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"Conceptual Metaphors and Pragmatic Context in Political Speeches (in Spanish and Portuguese)"

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1. OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

Political discourse represents a complex domain where language plays a pivotal role in influencing, persuading, and shaping public perception. Amidst this elaborate linguistic landscape, the subtle currents of conceptual metaphors operate, adeptly moulding our understanding of political events and issues. These metaphors, as articulated by George Lakoff, transcend mere rhetorical embellishments; they form the fundamental basis of political communication, intricately woven into the fabric of our political discourse. In the context of specific genres of political discourse in Portugal and Spain, there is an unfulfilled imperative for a thorough exploration of these conceptual metaphors - their roles, functions, and the evolutionary dynamics that govern them.

This dissertation recognises that the discipline of pragmatics and the notion of context are integral to unravelling the complexities inherent in political discourse. Pragmatics, with its concern with the study of language use in context, enables a refined understanding of how language functions within the specific sociopolitical environments of Spain and Portugal. Acknowledging the centrality of context, this exploration seeks to shed light on the profound impact of conceptual metaphors on political communication, underscoring their significance in shaping the sociopolitical narratives of Portugal and Spain.

The intersection of political discourse, conceptual metaphors, and pragmatic context unfolds a rich tapestry of interrelated facets. With this in mind, I embark on a systematic exploration of these facets, with a specific interest in the potential utilisation of conceptual metaphors within specific genres of political discourse in Spain and Portugal.

The bedrock of this investigation rests firmly upon George Lakoff's Conceptual Metaphor Theory, which accentuates the key role of conceptual metaphors in shaping our comprehension of the world, and van Dijk's theoretical proposals regarding context, which consider how contextual factors influence the application and interpretation of these metaphors.

Additionally, this investigation recognises the different interfaces of pragmatics, which enable a multidisciplinary approach and contribute to a more equipped understanding of how language functions within specific sociopolitical environments. This multidisciplinary perspective enhances the exploration of conceptual metaphors within a specific genre of political discourse, considering the intricate interplay between language, thought, context, and the sociopolitical landscape.

In this regard, bearing down on the advancement of linguistic theory becomes crucial. This advancement not only encompasses substantial shifts in the focus of linguistic analysis -

moving from the structures of the language system to its operation within diverse communicative contexts - but also involves a transition from purely linguistic approaches to anthropocentric interdisciplinary frameworks (Popova 2022). Furthermore, there is an increased interest on exploring the cognitive dimensions of language usage.

For the purposes of the theoretical and empirical analysis, it is relevant to focus on recent developments in Pragmatics and Cognitive Linguistics. It is worth mentioning that on the one hand, they have evolved and include a large number of different currents and conceptual modes. On the other hand, "there are diverse points of intersection and overlap" between them, connected with the cognitive representations of different types of speakers' knowledge (Popova 2022).

For good measure, Pragmatics results from and contributes to cross-disciplinary intersections. Situated at the confluence of disciplines such as semiotics, linguistics, philosophy of language, and rhetoric, pragmatics not only emerges from these fields but also experiences continuous development through interdisciplinary expansions (e.g., legal pragmatics, literary pragmatics, intercultural pragmatics, clinical pragmatics) (Norrick & Ilie 2018).

This dynamic field has consistently attracted substantial academic attention, facing scrutiny from various theoretical perspectives, and benefiting from contributions across multiple disciplines. Scholars have explored the interplay of distinct features within each discipline, recognising both overlaps and complementary aspects. The current academic landscape encourages a revaluation of the boundaries and intersections between pragmatics and its adjacent fields, with composite theories spawning from this engagement.

In elucidating the foundational framework of this dissertation, it becomes imperative to expound upon the overarching objectives steering this comprehensive investigation. This all-encompassing inquiry is shaped by a set of focal research questions. The first inquiry addresses the presence of conceptual metaphors embedded within the speeches delivered by Spanish Presidents of the Government and Portuguese Prime Ministers. Subsequently, the investigation delves into the substantiation of these conceptual metaphors that form the basis of metaphorical expressions within the aforementioned speeches.

The third question probes into the rationales and elucidations that can shed light on the identified conceptual metaphors within the corpus of speeches. Further exploring the intricacies of metaphorical usage, the fourth question scrutinises the strategic intentions behind the employment of these conceptual metaphors, if indeed they are detected. The investigation widens its scope to discern disparities and affinities between the metaphors employed in the speeches of Portuguese Prime Ministers and Spanish Presidents of the Government. In addition,

tracking the evolution of discourse, I intend to investigate whether there has been a discernible change in the selection of metaphors by Portuguese Prime Ministers and Spanish Presidents of the Government over the periods under analysis. The influence of context emerges as a critical aspect in the seventh question, which queries whether there is any impact of context on the selection of the conceptual metaphors identified. Finally, the examination extends to whether context aids in explaining these conceptual metaphors and the purpose behind their utilisation.

Inside the expansive realm of Portuguese and Spanish political discourse, a conspicuous lacuna emerges from the lens of pragmatics and linguistics. While various political discourses have been scrutinised, such as Charteris-Black's analysis of conservative and labour manifestos, the specific intricacies and idiosyncrasies of Spanish and Portuguese political rhetoric have thus far eluded a diachronic and systematic examination.

This dissertation aims at imparting a heightened awareness regarding the strategic deployment of conceptual metaphors, recognised as persuasive and manipulative instruments within political discourse while considering the significance of contextual factors and their role in shaping these linguistic strategies. The significance of this endeavour resides in the meticulous cartography of conceptual metaphors within distinct genres of Spanish and Portuguese political discourse, while hoping to illuminate the motivations underpinning their utilisation and making apparent the indispensable role played by pragmatic context in moulding linguistic choices.

Following the introduction, the dissertation is organised into three chapters and a conclusion. Chapter 1 is titled 'Theoretical Framework' and provides an overview of the theoretical basis that sustains this investigation, Chapter 2 is titled 'Methodology' and includes the description of the methods, research questions, and the corpus of this inquiry, Chapter 3 is named 'Empirical Analysis: The Spanish Investiture Speeches', Chapter 4 goes by 'Empirical Analysis: The Portuguese Inauguration Speeches' and the last section is dedicated to the 'Conclusions' derived from this analysis.

In Chapter 1, the theoretical framework is organised around four semantic blocks, each representing a crucial dimension. The section 'Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics: Genesis, Evolution and Main Ideas' seeks to trace back the genesis, evolution, and interconnected ideas that shape our understanding of these linguistic phenomena.

Unpacking the emergence of cognitive linguistics, the sub-section 'Conceptual Metaphor Theory: A Quest for Meaning' scrutinises metaphor as a cognitive phenomenon that both motivates and linguistically shapes conceptualisation, exploring its intricate relationship with language and thought. Further, it investigates categorisation and prototypes, essential

components in understanding the cognitive underpinnings of metaphor.

The ensuing segment is titled 'Pragmatics: From Inception Towards a Cognitive View' and provides a general idea of this discipline, focusing on its core theories and paramount figures such as Wittgenstein (2009), Austin (1962), and Searle (1979) and their roles in shaping Speech Act Theory, a theory that deals with political discourse as a communicative act.

Furthermore, this section explores Grice's Cooperation Principle, Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory, Politeness Theory, and the Theory of Argumentation Within Language by Anscombre and Ducrot (1994), with the ideas of Teun van Dijk regarding discourse, context, and knowledge being a vital component.

Finally, the fourth semantic block of the theoretical framework was coined 'CMT and Pragmatics: Interfaces and Junctures' and explores the dynamic interplay between conceptual metaphor and political discourse, while shedding light on the interface between political discourse and ideology. This subsection also explores the origins and development of rhetoric, and how it intersects with pragmatics.

The structure of this theoretical framework serves as a scaffold for the subsequent chapters, aiming to provide an encompassing understanding of the intricate connections between metaphor, context, cognitive linguistics, pragmatics and the different junctures that these concepts encounter.

The second chapter of this dissertation is titled 'Methodology' and lays down the different features of the methodological approach used in this investigation. The first subsection of this chapter consists of a description of the research corpus, which includes two custom-built collections of speeches: ten (10) inauguration speeches by Portuguese Prime Ministers and thirteen (13) investiture speeches by Spanish Presidents of the Government, spanning from the establishment of constitutional governments in Portugal and Spain.

The second subsection entails the description of the research questions and methods that orient this qualitative analysis, stressing its holistic nature, the influence of Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) and the use of elements from pragmatics and rhetoric to assist in the identification, explanation, and understanding of the purpose behind the use of any conceptual metaphors found, while exploring its differences and contextual influences. The final subsection of this chapter presents the definitions of the main concepts related to CMT, CMA and Pragmatics that will be used in this dissertation.

The third chapter is titled 'Empirical Analysis: The Spanish Investiture Speeches' and is dedicated to the empirical analysis of the Spanish corpus and the contextual periods in which they were grouped. The first contextual period is identified as 'The early days of democracy

and the Spanish transition: the speeches of Suárez, Calvo-Sotelo and González (1982)' and includes the analysis of the speeches of the investitures of Adolfo Suárez, Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo and Felipe González's first investiture. The following contextual period was coined 'European Integration and Terrorism: Felipe González's last three investitures and the rise of José María Aznar' and encompasses the analysis of the second, third and fourth investitures of Felipe González and the first investiture speech of José María Aznar.

The section 'The End of Aznar's Honeymoon Era and Zapatero's Dual Dawn: Spain's first Investitures in the 21st Century (2000, 2004 and 2008)' explores Aznar's second investiture and José Zapatero's two investiture speeches, while the last contextual period of the Spanish corpus was named 'Transition and Transformation: The Era of Austerity in Spain through the Investiture Speeches of Mariano Rajoy and Pedro Sánchez' and comprises the analysis of the two investiture speeches rendered by Mariano Rajoy and the investiture speech of Pedro Sanchéz in 2020.

The empirical analysis continues in Chapter 4, which has the title 'Empirical Analysis: The Portuguese Inauguration Speeches' and uses the same structure of organisation, grouping the speeches according to the contextual periods in which they occurred. The first period is termed 'A Transition by Rupture and the Road to Democracy: The Inauguration Speeches of the Prime Ministers of Portugal's first three Constitutional Governments' and features the analysis of the inauguration speeches of the first three Constitutional governments, which had as Prime Ministers Mário Soares, in the first two inaugurations, and Nobre da Costa, in the inauguration of the third constitutional government of the country.

The empirical analysis continues in the section 'Portugal's Path to Europe: The Pre-EEC Integration Speeches by Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo, Francisco Sá Carneiro, and Francisco Pinto Balsemão', and incorporates the analysis of the speeches by Prime Ministers Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo, Francisco Sá Carneiro and Francisco Balsemão's first inauguration.

The last contextual period is presented in the section 'From the years of fat cows to times of austerity: the inauguration speeches of the XVII, XIX, XX and XXII Constitutional Governments' and deals with the analysis of the inauguration speeches of José Sócrates's first government, the two governments of Pedro Passos Coelho and António Costa's inauguration speech for the XXII Constitutional Government of Portugal.

In the finalising section of this dissertation, devoted to conclusions, I will carry out a comprehensive synthesis and critical reflection on the way metaphor theory, the paradigm of cognitive linguistics and pragmatics illuminate our understanding of the shaping and nature of the genre of inaugural and investiture speeches in political discourse. Drawing upon the

extensive exploration of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Pragmatics, this concluding chapter aims to distil key insights, assess the theoretical contributions made, and illuminate potential avenues for future research. Through a judicious amalgamation of theoretical underpinnings and empirical findings, this concluding section encapsulates the essence of the dissertation, capturing an all-inclusive perspective on the dynamic interconnections within the linguistic landscape of political discourse in Portugal and Spain.

The introductory chapter establishes the groundwork for an interdisciplinary journey that seeks to uncover the hidden layers of meaning within a specific genre of political discourse. By embracing cognitive linguistics, context, pragmatics and the different interfaces around these concepts, this dissertation aims to contribute, through a holistic, interdisciplinary and dynamic methodology, to the understanding of how language shapes our perception of political realities and ideologies through political discourse in Spain and Portugal, and how context influences these undercurrents.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework of the dissertation starts by delving into the emergence of Cognitive Linguistics (CL), tracing its genesis and evolution, while showing how it appeared as a reaction to dissatisfaction with formal linguistic approaches, particularly Chomskyan Generative Linguistics, and how CL rejects the autonomy of language and explores the cognitive dimensions of metaphor, pointing out the relationship between metaphor, language, and thought.

Examining metaphor as a conceptual phenomenon, the theoretical framework notes its roots in Aristotle's work and its evolution through different waves in the 20th century and how CL challenges traditional linguistic views by asserting that metaphor is not confined to literary or poetic expression but is an integral part of everyday life.

The section on metaphor as a cognitive phenomenon elucidates CL's position that metaphor is a linguistic device facilitating the transference of properties between concepts. CL contends that conceptual metaphors, a term coined by Lakoff and Johnson (Lakoff & Johnson 2003), play a crucial role in thought, allowing the understanding of abstract concepts. Metaphors, often unnoticed, shape our cognitive processes and language structure, becoming essential in communicating about abstract ideas.

The integration of metaphor and metonymy into CL's framework is discussed, highlighting their role as cognitive tools and conceptual phenomena. Additionally, stress is laid

upon the interdisciplinarity of CL with other cognitive sciences, as it not only incorporates data from these sciences but also contributes to understanding human cognition through the study of language.

By the same token, I address the foundational role of categorisation and prototypes in CL which challenges the traditional view of language as an autonomous system. Categorisation is defined as the cognitive process of identifying, classifying, and naming entities within the same category. CL posits that linguistic categorisation relies on prototypes - mental representations that are typical and more representative of entities in a category.

On this point, the theory of prototypes and basic-level categorisation, originating from Eleanor Rosch's research, contradicts the classical or logical conception of categorisation, drawing attention to the necessary and sufficient conditions. Several key contributors, including Ludwig Wittgenstein (2009), J. L. Austin (1962), Lotfi Zadeh (1965), Brent Berlin (1969, 1973), Paul Kay (1969), Roger Brown (1958), and Paul Ekman (1977), paved the way for Rosch's groundbreaking work.

Admittedly, Rosch's (1975) experimental paradigms, exploring direct rating, reaction time, production of examples, asymmetry in similarity ratings, asymmetry in generalisation, and family resemblances, provided empirical support for the theory. These experiments revealed that categories exhibit degrees of membership, fuzzy boundaries, and central members.

However, interpretations of Rosch's findings within CL have led to diverse views. George Lakoff proposes the cognitive model approach, punctuating idealised cognitive models as the basis for category and prototype effects. Lakoff argues that prototypes result from the nature of cognitive models, influencing category gradation and organization.

On the other hand, Dick Geeraerts (2016) identifies four main features of prototypicality: non-definability by a single set of criterial attributes, a family resemblance structure, degrees of category within members, and blurred edges. Geeraerts criticises Lakoff's experiential nature of categories, asserting that prototypical categories should be studied in the context of experience and adding that prototypicality is a prototypical notion, encompassing various phenomena, features, or effects.

Despite debates on interpretations, the significance and credibility of categorisation and prototype concepts in CL remain unchallenged and continue to form the bedrock of the discipline, shaping its understanding of language and cognition.

The second semantic block of the theoretical framework consists of an overview of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the importance of the notion of framing for political discourse analysis and CMT's entailments, criticisms, and latest developments.

Introduced in their seminal work "Metaphors We Live By" (2003), CMT posits that our ordinary conceptual system is inherently metaphorical, influencing language, thought, and conceptualization. The theory distinguishes between linguistic metaphors and conceptual metaphors, defining the latter as a systematic set of correspondences between abstract and concrete domains. Albeit primary metaphors are considered universal and learned unconsciously, grounded in both similarity and experience, CMT recognises cultural influences on metaphorical expression. Recent research reflects on the role of context in shaping metaphors, leading to an improved understanding of metaphorical creativity.

The dissertation discusses Charles Fillmore's theory of frame semantics (1982) reiterating the idea that understanding the meaning of an isolated word requires accessing the entire frame of essential knowledge related to it. Fillmore defines a frame as a system of interconnected concepts, illustrating it with examples like "sell," which necessitates knowledge about commercial transfer. This encyclopaedic knowledge, termed by Fillmore as interpretive frame, aligns with Cognitive Linguistics (CL) and rejects the truth-conditional approach to meaning.

Lakoff and Langacker (1987), while differing on certain details, agree on the encyclopaedic view of semantics, rejecting objectivistic approaches. Lakoff introduces the concept of frames and proposes that metaphors operate within interpretive frames. Even critics like Pinker (2007) acknowledge the role of context in understanding metaphors. Framing, a psychological concept, influences thinking, projecting interpretive frames onto experiences.

Pertaining to the entailments of CMT, this theory challenges traditional linguistic and cognitive science views, as Lakoff advocates for "experiential realism", asserting that human reasoning is embodied and shaped by biology. CMT criticises objectivism and subjectivism, bearing an accent on the assumption that truth is relative to one's conceptual system grounded in experiences and culture.

Nevertheless, despite widespread acceptance, CMT faces criticisms. Haser (2005) argues that Lakoff and Johnson oversimplify metaphors as cognitive strategies, pointing out issues with phenomena such as conflation, neural connections, circularity, and the universality of metaphors. In addition, some critics demand more empirical evidence for underlying conceptual metaphors.

As a counterpoint, the theoretical framework brings up recent developments in CMT, including the Neural Theory of Metaphor (NTM), linking metaphors to brain processes. NTM retains CMT's foundational claims, integrating neurobiological insights. Figurativity, rooted in cognitive processes, is explored, highlighting the physiological basis of conceptual metaphor.

The theoretical dissertation also focuses on the comparisons between CMT and Blending Theory (BT), unwrapping their commonalities and differences. Nonetheless, while both address metaphor as a conceptual phenomenon but differ in the treatment of metaphor directionality and the role of blending, the decision to prioritise CMT over alternatives is justified by its ability to address recurring patterns in figurative language, focus on stable knowledge structures, and offer a well-established framework for systematic analysis.

The third semantic block of the theoretical framework addresses the evolution of the discipline of pragmatics and the path towards a more cognitive view. The examination begins with Speech Act Theory, tracing its inception through the works of Wittgenstein, Austin, and Searle. Austin's trichotomy of speech acts (locutionary, illocutionary, perlocutionary) (1982) and Grice's Cooperative Principle (1995), centred on the ideas of truthfulness, informativeness, relevance, and clarity. The analysis extends to argumentation theory by Anscombre and Ducrot (1994) and Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory (1986), addressing conversational implicature and information exchange.

Furthermore, I explore pragmatics through the lens of politeness, highlighting interpersonal communication strategies, culminating in the insights of Teun van Dijk and the interplay between discourse, context, and knowledge in Critical Discourse Analysis, while Maria Victoria Escandell Vidal's perspective on pragmatics (Vidal 2006) as the study of language principles regulating communication, including communicative intention, pragmatic information, and social distance, is also presented to illustrate the importance of the problematic chosen to this dissertation.

The section then explores Wittgenstein, Austin, and Searle's contributions to Speech Act Theory, laying stress upon Austin's distinction between constative and performative sentences and the subsequent development of locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts, and on Searle's taxonomy refines Austin's classification, who draws attention to illocutionary points and the direction of fit.

Grice's Cooperative Principle (1995) and conversational implicature are introduced in connection to Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory, which builds on Grice's work, explaining how communicators convey more information than literal sense and introducing the concepts of explicature and implicature.

This exploration of Pragmatics moves to Politeness Theory, as articulated by scholars such as Geoffrey Leech (1983), Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson (1987), acknowledging that it plays a critical role in understanding the intricate dynamics of human communication. Leech, building on Grice's Cooperative Principle, introduced the Politeness Principle, complete

with politeness maxims and a cost-benefit scale (Leech 1983).

Part of the same chain of events, Brown and Levinson expanded on Politeness Theory (Brown & Levinson 1987), introducing the concepts of positive and negative face. Positive politeness involves aligning with the hearer's desires, while negative politeness ensures the hearer's freedom of action. The authors proposed linguistic realizations and strategies for these politeness types, with positive politeness employing exaggeration, seeking agreement, and gift-giving, while negative politeness involves conventionally indirect language, hedging, and minimizing impositions. The bald-on-record strategy opts for a direct approach, whereas the off-record strategy utilises indirect communication to obfuscate clear communicative goals.

Parallel to Politeness Theory, Anscombre and Ducrot's Theory of Argumentation Within Language (Anscombre & Ducrot 1984), originating in the mid-1970s, rejects the notion of language as mere representation, instead viewing language as action. Central to their theory is the argumentative orientation within language, influencing discourse dynamics. The introduction of concepts such as topos and radical argumentativeness highlights the absence of purely informative sentences.

The integration of these theories reveals a detailed understanding of communication dynamics. Particularly, the Theory of Argumentation Within Language sheds light on the internal argumentative orientation of statements, emphasizing its impact on discourse dynamics. This theory, in complement to Pragmatics, underscores the centrality of lexical selection in communication and its profound influence on cognitive representations.

In the final part of the semantic block dedicated to Pragmatics, I introduce Teun van Dijk's views on discourse, context and knowledge, drawing attention to how his work is centred around the interdisciplinary nature of discourse analysis, treating it not merely as a method but as a cross-discipline that integrates quantitative and qualitative tools with traditional linguistic analyses.

Hereof, van Dijk's critical discourse analysis (CDA) concentrates on the (re)productions of power abuse and resistance against domination. According to him, CDA addresses social problems, recognising the discursive nature of power relations that shape society and culture. In this framework, speech serves an ideological function and is historically situated, with an indirect link between text and society. Discourse analysis, as per Van Dijk, is interpretive and explanatory, treating discourse as a form of social action (van Dijk 2016).

To enhance CDA's acceptance in academia, van Dijk advocates a focus on social problems, multidisciplinary empirical analysis, and a shift from describing discursive structures to explaining them based on interaction properties and social structure. For Van Dijk, CDA

entails a political critique of power perversion, requiring a structural, general, and group-focused approach rather than an isolated, individual one.

Concerning the concept of discourse, van Dijk acknowledges its complexity and defines it as a socially oriented communicative event involving linguistic, cognitive, social, and cultural elements within a given context. Discourse extends beyond written text to various media, and its structures are influenced by the specific context in which it occurs.

Van Dijk introduces the concept of context models, mental representations of personal experiences crucial for understanding discourse. These models determine the appropriateness of discourse in a communicative situation, managing what information can be presented and how. Subjective and unique, context models play a central role in discourse production.

Expanding on a sociocognitive approach to discourse (van Dijk 2016), van Dijk underscores the interconnectedness of discourse structures, social structures, and mental representations. He categorises discourse components into cognitive elements (memory, mental models, social cognition) and social elements (shared knowledge, attitudes, ideologies). This approach recognizes the mediation between these dimensions, asserting that discourse influences and is influenced by social interaction and structures.

Turning to the notion of knowledge, van Dijk proposes an empirical criterion where beliefs presupposed in the public discourses of an epistemic community are considered knowledge. He categorises knowledge into types like personal, interpersonal, group, institutional, national, and cultural, each with specific characteristics and presuppositions.

Additionally, the Dutch linguist introduces the 'K-device,' a cognitive mechanism controlling what recipients know during interactions. This device, integral to context models, employs 'K-strategies' to manage different types of knowledge, enlivening the role of complex and efficient strategies in processing diverse knowledge sources, facilitating effective communication (van Dijk 2005).

The proposals put forth by van Dijk, particularly the triangular approach encompassing discourse, cognition, and society (van Dijk 2018), provide a solid theoretical foundation for analysing political discourse, particularly for the purposes of this dissertation, which explores conceptual metaphors, contextual knowledge management, and other pragmatic aspects in political discourse, thus having an interdisciplinary essence.

My intention, however, is not to make full use of this author's comprehensive approach but select the most important and convenient aspects of it to create an operational methodology that will allow me to analyse the corpus that I selected and potentiate the yielding of more interesting results. It is my conviction that, in connection with CL (concretely, Conceptual

Metaphor Theory and Critical Metaphor Analysis), the results of my analysis will be much richer and will provide a better insight into the reasons that were behind the use of certain linguistic expressions and discursive strategies.

The final semantic block of the theoretical framework approaches dynamics between conceptual metaphors and pragmatics, shedding light on their central interfaces and junctures. Probing into the realm of political discourse, the I will navigate through the symbiotic relationship between conceptual metaphors and the articulation of political ideas. This exploration is further deepened, with scrutiny of the intricate interface between political discourse and ideology, extricating the profound impact of metaphorical constructs on the shaping of ideological frameworks.

Additionally, the origins and development of rhetoric also take centre stage, surveying its sophisticated interface with pragmatics and elucidating the historical underpinnings that have shaped rhetorical strategies within linguistic contexts. As this section unfolds, it seeks to illuminate the multifaceted dimensions where conceptual metaphors and pragmatics converge, offering a comprehensive exploration of their interfaces and underscoring the crucial junctures that define their symbiotic relationship in linguistic and communicative landscapes.

The nexus between political discourse and ideology holds paramount significance, given the inherently ideological nature of political discussions. Teun van Dijk elucidates ideologies as socially shared mental representations or beliefs held by groups, rooted in the social interests and relations within intricate social structures. Ideology, for van Dijk, constitutes an articulation of socially shared beliefs, termed social representations, forming the cognitive bedrock for various groups (van Dijk 2003).

The concept of common ground, within this context, denotes a set of beliefs assumed in public discourse, considered sound, rational, reasonable, consensual, and non-ideological by the group. While encompassing general norms and values shared within a culture, specific groups selectively organise these cultural values into their ideologies. van Dijk, while acknowledging a lack of precise knowledge about the structural aspects of ideologies, suggests a connection to fundamental social properties such as group membership, activities, goals, norms, values, relations to other groups, and resource availability. Ideologies and their structures, he posits, serve as the cognitive core of a group's identity, constraining the social practices of its members (van Dijk 2003).

Van Dijk refutes characterising political discourse as a singular genre, advocating instead for its classification as a class of genres based on the social domain of politics. Political discourse spans various genres, including government deliberations, parliamentary debates,

party programs, and political speeches, all integrated into the political domain. Van Dijk simplifies politics as the set of activities politicians engage in, making political discourse the discourse of politicians. Discourses that intersect with politics but belong to other social domains, such as student demonstrations or everyday conversations about politics, are excluded. Genres like a bill regarding education policies, however, are considered part of political discourse (van Dijk 2003).

The notion of mental models assumes significance in addressing the personalisation of group beliefs, serving as a cognitive interface between social beliefs and discourse. Personal models, rooted in ideologies and other social beliefs, are socially biased. Politicians, for instance, express at least two ideologies: professional ideologies motivating their role as politicians and sociopolitical ideologies stemming from group membership, such as a political party. Conflicts may arise within politicians' discourse due to misalignment between these ideologies, exemplified by a populist politician's authoritarian tendencies conflicting with democratic principles.

This segment of the theoretical framework also examines the interface between Political Discourse and Ideology, revealing the intricate relationship between shared beliefs, social interests, and group dynamics (van Dijk 2003). According to van Dijk, ideologies are socially shared mental representations rooted in the social interests and relations of groups. These ideologies serve as cognitive foundations for group identity, influencing the acquisition, use, and transformation of beliefs. Common ground, a set of presupposed beliefs in public discourse, acts as a non-ideological foundation, encompassing general cultural values shared by a community.

Despite acknowledging a lack of knowledge about the structural aspects of ideologies, van Dijk suggests that their formation may be connected to basic social properties like group membership, goals, norms, values, and resource availability. Ideologies, he argues, form the cognitive core of group identity, shaping the social practices of group members.

Van Dijk challenges the notion of political discourse as a single genre, proposing instead a classification into a class of genres based on the social domain of politics. This broader classification includes various genres such as government deliberations, parliamentary debates, party programs, and political speeches. He defines political discourse as the discourse of politicians, excluding discussions at the border of politics with other domains (van Dijk 2003).

The concept of mental models emerges as a crucial link between social beliefs and discourse, serving as a cognitive interface. These personal models, influenced by ideologies, introduce social bias into discourse. Van Dijk illustrates that politicians often navigate

conflicting professional and sociopolitical ideologies, creating a complex interplay in their discourse. For instance, a populist politician may express democratic principles publicly while advocating discriminatory ideologies socially.

Turning to the Origins and Development of Rhetoric and its interface with Pragmatics, the theoretical framework traces rhetoric's evolution from its embryonic form in ancient Greek Sicily, where it emerged as a tool in a civil war against property expropriation.

The mid-20th century witnessed a resurgence in rhetoric, notably with Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca's 'New Rhetoric' (1969) and Stephen Toulmin's 'The Uses of Rhetoric' (2003). Both works revitalised rhetoric, focusing on practical knowledge and argumentation in everyday contexts, challenging formal logic. Also, the integration of rhetoric with pragmatics, as proposed by Marcelo Dascal and Alan Gross (1999), introduces a Gricean Theory of Rhetoric. This union anchors rhetoric in everyday communication, heightening persuasive intentions.

The theoretical framework also explores the role of metaphor in political discourse, noting its historical evolution and ideological implications. Pertaining to this, political discourse, is described as a means to gain power advantage, employing metaphors to frame arguments and influence attitudes, while the cognitive dimension of political metaphor and its role in expressing complex issues and transforming abstract notions into tangible concepts is also put under the spotlight.

Relating to this, Lakoff's examination of conceptual metaphors reveals their ideological motivation, with different metaphors serving as persuasive tools. The discussion extends to the ideological functions of metaphor in communicating political arguments, heightening emotional impact, and establishing the ethical integrity of the speaker, and laying bare the enduring relevance of rhetoric and metaphor in shaping political discourse, while intertwining with social, cognitive, and ideological dimensions.

3. METHODOLOGY

The methodological traits of a doctoral dissertation represent a fundamental feature for the operational success of such an endeavour. The nature of the object of my dissertation led to the decision to use holistic and strong empirically-driven research that would account for the study of conceptual metaphors and their pragmatic aspects in political discourse, within the framework of CMT, CMA and Teun van Dijk's proposals.

This analysis will be complemented by what I refer to as Critical Keyword Analysis,

which will be explained in detail further in this section.

This cognitive and pragmatic approach will be qualitative; however, some quantitative tools will be used to assist in the analysis of the source data. The tool used to do so is the software AntConc 4.2.0., a freeware concordance program for Windows, Macintosh OS X, and Linux.

The software includes seven tools, but for my analysis, I will only use the Concordance Tool, which shows search results in a 'KWIC' (Key Word In Context) format and the Word List tool, which counts all the words in the corpus and presents them in an ordered list.

3.1. Corpus

Two *ad hoc* corpora were built for this dissertation, consisting of ten (10) inauguration speeches by Portuguese Prime Ministers and thirteen (13) investiture speeches by Spanish Presidents of the Government. While the Spanish corpus includes every successful investiture speech in Spain until January 2023, the ten inauguration speeches by Portugal's Prime Ministers, were selected considering the availability of official transcripts and the need to restrict to a manageable amount of data. Both the inauguration speeches in Portugal and the investiture speeches in Spain took place since the establishment of the rule of law in both countries. The speeches analysed will be available in the appendices of this dissertation, together with the source for the speech in written form and a link to the word frequency lists used in my analysis.

3.2. Research Questions and Methods

The reason for the qualitative character of my methods is also connected to the intrinsically subjective nature of the theoretical approaches enlisted in the previous chapter. As explained, the sole understanding of a metaphor is itself a subjective exercise, as the same metaphor may be understood differently (or may not be consciously understood as such) even within the same culture. Furthermore, the contextual dimensions are also mental models of what one considers relevant according to one's experiences, and hence also particular to each individual.

Understanding these limitations, my analysis intends to address the following research questions:

- What, if any, are the conceptual metaphors embedded within the speeches delivered by Spanish Presidents of the Government and Portuguese Prime Ministers?

- What evidence substantiates the presence of conceptual metaphors that underlie metaphorical expressions within these speeches?

- What explanations can be offered to elucidate the identified conceptual metaphors within the corpora of speeches, and with what intentions are these conceptual metaphors, if discerned, strategically employed?

- To what extent do disparities and affinities exist between the metaphors employed in the speeches of Portuguese Prime Ministers and Spanish Presidents of the Government?

- Has there been a change in the selection of metaphors by Portuguese Prime Ministers and Spanish Presidents of the Government over the analysed periods?

- How does context influence the selection and explanation of identified conceptual metaphors, and what role does it play in elucidating the purpose behind their use?

Concerning the operational steps of this analysis, they were inspired by and included features from different methodologies and approaches, aiming at providing a fluid and operational workflow.

Firstly, I will establish the dimensions of my proposed context models, those being the personal or social aspects that may determine the choice of metaphor by the encoder, situational circumstances, and the cognitive circumstances (or background knowledge) of the speeches.

It is also important to mention that this rounded analysis necessarily makes use, to some extent, of knowledge from other fields of study, to determine the context models that will support my analysis.

One of the situational circumstances being assessed corresponds to the identity of the speaker, whom I will also consider responsible for the strategic decisions taken in the writing process of the speech. I shall add that the interrelation between the speechwriter and the speaker will not be taken into consideration, and, for this dissertation, the collective effort behind the speech will be considered the product of a single mind, represented as the speaker.

Another important situational circumstance is the location, the place where the speech was uttered. I will also identify the date on which the speech was rendered and the audience of the speech. I will make use of mainstream, well accepted sources (official, when possible) to identify these situational circumstances.

About the cognitive circumstances surrounding each speech, I will include under this

bracket some of the dimensions put forth by van Dijk. To this point, I will assume that the deliverer of the speech can be idealised for analytical purposes as a human mind (fully understanding that the writer of the speech and the politician may be separate individuals with unique sensations, thought patterns and possibly convictions, but within the communicative situation studied they can be collapsed into a unified abstract human mind). Therefore, I will with caution discuss the beliefs of the speaker, hence considering not only the interaction of the different ideologies of the speaker but also her/his assumptions and communicative intentions as displayed by the linguistic structuring of the respective speech.

The personal features that will be taken into consideration are those that may influence the choice of metaphor by the encoder. These can be thoughts, sensations and bodily experiences of the world; the comprehension of what will work better in a specific context of use; and the mastery of the linguistic system being used. Although these are not features easily identifiable, I will reflect on the weight they may have on the selection of metaphor by the encoder.

Concerning the social aspects, I will explore the ideological (e.g. political beliefs), cultural (e.g. group identity) and historical (e.g. collective memory) features that may be behind metaphor choice. The interaction between the beliefs of the speaker and the audience will also be considered, always bearing in mind van Dijk's notions of context model and the idea of contextual knowledge management (van Dijk 2005).

After establishing the social bases, and the situational and cognitive circumstances of the speech, I will identify the main topics of the speech. The topics are identified by a close reading of each paragraph and determine what the paragraph is about. For this dissertation, the definition of 'paragraph' is a set of sentences with one main idea that is commonly, but not necessarily, introduced in the first sentence of the paragraph.

The second part of this methodology is based on Jonathan Charteris-Black's CMA (Charteris-Black 2004) and will consist of three stages: metaphor identification, metaphor classification and metaphor explanation.

In the stage of metaphor identification, the first step is to peruse the text to identify the candidate metaphors, i.e., looking for incongruity or semantic tension at linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive levels. This first step allows the establishment of some candidate metaphors or metaphor keywords. The second step in the identification stage is to analyse the context of these metaphor keywords in the speech to determine whether their meaning is metaphorical or purely literal. After confirming the metaphorical meaning of the keywords, I will expand the search to verify if any other related terms to these keywords are present in the text that can help to confirm

the presence of a conceptual metaphor. In the case of identification of any conceptual metaphors, I will move to the classification stage, determining both source and target domains, considering the possibility of grouping metaphors by semantic field.

On this point, other metaphor identification procedures were pondered, namely Steen's revised method of Metaphor Identification Procedure (Steen 2010) and Stefanowitsch's Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (Stefanowitsch 2006).

The Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP(VU)), developed by Gerard Steen and the Pragglejaz Group, is a systematic method designed to identify metaphorical expressions within textual discourse. The process begins with a literal reading of the text to grasp its surface meaning. Subsequently, potential metaphorical expressions are isolated from their context and are evaluated to determine if they appear anomalous or deviate from typical language use. If deemed anomalous, the degree of metaphoricity shall be assessed, determining the level of metaphorical meaning associated with the expression.

While MIP(VU) offers a structured and replicable method for metaphor identification, it is not without its challenges. One notable issue is related to the decontextualisation step, where expressions are isolated from their original context. This process may oversimplify the analysis, potentially overlooking subtleties and variations in metaphorical meaning that arise within specific contextual frameworks. Further, the fact that this method requires a very detailed analysis of each lexical unit makes it less appropriate for larger amounts of data, as is the case of the corpora of this dissertation.

The method proposed by Stefanowitsch (2006), known as Metaphorical Pattern Analysis (MPA), defines a "metaphorical pattern" as a multi-word expression originating from a specific source domain into which one or more specific lexical items from a given target domain have been incorporated (Stefanowitsch 2006: 66). MPA is capable of retrieving numerous metaphorical patterns by scanning the corpus for the target domain item and identifying associated metaphors linked to these patterns. Notably, in Stefanowitsch's framework, target domain items consistently represent nouns associated with the target domain. Consequently, not all metaphorical expressions within a metaphorical domain are technically considered metaphorical patterns. Therefore, an approach centred on identifying such patterns may not encompass all metaphorical expressions or metaphors related to a specific target domain, therefore not being suitable for this endeavour.

Continuing with the operational steps of this dissertation's methodology, the stage of metaphor explanation corresponds to the determination of the purpose for the use of the identified metaphor, an exercise that is necessarily of a critical and qualitative nature. I will do

so by explaining the cognitive mappings underlying the metaphors detected, which will be of assistance in identifying the motivation and persuasive intent behind the metaphor. In other words, this stage aims to uncover the motivation of the speaker for the selection of metaphorical concepts, considering the linguistic, pragmatic, cognitive, ideological, cultural or historical features that were investigated in the first part of this methodology.

After performing this analysis, I will investigate what Cameron and Low (Cameron & Low 1999) define as discourse systematicity, as I will examine metaphors in a collection of speeches from a particular genre, in this case, inaugural and investiture speeches.

Additionally, I will look for other pragmatic aspects in the speeches and analyse them against the background provided by the context model outlined before. I will refer to the specific pragmatic features that I will be looking for, such as instances of specific deictic uses and references, in a further sub-section.

To complement this examination, I will provide what I refer to as Critical Keyword Analysis. This analysis will be carried out with the assistance of the software AntConc 4.2.0, namely its word frequency and keyword in context (KWIC) tools.

The Critical Keyword Analysis will consist of a critical investigation of the results of this word frequency analysis, which will be supplied in the Appendixes, and consider if, among the most frequent words, there are any significative findings which could provide further evidence of the importance that contextual models had in the selection of the words (and topics) used in the speeches. To further assess this, I will use AntConc's KWIC tool to look at the use of these words in context, which will give me the possibility of considering the collocates of such words.

The combination of CMA and van Dijk's context models presents numerous advantages, enhancing the cognitive semantic perspective on metaphor analysis by integrating social factors like ideology, culture, and history. While cognitive semantics focuses on how individuals interpret metaphors, CMA delves into the reasons specific metaphors are chosen in discourse, offering a discourse model accentuating its role in persuasion and ideology.

By identifying underlying conceptual structures such as conceptual keys and conceptual metaphors, CMA unveils coherence and patterns in discourse, providing an economical and comprehensive description of metaphors across domains (Charteris-Black 2004: 244, 245). This hierarchical model facilitates cross-domain comparisons and interdisciplinary studies. Additionally, CMA heightens the pragmatic perspective, acknowledging metaphor choice as a conscious, rhetorical act for persuasion within specific contexts. By creating awareness of the subliminal role of metaphor, CMA contributes to personal empowerment, enabling critical

examination and proposing alternative perspectives. Ultimately, CMA supports intellectual freedom by recognising the transformative power of metaphor in shaping discourse and perspectives (Charteris-Black 2004: 251).

Furthermore, CMA underscores the role of metaphor in creating cognitive and affective meaning. Through the examination of metaphors in a substantial language corpus, CMA allows the identification of suppressed meanings and challenges existing perspectives, exhibiting metaphor's potential to shift perceptions, hence bringing attention to the integrative nature of cognitive, pragmatic, linguistic, cultural, and historical knowledge. Through this approach, CMA provides a means to challenge conventional thinking about human behaviour, fostering awareness of the rhetorical skills embedded in metaphor use.

CMA's ability to activate hidden knowledge and propose alternative conceptualisations contributes to language proficiency, allowing individuals to balance conventional language use with innovative expression. The rearrangement of relationships between words, concepts, and referents becomes a tool for generating fresh insights into language as a symbolic and semiotic system.

Importantly, CMA asserts that the right to select metaphors is fundamental to human freedom, empowering individuals to present alternative perspectives and discuss social issues. By providing a critical lens on metaphors, CMA enables people to regain control of language and contribute to discourse. By understanding metaphor as a determining factor in how we think and feel, CMA underscores the importance of understanding metaphor for intellectual freedom and autonomy in shaping perspectives.

Furthermore, CMA addresses the covert or subliminal function of metaphor in influencing emotions (Charteris-Black 2004: 249), noting metaphor's potential to move or transport the audience, while drawing attention to the interplay between linguistic, cognitive, pragmatic, cultural, ideological, and historical factors in shaping metaphor choice within specific discourse contexts. This multidimensional perspective challenges deterministic views of metaphor use, recognising that choices are influenced by conscious and unconscious factors.

The pragmatic dimension in CMA acknowledges the rhetorical purpose of persuasion (Charteris-Black 2004: 247), asserting that metaphor choices are motivated by ideology and aimed at arousing emotions. CMA's critical stance involves identifying the motivations underlying metaphor selection, making individuals more aware of the rhetorical role of metaphor in forming evaluations. By uncovering hidden meanings and examining metaphorical choices, CMA equips individuals with the tools to challenge existing metaphors and propose alternative ways of thinking.

Jonathan Charteris-Black's CMA and Teun van Dijk's theories on context, power, society, discourse, ideology and knowledge in discourse analysis present complementary perspectives that, when integrated, offer a comprehensive and finespun understanding of metaphor usage within societal discourse.

CMA reserves a special role to the sociopolitical implications of metaphor, contending that metaphors are not solely linguistic expressions but carriers of ideologies and power structures. This aligns with van Dijk's assertions on the role of discourse in encoding and perpetuating societal ideologies. Both theoretical frameworks acknowledge the inherent connection between language use and the dissemination of cultural and political beliefs.

Van Dijk's focus on context and knowledge is particularly relevant when considering the application of CMA. Context, as he posits, is crucial for understanding discourse, and knowledge plays a fundamental role in shaping interpretations. Integrating van Dijk's contextual insights into CMA allows for a more profound exploration of how metaphors function within specific discursive settings, considering the contextual factors that influence their meaning.

This combined methodology leverages CMA's attention to metaphorical framing while van Dijk's discourse analytical tools scrutinise how metaphors contribute to the construction of mental representations within different contexts. Van Dijk's concept of mental models and Charteris-Black's metaphorical framing could be harmoniously employed to unpack the intricate ways in which metaphors influence cognition and contribute to the reproduction of societal knowledge.

The advantages of amalgamating these methodologies are manifold. Firstly, it enables a more complete analysis of metaphors by considering their cognitive, pragmatic and social dimensions. By incorporating van Dijk's contextual insights, CMA gains a more robust foundation for understanding the intricate interplay between language, thought, and societal structures.

Secondly, this integrated approach provides a more nuanced examination of power dynamics inherent in metaphors. The primacy given by CMA to power relations in metaphorical expressions aligns seamlessly with van Dijk's broader discourse analytical framework, enriching the analysis by considering how these power structures manifest across different levels of discourse.

Moreover, this methodology allows for a more comprehensive exploration of how metaphors contribute to knowledge construction and dissemination in society. Van Dijk's attention to knowledge structures in discourse, when integrated into CMA, enhances our

understanding of how metaphors function as vehicles for the transmission and reinforcement of societal knowledge.

In essence, the synergy between Charteris-Black's CMA and van Dijk's theories creates a methodological framework that not only recognises the relationship between language, metaphor, and power but also delves into the contextual and cognitive dimensions that shape the societal impact of metaphors. This integrative approach holds the promise of offering richer insights into the complexities of metaphor usage within the fabric of discourse and societal knowledge construction.

4. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS: THE SPANISH INVESTITURE SPEECHES

The empirical analysis of the Spanish investiture speeches delves into the convoluted fabric of Spanish investiture speeches through a comprehensive examination of inauguration speeches spanning different periods. The following subchapters unfold a detailed exploration, navigating through historical epochs such as the Spanish transition, European integration, the issues with separatist movements and the arrival of austerity. The analysis meticulously dissects the conceptual metaphors, contextual undertones and rhetorical strategies embedded in the investiture speeches, shedding light on Spain's political evolution and the evolving discursive landscape.

4.1. The early days of democracy and the Spanish transition: the speeches of Suárez, Calvo-Sotelo and González (1982)

This section includes the empirical analysis of the first two speeches of the candidates of the *Unión de Centro Democrático* (UCD, Democratic Centre Union), Adolfo Suárez and Calvo Sotelo, and the first speech by the leader of the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) Felipe González, on November 30, 1982.

The first set of Spanish speeches immediately illuminates the complex mosaic of political communication strategies employed by Spanish presidents during critical junctures. During these foundational stages of democratisation in Spain, the speeches of Adolfo Suárez, Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo and the first investiture of Felipe González show some common features, but also characteristics that differentiate them.

Adolfo Suárez, through the lens of his investiture speech, emerges as a statesman navigating uncharted territory. His commitment to democratic values and the orchestration of

Spain's conversion from authoritarianism bring about the shared theme of transition found across different presidencies. Suárez's forcibleness on inclusivity and the acknowledgment of economic challenges as part of a collective journey laid the groundwork for subsequent leaders.

Calvo-Sotelo's investiture reflects a delicate political moment, marked by an attempted coup and a fragile political coalition. His strategic use of metaphors, such as portraying terrorism as a disease and framing politics as a collective journey, reveals an adept response to a complex political landscape. The recognition of the importance of unity and continuity, amid challenges, becomes a recurring motif.

Felipe González's first investiture also takes place in a challenging context. The failed coup attempt, health crisis, internal party divisions, and the rise of regional autonomy demands all contributed to a delicate situation that required careful navigation.

In terms of common features, the three investiture speeches share the consistent use of conceptual metaphors that employ the semantic domains BUILDING, CONFLICT and JOURNEY. To this regard, the conceptual metaphor WORTHWHILE ACTIVITY IS A BUILDING is pervasive in these speeches, with the metaphors SOCIETY IS A BUILDING and DEMOCRACY IS A BUILDING being central. In this period of transition, the purpose behind the use of these conceptual metaphors is to portray the construction of a new societal and political structure during the transition to democracy and to highlight careful planning, unity, and the gradual building of a democratic foundation.

The first three Presidents also consistently employ CONFLICT metaphors, treating political challenges as struggles. This metaphorical framing communicates the effort required to achieve specific goals, especially in addressing issues like terrorism and social imbalances.

As for the source domain JOURNEY, the employment of the political conceptual metaphor PURPOSEFUL SOCIAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A DESTINATION is prevalent in the three speeches. Policies and societal activities are metaphorically framed as progressing along a path, indicating a sense of progress and purposeful movement.

Pertaining to the peculiarities of each of the speeches comprised in the first contextual period, the conceptualisation of the concept of terrorism is made in different ways by the politicians. While Suárez and González depict this phenomenon as an enemy that needs to be fought, Calvo-Sotelo likens the same concept to a disease. Calvo-Sotelo further uses this domain to portray social problems, such as unemployment. Additionally, the first investiture speech by Felipe González also stands out for the framing put in place to describe his government, with noticeable efforts to label it as a progressive, inclusive, democratic, socially

oriented, socialist government.

4.2. European Integration and Terrorism: Felipe González's last three investitures and the rise of José María Aznar

The following contextual period encompasses the speeches of the three last investitures of Felipe González and the first investiture speech of another President, José María Aznar.

The analysis of Felipe González's second investiture speech offers insights into the political context, rhetorical strategies, and policy priorities during the 1986 general elections in Spain. Key observations include the strategic timing of the elections to capitalise on the NATO referendum's success, González's deft use of metaphors with the source domains "building" and "journey," and a comprehensive policy agenda encompassing economic growth, employment, and social challenges.

Moving to González's third investiture speech in the late 1980s, the analysis reveals a complex economic and political landscape marked by challenges, such as high inflation and unemployment. The strategic use of metaphors, including "journey," "conflict," and "building," underscores González's communication strategy. Effective knowledge management is evident in addressing sensitive topics with transparency while projecting stability and purpose.

About the fourth investiture speech in 1993, the analysis unveils a backdrop of economic instability and internal party challenges. The emergence of the *Partido Popular* (PP) as a formidable opposition and González's strategic communication response, marked by metaphors with the source domains "journey," "building," and "conflict" reflects adaptability and a differentiated approach to complex issues.

Concluding the analysis with José María Aznar's first investiture speech, this period confirms the deliberate use of metaphorical expressions, adding depth to his discourse, while knowledge management strategies are used to navigate through more difficult topics. The critical keyword analysis underscores themes of trust, reform, employment, commitment, and fiscal discipline.

During this second contextual period, it is possible to observe González's continued use of metaphors, strategic knowledge management, and reiteration of the importance of economic policies, show his adaptability to the evolving political landscape. González's speeches mirror the evolving priorities and values of a leader navigating Spain through various sociopolitical currents.

Both González and Aznar utilise metaphors related to JOURNEY, accentuating progress

and change, while BUILDING metaphors continue to be prominent, underlining the leaders' vision of constructing stable political entities. In González's speeches, this is evident in the consistent use of the conceptual metaphor DEMOCRACY IS A BUILDING, implying the need for a solid democratic foundation. The same can be said about CONFLICT metaphors which are used by both leaders, although Aznar opts by utilising not only the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS AN ENEMY but also uses the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS A PLAGUE, a strategy that only Calvo-Sotelo had followed so far.

4.3. The End of Aznar's Honeymoon Era and Zapatero's Dual Dawn: Spain's first investitures in the 21st century (2000, 2004 and 2008)

The 21st century did not show great changes in regard to the strategies used in the two previous contextual periods analysed. This period comprises the second investiture speech by Aznar and the two investiture speeches by José Luís Zapatero.

Aznar's 2000 speech strategically positioned economic stability as its cornerstone. Economic growth, job creation, and inflation reduction were central, reflecting the politician's belief in their decisive role for re-election and Spain's overall well-being. The analysis highlighted successful appeal across a polarised political spectrum, marked by the PP's significant electoral victory. Aznar's unwavering stance on terrorism and active international engagement, notably during Spain's EU presidency, underscored his commitment to security and global partnerships. Acknowledging Spain's evolving social and cultural landscape, Aznar recognised changing attitudes toward autonomy, identity, and immigration. The analysis also lays bare Aznar's awareness of media's growing influence, evidenced by his strategic use of conceptual metaphors, strong ethos projection, and accent on key policy priorities.

Zapatero's 2004 investiture speech reflected a seismic shift, primarily influenced by the Madrid train bombings. The tragic event reshaped voter sentiment, steering them away from the ruling PP. Zapatero strategically employed metaphors like POLITICS IS CONFLICT and DEMOCRACY IS A BUILDING framing political discourse as a battleground and democracy as a dynamic structure. Ethos projection played a paramount role, with Zapatero positioning himself as a leader deeply committed to democratic principles, transparency, and social justice, while using different knowledge management strategies to convey certainty and a personal commitment to governance.

Zapatero's 2008 speech navigated a challenging landscape characterized by economic troubles, terrorism concerns, and political confrontations. Despite these challenges, Zapatero

secured strategic alliances and assembled a diverse group of advisers, including George Lakoff. The speech outlined a multifaceted agenda, addressing economic concerns, social welfare, education, gender equality, and immigration. Conceptual metaphors, rhetorical devices, and ethos projection were employed to convey complex political ideas, inspire optimism, and align with progressive values. Zapatero's discourse addressed economic difficulties without explicitly terming them a "crisis" and demonstrated a thorough understanding of the evolving economic landscape. His policies were strategically framed as liberal, with a noticeable focus on feminism, gay rights, multiculturalism, environmentalism, and abortion.

The analysis of this contextual period shows that there is a common intention of the politicians in avowing the importance of continuity and solidity during these critical junctures. Aznar's focus on economic stability and combating terrorism aligns with his earlier themes, while Zapatero's entrance into office is marked by a response to the Madrid train bombings and a commitment to a progressive policy agenda. The leaders continue to employ JOURNEY metaphors, affirming the ongoing progress of society and politics in a metaphorical framing that indicates a sense of purpose and direction.

BUILDING metaphors are also present in the three speeches of this period, however, while Aznar focusses more in depicting democracy as a building, Zapatero uses this semantic field to portray society and convey the idea of constructing and reinforcing societal structures. Furthermore, both leaders use CONFLICT metaphors to portray political challenges and the efforts required to overcome them, thus evoking a sense of determination and struggle.

As for the peculiarities of the speeches in the Spanish corpus, Aznar's second investiture stands out for the use of conceptual metaphors such as LIFE IS A RACE and TAXES ARE BURDENS, putting in place a framing of his government's values as more aligned with the Strict Father model, as individual responsibility is underlined. Conversely, the speeches of Zapatero, especially his second investiture, clearly frame his government as a progressive one, something that is noted in the pervasiveness of inclusive language.

The subsequent section is dedicated to the analysis of the investiture speeches delivered by Mariano Rajoy and Pedro Sánchez during the transitional and transformative period characterised by austerity in Spain.

4.4. Transition and Transformation: The Era of Austerity in Spain through the Investiture Speeches of Mariano Rajoy and Pedro Sánchez

Entering the second decade of the 21st century, this contextual period includes Mariano

Rajoy's 2011 and 2016 investitures alongside Pedro Sánchez's 2020 address. Through economic crises, political shifts, and coalition intricacies, each leader employed different strategies and metaphors to navigate Spain's challenges, offering captivating insights into their strategic communication and leadership approaches.

In 2011, Mariano Rajoy faced the daunting task of leading Spain through a severe economic crisis. Metaphorical language played a crucial role in Rajoy's speech. He utilised metaphors from the semantic field of building to convey the concepts of country, society, future, and economy. These metaphors drew attention to the collective effort required for progress. Journey metaphors were employed to express policy initiatives as purposeful activities with specific goals.

Rajoy strategically deployed knowledge management tactics, framing issues with emotional language and rhetorical questions to shape public perception. Ethos projection played an important role, as he projected a robust ethos grounded in responsibility and unity. Moreover, transparent acknowledgment of sacrifices demonstrated accountability, while inclusive language empowered citizens. The critical keyword analysis highlighted a central focus on the economy, with inclusive pronouns emphasising collective identity in his speech.

In 2016, Rajoy faced significant political events in Spain, including a new political landscape with four major parties and corruption scandals damaging the ruling party's reputation. Despite challenges in forming alliances, Rajoy's later successful investiture speech focused on the urgent need for a stable government. In his second investiture speech, Rajoy continued to use metaphors associated with building and journey, foregrounding the importance of stability and a well-defined path in governance. He also framed taxes as burdens and presented his party as the solution to Spain's problems, and used the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION to convey sacredness and unity in defence policy projecting. Furthermore, the politician projected an ethos of responsibility, unity, and a willingness to put the country's well-being above all else.

Moving on to Pedro Sánchez's investiture in January 2020, the analysis delved into Spain's complex political situation, marked by a fragmented parliament and the necessity for a coalition government. The 2019 elections did not yield a clear majority, leading to political instability exacerbated by the presence of various parties, including the far-right Vox party, and challenges related to Catalan separatism.

Conceptual metaphors with the source domain BUILDING were employed to address political instability, calling attention to strengthen democracy and build social cohesion, whereas metaphor with the source domain JOURNEY underscored joint efforts and the need to

overcome obstacles for political progress. In addition, it was observed the use of conceptual metaphors associated with the semantic field of CONFLICT to depict political activities and commitments, framing them as struggles against social problems.

The speech highlighted the opposition between conservatives and progressives, with a clear emphasis on the values of the progressive coalition. Sánchez asserted the values of the progressive coalition, including social justice, defence of public services, freedom, and territorial cohesion. He contrasted conservative failures, presenting the progressive coalition as the solution to Spain's challenges.

Despite primarily using metaphors aligned with progressive values, Sánchez employed conservative-associated metaphors for issues transcending ideological boundaries, such as eradicating prostitution and combating corruption. Critical keyword analysis revealed a deliberate framing strategy, with terms like "Spain," "social," "dialogue," "society," and "progressive" appearing frequently, reinforcing the opposition between progressives and conservatives.

In summary, the analysis of this last period of Spanish investitures demonstrates how these political leaders used language, metaphors, and strategic framing to convey their messages, establish their ethos, and appeal to their respective political bases and the broader public. Their speeches were shaped by the political contexts in which they delivered them, and they strategically used language to achieve their political objectives.

5. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS: THE PORTUGUESE INAUGURATION SPEECHES

This section entails an analysis of the inauguration speeches delivered by Portuguese Prime Ministers, spanning a period from the inception of democracy in Portugal following the 1974 revolution. A sample of ten (10) speeches has been chosen to represent the evolution of inauguration speeches in the country. The analysis is structured around three distinct chronological periods, each closely tied to the prevailing context at the time.

The first period centres on the inauguration speeches of the initial three constitutional governments. Specifically, it encompasses the speeches delivered by Socialist leader Mário Soares for the first two governments and Alfredo Nobre da Costa for the third government.

Moving on to the second period, the focus shifts to the inauguration speeches of the fifth, sixth, and seventh constitutional governments. These speeches were respectively given by Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo, Francisco Sá Carneiro, and Francisco Pinto Balsemão.

Lastly, the third period encapsulates the speeches delivered by José Sócrates during the

inauguration of the seventeenth government, the inauguration speech of the nineteenth constitutional government led by Pedro Passos Coelho, and the speeches rendered by Prime Minister António Costa during the inaugurations of the twentieth and twenty-second constitutional governments. This systematic categorisation allows for a comprehensive examination of the evolving nature of political discourse across these distinct periods in Portuguese history.

5.1. A Transition by rupture and the road to Democracy: The Inauguration Speeches of the Prime Ministers of Portugal's first three Constitutional Governments

The analysis of the Portuguese corpus of speeches begins with the inaugurations of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd constitutional governments, which took place in the aftermath of the Portuguese revolution of 1974, thus contributing with valuable insights into the strategic use of language and metaphors during a critical period in the country's history.

In the examination of Soares' first inauguration speech, it is noticeable the influence of Portugal's historical context of transition to democracy. The politician employs conceptual metaphors, using the journey metaphor to note the nation's progress and uses BUILDING conceptual metaphors to underscore the commitment required in activities like reconstructing the economy. Conflict-related metaphors are used portray political and social challenges as enemies, advocating for determined efforts. Also, Soares strategically frames events, such as the 1975 clashes, rejecting them and contrasting them with the true spirit of the 1974 revolution. This framing resonates with the Nurturant Parent morality model, resonating empathy, responsibility, and collective care.

The word frequency analysis reinforces Soares' stress on national unity and shared responsibility, with words like "national", "Portuguese", "respect", "state", and "work" frequenting the discourse. In addition, Soares constructs a multifaceted ethos, combining elements of democratic leadership, anti-authoritarianism, intellectual depth, pragmatism, hope, and commitment to national liberation.

Soares' second inauguration speech addresses the historical and political context of the II Constitutional Government, but from a perspective of instability. Following the recipe of success used in his first inauguration, the politician continued to use the semantic field BUILDING to evoke stability, while CONFLICT metaphors emphasised the adversarial nature of politics.

The speech reflects a moral framework that values empathy, collaboration, and shared

responsibility, offering insights into the challenges and priorities during a turbulent period in Portugal's political history, in tune with the values of Lakoff's Nurturant Parent model. The critical keyword analysis reveals prominent terms related to governance, constitutional matters, political parties, opposition, negotiations, and democracy, indicating the key themes and focus areas of the speech.

In contrast, the analysis of Prime Minister Alfredo Nobre da Costa's inauguration speech for Portugal's third constitutional government reveals a distinct approach. Set against a backdrop of political instability, similar to Soares' second inauguration, Nobre da Costa chooses to focus on the formation of a non-partisan government adhering to constitutional principles, a fact that is prominently highlighted by the critical keyword analysis.

Like Soares, he employs the BUILDING conceptual metaphors to describe the nation, government, and democracy. These conceptual metaphors bring attention to the need for collective effort for progress and stability. The JOURNEY domain is also employed to highlight the intentional and directional nature of the government's actions toward achieving specific goals. Notably, Nobre da Costa introduces the depiction of politics as a theatre play, suggesting that political activities are like strategic performances. This reflects his businessman background, which contributed to a distinct approach to governance, although still reflecting values associated with the Nurturant Parent leadership style.

The analysis of the speeches in this contextual period made apparent that the peculiar context in which Nobre da Costa became Prime Minister, in a government of presidential initiative, can also be seen as the motive for the lack of variety in terms of topics and the distinctive discursive strategies carried out by Nobre da Costa, in contrast to Mário Soares, who opted for a more traditional framing.

The next section continues with the analysis of speeches carried out by Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo, Francisco Sá Carneiro and Francisco Pinto Balsemão, which took place in the period immediately before Portugal's integration in the EEC.

5.2. Portugal's Path to Europe: The Pre-EEC Integration Speeches by Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo, Francisco Sá Carneiro, and Francisco Pinto Balsemão

After a period of political and institutional volatility which resulted from the implementation of democracy in the country, and albeit the political and social context was not of stability, Portugal begun to prepare itself to join the project of European construction. In this contextual period, I delve into a critical analysis of key speeches delivered by prominent figures

- Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo, Francisco Sá Carneiro, and Francisco Pinto Balsemão - during the period leading up to Portugal's integration into the European Economic Community (EEC).

Pertaining to the analysis of the second contextual period of the Portuguese corpus of speeches, the use of metaphors, especially those related to JOURNEY and BUILDING, remained a recurrent rhetorical strategy. Moreover, each Prime Minister strategically framed their government's role and challenges using CONFLICT metaphors, portraying political activities as purposeful struggles.

Additionally, ethos projection consistently enlarged the adherence to principles, stability, and purposeful governance, with references to democracy and commitment to constitutional values being prevalent across all speeches.

Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo's inauguration speech, delivered amid political crisis and instability, showcased her adept use of conceptual metaphors and framing. The metaphor of JOURNEY was pervasive, depicting governance as a purposeful and challenging journey. The CONFLICT and BUILDING metaphors were strategically employed to address political challenges and enhancing stability. Pintassilgo projected a strong ethos of commitment to solidarity and inclusive governance, reflecting the Nurturant Parent model and the metaphors associated with it. The integration of cultural references, such as Miguel Torga's verses, added a distinctive literary dimension to her speech, while allowing the politician to elicit patriotic feelings in the audience.

Francisco Sá Carneiro's inauguration speech, following the victory of the *Aliança Democrática*, demonstrated a keen focus on legitimacy and commitment to democracy. Sá Carneiro's use of conceptual metaphors, particularly BUILDING and CONFLICT, highlighted the need for reinforcement and courage in political endeavours. The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS A THEATRE PLAY, which had been used by Nobre da Costa before, conveyed a cautionary tone, urging transparency in political processes. Sá Carneiro projected an ethos rooted in principles, pragmatic governance, and alignment with the Nurturant Parent model.

Francisco Pinto Balsemão's inaugural address laid stress upon the ideas of continuity, stability, and economic development. Metaphors related to BUILDING educed his commitment to stable structures in governance and economic policies. Unlike the previous speeches analysed, Balsemão's focus on limited government intervention, individual liberties, and international cooperation aligned with conservative values. The metaphors portraying political endeavours as purposeful journeys reflected his determined leadership style and commitment to guiding Portugal through modernisation.

This period was prolific in distinctive features between the speeches, with Pintassilgo's

insistence on inclusivity, cultural references, and nurturant values setting her inaugural speech apart. Likewise, Sá Carneiro's cautious approach and focus on transparency, coupled with a commitment to the Nurturant Parent model, distinguished his rhetoric, while Balsemão's concentration on economic policies, limited government intervention, and international cooperation showcased distinctive priorities, which reflected partially the values of the Strict Father model.

The next contextual period includes the inauguration speeches of the Prime Ministers José Sócrates, in the inauguration of the XVII Constitutional Government, Pedro Passos Coelho, who led the XIX and XX governments, and António Costa in the XXII Constitutional Government.

5.3. From the years of fat cows to times of austerity: the inauguration speeches of the XVII, XIX, XX and XXII Constitutional Governments

The examination of the inaugural addresses of Portugal's XVII, XIX, XX, and XXII Constitutional Governments, considering linguistic undertones, framing techniques, and moral values, further illuminates the dynamic interplay of language, metaphors, and ethos projection, hence providing valuable insights into Portugal's political narrative.

The analysis of José Sócrates' inauguration speech as Prime Minister of Portugal in 2005 reveals a strategic use of conceptual metaphors, linguistic framing, and ethos projection to shape a narrative of purposeful, resilient, and inclusive governance. Sócrates employs the source domain CONFLICT to frame societal challenges as adversaries that demand active engagement. The conceptual metaphor WORTHWHILE ACTIVITY IS A BUILDING induces the idea of necessity of progress and stability in political actions, thus aligning with the narrative of ongoing construction, collaboration, and commitment to societal development. The JOURNEY metaphor portrays the government as purposeful, determined, and resilient, concerned with clear goals and the ability to overcome challenges. KNOWING IS SEEING is used to show the centrality given to transparency and sustainability in government actions. Sócrates aligns with Lakoff's "Nurturant Parent" morality model, underscoring empathy and responsibility for the well-being of the population. The framing and ethos projection collectively aim to elicit confidence in the government's ability to address challenges, fostering a narrative of progress and inclusive leadership. The critical keyword analysis reinforces the importance given to inclusive language, governmental investment, and the importance of sustainable and transparent public accounts.

In his inaugural address as the Prime Minister of Portugal's XIX Constitutional Government in 2011, Pedro Passos Coelho tackled the nation's pressing challenges with a focus on realism, responsibility, and the imperative for change. The speech strategically employed conceptual metaphors, predominantly the source domains BUILDING, JOURNEY, and CONFLICT, to convey the sacrifices and efforts required for national progress, presenting a cautionary narrative for the challenging times ahead. Passos Coelho skilfully used personification to humanise the country, government, and state, establishing a connection with the audience. The use of exophoric references and person deixis contributed to a persuasive strategy, projecting an image of a leader who takes responsibility while acknowledging shared challenges with the population. The ethos projected in the speech aligned with both Lakoff's Strict Father and Nurturant Parent models, combining elements of responsible authority and empathy for citizen well-being. The word frequency analysis draws attention to the balanced use of elements from both models, reflecting a leadership ethos grounded in competence, responsibility, and a pragmatic approach to governance. Overall, Passos Coelho's framing and ethos effectively set the tone for a collective journey, instilling confidence, and addressing concerns amid a backdrop of national challenges.

In his second inauguration speech as Prime Minister of the XX Constitutional Government of Portugal, Pedro Passos Coelho articulates an adaptive response to the unique challenges faced during this brief term. Despite the government's short tenure, the speech eludes themes of continuity, responsibility, and commitment to addressing both economic and social issues. Employing pervasive metaphors such as JOURNEY, BUILDING, and CONFLICT, Coelho frames the government's actions and challenges in accessible terms, as the ideas of deliberate progress, stability, and collective effort to overcome societal adversities are given predominance. Aligned with Lakoff's Nurturant Parent model, the speech puts the spotlight on social equality, portraying the government as a nurturer dedicated to the nation's well-being, democracy, and addressing social disparities. Coelho conveys an ethos of responsible leadership, establishing a profound sense of duty and dedication. Overall, the speech manifests a balanced, pragmatic governance approach, considering economic and social dimensions in the pursuit of national progress and well-being.

Finally, in his inauguration speech for Portugal's XXII Constitutional Government, Prime Minister António Costa employed strategic framing through conceptual metaphors and recurrent linguistic expressions. The use of metaphors that employ the source domain BUILDING portrayed the need for robust structures in social welfare, the financial system, and politics, accenting stability and continuity, while Costa's use of conflict-related metaphors

signalled dedication to addressing challenges collectively. The metaphor POVERTY IS AN INFECTIOUS DISEASE underscored a comprehensive approach to eradicating poverty. Additionally, POPULISM IS A POISON warned against far-right ideologies, positioning democracy as the antidote.

Aligned with Lakoff's Nurturant Parent morality model, Costa centred his speech around the ideas of social justice, inclusivity, and environmental responsibility. Word frequency analysis reinforced his focus on stability, social issues, and economic growth. The contextual use of *governo* "government" highlighted an active, determined, and dialogue-oriented administration.

In summary, this contextual period shows a greater control of language with the purpose of persuading the audience, indicating that the politicians of this generation are aware of the impact their words have in the minds of the audience.

6. CONCLUSIONS

This doctoral dissertation, titled 'Conceptual Metaphors and Pragmatic Context in Political Speeches (in Spanish and Portuguese)', presents a comprehensive analysis of Spain's successful investiture speeches since the establishment of the rule of law in the country, and ten of the inauguration speeches by Portugal's Prime Ministers since the first constitutional government. The findings encapsulate multifaceted aspects of political communication, such as historical context, conceptual metaphor usage, and different pragmatic considerations. The conclusions reached from the analysis of each leader's speeches contribute to a thorough understanding of the evolving political landscape and the strategic communications employed during critical junctures in Spanish and Portuguese history.

The theoretical framework of this dissertation is structured around two fundamental pillars: CL and Pragmatics. The selection of these disciplines to orientate my investigation aimed at illuminating the intricate interplay between language, thought, and political discourse, with the conclusions resulting from its application having different natures.

The holistic nature of this theoretical framework showed several benefits, as it enabled a comprehensive understanding of the evolutionary trajectory of these disciplines, with this depth allowing for a better exploration of the cognitive and pragmatic aspects that underlie linguistic analyses, contributing to a richer interpretation of political discourse.

In addition to this, by incorporating CMT and closing the breach between pragmatics, linguistics and their different cognitive features, the theoretical framework demonstrated

interdisciplinary relevance, as the focus on metaphor as a cognitive phenomenon and the exploration of cognitive processes enhanced the interpretation of the linguistic choices made by political leaders, revealing the cognitive dimensions of their communicative strategies.

The application of CMT to the analysis of specific genres of political discourse also served as a powerful analytical tool, as it allowed for the identification, explanation, and exploration of the purpose of conceptual metaphors in political speeches, offering a structured framework to unravel the layers of meaning embedded in political language. Furthermore, the different interfaces of pragmatics permitted a more complete exploration of the relationship between language, thought, and political discourse, enriching the analysis with insights from various fields.

Appertaining to the methodology of this dissertation, it is characterised by an encompassing and empirically driven approach, focusing on the study of conceptual metaphors and their pragmatic aspects in political discourse within the framework of CMT and Teun van Dijk's proposals. Furthermore, by drawing from Charteris-Black's CMA, I was able to supplement Lakoff's theoretical framework and harmoniously combine it with van Dijk's context models, hence, taking advantage of the different junctures and interfaces of pragmatics.

Another fruitful feature of this qualitative analysis was the addition of the Critical Keyword Analysis and the incorporation of quantitative tools, specifically the use of AntConc 4.2.0 software for concordance and word frequency analysis, as it helped to confirm some of the findings of the pragmatic and linguistic investigation.

Furthermore, the success of this methodology resided in its alignment with the subjective nature of metaphor interpretation, addressing contextual undertones, and potentiating a balanced and well-supported exploration of political discourse. With respect to this, the incorporation of contextual models, encompassing situational and cognitive circumstances for each speech, enhanced the methodology's robustness. This consideration of context provided a better understanding of the linguistic and rhetoric choices made by political leaders, acknowledging the impact of various factors on language use.

In summary, the theoretical framework and the methodology supplied the tools for a comprehensive and diverse exploration of genres of political discourse, considering linguistic, cognitive and pragmatic dimensions. The chosen framework and methodology delivered a solid structure for this interdisciplinary approach, with the diachronic character of this endeavour allowing for observing instances of discursive systematicity, thus offering a deeper understanding of the complex relationship between language, thought, and political communication.

With respect to the conclusions derived from the empirical analysis of the thirteen successful Spanish investiture speeches and the ten inauguration speeches by Portugal's Prime Ministers, the objective of unravelling the strategic employment of language, metaphors, and rhetorical devices put in place by politicians to convey their visions and navigate the challenges faced by the nation was accomplished. Stepping back for a broader perspective, it becomes evident that through the lens of the analysis of these speeches, it is possible to unveil the intricate embroidery of leadership strategies, the framing of national identity, and the different approaches to governance that have shaped the Portuguese and Spanish political landscapes.

First and foremost, although a comprehensive roadmap of the use of conceptual metaphors in the Spanish and Portuguese speeches was given in the chapters dedicated to the empirical analysis, there are some more general conclusions to take. The scrutiny of the speeches in both corpora shows a prevalence of conceptual metaphors employing the semantic fields of JOURNEY, BUILDING and CONFLICT. Irrespective of the temporal context in which a speech takes place, there is a consistent pervasiveness of these semantic fields utilised as source domains in various conceptual metaphors, with politicians across the political spectrum employing these metaphorical constructs to evoke distinct narratives, adapting them to the specific contextual subtleties surrounding each speech.

The conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS RELIGION is also used to elicit different features of political activity. In the Spanish corpus, this conceptual metaphor starts to be employed by Felipe González in his first investiture and maintains its presence throughout every investiture that followed, with the first investiture of Zapatero containing a greater salience of this conceptual metaphor. Conversely, this conceptual metaphor has only a residual presence in the Portuguese corpus, which indicates that the major role played by the Catholic Church both in Franco's regime and in the transition that ensued motivated the utilisation of this conceptual metaphor, which acted as a wink to the vast religious masses of the country, hence revealing its persuasive purpose.

Overall, there is a concurrence between the use of conceptual metaphors with the source domains of the semantic fields of JOURNEY, BUILDING and CONFLICT in both Portuguese and Spanish political discourse, in particular to depict political activities and institutions, society and the country.

The presence of these conceptual metaphors also confirms some of Jäkel's hypothesis (Jäkel 2002), particularly those of ubiquity, domain and diachrony. The ubiquity hypothesis is confirmed by the pervasive presence of conceptual metaphors in every speech analysed. Deriving from this fact, comes the confirmation of the diachrony hypothesis, as the presence of

these conceptual metaphors can be seen in each of the different contextual periods of the corpora.

As for the domain hypothesis, the empirical analysis also shows that the conceptual metaphors employed in the speeches involve two distinct domains, where one functions as the target domain, and the other, as the source domain, with the source domain serving as the foundation for a more comprehensive understanding of the target concept.

In relation to the pattern of alignment of the framing carried in the speeches with the family-based models of morality, in the Portuguese corpus there is a more nitid correspondence with the values of the Nurturant Parent, which suggests that, also here, context plays a role, as the social nature of the Portuguese revolution, advises for a projection of these values and attitudes.

This is further confirmed by a lesser alignment of right-wing parties with the Nurturant Parent model and a shift towards the Strict Father model in the second and third contextual periods of the Portuguese speeches.

In the Spanish corpus, politicians leaning more towards the left in terms of ideology tend to employ a more inclusive language and align themselves closely with the values associated with the Nurturant Parent model. Conversely, the leaders with a more right-wing membership, place higher the tenets of the Strict Father model, appealing to individual responsibility and punishment.

Nevertheless, this alignment is not complete, and the diametrical differences between the conservative and progressive ideas that exist in the biparty system of the US are not as noticeable in the Portuguese and Spanish multiparty systems. In fact, issues like national security (particularly the topic of terrorism) motivate displays of alignment with the Strict Father model values from both sides of the political spectrum, suggesting that there is an influence of the topic in the choice of values projected and of the framing introduced.

Additionally, the influence of context can be seen at different levels and dimensions, further indicating that this inherent subjectivity is in fact unavoidable, as van Dijk advocates. One of these dimensions corresponds to the objective and formal limits imposed on the Portuguese inauguration speeches and to the Spanish investiture speeches. In the Portuguese case, the formal inauguration, conducted at the *Palácio da Ajuda*, includes the swearing-in ceremony and the President's inaugural speech, which is broadcast live to the nation, although only high state representatives and special guests are physically present.

Contrasting with the Portuguese process, Spain's parliamentary investiture of the President is regulated by Article 99 of the Spanish Constitution. The candidate proposed by the King presents the government's political programme to *Congresso de los Diputados* and

requests a vote of confidence. If the absolute majority supports the candidate, the King appoints him/her President of the Government. If not, a subsequent vote, requiring a simple majority, takes place within 48 hours. In the absence of a majority, the same proposal is resubmitted for a new vote within two months. Failure to secure confidence leads to the dissolution of both chambers, necessitating new elections endorsed by the President of Congress.

This starkly differs from the Portuguese model, where the investiture speech is a ceremonial act following the government's formation, not a parliamentary process. The *Discurso de Investidura* seeks parliamentary support and the subsequent parliamentary regulations offer representatives the opportunity to respond, fostering further debate.

These formal and objective limitations of the speeches represent the initial level at which speakers' choice of linguistic elements and discursive strategies is influenced by the dimensions of the speaker's context models. On the one hand, the type of rhetoric is influenced by the need for parliamentary support in the Spanish case, and the speech's ceremonial nature in the Portuguese dimension. On the other hand, knowledge management strategies are also affected by these formal and objective constraints.

Furthermore, the empirical analysis demonstrates that the Spanish corpus features greater management of group and institutional knowledge and the prevalence of deliberative rhetoric, with a greater salience of argumentative structures, whereas the Portuguese corpus displays more cultural and national knowledge management and is more prone to the use of epideictic rhetoric. The difference between the types of knowledge managed in each corpus is explained by the goals, addressees, and audience of the speeches in each corpus.

The type of rhetoric used in the Spanish corpus is mostly the deliberative type due to the need to request parliamentary support and the higher speech act of persuasion that this entails. Moreover, although the Spanish investiture speeches also ponder the wider audience that it is not part of the parliament, i.e. the Spanish population, the knowledge management strategies must consider the fact that the primordial objective is to seek support from the chamber. Hence, the rhetoric must be mostly of a deliberative type, while a proficient knowledge management strategy should consider that there is a shared set of institutional and group beliefs between the speaker and the addressees, in this case, the elected members of *Congreso de los Diputados*.

Conversely, the speeches in the Portuguese corpus mostly employ an epideictic rhetoric, a fact that is justified by the celebrative formal nature of the act, which in this case does not entail the request for parliamentary and can afford to be directed at a much wider audience, to the entire country. The management of cultural and national knowledge is another prominent

feature that is influenced by the formal and contextual characteristics, as in the case of the Portuguese speeches, the main goal is to address a much wider audience, consisting of the Portuguese people, thus promoting the utilisation of these kinds of knowledge. This is illustrated by the higher prominence of cultural and national references which aim at tapping into nationalist and patriotic feelings.

Nevertheless, there are other dimensions of context that may further induce these and other linguistic and discursive decisions, as is the case of the social component of context. The social, political and historical conditions in which the speech occurs also influence the way politicians convey their ideas. Evidence of this is that overwhelming circumstances may lead to the use of more institutional and group knowledge, as was the case during the austerity period in the Portuguese set of speeches or in governments that did not have an absolute majority in the parliament, hence advising for a speech more directed towards the other political forces.

Along the same lines, in social contexts of collective shock such as those of terrorist attacks in Spain, there is greater management of national and cultural knowledge in the investitures, with the same happening when there is an absolute majority of members of the parliament supporting the President to be invested.

Other contextual facets affect these linguistic choices, particularly those concerning metaphor choice. The depiction of the idea of politics as a conflict that is transversal to both corpora was not employed by Alfredo Nobre da Costa and Sá Carneiro, who instead likened politics to a theatre play.

Although there are other instances of the use of this conceptual metaphor, the metaphor choice in these cases indicates that the politician considered a context model in which it was strategically more important to project an image of distance from the political sector, a strategy that entails considering the beliefs of the audience they were addressing.

In the case of Nobre da Costa, the fact that he was not regarded primarily as a politician (he did not have any political affiliation) but as a businessman and that this could be beneficial to gather popular and political support shows that the speaker does predetermine the dimensions of context that are important for accomplishing his purpose of persuading his audience. The same can be said about the motivation behind Sá Carneiro's use of the metaphor, as in this case, the politician evokes a negative aspect of politics, indicating that there is a concern and consideration of the perceptions and beliefs of the audience.

These findings further confirm Jäkel's focusing hypothesis (Jäkel 2002), which revolves around the premise that metaphors do not provide a complete description or explanation of the target domain. Instead, certain features are highlighted, while others receive less attention or

remain obscured. This focusing aspect is what distinguishes alternative metaphors for the same target domain, as is example the different depictions of the idea of politics.

Also, there is evidence of a relationship between the ideologic membership of the speaker and the alignment with the family-based morality models, with the parties more to the left of the political spectrum favouring the Nurturant Parent model, and the parties on the right opting for more often by the Strict Father morality tenets. This is a common feature in both the Portuguese and the Spanish corpus, however, there is a tendency for the recurrent use of the Strict Father model in issues of national security or in speeches that happened in periods of crisis, especially in the case of the Spanish corpus.

By the same token, among the different types of motivations behind metaphor use, the analysed corpora show that the specific persuasive goal of the speaker can much more frequently be explained with reference to social bases than to individual bases.

Within the bases for metaphor choice, it becomes apparent that conceptual metaphors motivated by physical, biological and bodily experiences are mostly employed in the two extremes of the persuasive scope, i.e., with very low or very high persuasive intent. In the lower end of this scale of persuasive intent would fit the conceptual metaphors using the container preconceptual structure, whereas a conceptual metaphor using the source domain disease shows a higher persuasive intent.

Consequently, it can be asserted that it is in fact the higher speech act of persuasion that behaves as the final motivator for the employment of conceptual metaphors in political discourse, acting as a compass and partially orienting the selection of the contextual dimensions that will constitute the context model of the speaker.

From the conclusions laid out in the previous paragraphs, the following should be considered the principal scientific contributions of this dissertation:

- The research gap regarding a diachronic investigation on the use of conceptual metaphors in Portuguese and Spanish political speeches was successfully filled.
- The construction of two custom-built corpora which consist of Portuguese inauguration speeches and Spanish investiture speeches provides added value and opens possibilities for new research avenues.
- The operational analytical model put in place, drawing from Charteris-Black's CMA, proved successful in supplementing Lakoff's theoretical framework and harmoniously combined it with van Dijk's context models.

- The addition of the Critical Keyword Analysis and the incorporation of quantitative tools, specifically the use of AntConc 4.2.0 software for concordance and word frequency analysis, was another fruitful feature, as it helped to confirm some of the findings of the pragmatic and linguistic investigation.

- The empirical analysis was successful in supplying a comprehensive roadmap of the conceptual metaphors used in the corpora.

- The investigation conclusively confirmed Jäkel's hypotheses of ubiquity, domain, focus and diachrony in Portuguese and Spanish political speeches.

- The influence of the different dimensions of context in the choice of metaphors, knowledge management strategies, type of rhetoric and framing is laid bare by this exploration.

- This investigation contributes with solid evidence to the claim that persuasion acts as a higher-level speech act that influences and guides the selection of the contextual dimensions that constitute the context model of the speaker.

In terms of potential avenues for further research, while certain subjective aspects of metaphor functioning suggest the utility of a qualitative approach, the use of more quantitative methods could also prove valuable in uncovering additional insights into other patterns and trends across a larger dataset.

Additionally, this study acknowledges the alignment of metaphors with ideological models but does not extensively explore shifts in ideological discourse over time. Therefore, delving into how political ideologies evolve and influence language choices could enhance the depth of analysis.

This area of research would also benefit from a longitudinal analysis spanning a broader historical timeframe would enable researchers to trace the evolution of political discourse, identifying enduring trends and changes. Withal, incorporating multimodal analysis, which considers visual and non-verbal elements alongside language, would provide a more comprehensive understanding of the persuasive strategies employed in political speeches.

Another promising area for future research involves exploring how the public perceives and responds to different rhetorical strategies. Analysing public opinion and discourse in response to political speeches could yield valuable insights into the effectiveness of various linguistic approaches.

Finally, expanding the analysis to include speeches in other languages could contribute

to cross-cultural insights, fostering a more nuanced understanding of linguistic strategies in political communication.

In essence, this comprehensive examination contributes to a deeper understanding of the role of language in political communication, offering valuable insights into the strategies employed by leaders to navigate complex historical landscapes. The patterns identified in both Spanish and Portuguese speeches provide a foundation for future research on the intersection of language, ideology, and political discourse in diverse cultural and historical contexts.

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