

***Conceptual Metaphors in Political Discourse:
A State is a Woman; A Woman is a Construction***

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The Asian Conference on Language 2020
Official Conference Proceedings

Abstract

This project aims to analyze the conceptual metaphors through political discourse during the period of 2018 presidential elections in Montenegrin society, as a means of understanding how human action and (un)consciousness both shape and are being shaped by surrounding cultural and social structures. The study focuses on revealing cultural constructs through the examination of the conceptual metaphors A STATE IS A WOMAN; A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION. It examines conceptual metaphors that can be characterized as a female in nature, being found in a corpus of metaphors during the presidential election campaigns in Montenegro. Such (conceptual) metaphors, which in this paper relate to women, do not serve for stylistic beautification of the text but are precisely the basis for the creation and our understanding of political identities and realities. The analysis strives for the identification of cultural practices and the detection of how traditional cultural values are transformed under the influence of emerging ideologies, and it has been carried out in excerpts from political discourse during the last presidential election (2018) in Montenegro. Conceptualizing A STATE as A WOMAN and A WOMAN as A CONSTRUCTION in Montenegrin political discourse has shown that gender metaphors in political speech represent the mental and emotional maps of a sociocultural environment. Besides that, the analysis has shown that the cognitive base that conceptualizes women and women's activities through metaphors are still largely under the control of the dominant gender ideology in Montenegrin society. The paper, therefore, draws attention to language, which plays an important role in discrimination, and suggests that language can offer invaluable insight into intentions and, moreover, construct a psychological portrait of the speaker.

Keywords: Conceptual Metaphor, Pre-Election Discourse, Woman, Gender, Montenegro

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Introduction

This paper examines conceptual metaphors that can be characterized as a female in nature, being found in a corpus of metaphors during the 2018 presidential election campaigns in Montenegro. Such (conceptual) metaphors, which in this paper relate to gender, do not serve for stylistic beautification but are precisely the basis for the creation and our understanding of political identities and realities.

The main question that the paper raises, as well as the main hypothesis, is whether gender metaphors in political discourse reflect the culture to which they belong to, i.e. whether the metaphorical layer of a language is defined as the carrier of cultural characteristics, as a language of culture in which the mind of a nation is largely reflected.

The data used in this study was collected from the Montenegrin daily press: *Vijesti*, *Dan*, *Pobjeda*, *Dnevne novine*, as well as from transcribed interviews during the presidential election campaigns on the *RTCG* Public Service. The data was also taken from the *CdM.me* portal, which was deliberately selected because it appears to have extensive national coverage and distribution, as well as wide readership. It is expected that the findings from this research will point to certain linguistic tendencies, but will also present indicators of social events - that they will show that conceptual metaphors that have survived to this day through the mind and language govern people's thinking. In parallel, this interdisciplinary research will examine cultural and historical scenarios through language and discourse analysis. The effects of micro study (conceptual metaphors) will be examined through concrete examples - through the discourse analysis of politicians' speech during the last elections in Montenegro (2018). The theoretical methodology background of this research is based on the Critical Metaphor analysis (CMA), suggested by the Charteris- Black (2004, in 2011:45), which is an approach to the analysis of metaphors that aims to identify the intentions and ideologies underlying language use.

What the paper tries to show is that the analysis of metaphors that bind to formulas A STATE IS A WOMAN; A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION can present the gender picture of Montenegro – thus show how the conceptual metaphors themselves are implemented in language and are rooted in the core of culture.

1. Theoretical methodology background

The understanding of conceptual metaphors is significantly different from the understanding of metaphors as stylistic figures. As a metaphor as a stylistic figure looks like an ornament that enhances the text, the theory of conceptual metaphors is based on the idea that metaphor also concerns how language rules thought and culture, thus conceptual metaphor is being seen as a mechanism of thought. In other words, it represents the way culture and cognition are reflected through the language (for more see Lakoff & Johnson¹). Having this on mind, it can be concluded that metaphor does not occur primarily in language but in thought, and that we actually understand the world with metaphors and do not just speak with them. The main scientific interest in analyzing these metaphors lies in knowing how linguistic expressions and metaphors

¹ George Lakoff and Mark Johnsons, *Metaphors we live by* (1980)

can relate to the mind, how our modes of thought are framed, and thus controlled and enabled by the various concepts that are being constructed by metaphors. This is certainly related to the most ordinary and everyday events, which can include politics.

Metaphor has long been identified as a central element in political rhetoric (Chilton 2004: 51). "Language of politics" is not only the unity of transitional and continuous changes of opinion or preferences in relation to a particular problem or outcome, but forever expresses the habits and dynamics of previous periods (Kawata, et al., 2013: 246). The "language of politics" of the past acts as a restriction on the style of political thinking as well as the mode of political cognition of people living in the present. Past meanings and uses continue to operate and to emerge against in the background of a context in which the relationship between the individual and the political system has been structured and interpreted (Ibid).

While using the suggested interpretation of Lakoff and Johnson (originated in their work *Metaphors we live by*, 1980), where the mind is inherently embodied through the metaphor interpretation, we will base the methodology of this work on already mentioned CMA suggested by Charteris-Black. There are three stages to this approach: metaphor identification (using the criteria of whether a word or phrase is used with a sense that differs from another more common sense), the metaphor interpretation and then an explanation.

In this study, the metaphors that bind to *a woman* were singled out. By using Critical metaphor analysis, the first part describes metaphors that represent a variant of the general metaphor the A STATE IS A WOMAN. A specific variant in this paper is the conceptual metaphor A STATE IS A MOTHER². The second part of the paper is presenting the metaphors that conceptualize A WOMAN AS A CONSTRUCTION.

Through the selected metaphors where women takes the central position, they are metaphorically represented through the nation, state, politics and through women's role of reproduction, caregiver, mother, or women's activities. These metaphors emphasize some aspects of femininity while they are hiding others.

2. Conceptual metaphor A STATE IS A WOMAN

In the general metaphor A STATE IS A WOMAN, in the [1.1] example we find a specific variant where WOMAN is referred to MOTHER³. In this metaphor, the woman's (Montenegrin) womb (capital) is fertilized, thus creating a woman as a mother, drawing from it the proposed metaphor A STATE IS A MOTHER. Mother, a relational noun, implies the existence of children - daughters and sons - who are members of a metaphorically conceptualized state. Furthermore, metaphor implies certain relationships (e.g. biological and emotional), and hence the metaphor of a MOTHER is a powerful metaphor that plays an important role in imagining the state,

² Bearing on mind that being a mother is related to being a woman, but being a woman does not necessary has to be related to being a mother

³ Family-related metaphors play an important role in the discourse of the nation or the national: this can be expected because the noun *nation* is etymologically related to the Latin *natio* - 'birth', which already implies a family scenario (Šarić, 2015: 7).

in the sense that it gives a strong emotion role (related to belonging, care, unconditional love, etc.).).

Lakoff explained in his *Moral Politics* (1996) that it is natural for a nation to be metaphorically seen as a family, government as a parent or citizens as children: transferring family morality to political morality, and creating a link between family values and politics. Personification that allows one to imagine a country, state, and nation as an individual, refers to emotions, because people tend to develop much stronger emotions - whether positive or negative - toward individuals rather than toward objects. Šarić (2015: 7) explains that personification is a useful cognitive tool because it provides an almost "direct emotional approach" to otherwise abstract or diffused entities. With such help, interlocutors or participants in discourse (including recipients of information) become more emotionally attached to the state, and it is this attachment that helps make nations "real", especially when one chooses to defend or die for it.

[1] *Crna Gora je mjesto za oplodnju kapitala*
Eng: Montenegro is a place for fertilization of the capital

In the [1.1] case, the state is conceptualized as a strong parent, providing basic capital needs to its citizens, especially those in need. The state is the mother whose capital has to be fertilized. In this interpretation, the metaphor symbolizes motherhood. It is possible to conclude even further: the homeland is a female body and as such is not at risk of being harmed by foreign men. Fertilization, in this case, is not a rape – which would be metaphorically mapped to invasion and violation of the nation, to the metaphor of national or state humiliation⁴. This metaphor is taking female anatomy as a model for the economy. Its paradox is that its contextual resonance is essentially at odds with the comparison it makes. While the metaphor is trying to connect mind and body, e.g. economy and womb, it also induces the sexual separation of labor upon which Montenegrin (not to say Balkan) patriarchy is founded. This reveals the structures of patriarchy that have separate labor into men's production and women's reproduction.

We can also explain this metaphor in another way [1.2]. In this case, this metaphor does not necessarily have to be interpreted a priori as a metaphor where a STATE is represented as a MOTHER. In this interpretation, it is capital that is fertilized, more precisely the conceptual metaphor can be framed in the form of CAPITAL IS A WOMAN (during intercourse, with an intention for procreation), as suggested by Abović & Gvozdenović (2019: 12).

This conceptual metaphor reflects a metaphysical process that is being objectified in the value(less) system that underlies modern civilization. As Abović & Gvozdenović (2019: 12) further explain, the monstrosity of the aforesaid conceptual metaphor is

⁴ We can find the example of "rape metaphor" in the interview with Milan Knežević, Democratic People's Party leader and Democratic Front official: "It seems that the holder of the DPS List in Podgorica, Ivan Vuković, emerged as the fruit of a "political rape" committed by the President Đukanović over Migo Stijepović. Thus, the "child of Plužine" became the "child of Podgorica", to whom in Lješkovopolje, the expert for detailed urban plans, the suspected dr Miomir Mugoša, removed the umbilical cord while the national anthem was playing (...) And so a "failed political abortion" illegally performed at a midnight Session of the DPS Presidency plays the wearer of the list, while Migo Stijepović and Vladan Vučelić "wear diapers all the time" (...). Translation KG; Source: <http://www.dnpcg.me/knezevic-igra-prestola-mila-i-duska-pretvorila-crnu-goru-u-ratiste/>

reflected in two directions: a) an act (intercourse) that belongs exclusively to the domain of the biological, the living - moreover, one of its immanent characteristics - is transposed into the realm of the inanimate; b) an act (intercourse) belonging to the realm of the intimate - indeed the domain of the most delicate intimacy - an act that (under normal circumstances) arises from the noblest of human feelings: the emotion of love - is transposed into the realm of the public, and into one of the dirtiest and lowest domains of the sphere of the public - into mercantile relations. Thus, the phenomenon of the lust for material goods is conceptualized in terms of the most intimate human act arising out of love between partners (Ibid). As a result of the contamination and the interpenetration of these two domains, a monstrous metaphor emerges - the metaphor of desacralized and dehumanized civilization. Capital is perceived as a pregnant woman who, instead of a child, makes money (Ibid).

[2] *Država da se odnosi majčinski, a ne maćehinski prema ženama*⁵
Eng: State to refer as a mother and not as a stepmother to women

Let us just remember for a moment how the fairy tales we read to children and that have been read to us, heroes and heroines are portrayed. On the one hand, we have female characters, usually divided into three groups: princesses who simply - do nothing. Older Women - mostly taking the role of stepmothers, being portrayed as evil. For the most part of the story, we have such a plot that stepmother is in fact a threat to a younger woman, that there is a conflict, not between a man and a woman, but between a woman and a woman. It is no surprise, then, that in everyday speech we have such a metaphor that takes the stepmother's figure as an archetypal representation that symbolizes the threat to the self-consciousness and its development.

The conceptual metaphor [2] emphasizes the hard contrast between mother and stepmother. Such discourse spreads negative stereotypes about stepmothers and positive stereotypes about biological mothers. Coontz (1992; in Šarić, 2015: 9) writes that the representation of unequal treatment and injustice to certain citizens in such discourse patterns refers to family scenarios as the original domains in which stepmothers treat children unequally. The mother-stepmother confrontation is guided by the so-called "nuclear family ideology," which is implying that the biological, intact family with two biological parents and their children is the "ideal" type of family (Ibid). Stereotyping is not, however, a phenomenon confined to the South Slavic media and political discourse: recent research shows that many people in different countries (e.g., Australia; see Planitz and Feeney, 2009; in Šarić, 2015: 9) view the non-biological family in too simplistic way.

Just for the comparison, for the "father of the nation" - which would be another example of mapping family relations in the political rhetorical area of the nation - would be the conceptualization of the one who would play an important role in establishing an independent country, establishing a political system or writing a constitution, notes Šarić (2015: 10). Indeed, if we look at a few headlines through the media⁶, we can see that in Montenegro, "the father of the nation" is being called the

⁵ <http://www.rtcg.me/vijesti/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/198360/macehinski-odnos-drzave-prema-zenama.html>

⁶ <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/post-scriptum-milo-djukanovic/29806661.html>

one who is considered to be its president, the person who created the Montenegrin nation, Milo Đukanović.

3. Conceptual metaphor A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION

This part of the paper lists several other interesting metaphors, which can, by analysis, help us to “build” a gender picture in Montenegrin society. Conceptual metaphor A WOMAN (as a part of society) IS A CONSTRUCTION will be further discussed.

[3] *Žene su stub društva*⁷
Eng: *Women are the pillar of society*

In the example [3], that has been found in the speech of the first female candidate for presidential election, Ms. Draginja Vuksanović, society is conceived as a construction, where a woman represents its essential building part - *a pillar*. Such a metaphor describes a woman as a necessity for the task of nation-building. Against mythical expectations, the metaphor [3], as another example of mapping family relationships in the nation's empire, stands in contrast to the masculine metaphor of the patriotic kingdom that considers a male person as the "father of the nation" or "the pillar of the state or family". The symbolic image of the *pillar* in South Slavic culture was used to emphasize, above all, the patriarchal image, such as the president in Montenegro, or the "head" (another conceptual metaphor) of the family (usually referring to the father/husband⁸). Sometimes it still represents the 'important person in the organization' or the 'essential element in theory' (Nobuaki, 1993).

The metaphor *pillar* can be seen as "a constructive metaphor that represents a very positive metaphor" (Lenard & Ćosić, 2007: 73), metaphorically presenting itself as the basis for everything else. Laying the foundation for something has strong positive connotations because it creates preconditions for other actions. To put it differently, every solid and durable building has good, completely necessary pillars. The metaphor *pillar* often appears in various types of written and oral material, also signifying an important person playing a central role in a particular group, such as a political party, corporation, family, etc. It also signifies an important element in certain statements, such as we saw in the [3] example. As Perović (2016) noted, characteristics of the *pillar* are stability, load-bearing capacity, durability, material strength, and often good design. Ionian, Doric, Corinthian in Montenegrin ways. One can rely upon it (in the above-mentioned case [3] by a Montenegrin woman), counted on her stamina, and never doubt the strength of her material. The *pillar*, therefore, is support and represents a strong and solid structure, the axis of a building connecting its various levels. The *pillars* are the ones that provide the building with solidity, and

<https://rs.sputniknews.com/regioni/201607091107131323-nato-djukanovic-otac-nacije/>

⁷"The women are the pillar of society and it is time for the state to refer as a mother, not as a stepmother to them" said the candidate for President, Ms. Draginja Vuksanović (the Social Democratic Party). Source:

<http://www.rtcg.me/vijesti/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/198360/macehinski-odnos-drzave-prema-zenama.html>

⁸In Montenegro, he is primarily and dominantly metaphorized as the *pillar* of the family, which is extended in some answers to the *pillar* of all humanity. He is also the head of the family, the head of the house, the backbone, the stamina - therefore, everything that is power, strength and rigidity. The upstanding of the pillar is an additional element in the structural mapping of the original domain of the man and the target domain of the pillar, which is not present when the woman is thus represented (Perović, 2016).

to shake them means to shake the whole building. That is why they symbolize the constancy of the building, whether architectural, social or personal, and as such in the above metaphor is being chosen to build a woman as the principal, as the head of the society, as their mother, not their stepmother.

In a similar metaphor, also spoken by the first and only female presidential candidate in the last presidential election in Montenegro, we found conceptual metaphor A WOMAN (as a part of a family) IS A CONSTRUCTION, where the Montenegrin woman is being portrayed as the *foundation*:

[5] *Crnogorska žena je temelj kuće, svoga roda i svoga doma*

Eng: Montenegrin woman represents the foundation of the house, her family and her home

Although the metaphor represented by the *pillar* and by the *foundation* signifies a positive metaphor, it seems that women's objectification and its reproductive role remain in the spotlight, even when it does not seem to be the author's intention, which again serves to show that dominant gender ideology in society can influence or limit how one can perceive and represent (their own) gender in relation to others. Presenting a woman with stereotypes, as Perović (2016: 55) notes, carries a great danger of moving away from the real picture, and creating an image where prevails the representation according to the gender of iconic meaning, at one end of which the woman is represented as in the above mentioned metaphor.

It is also interesting to convey the quote from the candidate as a whole, from which we can conclude how a woman who has decided to cut down the Montenegrin tradition for the first time and run for president essentially sees Montenegrin women:

„Ona je bila ratnica, sačekivala je iz rata svoga oca, muža, brata i sina. Ona je danas majka, domaćica, uzorna žena i supruga koja nosi tradicionalno i iskonsko u sebi. I sa takvim kvalitetima danas žene u Crnoj Gori su ugledne i uspješne ljekarke, naučne radnice, prosvjetne radnice, umjetnice, žene iz drugih oblasti života. Želim da budem glas svih tih žena, želim da budem glas posebno obespravljenih žena, onih koji rade u turizmu i ugostiteljstvu, onih vrijednih radnica koje rade u trgovini, koje moraju znati koliko im je radno vrijeme, a ne da rade prekovremeno, koje nemaju praznike, a koje se muče i zarađuju za svoju djecu“.⁹

Eng: "She used to be a warrior, she used to wait for her father, husband, brother and son to come back from the war. Today, she is a mother, a housewife, an exemplary woman and a wife who carries the tradition and the origin in her self. And with such qualities, women in Montenegro today are respected and successful doctors, scientists, educators, artists, women from other areas of life. I want to be the voice of all these women, I want to be the voice of especially disenfranchised women, those working in tourism and hospitality, those hardworking women working in the trade, who need to know their working hours and not to work overtime, who have no holidays, who are struggling to earn for their children"¹⁰.

9 <http://rtcg.me/vijesti/izbori2018/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/196336/cg-ce-dobiti-prvu-predsjednicu.html>

¹⁰ Translation: KG

It is true, most women in Montenegro still carry the tradition in themselves, which cannot be easily eradicated. Even now, it is important to note that the woman is, first of all, a mother, a housewife, an exemplary woman, and only then a pharmacist, scientist, president. More precisely, only when she is both - mother and wife, then she can be a worthy president. As the same candidate says:

“U Crnoj Gori kuća ne počiva na zemlji već na ženi - kad žena postavi stvari u kući onda može i da vodi državu”

Eng: "In Montenegro, the house does not lie on the ground but on the woman - when a woman puts things right in the house then she can lead the state"

Since long time ago, the subordination of a wife to her husband in Montenegro has been great. The woman was in the possession of the interests of the family, fraternity, tribe and all her functions, from birth to death, were pointed in that direction. The reproductive role, giving birth and motherhood were the most valued, and through those, the woman gained the biggest reputation. Women, in general, enjoyed a limited circle of rights and had very little influence on society. The private sphere was reserved for them, while the public sphere was exclusively dominated by men. Since women were prepared for the only social function – as mothers and housewives, women's education did not even exist. They were "machines" for the production of children and marriage, as an institution, was nothing but their only civic obligation.

In this connection, it is very interesting that the beginning of the 21st century - we will use here one metaphor for women's activity, so we will say - "gives birth" to an anachronistic metaphor culturally specific to previous centuries. The role of the woman is slowly changing, but the same metaphor and perception for her remains:

[6] *Nije Crna Gora njihova prćija*¹¹

Eng: Montenegro is not their prćija (kind of dowry)

In the metaphor [6] A STATE IS conceptualized as PRĆIJA. This was also said by the female presidential candidate for the 2018 election. *Prćija* represents the dowry that the widow brings to the marriage (note: *miraz* represents what the bride brings to her marriage). In this region, *prćija* is usually used in an offensive context. As many resent the widow that is remarrying, it is logical that they will resent her for entering into a new marriage with the property she may have acquired thanks to her ex-husband. Therefore, more and more *prćija* is being used in its metaphorical sense. So the people would often say „*nije to tvoja prćija*“ (eng. this is not your *prćija*), for the property with which everyone acts according to their free will.

The above example [6] doesn't match directly the previously mentioned metaphors structured as A STATE IS A WOMAN; A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION, but indeed is related to women. This metaphor is very interesting because it belongs to a new metaphor - not to universal metaphor (conventional metaphors that are

¹¹ <http://rtcg.me/vijesti/izbori2018/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/199847/nije-crna-gora-njihova-prcija.html>

representing a universal experience), but rather a cultural variation that has arisen from a traditional, cultural dimension.

4. Discussion

The main starting point discussed in the paper is whether gender metaphor in political speech reflects the culture to which it belongs. Throughout this work, metaphor is seen and understood as an integral part of the subjective dimensions of collective identities, such as discourse, mind, though, that put the focus on the (national) construction of identity. Certain metaphors in the discussed corpus have definitely required social and cultural contexts to be examined. This is not surprising, given the nature of language and the fact that, as Gumperz (in Takada et al, 2000: 7) is stating, verbal interaction is a social process in which statements are chosen in accordance with socially recognized norms and expectations.

The paper analyzed the metaphors in the narratives of politicians during Montenegro's 2018 presidential campaigns. The analyzed data revealed an obvious preference for certain metaphors in the political narrative. The metaphors mostly came from the original domain A STATE IS A WOMAN; A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION.

More specifically, the aim of the paper was to confirm the hypothesis that the analysis of metaphors that bind to formula A STATE IS A WOMAN; A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION can present the picture of women in Montenegro. The fact that there is a conceptual metaphor A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION, where a woman (as a part of the society) is the *pillar* of that construction, indicates that women in Montenegrin society is indeed being valued. On the other hand, the conceptual metaphor A STATE IS PRĆIJA, however, testifies that (unfortunately) there is also a contemptuous attitude towards women. However, all the metaphors together showed that Montenegro is still struggling with controversial views on the roles and functions of women in society. Patriarchal culture is still dominant in this region, although patriarchy is not a universal category, but differs according to culture, degree of social, economic and political development and the like – but nevertheless, there are some similarities that boil down to empowering men as a social group generally or to one group of men, which also has the greatest power.

In such a patriarchal milieu, the backbone of gender, i.e. male-female relations, is made up of domination, control and subdual. Women become a marginalized category, which leads to their unequal participation in the distribution of the most important social resources: power, wealth and reputation (lets mention here the statement that *being president is a macho profession*¹²).

As previously mentioned, in the last presidential election Montenegro had for the first time a female candidate, which has been repeatedly characterized as *a fruit of political interest* (where we find two more metaphors regarding woman: A WOMAN IS A QUOTA; A WOMAN IS A DECOR):

¹² Translation: KG; Source: <http://rtcg.me/vijesti/izbori2018/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/192648/da-li-smo-spremni-za-predsjednicu.html>

“Politika u CG ženu i dalje vidi kao kvotu, mogla bi na nju još gore da pogleda, i to pod samo lijepim izgovorom – ljepše je vidjeti ženu (na mjestu predsjednice). Politika bi tako vodu okrenula opet na svoju vodenicu, i priču o ženi svela na dekor interesu“.
*Eng: Politics in Montenegro still sees women as the quota, but could be even worse if using the beauty excuse – it is more beautiful to see a woman (on the site of the President). Politics would thus turn the water back on its mill, and bring the story of the woman down to the decor of interest.*¹³

The analysis in this paper has certainly shown that the cognitive base that conceptualizes women and women's activities through metaphor is still largely under the control of the dominant gender ideology in Montenegrin society.

The physical environment, the physical and social aspects, the cultural context, these all influence individuals through the information that is generated in the environment, and then transmitted to our mind. These aspects and experiences further influence our use of metaphors. What is important to realize is that metaphor is no longer as much a linguistic tissue as it is a tissue of thought. The metaphor is no longer in words, it is in the very core of life. We no longer find it in language, it is a metaphor as a figure of thought, not of words, and therefore is only partly a linguistic phenomenon that exists in language because it exists in thought.

Such a relative independence from language does not make metaphor and language separable, since language is at the same time an instrument of its comprehension as well as an instrument of its formation. We mark the world in words after we have been able to discover it.

As Lakoff (2008, 2009: 241) writes: “Words matter. They shape our politics – and our lives”.

Conclusion

It could be said that politics in Montenegro has not yet managed to overcome this gender gap between women and men, despite the quotas that have therefore been accepted in parliament. In addition, this paper draws attention to language, which plays an important role in discrimination. Language is a means of communication, language is a reflection of our identities, understandings and ourselves, but the language is also a means of power and control. Robin Lakoff, an expert in feminist sociolinguistics, claims that women experience linguistic discrimination in two ways: in the way they are taught to use language, and in the way general language use treats them (1972: 4). This paper suggests that language can offer invaluable insight into intentions and, moreover, construct a psychological portrait of the speaker. Finally, the study revealed that the examined metaphors included tacit background assumptions about normative women's activities and woman itself in Montenegrin society. In this sense, the analysis showed that metaphors in many ways shape one's understanding through mapping to another domain that they created through experience. Therefore, metaphors can not only help our cognitive and conceptual

¹³ Translation: KG; Source: <http://rtcg.me/vijesti/izbori2018/predsjednicki-izbori-2018/192648/da-li-smo-spremni-za-predsjednicu.html>

process of thinking and talking about the concept of "woman", but also they facilitate our understanding of the cultural view of women because they describe the concepts in a way that presents them in a concrete rather than the abstract sense.

In the type of metaphor from the aforementioned corpus in this paper, the original and target concepts were socioculturally determined, and the mapping between them was motivated by the similarity between the socio-culturally interpreted original and target concepts. This is illustrated by examining metaphors in the Montenegrin language that conceptualize A STATE IS A WOMAN and A WOMAN IS A CONSTRUCTION. We have argued that it is necessary to examine social and cultural origins in order to understand the motivation of Montenegrin politicians to use metaphors that include women's metaphorical representation through the nation, state, politics and women's role of reproduction, nurturer, or mere decor. These metaphors emphasize some aspects of femininity while they are hiding others.

This paper primarily attempted to provide a brief insight into the field of linguistic theory, which, especially in modern times, is based on cognitive interpretations and the interwoven connection between language and thought. Thus, with the conceptual metaphor, we connect two conceptual domains - the source and target domain, that is, with it we conceptualize one experiential domain with another experiential domain. These two domains did not have easily recognizable meanings in the past but by mapping elements of the original domain into the target domain, they formed a new metaphorical structure in which the target domain concepts were shaped according to the characteristics of the concept of the original domain. In this way, the mind, and language function effectively, using meaning based on experience. Therefore, there is always room to create innumerable new metaphors to highlight any other, new experience and any other perspective - such as the metaphor A STATE IS PRĆIJA - where a cultural variation specific to this region has been found.

Despite the limitations (first of all, a very short election campaign during the 2018 presidential election in Montenegro, from March 28 - April 13, 2018) that was taken to validate the proposed model), this study showed that metaphors are not independent of sociocultural circumstances, but rather that a metaphor, and therefore a mind and cognition, are deeply connected to our understanding of society and culture. Moreover, the study demonstrated that the verbal, political and cultural components are united. The analysis showed that metaphor is one of the foundations of language functioning and that thinking is deeply imbued with metaphorical structure.

The lack of, above all, a broader corpus to be analyzed has certainly made more difficult the pioneering attempt to address this topic. This research is, therefore, a modest contribution to the topic, suggesting that gender metaphors in political speech reflect the culture to which they belong, that such metaphors create a cultural model and reflect the same sociocultural environment. Language is a means of expressing our identities, and we play with it every day, transforming, adapting, or breaking down gender ideologies. Our examinee are (un)consciously playing with language in the intricate webs of what they are expected to do, how they want to be seen by others, as well as of their own perceptions of gender identities, producing on that way certain results that we have discussed.

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