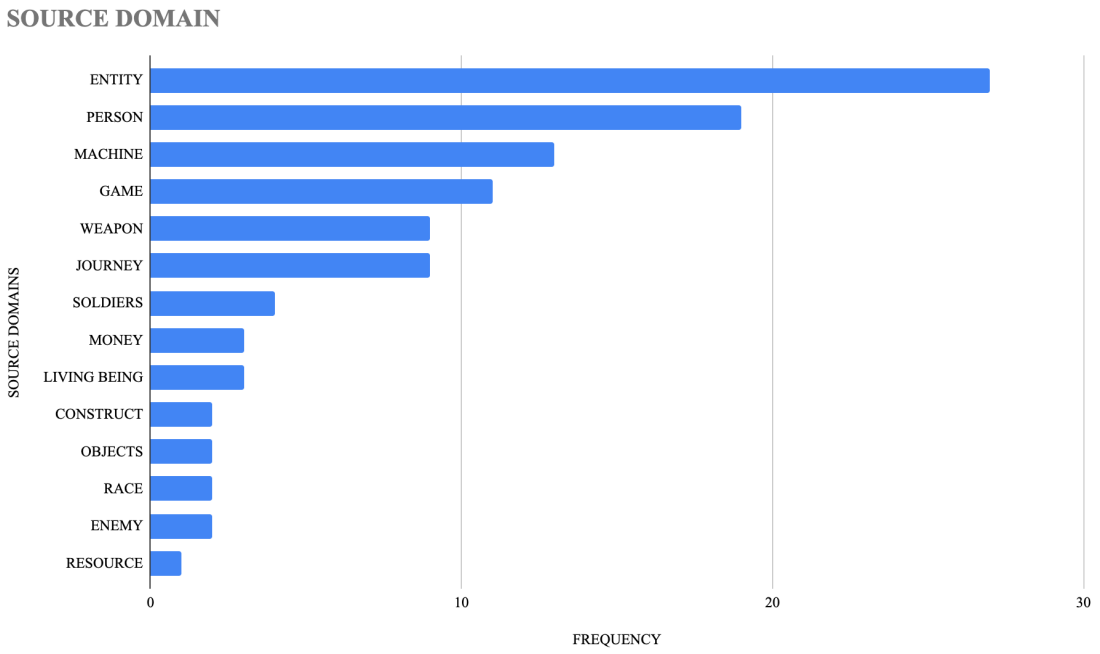
4.0. Results

The analysis of conceptual metaphors collected from the 6 sources of Youngkin's speech is addressed according to the prominence of occurrence. In conceptual metaphor analysis, source and target domains are used in metaphor categorization. The source domain is the site from

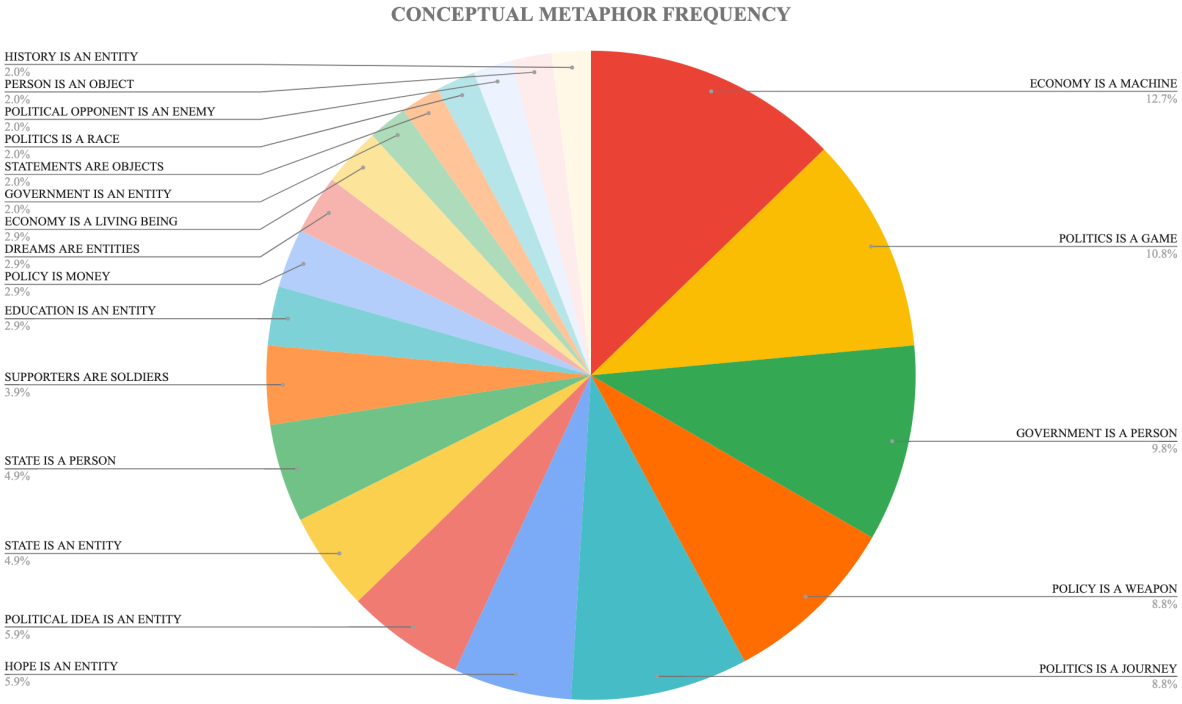
which metaphorical expressions are drawn. The target domain is what is attempting to be understood.



According to my data collection, the three most commonly employed target domains in the conceptual metaphors used by Youngkin were POLITICS (31), ECONOMY (21), and GOVERNMENT (10). Following these, target domains of note, those with an example frequency between 2-10, are as follows: STATE (8), POLITICAL CAMPAIGN (8), HOPE (7), POLITICAL OPPONENT (4), DREAMS (4), POLICY (3), HISTORY (3), POLITICAL OPPONENT (2).



The three most commonly employed source domains in the conceptual metaphors used by Youngkin were ENTITY (27), PERSON (19), and MACHINE (13). Following such, the source domains of note from this study, those with an example frequency between 2-13 are as follows: GAME (11), WEAPON (9), JOURNEY (9), SOLDIERS (4), MONEY (3), LIVING BEING (3), CONSTRUCT (2), OBJECTS (2), RACE (2), and ENEMY (2).



Of the 107 conceptual metaphors found in the 6 pieces of corpora, the setting in which Youngkin employed conceptual metaphor most often was a campaign rally in Danville, Virginia on October 26, 2021, consisting of 25% of all conceptual metaphors collected. In data analysis, conceptual metaphors not repeated (used <1 time) were not included in the percentage calculations, nor the pie chart above. When considering conceptual metaphors from all six sources, there was one metaphor used predominantly more than the others, which was ECONOMY IS A MACHINE with 13 examples. The next most commonly used metaphor is POLITICS IS A GAME with 11 examples, followed by GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON with 10 examples, and POLICY IS A WEAPON and POLITICS IS A JOURNEY both with 9 examples of use each.

4.1. Politics metaphors

When referencing politics or sociopolitical issues, Youngkin had a tendency to use structural conceptual metaphors. A structural conceptual metaphor is a categorization of conceptual metaphors applied to those that structure the understanding of one, often abstract, concept, on another defined concept, generally more concrete. Out of his six commonly used conceptual metaphors with politics or political campaigns as the target domain, all six can be categorized as structural metaphors. To demonstrate the structure that is created by the use of this specific kind of conceptual metaphor in the context of Glenn Youngkin's speech, examine the following examples:

POLITICS IS WAR:

I. POLITICAL OPPONENT IS ENEMY
    A. "I do very much want to protect Virginians from Terry McAuliffe."
II. SUPPORTERS ARE WARRIORS
    A. "It's more than voting, it's getting in the arena with us."
    B. "9 days for Virginians to step forward into the arena with us."
III. POLICY ARE WEAPONS
    A. "We've come together to say, we've watched what this liberal, left progressive agenda in Richmond is doing to our children."
    B. "I'm going to protect right to work because if we lose right to work, it's going to be the death knell for Virginia business and my opponent is going to get rid of it."

Youngkin's most commonly used conceptual metaphor in reference to politics is POLITICS IS A GAME. In 6 sources, 11 different instances of such usage were found. Conceptual metaphors fitting within POLITICS IS A JOURNEY was his second most used

within politics and fifth most employed overall. The metaphor STATE IS AN ENTITY is often employed within the structure of the POLITICS IS A JOURNEY METAPHOR. An example is as follows from his television interview with John C…,

"That's the Virginia we're gonna press forward and re-establish…"

In using the verbiage "press [Virginia] forward," Virginia becomes an entity and thereby establishes STATE IS AN ENTITY. From this, we can recognize that STATE IS ON A PATH, as it is moving forward along such. Finally, this fits within the structure of POLITICS IS A JOURNEY. To unravel this in the opposite direction, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY entails STATE IS ON A PATH entails STATE IS AN ENTITY. Youngkin's quote metaphorically postures Virginia as a physical entity which may be pushed, upon an implied path, as it moves in a direction- forward- supporting a structured claim of POLITICS IS A JOURNEY.

4.2. Economy metaphors

When discussing economics, Youngkin tends to favor one metaphor very strongly. ECONOMY IS A MACHINE was identified 13 times between the 6 sources. The only other metaphor identified in relation to the economy was ECONOMY IS A LIVING BEING. Despite only using two economically based metaphors, economy metaphors in total constitute 15% of all metaphors collected in total. Out of the six sources, Youngkin employs conceptual metaphors where ECONOMY is the target domain 16 times. Out of these 16 times, 10 instances were found between the two gubernatorial debates.

5.0. Discussion

As previously stated, many studies, including Borčić et al., 2016, Goatly, 2007, CherterisBlack, 2004, and Lakoff, 2008, have corroborated the conclusion that the three most common conceptual metaphors in political discourse are POLITICAL TOPIC IS REIFICATION,

POLITICAL TOPIC IS PERSON and POLITICAL TOPIC IS JOURNEY/DESTINATION. In my study this conclusion has been supported; however, additional data has been identified as relevant to the sphere of conceptual metaphor in political discourse. While Governor Glenn Youngkin's speech is rich with conceptual metaphors, including those of POLITICAL TOPIC IS PERSON and POLITICAL TOPIC IS JOURNEY, this research presents data from campaign register within the structure of American politics at a time when the binary between political parties is hyper-rigid. Based on the data from this survey study, I present the following arguments:

5.1. Conceptual metaphor usage as a persuasive device in campaign register relies heavily on both a systematicity of metaphorical concepts and cultural coherence- as outlined by Lakoff, 1980.

5.2. POLITICS IS WAR and its subset of systematic conceptual metaphors act as a commonly used tool to perform face-threatening acts in a campaign speech.

5.3. Youngkin's use of metaphors with the target domain ECONOMY, suggests a shift from his pre-political occupational register of finance to a situational register that is cognizant of the discontinuity between his cultural common ground and the audience of his persuasive speech.

5.1. Systematicity of metaphorical concepts and cultural coherence

As indicated, Youngkin's most commonly used conceptual metaphor with politics as the target domain, POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, is in accordance with conclusions drawn from Borčić et al., 2016, Goatly, 2007, CherterisBlack, 2004, and Lakoff, 2008 which support POLITICAL TOPIC IS JOURNEY as the most commonly used conceptual metaphor in political discourse.

Building upon such, I have found that Youngkin's use of the POLITICAL TOPIC IS JOURNEY, supports Lakoff and Johnson's theory of 'metaphor and cultural coherence.' To demonstrate such, the example, "On day one we're gonna get education moving," is used. The implication of movement in this phrasing is forwardness, as linearity is implied within the structure of culture. In Western culture, oftentimes metaphors involving movement, specifically within the framework of progress, can be implied to be linear. This implied linearity is based on the linearity of abstract forms that are continuous throughout culture with examples in time, reading, vehicular patterns, and sport. Youngkin's usage of this metaphor inherently presents a staggering of presuppositions. First, Youngkin presupposes that the listener understands that education itself, as an abstract concept, cannot and will not physically move. Next, linearity of progress within context is assumed to be known as well, presupposing that his listeners understand that "getting [education] moving," implies movement forward. Finally, there is a presupposition that PROGRESS IS A JOURNEY, FORWARD IS PROGRESS and PROGRESS IS GOOD is culturally accepted and understood conceptual metaphors that his audience embraces. Therefore, EDUCATION IS A JOURNEY is structured upon PROGRESS IS A JOURNEY, which in this context, is culturally structured upon FORWARDS IS PROGRESS and PROGRESS IS GOOD. When this structure of metaphor is presented on the opposite side of the political binary, its structure remains the same; however, its implied meaning shifts. According to the linguistic context of the speech where Glenn Youngkin uses the metaphor of "get [education] moving," we can understand that the forward-moving progress he is aiming to achieve is that of charter school construction, school board uprooting, and the removal of Critical Race Theory from classrooms. Someone who opposes these policy reforms may use the same conceptual metaphor, built upon the same metaphorical structure and theory of cultural coherence. Based upon this, the

hypothesis can be formed that, structured upon Michael Reddy's conduit metaphor, the packaging of an ideal is cohesive within, but also across, and between the political binary. Further, more extensive research might be conducted to support the hypothesis that culturally cohesive conceptual metaphors are used by both political parties due to malleability in meaning.

5.2. Conceptual metaphors as an influence for face and politeness

Building upon Lakoff and Johnson's systematicity of metaphorical concepts, Youngkin's use of sub-systemic conceptual metaphors under POLITICS IS WAR presents a prominent correlation to theories of face and politeness. "Face," as defined by Goffman (1967) is the social value that is positive which a person either claims for themselves or that others assume for them during social contact. Facework then, in this context, refers to the ways in which this positive presentation of identity can be maintained. Politeness then is a form of facework that is related to, but not synonymous with face or facework, but rather adjacent to such. Combining theories of face and politeness, Pamela Brown and Stephen Levinson expand Goffman's theory to posit that there exists both a positive and negative face. In relation to political discourse, Bull and Fetzer suggest that political monologue- analogous in this study to campaign rally speeches- can be understood as an interactive event despite it being a one-way output of language. In research conducted by Heritage and Greatbach (1986), it was revealed that the rhetorical device 'contrast' elicited 33.2% of collective applause incidences in 1981 party conferences where politicians delivered monologues. Recognizing this research to be decades old, but as referential to the topic of this conclusion, it can be understood that statements of contrast enhance the positive face of the speaker and diminish the positive face of the individual who is being contrasted against- in this case, the political opponent.

Using the studies of Heritage and Greatbach (1986) and Bull and Fetzer (2010) as a basis for understanding face and politeness in political speech, an investigation may be launched into Glenn Youngkin's face-threatening acts. The table below examines the statements issued by Glenn Youngkin which threaten the positive face of his opponent, Terry McAuliffe, and their corresponding conceptual metaphor.

1. "I do very much want to protect Virginians from Terry McAuliffe."	POLITICAL OPPONENT IS AN ENEMY
2. "This is a wholesale support of Glenn Youngkin for governor and it's a wholesale evacuation from Terry McAuliffe."	POLITICAL OPPONENT IS AN ENEMY
3. "I'm gonna protect the right to work and Terry McAuliffe is gonna get rid of it and it's gonna be the death blow for Virginia."	POLICY IS A WEAPON
4. "I'm going to protect right to work because if we lose right to work, it's going to be the death knell for Virginia business and my opponent is going to get rid of it."	POLICY IS A WEAPON

The identified conceptual metaphors can all be recognized as a sub-section of the POLITICS IS WAR system. The metaphors POLICY IS A WEAPON and POLITICAL

OPPONENT IS AN ENEMY are structured upon POLITICS IS WAR. This systematicity can also be represented and understood through hypothetical syllogism, which is part of and in accordance with validity and soundness in argumentative study. The hypothetical syllogism of the systematicity of POLITICS IS WAR can be represented as the following:

If P then Q, if Q then R. Therefore, if P then R.

P: POLITICAL OPPONENT IS AN ENEMY

Evidence: “protect Virginians from Terry McAuliffe”

Commentary: Protect Virginians (us) from the enemy (them)

Q: POLICY IS A WEAPON

Evidence: “I'm gonna protect the right to work and Terry McAuliffe is gonna get rid of it and it's gonna be the death blow for Virginia.”

Commentary: Death blow as consequence for policy action

R: POLITICS IS WAR

Evidence: If the enemy [political opponent, Terry McAuliffe] is going to employ a weapon [enact policy, lose right to work] against us [Virginians, whom Youngkin “wants to protect”], then we [political opponent and I] are at war [politics].

Therefore, if POLITICAL OPPONENT IS AN ENEMY, then POLITICS IS WAR. This can also be structured with POLICY IS A WEAPON as P, and POLITICAL OPPONENT IS AN ENEMY as Q. Both ways, the systematicity of POLITICS IS WAR is cohesive.

To address face and politeness, it can be understood that Youngkin threatens McAuliffe’s positive face in the following quotes that employ conceptual metaphors:

1. “I'm gonna protect the right to work and Terry McAuliffe is gonna get rid of it and it's gonna be the death blow for Virginia.”

   a. Speaker expresses a negative judgment of some aspect of hearer's positive face; S expresses criticism of hearer's action; The "death blow for Virginia " is described as consequential to McAuliffe's decision.

2. "I do very much want to protect Virginians from Terry McAuliffe."
   a. Speaker expresses a negative judgment of some aspect of the hearer's positive face; S insults hearer; The insult is based in an indirect implication that the hearer is something to be protected from.

The data support the hypothesis that face-threatening acts in political campaign speech may be supplemented or supported by conceptual metaphor usage, specifically systemic structural conceptual metaphors.

5.3. Economy source domain

Governor Glenn Youngkin is not yet an accomplished politician. For the entirety of his professional career, he worked in finance. First in investment banking, then management consulting and finally landing in private equity where he worked for 25 years. During his time in private equity, he was employed at the Carlyle Group, holding positions such as President and Chief Operating Officer. In 2018, two years prior to his exit towards gubernatorial ventures, he was named co-CEO. Additionally, he holds bachelor's degrees in mechanical engineering and managerial studies alongside his Master of Business Administration from Harvard Business School. All of this is to emphasize Youngkin's both academic and professional experience in and understanding of finance and economics.

Sociolinguistics recognizes register as a type of language variation or speech style that is specific to a setting, topic, or occupation. Features of a register include pronunciation, morphology, grammar, semantics, and pragmatics. For the purpose of analysis in the context of

conceptual metaphors, only semantics and pragmatics will be investigated. Due to the speaker context, it is understood that Glenn Youngkin has an occupational register specific to business and finance, as he worked within this occupation for over two decades. Semantically, it may be assumed that Youngkin both has an awareness of, and has utilized business 'jargon' as part of this occupational register. Similarly, as someone who held positions of power at his place of employment, there is assumed to be a pragmatic variance in the manner in which he speaks- specifically about business and finance- within his prior occupation. Thereby, it can be assumed that the occupational register which Youngkin has cultivated over the two decades that he worked in business and finance has formed his idiolect or unique language habits.

These conclusions having been assumed to be true, the data from this study present a curious pattern. After politics, the most frequently employed target domain was ECONOMY. Out of the 17 target domains identified, ECONOMY consists of 15% of the examples collected. Additionally, ECONOMY IS A MACHINE is the dominant conceptual metaphor used in all campaign speech language collected in this study. Given Governor Youngkin's background in finance, business, and economy, in conjunction with his pejorative statements regarding his opponent's lack of financial intellect, it is unexpected that ECONOMY is such a frequently used target domain. In general, conceptual metaphors are used to express concepts that are difficult to understand or difficult to express in an easily digestible way. Due to Youngkin's expertise in this area, one could suggest the claim that Youngkin uses conceptual metaphor to communicate economic topics not because he struggles to express them with direct language, but because he recognizes an educational cultural common ground discrepancy between his audience and himself. For example, in the first gubernatorial debate, he states that "Over-taxation and over-regulation stalled our economy when he [Terry McAuliffe] was governor." Although there

is a way to explain the specific way in which these two policy flaws led to a decrease in economic growth, he instead employs the metaphor ECONOMY IS A MACHINE. In fact, he employed the ECONOMY IS A MACHINE metaphor 7 times between the two gubernatorial debates and 6 times in the remaining corpora. This thereby supports the claim that Youngkin utilizes conceptual metaphors with ECONOMY as the target domain, not as necessarily persuasive speech, but instead as means of switching registers to communicate more effectively with his audience.

5.4. Conclusion

According to the data collected during this study, it can be concluded that Governor Glenn Youngkin uses conceptual metaphor as a tool to vilify and alienate his opponent, communicate dense political topics, and present pertinent campaign topics as tangible and consequential. In response to the research question, the identified conceptual metaphors used implicate a framework of binary oppositions, of the "us vs. them," ideology that structures campaign politics. More specifically, it implicates Youngkin's awareness of the register differential between himself and his audience. It also is indicative of a pre-existing divide, highlighted and perforated by language which employs war-like systematicity of metaphorical concepts such as politics or voting. Further research may investigate the ways in which 'contrast' as a rhetorical device operates within the framework of conceptual metaphors of opposition. Conceptual metaphors of opposition may include, POLITICS IS WAR, POLITICS IS SPORT, POLITICS IS GAME, and their subset of systematic conceptual metaphors.

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Appendix A: Source List of Conceptual Metaphors

CHESAPEAKE, VA CAMPAIGN RALLY OCTOBER 25, 2021	
1. “Because Virginia is riding with us on this bus.”	STATE IS A PERSON
2. “We can change the trajectory of our great Commonwealth.”	STATE IS AN ENTITY; STATE IS ON A PATH; POLITICS IS A JOURNEY
3. “...a constant pressure to shelve hope.”	HOPE IS AN ENTITY
4. “But that Virginia promise hangs in the balance.”	HOPE IS AN ENTITY
5. “9 days for Virginians to step forward into the arena with us.”	SUPPORTERS ARE SOLDIERS
6. “We watched the progressive left-liberal movement of the democrats try to drag Virginia into becoming California East.”	POLITICAL PARTY IS A PERSON
7. “America needs Virginia to make a statement.”	STATE IS A PERSON
8. “Where Terry McAuliffe puts government between parents and children.”	GOVERNMENT IS AN OBJECT
9. “That’s the Virginia that we can build together.”	A STATE IS A CONSTRUCT
10. “We are going to press forward with the most aggressive charter school program in the history of this Commonwealth.”	POLICY IS A WEAPON
11. “We know it all starts with the curriculum. That’s where we know it all starts.”	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY

12. “We are gonna get this great Commonwealth of Virginia’s economy moving again, it is stalled out and we are gonna get it moving.”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
13. “Terry McAuliffe left us with a stalled-out economy. When he was governor, the economy was just lapped by our peers.”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
14. “North Carolina over the past 8 years has generated 8 times the jobs that Virginia has. 8. We are getting our tails kicked, I hate losing.”	POLITICS IS A GAME
15. “Folks, we are gonna get this economy moving. It’s gonna lift up all Virginians.”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
16. “We are going to make Virginia’s government work for us and stop telling us what to do all the time.”	GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON
17. “First thing we’re gonna do is stand up for our constitutional rights, they’ve been trampled on.”	POLITICAL IDEA IS AN ENTITY
18. “To push back against government overreach from Washington.”	GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON
19. “This is not a spectator sport because this is not a spectator democracy. Get in the arena with us.”	SUPPORTERS ARE SOLDIERS
20. “We all know there is a Virginia promise around the corner but we must go get it.”	HOPE IS AN ENTITY
21. “I am going to give everything I can to deliver that Virginia promise.”	HOPE IS AN ENTITY

LOUDOUN COUNTY, VA ‘RALLY TO SAVE OUR SCHOOLS’ SEPTEMBER 9, 2021	
1. “We’ve come together to say, we’ve watched what this liberal, left-progressive agenda in Richmond is doing to our children.”	POLICY IS A WEAPON

2. “The teacher’s unions win, Terry McAuliffe wins and our kids lose.”	POLITICS IS A GAME
3. “None, again, education unions win. Terry wins. Our kids lose, our kids lose.”	POLITICS IS A GAME
4. “But it all starts with recognizing that our curriculum has gone haywire. It’s gone haywire.”	EDUCATION IS A MACHINE
5. “And here we are today again, with the education unions winning. Terry McAuliffe getting their money and Virginia’s kids losing. Well, I’m tired of Virginia’s kids losing. I want Virginia’s kids to win. I want Virginia’s kids to win.”	POLITICS IS A GAME
6. “We on day one, we are going to re-invigorate the job machine in Virginia as you have never seen.”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
7. “and get Virginia moving like she has never moved before.”	STATE IS A PERSON
8. “We’re going to make government work for you as opposed to telling you what to do every day.”	GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON
9. “And by the way, this is just a down payment. It’s a day one down payment to get started.”	POLICY IS MONEY
10. “So get ready because we’re going to shove this thing into overdrive,”	POLITICS IS A MACHINE

DANVILLE, VA CAMPAIGN RALLY OCTOBER 26, 2021	
1. “We have a defining moment where we all get to change the trajectory of this great Commonwealth of Virginia.”	STATE IS AN ENTITY; STATE IS ON A PATH; POLITICS IS A JOURNEY

2. “We need to be able to march forward in the relentless pursuit of a better life, of prosperity, so it’s not blocked by politicians who…”	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY
3. “...we should shelve hope.”	HOPE IS AN ENTITY
4. “...to make decisions about our lives as opposed to having big government making them all for us.”	GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON
5. “Come together as Virginians and unleash the Virginia promise.”	HOPE IS AN ENTITY
6. “A promise where we in fact can get Virginia where we know she needs to be, the best place in America to live…”	A STATE IS A PERSON
7. “This is what’s in front of us right now, but it hangs in the balance. It hangs in the balance right now.”	HOPE IS AN ENTITY
8. “We’re gonna make a decision on which way this country and this Commonwealth are gonna go.”	STATE IS AN ENTITY; STATE IS ON A PATH; POLITICS IS A JOURNEY
9. “The last two years it’s [referring to the previous sentence about election’s having consequences] been crushing.”	POLICY IS A WEAPON
10. “Ask God to lead a path we can walk.”	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY
11. “We got a lot of work to do to get Virginia moving.”	STATE IS AN ENTITY
12. “We are going to launch the most aggressive charter school program in the history of Virginia.”	POLICY IS A WEAPON
13. “...but that [charter schools] is just a down payment, it’s a down payment to close that gap.”	POLICY IS MONEY
14. “Today, a political ideology [Critical Race Theory] has made its way into our classrooms. Forces all the kids to view everything through a lens of race. Divides us into buckets. Then it pits our kids against one another…It flies in the face of everything we know is right.”	POLICY IS A WEAPON

15. “On day one, we’re gonna make government work for us and stop telling us what to do all the time.”	GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON
16. “We are absolutely going to pushback on overreach from Washington.”	GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON
17. “We are going to press forward with investments in critical infrastructure.”	POLICY IS MONEY POLITICS IS A JOURNEY
18. “We are going to have a government that works for us and stops telling us what to do.”	GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON
19. “It’s more than voting, it’s getting in the arena with us.”	SUPPORTERS ARE SOLDIERS
20. “It’s our turn, it’s our turn to lead not just Virginia, but the nation.”	POLITICS IS A GAME
21. “Whoever works the hardest, whoever leaves it all on the court, skinned elbows, skinned knees.	POLITICS IS A GAME
22. “This isn’t an ‘oh maybe I can make two hours,’ I need you to create time in your schedule.”	TIME IS A RESOURCE
23. “This is not a spectator sport, it is time to get in the arena.”	SUPPORTERS ARE SOLDIERS
24. “We’re gonna make sure we get this economy moving so that everybody has a shot at a great career.”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
25. “It is a seven-day sprint and we are going to win back the Commonwealth of Virginia folks. We are gonna win her back.”	POLITICS IS A GAME
26. “Our country’s watching us because they need it.”	A COUNTRY IS A PERSON

FULL INTERVIEW with 10 News (WSLS 10) anchor John Carlin October 27, 2021	
1. “I do very much want to protect Virginians from Terry McAuliffe.”	POLITICAL OPPONENT IS AN ENEMY; POLITICS IS WAR

2. “I want all of Virginia's kids to feel they can go get their dreams.”	DREAMS ARE ENTITIES
3. “...grabbing Martin Luther King's teachings.”	A POLITICAL IDEA IS AN ENTITY
4. “This is a wholesale support of Glenn Youngkin for governor and it's a wholesale evacuation from Terry McAuliffe.”	POLITICAL OPPONENT IS AN ENEMY
5. “This is a moment for us to lead forward, as opposed to what Terry is doing, drag us back.”	POLITICS IS A JOURNEY
6. “We cannot airbrush away our history.”	HISTORY IS AN ENTITY
7. “This is so radical and out of bounds.”	POLITICS IS A GAME
8. “That’s the Virginia I’m focused on getting moving again.”	STATE IS A PERSON
9. “That’s the Virginia we’re gonna press forward and re-establish…”	STATE IS AN ENTITY; STATE IS ON A PATH; POLITICS IS A JOURNEY
10. “[Parents] suspected that government didn’t want to listen to them with regards to their kid’s education.”	GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON
11. “This is just a fundamental press by Terry McAuliffe, by Ralph Northam, by the progressive democrats, to put their ideology into the classroom.”	A POLITICAL IDEA IS AN ENTITY
12. “Taught to view everything through a lens of race and divide everybody up into buckets.”	PERSON IS AN OBJECT
13. “What we don’t want to do is airbrush our history.”	HISTORY IS AN ENTITY
14. “But we also don’t want to steal dreams from our children.”	DREAMS ARE ENTITIES
15. “At a time where we wanna open up and get our economy moving.”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
16. “And education unlocked those dreams for me.”	EDUCATION IS A PERSON

17. “He [Terry McAuliffe] believes that government should dictate what everyone does.”	GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON
18. “He wants government in between parents and their children.”	GOVERNMENT IS AN ENTITY

FIRST GUBERNATORIAL DEBATE SEPTEMBER 16, 2021	
1. “But we have to work and not just give empty promises.”	STATEMENTS ARE OBJECTS
2. “I believe that, in fact, we can tackle bringing down emissions in Virginia without putting forth a plan that not even executives at the utilities believe is doable.”	POLITICAL IDEA IS AN ENTITY
3. “...they've fought the spread of COVID with policies, with procedures, with testing, not with mandates.”	POLICY IS A WEAPON
4. “But Terry McAuliffe has racked up so many Pinocchio's I'm afraid you can't fit in the building.”	STATEMENTS ARE OBJECTS
5. “My plan, in fact, recognizes that our economy stalled under his leadership, the states around us have blown by us.”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
6. “I'm going to protect the right to work because if we lose the right to work, it's going to be the death knell for Virginia business and my opponent is going to get rid of it.”	POLICY IS A WEAPON
7. “Although I want to remind everybody that my opponent when George W. Bush beat Al Gore, he stared into the screen and said they took the president from us.”	PERSON IS A POSSESSION
8. “I wish we didn't have runaway inflation.”	ECONOMY IS A LIVING BEING
9. “The states around us are winning and Virginia has been losing.”	POLITICS IS A GAME
10. “...and that's why my day one game plan is going to be to get Virginia moving.”	STATE IS AN ENTITY POLITICS IS A GAME

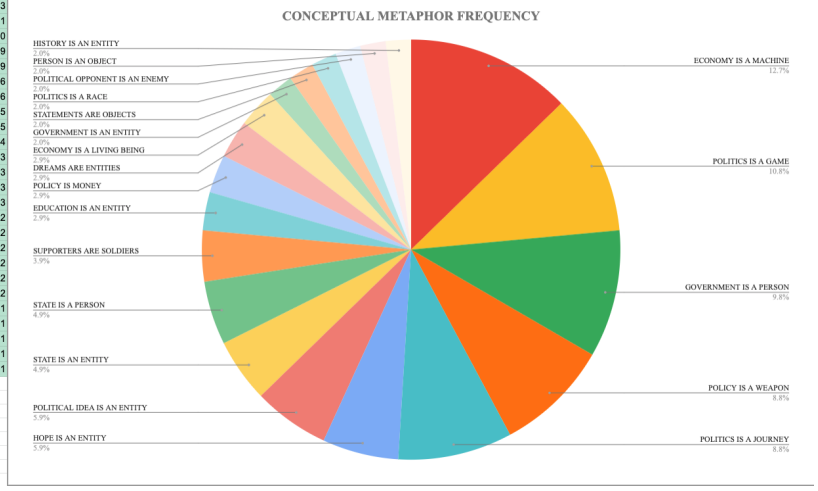
11.	
12. “I think that statue should be in a museum or on a battlefield so we don't airbrush away our history.”	HISTORY IS AN ENTITY
13. “My opponent wants to paint over that reality with myth.”	A POLITICAL IDEA IS AN ENTITY
14. “...important to Virginia's today as we come together to build a better day.”	TIME IS A CONSTRUCT
15. “Over-taxation and over-regulation stalled out our economy when he was governor.”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
16. “...and the cost of living in Virginia is absolutely running away from us.”	ECONOMY IS A LIVING BEING
17. “And we're going to make Virginia's government work for us, as opposed to telling us what to do.”	GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON

SECOND GUBERNATORIAL DEBATE SEPTEMBER 28, 2021	
1. “Over the last eight years, Virginia has seen itself fall behind, seriously behind.”	POLITICS IS A RACE
2. “Our economy and job machine stalled.”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
3. “We’ll reinvigorate the job machine.”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
4. “I'm gonna protect the right to work and Terry McAuliffe is gonna get rid of it and it's gonna be the death blow for Virginia.”	POLICY IS A WEAPON
5. “This is the legacy you’ve left Virginia, a dying economy..”	ECONOMY IS A LIVING BEING
6. “We find Virginia losing out…”	POLITICS IS A GAME
7. “We have a stalled economy going in…”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
8. “It’s the legacy Terry McAuliffe left us, stalled economy, stalled jobs…”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
9. “Teach our children to have dreams that they can aspire to go get…so that their dreams are in fact stolen from them.”	DREAMS ARE ENTITIES

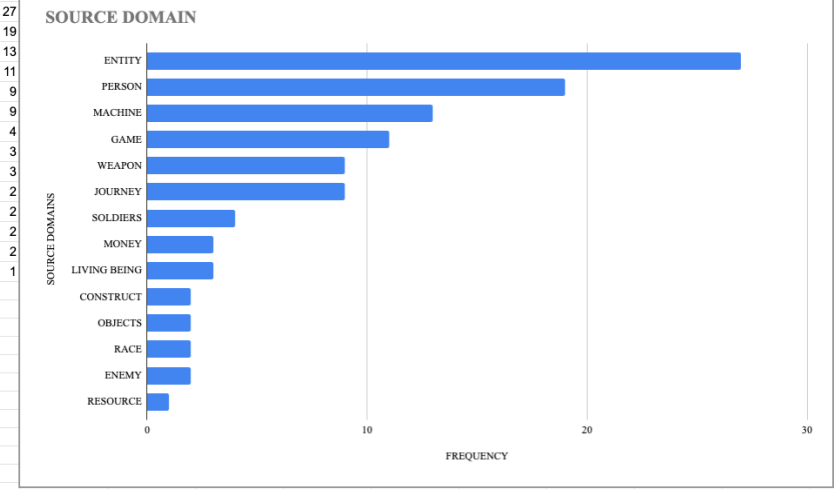
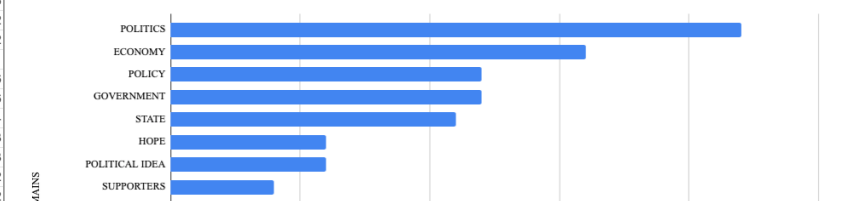
10. “On day one we’re gonna get education moving.”	EDUCATION IS A MACHINE
11. “We can go to work together to build an economy that will work for all Virginians.”	ECONOMY IS A MACHINE
12. “Our children are falling so far behind in the commonwealth of Virginia…”	POLITICS IS A RACE
13. “It’ll be the death blow for Virginia business climate.”	POLICY IS A WEAPON

Appendix B: Spreadsheet of Conceptual Metaphors, Source Domain and Target Domain Data

CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR	
ECONOMY IS A MACHINE	13
POLITICS IS A GAME	11
GOVERNMENT IS A PERSON	10
POLICY IS A WEAPON	9
POLITICS IS A JOURNEY	9
HOPE IS AN ENTITY	6
POLITICAL IDEA IS AN ENTITY	6
STATE IS AN ENTITY	5
STATE IS A PERSON	5
SUPPORTERS ARE SOLDIERS	4
EDUCATION IS AN ENTITY	3
POLICY IS MONEY	3
DREAMS ARE ENTITIES	3
ECONOMY IS A LIVING BEING	3
GOVERNMENT IS AN ENTITY	2
STATEMENTS ARE OBJECTS	2
POLITICS IS A RACE	2
POLITICAL OPPONENT IS AN ENEMY	2
PERSON IS AN OBJECT	2
HISTORY IS AN ENTITY	2
TIME IS A CONSTRUCT	1
POLITICAL PARTY IS A PERSON	1
STATE IS A CONSTRUCT	1
TIME IS A RESOURCE	1
COUNTRY IS A PERSON	1



SOURCE DOMAIN	
ENTITY	27
PERSON	19
MACHINE	13
GAME	11
WEAPON	9
JOURNEY	9
SOLDIERS	4
MONEY	3
LIVING BEING	3
CONSTRUCT	2
OBJECTS	2
RACE	2
ENEMY	2
RESOURCE	1



TARGET DOMAIN	
POLITICS	22
ECONOMY	16
POLICY	12
GOVERNMEN	12
STATE	11
HOPE	6
POLITICAL IDI	6
SUPPORTERS	4
EDUCATION	3
DREAMS	3
TIME	2
STATEMENTS	2