

SOURCE DOMAINS OF METAPHORS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE – A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY: ISRAEL AND THE U.S.A.*

by
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Our paper stems from a cross-cultural study of the source domains of metaphors in Israeli and American political discourse. The main source domains that emerged were war, certain branches of sports, and two games, all of which share the trait of competition. Several metaphorical expressions came from the source domain of navigation, where the target domain is competition in political leadership. The shared trait of competition turns the source domains of war, navigation, sports, and games into a 'metaphorical family'. Other vast source domains in political discourse stem from theater and movies, as seen in the public and showy aspects of political life, which have been enhanced by the use of television. Thus the use of television by politicians has diminished the distance between source and target domain. Comparison of these source domains in Israel and the United States shows that the source domain of war is more wide-ranging in Israel than in the United States, whereas the source domain of sports is more varied in the United States than in Israel. This is due both to the pervasive presence of the army in Israeli life and to the greater variety of sports played in the United States respectively, highlighting the fact that most source domains stem from reality. A number of caricatures and photographs appended to the article, in which politicians are depicted metaphorically, show that the use of metaphors is not merely a linguistic phenomenon but rather a cognitive one.

Keywords: metaphors, source domain, target domain, blending

Introductory remarks

The purpose of our study is to compare the source domains of metaphors in political discourse in Israel and the United States. It is based mainly on the theories and works of Michael Reddy (1979), George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980), Dedre Gentner and Donald Gentner (1983), David Allbritton (1995), Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner (1996), Pamela Morgan (1996), and Yeshayahu Shen (1999). These theories, which developed within the framework of cognitive linguistics, are grounded in the idea that metaphors permeate the human conceptual system. Metaphors used in a specific area are not detached from each other, but have a common source

domain, from which they are borrowed. Discovering the source domain of metaphors in a certain area reveals how this area – henceforth: Target Domain – is conceptualized, how it is understood. In the conceptual system there is mapping of correspondences from the source domain to the target domain. Since the use of metaphors is a cognitive process, and not solely a linguistic one, we find manifestations of the process in visual media, such as photographs, pictures or caricatures (see appendices, and cf. Sedivy 1997, McGuire 1999).

To illustrate this phenomenon I turn to the work of Lakoff (1987), who analyzed metaphorical expressions referring to anger, and identified one group of expressions as deriving from the source domain of fire. A sampling of expressions that he listed follows:

Those are inflammatory remarks.
 She was doing a slow burn.
 Your insincere apology just added fuel to the fire.
 After the argument, Dave was smoldering for days.
 (Lakoff 1987:388)

The underlying metaphor for these expressions is: Anger is Fire. Correspondences were mapped from the conceptual domain of Fire: the 'source domain' to the conceptual domain of anger: the 'target domain'. Below are a few of the correspondences as analyzed by Lakoff:

Source Domain	Target Domain
Fire	→ Anger
The thing burning	→ The angry person
The intensity of the fire	→ The intensity of the anger
Physical damage to the thing burning	→ Mental damage to the angry person

(ibid., p. 389)

The Corpus

Our research corpus was assembled from 1996 to 1999. However, the examples provided herein were selected from the more recent data gathered between July 1998 and September 1999. In Israel the data was culled both from written and oral sources, that is from the daily newspapers and their weekend magazines – mostly *ha'Aretz*, *Yedi'ot Aharonot* (henceforth *Yedi'ot*), *Ma'ariv*, *Kol ha'ir* – as well as from radio and television broadcasts: news, interviews, and talk shows. In the United States the data was assembled mainly from the following written sources – the *New York Times*, *U.S. News Reports*, *Time*, and *George*, with a few items taken from politicians' speeches. We did not separate metaphors used by politicians from those used by journalists, even though the latter often seem to display more creativity.

A. Metaphorical family based on competition

In political discourse in both countries, four source domains of metaphors stand out. Three sources are war, sports, and games. These sources share the trait of competition, and this explains the vast number of metaphors that are borrowed from them. In addition, we found a fourth source of metaphors – navigation – referring to political leadership and also reflecting competition. We therefore included this source domain in this 'metaphorical family', a term borrowed from Morgan (1996).

I. Source domain: War

A vast source domain of political metaphors in both Israel and the U.S.A. is war. While the word 'war' appears in some examples, in others it is references to military activities and strategies that reveal this source domain. Some examples from this first group follow:

1. The right won the economic war, the left won the cultural war and the center won the *political war* (R. Berke, *New York Times*, November 7, 1998).

2. The election campaign was a *civil war* without ammunition (E. Shtrum, Israeli radio, July 1, 1999).
3. White House aides worked overtime in a hastily assembled *war room* (N. Gibbs and M. Duffy, *Time*, December 21, 1998).

The second group of metaphors is drawn from specifics of the source domain of war – military actions, strategies, and weapons, making it vaster and more varied than the first group. For lack of space a few examples will have to suffice:

4. There was a false euphoria that came out of the [November] election that assumed the election was the *primary battle*... as Republicans seemed to *retreat* from impeachment toward censure (M.J. Gerson and K.T. Walsh, *U.S. News Report*, December 21, 1998).
5. Major candidates in the 2000 Presidential campaign are revising their strategies and *retool their political machines* (R. Berke, *New York Times*, July 11, 1999).
6. Yesterday both television channels *shelled us* with long talk shows (A. Golan, *ha'Arets*, October 16, 1998).
7. Netanyahu will remain exposed to a *missile launch* in the guise of a bill to disperse Parliament (U. Benziman, *ha'Arets*, July 31, 1998).
8. Full of adrenalin Barak identified a *real target and homed in like a missile* (Y. Gvirts, *Yedi'ot*, May 20, 1999).
9. Netanyahu *launched an information barrage* after signing the Wye River accords (Israel radio, October 25, 1998).

The permeation of military metaphors into political discourse is so prevalent that peace is even described in terms of war. This is reflected in the following two oxymorons found in our data:

10. At the Wye River signing ceremony President Clinton named Netanyahu 'a *warrior for peace*' (TV news, October 23, 1998)
11. What's new on the *Peace Front*? (N. Barne'a, *Yedi'ot*, October 30, 1998).

A different kind of an oxymoron is found in the speech of Republican Presidential candidate George W. Bush, in which he combined the words 'armies' and 'compassion':

12. Kids who turn schoolyards into battlefield... to rally these *armies of compassion* that exist in every community (Bush for President announcement, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, June 12, 1999).

The use of metaphors from the source domain of war reaches new heights of absurdity when used to denounce violence:

13. Republican Presidential Candidate Steve Forbes: It is time to *declare a war against violence*. We need to *attack* the root courses of *violence*... (Georgia Republican State Convention, Augusta, Georgia, May 22, 1999).

II. Source domain: Navigation

The source domain of navigation is relatively new in Israeli political discourse. Its pervasion of the conceptual system began when serious efforts were made in the Knesset (the Israeli Parliament) to topple the Netanyahu government and to hold early elections. Since the Israeli prime minister is chosen via direct elections, the metaphors used emphasized the leadership qualities required for this high post. The existential dependence of Israeli citizens on the prime minister was stressed by the metaphor – the prime minister is the captain of a boat – as seen from the following examples:

14. Barak: We are advancing like a heavy boat on a collision course with an iceberg; we must act immediately in order *not*

to leave the wheel in the hands of Netanyahu (S. Shifer, *Yedi'ot*, July 10, 1998).

15. Sheetrut: Netanyahu and Barak have to rise above their controversy, now *the boat is flinging about* (Israeli radio, 2nd channel, November 23, 1998).

The following metaphors reflect the government's factionalized political structure, the Prime Minister's need to walk the tightrope between opposing demands:

16. In two weeks Netanyahu will *turn the wheel to the right*. Kehalani expects the Prime Minister to *turn the wheel to the left* (H. Kristal, Israeli radio, 2nd channel, December 8, 1998).

Although no navigational metaphors were found in the data assembled in the U.S.A., one metaphor of sailing was noted, in reference to a primaries' race:

17. A democratic strategist said: we're in *uncharted waters* because we've never seen *a race* engaged so early in a calendar cycle (*New York Times*, July 11, 1999).

III. Source domain: Sports

Sports are a very important source domain in political discourse both in Israel and in the U.S.A., especially its competitive branches. The use of metaphors from sports in Israel refutes Howe's view that 'in parliamentary countries such as Italy or Israel, where the number of parties far exceeds the number of contestants in sporting events, these metaphors would seem to be of little use' (Howe 1988:90). Metaphors drawn from the source domain of sports are represented not only in linguistic but also in visual means, such as caricatures and photographs.

A. Racing

Racing serves as a source domain for describing campaigns in both countries, whether primaries or general elections, as it is a suitable metaphor for competition involving more than two participants. Several examples follow:

18. Gore had bluffed everyone else out of the race and finds himself in a very *competitive two-man race*... Campaigns are unpredictable... today's *front-runner* could easily be tomorrow's *loser* (*New York Times*, July 11, 1999).
19. There will be a few difficult votes for the government, and Netanyahu will have to *jump over three obstacles in his race* (Y. Dekel, Israeli radio, 2nd channel, July 12, 1998).
20. Sharon's advantage in the *first lap of the race* stood out at the convention (D. Ben-Simon, *ha'Aretz*, June 18, 1999).

In summation, we refer to appendix no. 1, which is a photograph of Avraham Burg jogging. The picture is titled 'Running' and the subtitle reads: 'Why does Avraham Burg insist on contending against Ehud Barak?' (photograph by Razi, in *Yedi'ot*, June 19, 1998). Subsequently Burg failed to gain a ministerial appointment to the Barak government formed in 1999; he therefore ran as a nominee for the chairmanship of the Fifteenth Knesset and won. He is currently serving in this post.

B. Boxing

Boxing has been a constant source domain in political discourse in Israel since we began our study. It also serves as a source domain in the United States as well, as illustrated by the following examples:

21. The Gore campaign has shifted from its preoccupation with gearing up for general election and is putting more emphasis on trying to *knock out* Mr. Bradley (*New York Times*, July 11, 1999).

22. Monier's late husband was a GOP *heavyweight* in the state legislature (*George*, August 1999).
23. Barak will win a *knockout victory* in the election (Y. Gvirtz, *Yedi'ot*, May 20, 1999).
24. The Netanyahu-Mordecai confrontation on the Mish'al talk show was a *heavyweight boxing match*. Mordecai won 3: 0 in the first half; it was a *knock-out*. At intermission their advisors ran to them like coaches, whispered in their ears, and were very careful not to be heard (Shnitser, *Ma'ariv*, April 14, 1999).

A variation of example no. 24 was given graphic depiction by Amos Biderman in a caricature. Netanyahu and Barak – the leaders of the two major parties – are shown boxing, while Mordecai – the third candidate for the post of prime minister in the 1999 elections – is standing on the sidelines, wearing boxing gloves and waiting his turn (see appendix no. 2).

C. Soccer

The third branch of sports that serves as a source domain for political metaphors is soccer. Although most of the examples assembled in the U.S.A. derive from football and not soccer, it seems to us that the metaphorical expressions of soccer and football are culturally parallel. Soccer and football are distinguished from the previous two branches of sports mainly in that they represent team rather than individual competition.

25. Presidential candidates are expected to *kickoff* their online ad campaigns this fall (*George*, August 1999, p. 36).
26. In his formal campaign *kickoff* Bill Bradley said... (editorial 'Periscope,' *Newsweek*, September 20, 1999, p.4).
27. Amir Perets: In soccer there are periods of *player transfers*... (radio interview by D. Ya'iri, December 30, 1998).

28. Shifer: What's doing? Netanyahu: Right now it's tied 0:0... Let's wait until the end of the *game* (Sh. Shifer interviews Netanyahu, *Yedi'ot*, July 10, 1998).

The team work feature of soccer is used ironically in a photograph of Netanyahu playing soccer alone, whose headline reads: 'Not passing, kicking with his feet, and not scoring meanwhile' (*Yedi'ot*, May 7, 1999 – see appendix 3).

In conclusion, we should mention that the branches of sports that serve as source domains of metaphors in political discourse in the U.S.A. are more varied than in Israel; for instance, they include baseball and ice hockey, which are not played in Israel.

IV. Source domain: Games

A fourth source domain of metaphors in political discourse is games. Most of the examples in our data are derived from two games: chess and cards. One feature that distinguishes between the two is the number of players participating. In chess, in contrast to cards, the number of players is limited to two. We begin this section with metaphors derived from the source domain of chess.

A. Chess

Chess is a relatively new source domain in Israel, initially used only in reference to people who actually play chess (Sharansky and Barak – see examples no. 29 and 30 below and appendix no. 4). Now, however, it seems to have penetrated the conceptual system of speakers in Israel.

29. In the Middle East they play backgammon, whereas Barak *plays chess*, planning a few moves ahead (Markus, *ha'Aretz*, May 28, 1999).
30. Kristal: Barak is playing chess against Rabbi Ovadia Yosef. Zisovich: Is he *playing for checkmate*? (radio interview, June 22, 1999).

31. When Olmert makes a move he has *calculated eight steps ahead* (A. Fefer, *Kol ha'Ir*, November 11, 1998).
32. Uri Savir: Sometimes *we play chess with ourselves* forgetting that there is an opponent ('Sabbath Game' on TV, June 26, 1999).

Contrary to the rules of chess, the American campaign experts who advised the candidates of the two big parties in the 1999 elections in Israel are described as two teams playing chess:

33. Seemingly there was a victory of one American team against another... but the *chess game* between the Americans is only the outside cover (N. Barne'a, *Yedi'ot*, May 14, 1999).

In our data assembled in the U.S.A. we found only one metaphor derived from the source domain of chess:

34. This would give the undecided a clear alternative to impeachment, and is the most likely White House *endgame*. (M. J. Gerson and K. T. Walsh, *U. S. News Report*, December 21, 1998).

The source domain of chess is also used in a caricature by Ze'ev depicting the rivalry between two leaders of the Labor Party – Ehud Barak and Shim'on Peres. Due to the requisite faculties of calculating and planning several moves ahead, Barak is depicted as a robot, while Peres looks at the chess board very worriedly (see appendix no. 4).

B. Cards

Cards have been a steady source domain of metaphors in Israel from the time we started assembling data for our research. The game of poker is usually alluded to, and is sometimes even mentioned specifically (see example no. 35). In contrast, no metaphors of cards were found in the data of political discourse assembled in the U.S.A. We note, however, that the expression 'poker face' has permeated

American colloquial language (see for example *The American College Dictionary*, Random House).

35. Sharon does not have enough good cards in his *poker game* against Barak. He doesn't know if Barak prefers Sharon's party, or is just bluffing, in order to cause the Shas Party to join the coalition (A. Barzilai, *ha'Arets*, June 25, 1999).
36. Barak is still keeping his *cards close to his chest* (English News on Israeli TV, July 4, 1999).
37. A *pack of cards* contains two cards with a clown, or the court fool, called 'a joker,' that can replace any card. These days when senior politicians try to influence members of parliament to abandon their party and join a new one, many are revealed as *jokers* by nature (Sh. Shnitser, *Ma'ariv*, January 15, 1999).
38. If he had played at being angry, he would have lost the whole *kitty* (A. Lori quotes Lieberman, *ha'Arets*, August 8, 1998).

B. Metaphorical Family Based on Public Appearances

In our data we found many metaphors that are based on another trait of political life – public appearances. These metaphors are borrowed from two source domains – theater and movies. Since these source domains share a common trait, we consider them a metaphorical family.

V. Source Domain: Theater

Theater as a source domain stems from the public and showy aspects of political life. In democratic societies, the need for a politician to appear in public is real, crucial to his career, and even to his political survival. The following examples illustrate the 'theatrical' aspect of political life.

39. Tomorrow we will see the *best show in town* (K. Neubach referring to the Shahak press conference, TV news, January 5, 1999).
40. In a survey people were asked: what did you think of *Shahak's performance*? The answers ranged from 'not so good, good', etc. (Kristal, radio interview, January 7, 1999).
41. Hiding somewhere *behind the scene* was the next House Speaker, Bob Livingston (N. Gibbs and M. Duffy, *Time*, December 21, 1998).
42. Why they want to know, would I squander the respect I've earned in my climb to the pinnacle of *show business*? (George, January 1999).

In modern life television replaces theater to some extent, and politicians make use of it in order to attain public visibility and to enhance their self-image (cf. Mio 1997:114-15). Therefore the distance between theater, as a source domain, and political life, as a target domain, diminishes. In other words, the difference between the metaphorical world and the real world is blurred (see example 45 below).

Therefore, we faced difficulty analyzing metaphors referring to television. On the one hand, television replaces theater and therefore is a source domain; but on the other hand, it has become a tool in political life, and therefore has become part of the target domain – politics. It is a known fact that success or failure on TV interviews or talk shows led in several cases to political gains or losses. In order to shed light on this problem, we cite, by way of example, references to the outgoing prime minister of Israel Binyamin Netanyahu as a TV magician (see example 46). His opponents' apprehensions were aroused because of his theatrical talents (see example 44), leading to the fear that he was invincible. For the same reason, Ehud Barak, Netanyahu's main opponent during the 1999 election campaign, avoided a TV confrontation with him (see example 47). Thus only Yitshak Mordecai, the third candidate in these elections, confronted Netanyahu on television (see examples 43-46 and 52).

43. The moderator Mish'al was not interested in a serious debate. He wanted *a show*, and Netanyahu and Mordecai played Mishal's game (*ha'Arets*, April 16, 1999).
44. Mordecai was confronting a rival with inborn *theatrical talent* (Gvirtz, *Yedi'ot*, May 20, 1999).
45. During the confrontation Mordecai said: 'Bibi come on and make another show on TV.' Netanyahu sees television as the thing itself and not as a show. No doubt that Mordecai won, and the *magician* was weak. This was an *entertainment* program, a new genre of confrontations (G. Weiman, TV interview, April 14, 1999).
46. The myth of the *television magician* was shattered (Sh. Ben-Ami, TV interview, April 14, 1999).
47. One of the best things that happened to Barak recently is that he didn't come out of the closet as a *bad television 'star'* (G. Samet, *ha'Arets*, February 26, 1999).

VI. Source Domain: Movies

The source domain of movies has close affinity to the source domain of theater, and an even closer one to television. It should be mentioned that during the Reagan years this source domain was especially fruitful in the U.S.A., mainly due to the president's associative use of this domain. However, a few recent examples were found, from which we chose one (no. 48 below) that refers to two movies:

48. For the President's men to imagine that they were *over the rainbow...* the tide had turned and Clinton was back in his own personal *Hitchcock movie* (N. Gibbs and M. Duffy, *Time*, December 21, 1998).
49. This is the last act of the *suspenseful movie*: Barak forms a government (news on Israel TV, July 4, 1999).

50. Central Bus Station: Motza – this *movie* had all the elements for success: four *stars*, media backing, the best *producers* and *scriptwriters* and even a charming water carrier named Kochi. Now that it is a box office failure, a girl named Nehama Ronen is left on the *cutting room floor* (Shalita, *Kol ha'ir*, May 5, 1999).

The example above (no. 50) describes a crucial meeting of 'The Merkaz Party' – a center party formed before the 1999 elections – in terms of the Brazilian movie *Central Bus Station*. The meeting was held at the home of Y. Mordecai – the party's candidate for the Prime Minister – in the town of Motza. The four stars alluded to are the four founders of the party, each of whom declared himself a candidate for the post of Prime Minister at different junctures. The girl who is described sitting on the cutting room floor is the seventh person in the list of nominees, who failed to gain a seat in the Knesset.

Blending

Our data also contains several metaphors which stem from more than one source domain, whose formation may be explained as the result of the process of blending – a phenomenon studied by Fauconnier (1994), Turner and Fauconnier (1996), and Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (1998). Below is an example of blended source domains.

51. The parliamentary vote on the Wye River agreement was a 'fixed' *game* with an opposition *safety net* (U. Edelstein, radio interview by E. Ya'iri, November 11, 1998).

The first source domain is sports, and the second source domain is the circus, more specifically the risks taken by acrobats. The results of a game are revealed at its conclusion; likewise, the safe or unsafe termination of the acrobatic show at the circus is revealed at its end. A fixed game is one in which the results are prearranged; in the circus context, a safety net also prearranges the safe conclusion of the acrobats' activity. Thus a blended space is created, which is: prearrangement of results. Moreover, the safety net is the means

that 'fixes' the game. The target domain is the passing of the vote on the Wye River agreement. The blended metaphor can be schematized as follows:

Source Domains	Blended Space	Target Domain
1. Fixed game	Prearranged results	The Wye River Agreement accepted by vote
2. Safety net		

A blend may be found also in the following example, even though the two events described do not occur simultaneously:

52. Driven by a wish to beat Netanyahu, Mordecai went to the match and *laid him flat on the boards*. From that moment on Mordecai was not needed anymore. *His body provided safe passage* for Barak, who penetrated the breach and galloped forward (A. Rotenberg, *Yedi'ot*, May 18, 1999).

In example no. 52 there are two source domains: (1) boxing; and (2) war. The blending of sports and war metaphors was noted by Howe (1988:99). A common trait shared by the two source domains may be identified. In the source domain of boxing, Mordecai laid Netanyahu flat on the boards. In the source domain of war, Mordecai lies down (perhaps on the fence), and his body provides safe passage for Barak, who penetrates the breach. Both of Mordecai's actions involve lying down and facilitate Barak's victory. Therefore a blended space emerges – a painful situation – as a means of ensuring victory. The target domain is Barak's victory in the 1999 elections.

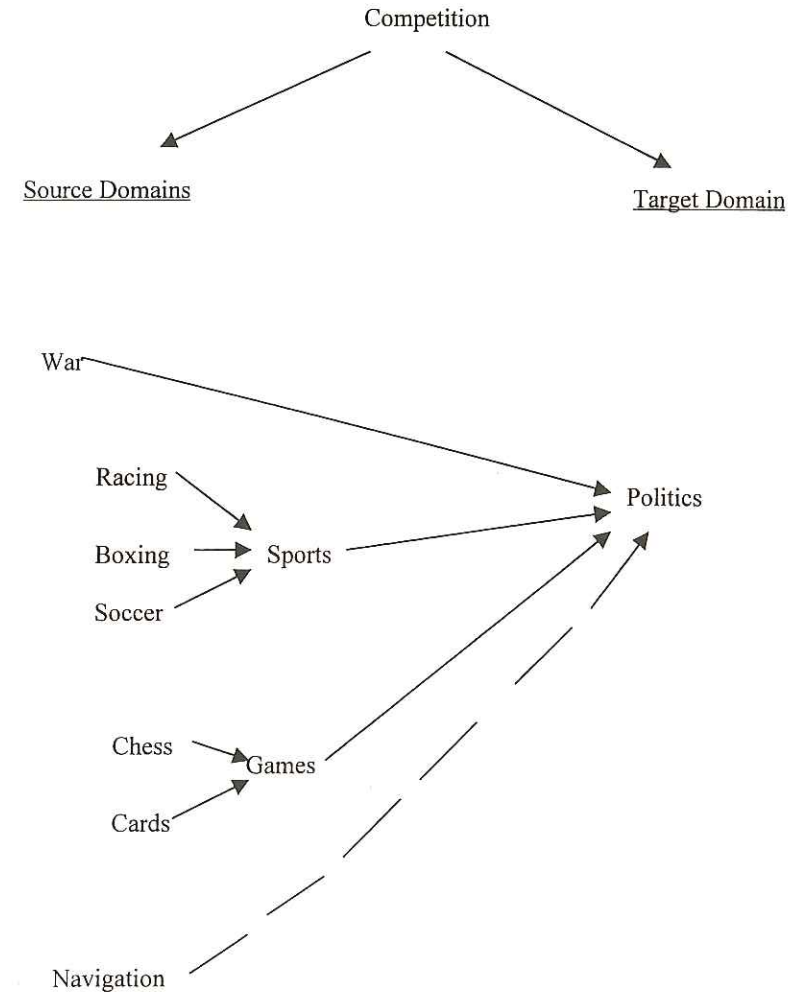
Summary

The source domains of war, of the branches of sports listed here – racing, wrestling and soccer, and of the types of games indicated here – chess and cards, share common traits. Each of these activities involves at least two parties, composed of individuals, teams, or even

armies. Each party strives to win, and the victory of one party usually marks the other's defeat. Naturally, the endeavor to win is based on competition, and this is the common trait that turns these source domains into a 'metaphorical family,' as described by Pamela S. Morgan (1996).

With regard to the source domain of navigation, although not based principally on competition, we find, however, competition referred to in most of the examples cited in this section. In example 14, Barak – Netanyahu's rival at the time – calls for taking the wheel away from Netanyahu, whereas in example 15 the two rivals are called to rise above their controversy for sake of the boat's safety. Example 16 refers to the natural competition between right and left and to the efforts of the prime minister at the time to please both wings. Example 17 refers to competitive rivalry in the American primaries, alluded to as a 'race,' even though the main metaphor is 'uncharted water,' which serves as a source domain for early timing as a target domain.

Following Morgan, the source and target domains from the metaphorical family of competition may be described graphically as follows:

Illustration 1

The source domain of theater differs from the source domains analyzed above as constituting a 'metaphorical family', since it is not based on competition. The world of theater as a source domain for metaphors in political discourse stems from other basic traits of political life in a democratic society – the necessity for politicians to appear in public and to foster a public image compatible with their voters' ethos and ideology. Naturally, the media and especially television have strengthened the showy and theatrical aspects of political life. Politicians are expected to be interviewed in the media and to appear on talk-shows. Success or failure in television confrontations between presidential nominees in the U.S.A. proved crucial in several cases.

In Israel, theater became a very fruitful source domain of political metaphors in the year or two preceding the 1999 elections. The theatrical talents of Netanyahu (then prime minister), his skill and proficiency in the use of the media and especially television endowed him with a public image as an invincible candidate. Naturally, the actual use of television in politics diminishes the distance between theater as a source domain and political life as a target domain. In several cases, these domains may even merge. As a source domain, movies are close to the source domain of theater, since the metaphors derived from them are also based on the showy and public traits of political life. Naturally, the world of movies is even closer than theater to television – which is fast becoming part of the mainstream of political life.

Comparison of the source domains of metaphors in the United States and Israel shows that most of the source domains dealt with above serve in both countries, albeit differing with regard to the vastness of the source domains compared and the types they contain. The source domain of war is much vaster and varied in Israel than in the United States. This might be due to the fact that most Israeli men serve in the army – first in the regular army and afterwards in the reserves; therefore the associative world of journalists and politicians is imbued with metaphors from the source domain of army life and war. Sometimes journalists analyze the political behavior and actions of politicians according to their military past, assigning to them thoughts and plans commensurate with their duties in the army – whether of commander-in-chief or a member of a commando force. In both countries, the source domain of war is so dominant in political discourse that even peace is described in terms

of war, expressed in linguistic oxymorons. Even the avoidance of violence is described in terms of violence.

In sports, racing and boxing serve as source domains in both countries. Racing stresses the competitive aspect of political rivalry, and serves mainly in campaigns – whether primaries or general elections. Boxing reveals a harsh and even a violent aspect of political life. In the team branches of sports, we analyzed soccer in Israel as parallel to football in the United States, since we feel that the cultural associations of both games stem from the same source.

The difference between the source domains of sports in the United States and Israel lies in their variety. In the United States, sports is a more multifarious source than in Israel, as it includes additional branches, for example baseball and ice hockey. The absence of these branches of sports from political discourse in Israel is due to the fact that they are not played in Israel. This further stresses the fact that metaphors in politics are drawn mainly from reality, and result from the associations and cognition of the speakers in each culture.

In the source domains of games there is a big disparity between the two countries. Most of the examples cited are from Israeli political discourse. In chess only one example was found in the data collected in the United States, and in cards not even one.

With regard to theater and movies, they are found as source domains in both countries. However, in Israel they have been more productive during the year or two preceding the 1999 elections, mainly due to the image of outgoing Prime Minister Netanyahu as a 'TV star'.

In the summation of the comparison between metaphors in both countries, it should be emphasized that there are two important source domains in political discourse found in the U. S. that are almost absent in Israel. First, there is the world of business, which is a pervasive and exceedingly vast source domain. The second is the world of animal life and nature. Due to lack of space we did not cite examples from either of these domains.

Finally, we would like to stress that the caricatures and photographs found in the appendix show clearly that the use of metaphors in political discourse is not solely a linguistic means, but rather a cognitive phenomenon.

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Notes

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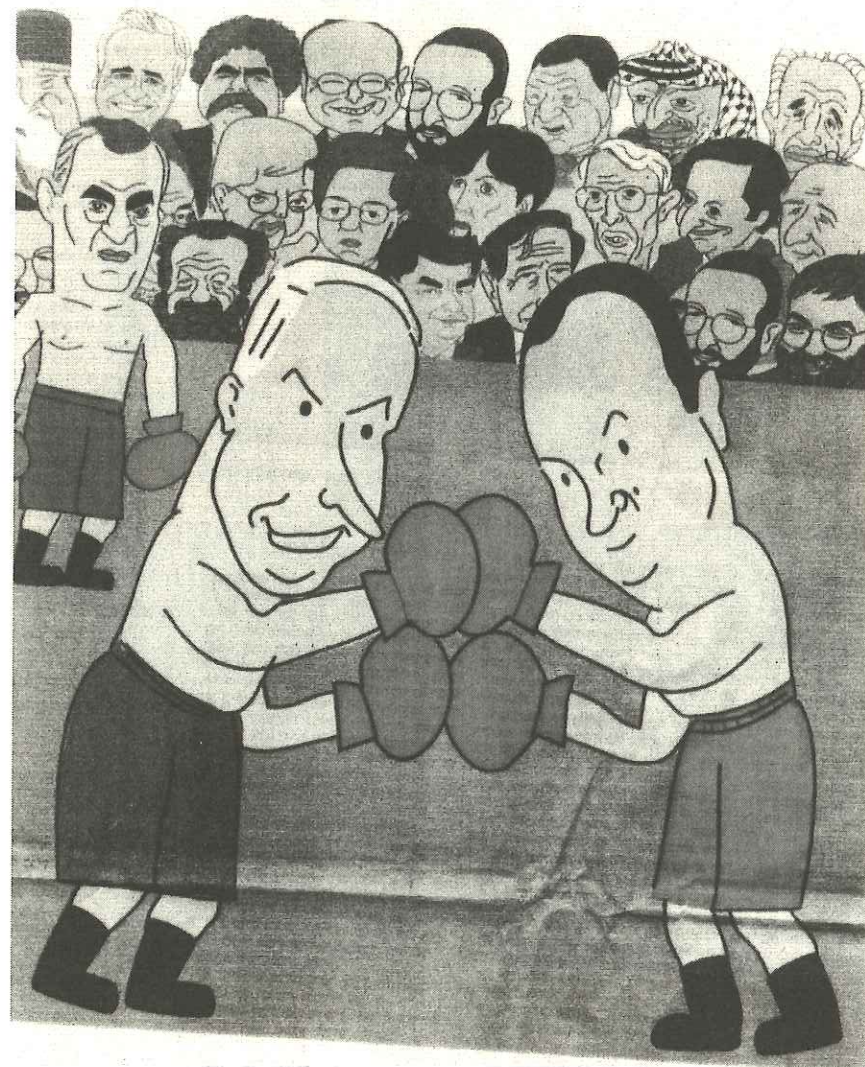
Appendix 1

Photograph by Razi, in *Yedi'ot*, Tel-Aviv, June 19, 1998



Appendix 2

Cartoon by Amos Biderman, in *ha'Aretz*, Tel-Aviv, March 31, 1999



Appendix 3

Photograph by Nadav Neuhaus, in *Yedi'ot*, Tel-Aviv, May 7, 1999



לא מוסר,
בועט בדגליים
ובינתיים לא פוגע

Appendix 4

Cartoon by ZE'EV, in *ha'Aretz*, Tel-Aviv, May 14, 1997

