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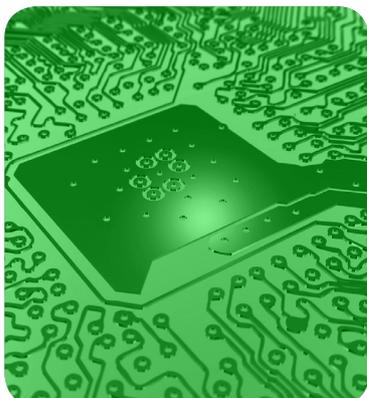
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The Conceptualization of Neoliberalism and the 21st Century Socialism : An Analysis of Rafael Correa's Presidential Discourses in Ecuador

Sara Camacho Estrada

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The Conceptualization of Neoliberalism and the 21st Century Socialism : An Analysis of Rafael Correa's Presidential Discourses in Ecuador

Tutor : Manuela Romano Mozo

Sara Camacho Estrada

Master's Degree in English Applied Linguistics,
Department of English Studies,
Faculty of Philosophy and Arts
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

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Abstract

In the last few decades, most Latin American countries have been governed by left-wing parties. As a consequence, the great majority of Latin American presidents have used similar discourses that set a 'nurturant parent family model'[1] against a 'strict father family model'[2] (Lakoff, 2004). The ideas described in those discourses have created many conceptualizations about these two positions. Based on these situations that have taken place in South America, the main aim of this study is to analyze how neoliberalism and socialism are conceptualized through the presidential discourses of Rafael Correa Delgado, president of Ecuador, on January 15th, 2015; August 10th, 2009 and May 24th, 2013. This study uses ideological and socio-cognitive perspectives to draw conclusions about how Correa addresses his discourses. For instance, the way Correa describes Moderated 21st Century Socialism versus Neoliberalism can best be analyzed from Conceptual Metaphor Theory, more specifically using its analytical tools of *propositional schemas, image schemas, and event schemas* (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Sharifan, 2011; Soares da Silva, 2016; Soares da Silva et al. in press).

Implicit conceptual metaphors used in the president's political discourses are of great importance to communicate contextualized ideas. In addition, the president's ideology is clearly understood by using the concept of 'otherization' in a pluricultural context (Diamond 1996, cited in Romero-Trillo, 2011). This concept helped the Ecuadorian population to empathize with Correa, to identify with him by provoking a sense of closeness, and to help them easily understand his message. The results show a negative conceptualization of NEOLIBERALISM which describes as something DARK, EVIL, CORRUPTED, and likened to BAD WEEDS, and a WILD ANIMAL. On the other hand, Correa conceptualizes SOCIALISM in the totally opposite way using words like LIGHT, HOPE, HONESTY and likening SOCIALISM to a VICTIM. Correa uses all of these arguments, based on Ecuadorian culture, and transmitted through contextualized language, as the vehicle to persuade his audience. (MacArthur, Oncins, 2012).

Key words: Conceptual metaphor theory, propositional schema, image schema, event schema, political discourse, neoliberalism, socialism, ideology, otherization.

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[1] Lakoff (2004) describes the left-wings or progressive parties as a family model which follows a more protective system and sharing community.

[2] Lakoff (2004) describes the right-wings or conservatives as a family model which is based on values and discipline.

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I. Introduction

President Rafael Correa has won three consecutive presidential terms in Ecuador: on November 26th, 2006; again on April 26th, 2009; and finally on February 17th, 2013. Correa's current term is set to end on May 2017. He is one of the youngest presidents with one of the best academic profiles to have ever governed the country. During his presidency, Ecuador has made frequent headlines on the world stage for President Correa's position against neoliberalism. The president's discourses express a clear left-wing position named 'moderated socialism', participatory democracy, or '21st Century Socialism'[3]. Correa uses many metaphorical strategies to communicate his position and makes arguments that appeal to the working class's ideology and cultural background. His discourses focus on contrasting the county's negative past with an appeal to a hopeful future. This idealistic future centers on Correa himself and his unique ability to lead the country. A great majority of Ecuadorian citizens are deeply influenced by his position because of his arguments. In fact, the results[4] of the previous three elections show Correa has an overwhelmingly positive support.

The concept constructions of neoliberalism and socialism are based on events lived in the country during colonialism, dictatorship, and finally the capitalist system of the most recent governments. Events such as the international debts inherited from the last century's independence war, the purchase of weapons, a dictatorship system in the 70s, territorial wars against Peru, the collapse of the financial system, "Bank holidays" in the 90s, the debts from natural disasters, the dollarization in 2000, and the political instability caused by 13 presidents after the dictatorship (Naranjo, 2004) are used by Correa to judge the decisions made in the past by the right-wing political parties and blame them for the crisis in Ecuador.

Taking these historical events into account, in section 2 of this study, there is a description of the theoretical base that guides this research which is focused on conceptual metaphor theory, and political discourse. In section 3, an explanation of the method and data analysis is presented. In addition, three research questions are included to guide this study on how neoliberalism and socialism are conceptualized in the president's discourses, the following research questions are addressed:

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[3] It is a socialist model coined by Heinz Dieterich Steffan.

[4] Tribunal Supremo Electoral (Institution of Electoral Control). November 26th, 2006: 56,67%; April 26th, 2009: 51,99%; February 17th, 2013: 57,17%.

1) How does Rafael Correa conceptualize neoliberalism and socialism?

2) Does he use more *propositional, event or image schemas* in his discourses?

3) How does his ideological, cultural perspective and experience influence the source and target domains chosen?

In section 4, a socio-cognitive approach to metaphor in real discourse situations is followed to fully analyze conceptual metaphors. The socio-cognitive approach to metaphor focuses on appealing to social contexts as a way to understand an idea or conceptual domain, in terms of another (Lakoff & Jonhson, 2003). All the metaphorical expressions, thus, used to conceptualize neoliberalism and socialism are classified according to three types of metaphors: *propositional schemas, image schemas, and event schemas*. This is a useful classification system when analyzing real discourse and context, and more specifically to understand the relationship between metaphor and ideology. (Soares da Silva 2016; Soares da Silva et al. in press).

In addition, and because we have found that along his discourses, Rafael Correa bases his ideas on finding someone to attack, mainly neoliberalism, the concept of *otherization* (Diamond 1996, cited in Romero-Trillo 2011) has also been introduced as a framework to analyze the data. As will be shown in this section, Correa's discourses contain many references to 'the long and sad neoliberal night', 'the enemy', and 'the others' that have destroyed the country. Whereas 'we', 'the historically oppressed groups' are here 'to fight neoliberalism'. In short, in his discourses Correa proposes metaphorical mappings that conceptualize his government as a Citizens Revolution that freed the oppressed groups from oppression, colonialism, neoliberalism, and injustice. In his discourses, Correa keeps the same style when describing his values, ideological principles and objectives along the three presidential speeches analyzed.

Finally, section 5 presents the conclusions and areas for further research based on the analysis of the president's discourses. The answers to the research questions are explained in this section as well as a concrete idea of the results found. This study concludes by establishing the ways in which the conceptual metaphors reflect the president's political position based on his ideological perspective.

II. **Theoretical Framework**

The main theoretical concepts on which the analysis is based are presented in this section. First, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2015) is summarized and the concepts of propositional, image and event schemas are introduced. In the second section, conceptual metaphor in a real discourse setting, namely political discourse, is examined to understand how and why Correa uses metaphor as a persuasive strategy in his presidential discourses of January 15th, 2015; August 10th, 2009 and May 24th, 2013.

2.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Metaphorical language has been studied for centuries, since Aristotle's Poetics described it as "giving the thing a name that belongs to something else" (Sullivan, 2013:1). Even though it was also of interest during Romanticism (18th-19th c), it was in the late 70's when it became the center of semantic theory within Cognitive Linguistics. Reddy (1979) in Lakoff (1993:203) summarizes the cognitive approach to metaphor claiming that "metaphor is primarily conceptual, conventional, and part of the ordinary system of thought and language". Additionally, for cognitivists the origin of metaphor is thought, rather than language. In addition, metaphor explains how the world is conceptualized and vice versa. Our behavior reflects our metaphorical understanding of experience. Furthermore, our inner thoughts are connected with the real world, with our social and bodily experience.

In Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), states Kövecses (2015:2), "metaphor is thought of very broadly as conceptualizing one domain of experience in terms of another." The way people conceptualize ideas depend on experiences that are linked to new ones. In this line, Charterist-Black (2004) states that conceptual metaphor represents the conceptual basis, idea, or image that underlies a set of metaphors. This means that around a conceptual metaphor many other metaphors are related and help to create an appropriate environment for interpreting and understanding a specific discourse. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) identify different types of metaphors depending on their cognitive functions, namely: *structural* metaphors (such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY) or *non-structural* or *image* metaphors (as when, e.g., we evaluate a concept by assigning a positive or negative value to it—GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN"; the last, very frequent in the political discourse analyzed as we see, where 'LIGHT IS UP' represents socialism; and 'DARK IS DOWN' represents neoliberalism.

Semino (2008:5), based on Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) seminal work explains metaphor as "systematic sets of correspondences, or 'mappings', across conceptual domains, whereby a 'target' domain (e.g. our knowledge about arguments) is partly structured in terms of a different 'source' domain (e.g. our knowledge about war)". In the same way, Sullivan, (2013:6) claims that "in CMT that metaphor occurs when conceptual structures from one domain of experience is applied to a different, usually more abstract, domain. The conceptual metaphor itself is named using the format *target domain is source domain,* as in PROPERTIES ARE POSSESSIONS." As mentioned before, these definitions help to understand 'one thing in terms of another' which makes processing more abstract information (the target domain) easier by relating it with more concrete, physical one (the source domain). For example, Correa, in his second discourse said, "It (corruption) is rooted on the perverse and selfish neoliberal system."; where NEOLIBERALISM IS CORRUPTION / BAD WEED / SELFISHNESS / PERVERSENESS. As a consequence, neoliberalism (target domain) is understood in terms of (source domain) corruption, bad weed, selfishness and perverseness. All these negative words are used to conceptualize neoliberalism.

Furthermore, it is important to note that many conceptual metaphors play different roles in a discourse. These roles could be representations of entities in persons, animals, plants, insects, among others. Ritchie (2013:73) claims "the primary importance of social interaction in our lives leads to many personification metaphors, in which an abstract concept or process is represented as a person". Ritchie (2013) cites an interesting example for the text under study: "Because I could not stop for Death/ He kindly stopped for me" which conceptualizes "DEATH IS A PERSON". In the same way, in Correa's discourses NEOLIBERALISM IS AN EVIL BEING that personifies the badness, darkness and injustice. Charterist-Black (2005:41) claims that "personification is persuasive because it evokes our attitudes, feelings and beliefs about people and applies them to our attitudes, feelings and beliefs about abstract political entities". As 'evil' is related with something demoniac, cruel and dark, the audience will have negative feeling against neoliberalism because of the negative conceptualization of this word. Other negative examples in Correa's first discourses, as we will see, are metaphors related to war which represent fight, attack, defend, bombs, arguments, etc. An example is the metaphor 'CREDITS ARE BOMBS'. A metaphor connected to the idea of something destructive, nefarious and dangerous as war is.

In the next section, *prepositional schemas, image schemas and event schemas* are developed. These metaphorical concepts are important for the discourses under study since

they help to explain the relation between discourse, metaphor, ideology and culture. (Soares da Silva et al. in press p. 8) claim: "much of the embodiment on which conceptual systems are based is near-universal, but, at the same time, cross-cultural differences can be depicted based on the different socio-cultural and historical contexts." As we will see in the analysis, different types of schemas and metaphors create different conceptualizations based on cultural and contextual factors.

2.1.1. Propositional Schemas

In this study the term '*propositional schemas*' will be used. Lakoff and Turner (1989) use the term *Great Chain of Being* metaphors instead of *propositional schemas*. The authors mention that the theoretical basis of this notion was developed by the ancient classical philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle. The basic *Great Chain of Being* is defined by attributes and behaviors, arranged in a vertical scale of hierarchy. It is represented in an upward and downward order as: God, human, animal, plants, and inanimate objects. Furthermore, they mention that each level has a sub-level. For example, in this system an animal is in a higher level than an insect. This system implies that human reasoning in general is mediated by this hierarchical conceptual system. Indeed, it is a cultural model that concerns kinds of beings and their properties and places them on a scale.

Lakoff (1987) also describes propositional models as cognitive models that specify elements, their properties, and the relation among them states much of people's knowledge structure is in the form of propositional models; models that are going to influence them, the way we think and categorize the world.

In a similar line, Sharifan (2014) specifies the basic concepts and the casual relation between concepts and experiences as propositional schemas. These schemas are divided based on '*The Great Chain of Being*' (Lakoff and Turner, 1989:167) "a scale of form of being-human, animal, plant, inanimate object – and consequently a scale of the properties that characterize forms of being –reason, instinctual behavior, biological function, physical attributes, and so on". In order to be more specific this scale was adjusted to the information found as: living beings, living entities, supernatural force, natural force, force, illnesses, buildings and objects. An example of a conceptual metaphor taken from Correa's first discourse that belongs to this schema is 'CORRUPTION IS A WILD ANIMAL'. This metaphor is classified as a *propositional schema*: living being/animal where CORRUPTION is represented

as a WILD ANIMAL. This concept creates the idea in the audience of something dangerous, cruel and a predator. It is a concept that causes rejection to the neoliberal system because CORRUPTION is linked to it. If this concept is analyzed from the '*Great Chain of Being*', the wild animal is placed in a low level, lower than human beings. As consequence, neoliberalism is qualified as something negative because of its instinctual behavior to gobble up and destroy. These metaphors show an intentionally aggressive use of language against the 'others' (right-wing party).

2.1.2. Image Schemas

Starting from a general definition, Kövecses (2010:202) writes that "image schemas are based on our most basic physical experiences and are inevitable in making sense of the world around us". Kövecses (2014:50) expands this definition by saying that "the resulting image schemas (container, source–path–goal, force, etc.) provide meaning for much of our experience either directly (for literal concepts) or indirectly (in the form of conceptual metaphors)". In the same way Sharifian (2014:475) states that "image schemas are regarded as recurring cognitive structures which establish patterns of understanding and reasoning, often elaborated by extension from knowledge of our bodies as well as our experience of social interactions".

An important detail claimed by Lakoff (1987) is that image schemas are visual, auditory, olfactory and conform images of how forces act upon us. Further, Rhodes and Lawler (1981) in Lakoff, (1987) mention sound images, and Talmy (1985) in Lakoff (1987) adds force images. Moreover, image schemas are kinesthetic in nature, that is, they have to do with the sense of spatial locations, movement, shape, etc. independent of any particular sensory modality. All these descriptions given by the authors are related to how speakers describe events, facts, examples in a speech, etc. to get their messages across to their audience. Similarly, Lakoff (1987) says that different image schemas and transformations appear frequently in people's everyday thinking, reasoning, and imagination which means that each image conceptualizes the things people see, heard or experience. Image schemas are thus a recurring structure within our cognitive processes which establishes patterns of understanding and reasoning. It is claimed that these image schemas are conformed by our bodily interactions, from linguistic experience, and from our historical context.

As an illustration, Lakoff (1987:275) describes some "image schemas that include UP-DOWN and FRONT-BACK schemas. These schemas provide particularly important evidence for

the claim that abstract reasoning is a matter of two basic processes: (a) reason based on a bodily experience, and (b) metaphorical projections from concrete to abstract domains". In the same way, Johnson (1987) in Lakoff, (1987:275) says that "image schemas structure our experience pre-conceptually, corresponding image-schematic concepts exist. There are metaphors mapping image schemas into abstract domains preserving their basic logic, and the metaphors are not arbitrary but are themselves motivated by structures inhering in everyday bodily experience". An example in Correa's third discourse of a metaphor classified under *images schemas* group is: "SOCIALISM IS LIGHT", where LIGHT is considered something GOOD, so it is UP. As consequence, socialism is conceptualized as something positive in the president's discourse.

Finally, Semino (2008:7) summarizes the concept of image schemas and metaphors very clearly: target domains correspond to areas of experience that are abstract, complex, unfamiliar, subjective or poorly delineated such as time, emotion, life or death while source domains correspond to concrete, simple, familiar, physical and well-delineated experiences, such as motion, bodily phenomena, physical objects and so on. Keeping this in mind the author adds that "within CMT these experiences are captured in terms of simple, skeletal mental representations known as 'image schemas'". Most of the information contained in a metaphor is related to a person's experience. As consequence, a person's events are mental processes, most of situations around him or her count as mental representations where image schemas plays an important role when interpreting information.

2.1.3.   Event Schemas

Metaphors can be identified as event schemas according to characteristics described in Lakoff (2006:204) "various aspects of event structure, including notions like states, changes, processes, actions, causes, purposes, and means, are characterized cognitively via metaphor in terms of space, motion, and force." When classifying metaphors based on this description, it is important to analyze the context in order to interpret the real content of a metaphor. In this case, Correa uses event structure metaphors to show his actions, purposes and force. An example of an event structure metaphor taken from his third discourse is:

<div align="center">"SOCIALISM IS A SWORD"</div>

Target domain: Socialism.   Source Domain: Sword

In this metaphor 'socialism' borrows the definition of 'sword' to conceptualize it. The mappings processed by Correa's target audience is that socialism represents the fight and the hero against injustice.

Furthermore, Lakoff (1993) as cited by Kövecses, (2010:198), within the system of metaphors called Event Structure metaphors includes sub-metaphors such as "CAUSES ARE FORCES, STATES ARE CONTAINERS, PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, ACTION IS MOTION, DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS (TO MOTION)". In order to picture this definition another metaphor from the third president's discourse is taken:

"TOGETHERNESS IS A SHIELD"

Target domain: Togetherness   Source domain: A shield.

In this case, the event schema is defined as protection through a shield born from togetherness. In other words, if they stay together they will be safe and self-protected, like in war, which is the purpose. Keeping this in mind, Mandler (1984) as cited in Palmer, (1996:68) defines event-schemas as generalized knowledge about "what will happen in a given situation and often the order in which the individual events will take place". Likewise, event-schemas are understood as abstractions which have constituent structures linked in time or in space. As shown in the above example, the event schema can be summarized as action-reaction equals result.

In addition, Palmer (1996) says that previous formulations claim that "schemas are mental representations of some regularity in our experience", "prepackaged expectations and ways of interpreting", "frameworks that are linked together", or "units of relatively abstracts imagery which constitute cognitive models". It is important to mention that Palmer uses the word *scenario* instead of event-schema in his studies. Most event schemas are thus based on experiences, interpretations, patterns, imagination and knowledge. The logical structure of schemas is organized in hierarchies from general to the specific. These structures are constructed of part-whole relations rather than kind-of relations and are conceptualized as war, mission, game, business and therapy according to the author. In the present study, the categories for event schemas were adapted according to the information found in the discourses as follows: war, fight, battle, and bomb.

2.2.   Political discourse.

Political discourses as Romero-Trillo (2011) says, clearly influence people because of their persuasive power. Metaphors are one of the most persuasive and 'useful tools' applied in this discourse type. Semino (2008:85) claims "the general rhetorical goal of persuasion, in other words, is central to much political action, and language is one of the main tools for the achievement of this general goal". In this case, how successful a discourse becomes depends on the language used in it. Chilton (2004) as cited in Semino, (2008) identifies three main strategic functions that linguistic expressions may be used for in politics: *coercion, (de)legitimization*, and *(mis)representation*. As explained by the author each one has a specific purpose. Thus, when using coercion, it implies affecting others' behavior by using commands or passing laws. When focusing on (de)legitimization, it affects or supports others' credibility. When using a (mis)representation strategy, it implies controlling information for good or bad. In this case, Correa's discourses use these three strategies to communicate his ideas. The use of metaphors in Correa's speeches helps him to connect the audience with an idea, tendency, ideology and the thoughts he deploys.

In a similar line of reasoning, Charterist-Black (2004) claims that metaphor is a figure of speech typically used in persuasion because it represents a novel way of viewing the world that offers some fresh insights. Since metaphor is persuasive, it is frequently employed discursively in rhetorical and argumentative language such as mentioned before in political speeches. Metaphors are an important part of a discourse when trying to create a better communicative environment with an audience through arguments. These arguments become meaningful when creating connections between experiences in a determined cultural context.

In reference to argumentation, Ritchie (2013:106) claims that "metaphors come out of our clearly delineated and concrete experiences and allow us to construct highly abstract and elaborate concepts, like that of an argument". These arguments use metaphors as tools to get the audience's attention and acceptance. As Charterist-Black, (2014:11) states, "metaphor is effective in realizing the speaker's underlying goal of persuading the hearer because of its potential for moving us". This process is, in addition, covered with cultural details based on people's backgrounds, a fact that is going to help ideas to be transmitted. Likewise, what motivates or moves an audience is the use of touching, powerful and sad stories. Most of the time these stories are based on personal or group experiences. Once again Charterist-Black, (2014:11) mentions that "this is why the critical part of metaphor analysis is identifying the

propositions that underlie the cognitive basis of metaphor and reveal the intentions of speaker". When a metaphor is identified in a discourse, it has to be carefully analyzed because of the cognitive factors that are implicit in them; most of the persuasive details can be revealed as well as the quality of the discourse. Charteris- Black. (2004) also mentions that frequently a metaphor hides the persuasive intention which is based on the conceptual metaphor to convince through arguments.

In the same way, political discourses focus on the audience's culture in order to persuade them to the speaker's ideology. These ideas are related with specific examples and common experiences to facilitate the identification with the audience. For example, some common conceptualizations are described by Ritchie (2013:78) who claims that "TIME IS A RESOURCE / A VALUABLE COMMODITY, ('save / spend time') are grounded in our experience of a wage-based economy. Other primary metaphors based on culture-specific experiences include gardening ('spread like weeds', 'plant the seeds of a new idea')". These metaphors have been used by president Correa in his three discourses when mentioning ideas about 'planting hope', 'rooted corruption" 'hope spread like fire'. The concept of time when mentioning the 'long dark night' meaning that neoliberalism is over, and the dawn is coming, to refer to socialism.

Correspondingly, Sharifian (2014:476) claims that from the perspective of Cultural Linguistics, political discourse is not free from cultural influence and that it is, in fact, heavily entrenched in cultural conceptualizations. This is one of the main reasons a speaker works on multidisciplinary schemas to be part of the context during a speech. Furthermore, the author says that "cultural cognition draws on a multidisciplinary understanding of the collective cognition that characterizes a cultural group". President Correa deftly manages these characteristics because of his background and knowledge of the multi-diverse cultural context in Ecuador. He has experienced living in different regions of the country with different ethnic groups. Another important aspect about political discourse claimed by Semino (2008) is the political domain that is generally constructed metaphorically that includes: state of affairs, problems, causes, solutions, plans and policies, the future from a positive and negative perspective, types of participants, the in-group and out-group, political actions. Notably, all of these details have been included in the president's discourses when describing all the negative decisions and actions made by the out-group against the in-group. Moreover, the bright future that will be brought by socialism based on the new policies, political actions and honesty that will rule the nation.

Furthermore, some other elements included in political discourses are the 'idealistic thoughts' transmitted through civic phrases as it is mentioned by Ritchie (2013:237), "political debate typically is concerned with issues of freedom and economics. But one can be both free and economically secure while leading a totally meaningless and empty existence. We see the metaphorical concepts of FREEDOM, EQUALITY, SAFETY, ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE, POWER, etc.". This idealization of people's hope become a tool to persuade them to follow a specific political position.

Likewise, Correa structures his speeches as Ritchie's description (2013:161) "politics is about material needs and actions…war, and natural disaster, as well as about more abstract need and values-freedom, justice, and dignity. All of this complexity is reflected, in political discourse, in the metaphors people use and stories they tell". In Correa's discourses, he includes most of these issues to describe all the badness caused by neoliberalism and all the goodness that represents socialism in the new government. As he said in his second discourse against neoliberalism "Thank God, they could steal everything, but not our hope". In reference to socialism he said "We are people with clean hands and profound ethic." Furthermore, Correa uses equivalents to familiar Greek myths as was claimed by Nerlich, Johnson, and Clarke (2003) as cited in Ritchies (2013:183) 'opening Pandora's Box' which is equivalent in meaning to 'to uncover the secrets' (destapar la olla de grillos). These descriptions mean a lot for an audience's values.

Along with the details described, *coherence* plays an important role in a discourse according to Kövecses (2014:51) who proposes "both universal embodiment and non-universal context affect the way people conceptualize the world in real communicative/discourse situations. The author calls this influence, the "pressure of coherence". In this case, the external factors and internal factors will depend on the speaker's ability to link experiences in order to make a coherent discourse. Once again, the president bases his speeches on historical and cultural experiences of Ecuador.

2.2.1. Neoliberalism and Socialism.

Lakoff (2004) explains two basic political models: conservative and liberal. These two tendencies have sub-variants: neoliberals or right-wings and socialist or left-wings. Two models represented as a strict father and a nurturant parent. According to Lakoff (2004:8) the right-wing's philosophy "conservatives link their father model to their view of the government. The government should not reward those who lack discipline and become

dependent upon others." Neoliberals consider production and increasing wealth as the primary goal. This position is totally opposed to the left-wing's philosophy that is described by Lakoff (2004:9) "protecting people from harm, both internal and external, is very much a progressive value". According to Correa, the most important thing is people, not wealth. This position is noted when he criticized neoliberalism in his third discourse "El capital con más derecho que los seres humanos". (*The capital with more rights than the human beings.*) where CAPITALISM IS A LIVING ENTITY. Keeping this in mind, it is fundamental to identify the speaker's discourse position in order to understand the metaphors used in a determined context, culture and ideology shared by the left-wings.

Equally important to mention is how most politicians use metaphors. These metaphors can become a meaningful weapon when trying to convince a right-wing or left-wing audience; 'the truth' has a lot to do with politics; 'the truth' is built through a convincing story. 'The truth' is what a speaker wants or pretends it to be. That's why it is fundamental to make a critical analysis of the political position of the speaker through the metaphors used in a discourse. Indeed, metaphors are part of the construction that influences people's understanding about various aspects of social life and politics as well as the effects of influence on an audience's behavior and beliefs. Lakoff (2006) as cited in Figar, (2013:11) says that "the locus of metaphor is not in language ... but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another". It is more important how, where, and when something is said rather that what was said. All these factors will affect the audience's position. In general, words are used to touch voters and influence on their way of thinking and on their emotions. These emotions are most of the time touched by setting a political position, a right - wing or a left – wing. It is important to mention that on the one hand, when some people take a position, it is because they are convinced of that ideology and want to support most of the actions taken by a leader. On the other hand, there are people who pretend to support that ideology because that is what is convenient or necessary at that time for their personal interests. These two situations are not important for a leader when trying to get more followers, but will affect the person when making mistakes or is not powerful enough to keep his/her power in the nation.

2.2.2. Ideology

In reference to ideology, Dirven, Frank and Pütz (2003) as cited in Semino (2008:33) claim that "both in its neutral and its 'loaded' sense, ideology is a system of beliefs and values based on a set of cognitive models, i.e. mental representations - partly linguistic, partly non-linguistic – of recurrent phenomena and their interpretation in culture and society". Most of the time these situations are represented in thoughts and language which are usually very similar in a specific group of people with a similar cultural background. These thoughts and language are representations according to Semino (2008) which are named as 'common sense' or the 'natural' view of things. In these cases, conventional conceptual metaphors can be seen as a shared set of beliefs or 'ideology' that are specific characteristics of a social group. These 'social representations' are noted through attitudes, opinions, actions and reactions in society. In other words, most of discourses have ideological implications because they represent the reflection of the shared beliefs and assumptions people have about a situation.

According to Ritchie (2013: 237), "no political ideology addresses the main issue head-on. In fact, many ideologies argue that matters of personal or cultural meaningfulness are secondary or to be addressed later". In this case, the discourses given by the president tells a story mostly based on historical facts, in order to contextualize his ideology and achieve the support of his audience. An example of this situation is what Correa said in his first discourse "La hora más oscura es la más próxima a la aurora, y el nefasto ciclo neoliberal ha sido definitivamente superado por los pueblos de nuestra América". ("*The darkest time is the closest to the dawn, and the disastrous neoliberal cycle has been definitely overcome by the people of our America"*) meaning "NEOLIBERALISM IS DARKNESS THAT DESTROYS THE COUNTRY". The purpose in the president's discourses when picturing neoliberalism as something dark is to highlight all the negative arguments that could be added in order to convince people of his socialist position. Correa presents his arguments using different metaphors in his discourses which have been successfully adapted to the context.

Kövecses (2014:60) from a cognitive point of view, says that "a concept is assumed to be represented in the mind by a number of other concepts that form a coherent whole, a functional domain, that is, a mental frame". This happens in the case of different people's worldviews or ideologies, where a number of concepts connect ideas. Those ideas represent the way we think and talk about several aspects of the world, and how we act in it.

In reference to conceptualizing ideas, and thoughts Kövecses, (2010) claims that it is affected by the pressure of embodiment and context where context is determined by local culture. Context might be characterized by physical, social, cultural, discourse aspects and it consists of such factors as the setting, topic, audience, and medium. In reference to the style, it is determined by the audience, topic, settings and medium. All of these will may influence the selection and use of metaphors in discourse as well as the way it influences on people's ideology.

2.2.3. **Otherization**

Based on Romero-Trillo's (2011) study, when analyzing a more global perspective, in addition to metaphor analysis, most of speakers direct on their audience's attention to a common situation in order to work on the collective unconscious. As a matter of fact, in order to create that common situation, many speakers use discourse to create an enemy. Using this strategy, the speaker unites the audience with a single purpose, anger toward the enemy or "other". The speaker's objective is to try to focus people's attention on emotions to persuade them as Romero-Trillo (2011:4) says, "in general terms, politicians need to enact the emotional hook that descends into our subconscious to rescue one's nationalistic ideals". As soon as, the speaker has manipulated the audience to create the "otherization", that common enemy found in a historical context, empowered by the experiences, context, culture and ideology, it becomes feasible to convince them of an ideology. All the metaphors used in a discourse attack a common enemy 'the others', as it was claimed by Romero-Trillo (2011:4) "the most important victory of a leader is to arrive at the ''otherization'' of the enemy in what is called ''membership categorization analysis'': the clear-cut definition of the line between we/our and they/their etc." Through discourse leaders can persuade their audience. It doesn't matter if mistakes are made or decisions are taken unilaterally because a scapegoat has been found to point out for every political or economical problem that could come up. The leader becomes stronger and tries to control as much as he/she can which is dangerous because a dictatorship system could be stated. Sharp (2010:17) says "constitutional and legal barriers, judicial decisions, and public opinion are normally ignored by dictators". In the same line, Zizek (2009:119), who mentioned the paradox of Kant's formula[5] , said "think freely, but

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[5] "Categorical Imperative (CI). We must always follow despite any natural desires or inclinations we may have to the contrary". Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2004).

obey!". In this case, people are free to think anything they want, but they just can do what they are allowed. A political discourse generally starts working progressively on peoples' thoughts, as soon as they are convinced of a certain ideology, idea, thought. This is the time to take people and ask for obedience. A discourse is a fruitful weapon to reach many purposes, especially in politics. This process and behavior can be seen in most of Latin American leaders who started to gain followers until they have enough to control 'the others'. Most of the time, these are the ones who disagreed with the new political system.

Zizek (2009) explains the creation of two groups. The first ones who are recognized as part of a social body, while the second represents the excluded as "representatives" or as standing in for a new social group. This description is related to the idea of "we" and the "others".   According to Zizek (2009:198) "multiculturalism "'respects' the Other's identity, conceiving the Other as a self-enclosed 'authentic' community. Multiculturalism is not a direct form of racism but rather a form of absolute otherization". The result of this, as the author mentions, is that as soon as minorities become a single group with a cultural form of marginal identities, the very mention of capitalism incites accusations and confrontation.

Diamond (1996) as cited by Romero-Trillo, (2011:145) claims ''Power is not just the ability to coerce someone or to get them to do something against their will, but rather, it is the ability to interpret events and reality and have this interpretation accepted by others''. Based on this position the purpose of a leader is to make his/her population accept the facts in order to arrive to the 'otherization' or the enemy, the scapegoat. The author calls it 'membership categorization analysis'; the separation between we/our and they/their.

In conclusion, the power of discourse to convince and control people mainly depends on its structure, content and context, among others. When the speaker has persuaded the audience, it will be possible to have the audience's attention. Under these circumstances, when analyzing a political discourse that includes metaphors, it must be taken into account the political position, ideas and objectives of it. Given these points, a metaphor can create and transport the audience to a different place because it is related to the audience's background. Arguments and metaphors are some of the most powerful strategies to persuade the audience through political discourse.

III.   DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The discourses selected to be analyzed in this study were the ones that took place in Rafael Correa's three presidential inaugurations.

- The first presidential political discourse took place on January 15th, 2007, it has 6.162 words.

- The second discourse took place on August 10th, 2009, it has 7,366 words.

- The third discourse was given on May 24th, 2013, and has 11.590 words.

A total number of 65 metaphors were identified following Stefanowich's (2006) identification method by which the *target domains* NEOLIBERALISM AND SOCIALISM, as well as all expressions belonging to the same semantic field were searched for. The metaphors were next classified into three categories according to the type schema: *propositional, image and event*.

The president's discourses contain many cultural, ideological and contextual factors in his speeches which highlight a clear left-wing position that judges negatively the right-wing groups. Keeping this in mind, this study focuses on metaphors as a way of organizing a conceptual structure within cognitive linguistics as part of political discourse analysis. (Soares da Silva, 2016; Soares da Silva et al. in press)

Based on these characteristics, this study directs a quantification of metaphors with a clear emphasis on qualitative analysis. The qualitative section is represented through a list of metaphors found in the discourse corpus. They are classified under propositional, image and event schemas. The identification of targets and domains and the explanation of the mappings behind each metaphor are describing in the text as well as in charts. The qualitative data have been included in different tables in section 4.3., below. These tables show the percentages of each schema per discourse.

This methodological approach follows Charterist-Black's (2004:34) idea that "qualitative judgments are necessary initially to establish what will be counted as metaphor. Then quantitative analysis can allow us to measure the frequency of metaphor in a corpus and to estimate the extend to which a particular metaphorical sense of word form has become conventionalized".

The process followed to analyze Correa's political discourses was organized in five steps:

1. An extensive and intensive reading of the texts to identify metaphors that conceptualize the idea of socialism and neoliberalism.

2. The corresponding sections of the texts were translated from Spanish to English.

3. The identification in the metaphors of the source domains and the correspondence or mapping with the target domains was made following Stefanowitsch's (2006) "metaphorical pattern analysis" of target domains. It consisted on selecting and searching for vocabulary related directly to target and source domain concepts. Then, identify cases where those words were embedded in metaphorical expressions and, thus, the metaphorical mappings that link the target and source domain.

4. Metaphors were classified into propositional, image, and event schemas.

5. The relation between cultural and ideological background of the metaphors was identified and described in the analysis.

IV.   ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

4. 1. The metaphorical conceptualization of Neoliberalism

The metaphors that conceptualize neoliberalism are presented in three groups: propositional schemas, image schemas, and event schemas each with their specific characteristics.

4.1.1 Propositional schemas

This study starts with the classification of conceptual metaphors that correspond to propositional schemas. The basic concepts and casual relations held between concepts and experiences. Sharifan (2011). These are divided into: supernatural force, natural force, object, living entity, living being, building, and illness. The examples that follow show specific ideas focused on the president's political and cultural ideology. Source and target domains are presented in small capitals and metaphorical expressions or patterns are underlined: Explanations of the mappings as well as their relation to specific socio-historical information is inserted after each sub-group.

NEOLIBERALISM IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE THAT HAS KIDNAPPED THE COUNTRY.

(1) Esta frase fue la inspiración de un puñado de ciudadanos que decidimos liberarnos de los grupos que han mantenido secuestrada a la Patria. (D.1.3)[6]

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[6] Discourse 1, phrase 3.

This phrase was the inspiration to a handful of citizens that decided to liberate from the groups that have kept kidnapped the nation.

NEOLIBERALISM IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE THAT HAS KEPT IMPRISIONED THE COUNTRY.

(2) Liberar al país de los atavismos y poderosos intereses nacionales e internacionales que lo dominan. (D1.24)

To free the country from the atavism and powerful national and international interest that dominates it.

NEOLIBERALISM IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE THAT HAS APREHENDED AND ASPHYXIATED THE COUNTRY.

(3) Contra todas las formas de exclusión, contra los poderes fácticos que han capturado y asfixiado al Estado. (D2.6)[7]

Against all the factual powers which have captured and asphyxiated the state.

NEOLIBERALISM IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE THAT KILLS.

(4) La nuestra es la Revolución de los oprimidos. De aquellos que fueron silenciados y entristecidos por élites perversas. (D2.20)

This is the revolution of the oppressed ones. The ones who were silenced and sadden by the perverse elite.

In examples 1 to 4, neoliberalism is conceptualized as a kidnapper, a captor, a killer, a hunter, a perverse supernatural force that dominates everything. Meanwhile, the country is an imprisoned tied object which is the oppressed victim. These metaphors are a pervasive type according to Semino (2008:101). The author claims that "Within CMT, personification is primarily treated as a type of 'ontological' metaphor, whereby non-human, often abstract entities (such as life or death) are talked about in terms of human actions and characteristics". In these specific cases, neoliberalism takes the place of a person with a supernatural force that attacks the victim that is the nation.

NEOLIBERALISM IS A NATURAL FORCE THAT HAS PUT THE COUNTRY UNDER WATER.

(5) Asamblea Nacional Constituyente de plenos poderes que busque superar el bloqueo político, económico y social en el que el país se encuentra sumergido. (D1.11)

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[7] Discourse 2, phrase 6.

National Constituent Assembly of full powers that will overcome the political, economic, and <u>*social block*</u> *in which the country is* <u>*submerged.*</u>

NEOLIBERALISM IS A NATURAL FORCE, A DARK NEFARIOUS CYCLE.
(6) La hora más oscura es la más próxima a la aurora, y el nefasto ciclo neoliberal ha sido definitivamente superado por los pueblos de nuestra América, (D1.22)
<u>*The darkest time*</u> *is the closest to the dawn, and the* <u>*disastrous neoliberal cycle*</u> *has been definitely overcome by the people of our America.*

NEOLIBERALISM IS A NATURAL FORCE, A HURRICANE/CRISIS THAT HAS DESTROYSED THE NATION.
(7) Pese a ello, con capacidad y creatividad supimos enfrentar el huracán, y hoy podemos decir que lo peor ya ha pasado. (D2.14)
Despite <u>*this, (crisis)*</u> *with capacity and creativity we knew how to face* <u>*the hurricane,*</u> *and now we can say the worst is over.*

In examples 5, 6 and 7 neoliberalism is described as something destructive and nefarious. A hurricane that razes society and that represents a destructive natural force. A dark natural force that sinks the country. A neoliberal system which has not taken the nation anywhere because it has been a vile cycle which has caused the crisis in the country. A cycle that repeats a process over and over again with no change like in a vicious circle.

THE NATION IS A VALUABLE OBJECT THAT MUST BE RECUPERATED (FROM NEOLIBERALISM).
(8) El gran Benjamín Carrión expresaba la necesidad de volver a tener Patria. (D.1.2)
The great Benjamin Carrion expressed the need <u>*to take back*</u> *the homeland.*

THE POLITICAL REFORMS ARE OBJECTS/MAKE UP THAT HAVE HIDDEN IMPERFECTIONS.
(9) Las reformas anheladas no pueden limitarse a maquillajes. (D1.9)
The longed reforms can't be limited to <u>*a makeup.*</u>

DEMOCRACY IS AN OBJECT THAT CAN BE MANIPULATED AS CLAY.
(10) Una vez superado el dogma neoliberal y las democracias de plastilina que sometieron personas, vidas y sociedades a las entelequias del mercado. (D1.10)
Once we overcame the neoliberal dogma and <u>*the clay democracy*</u> *which submitted people, lives and societies to the pipe dream of the market.*

THE HOMELAND IS A VALUABLE OBJECT THAT CAN NOT BE SOLD.

(11) La Patria ya no está en venta. (D1.14)

The homeland is <u>not on sale</u> any more.

THE HOMELAND IS AN OBJECT/A FLAG THAT NOW CAN NOT BE SOLD.

(12) El oprobio del pasado histórico, con la venta de la bandera o pactos que canjeaban votos por prebendas, ha terminado (D1.15)

The shame of the historical past, with the <u>flags sold</u> or agreements <u>traded votes</u> for political sinecures have finished.

LABOR EXPLOTATION (NEOLIBERALISM) IS AN OBJECT THAT REPRESENTS DEATH.

(13) En Noviembre 26 del 2006, se firmó también por parte del pueblo ecuatoriano la partida de defunción de la explotación laboral en el Ecuador. (D1.27)

On November 26th, 2006, Ecuadorians signed the <u>death certification</u> of <u>labor exploitation</u> in Ecuador.

THE NATION IS A VALUABLE OBJECT THAT WAS DIVIDED IN PIECES.

(14) El camino recorrido es inmenso, ya que realmente encontramos un estado deliberadamente despedazado y repartido cual botín entre piratas. (D2.13)

The journey is long because we found a state deliberately mangled and <u>distributed as a booty</u> between pirates.

Neoliberalism in examples 8 to 14 represents exploitation and manipulation. Through their votes, the Ecuadorians decided to support the left wing position and end up with the neoliberalism. The death certificate represents the end of neoliberalism. Through this figurative way, the socialists describe the recuperation of the nation and dignity. Besides, neoliberalism is conceptualized as a pirate and the county is a valuable object or booty that will be recovered through a long process or journey. The political reforms are conceptualized as actions made to cover a bigger problem. Furthermore, democracy is described as clay which has been manipulated and controlled by neoliberalism. As neoliberalism is the base of capitalism, it is understood that everything can be bought and sold like the homeland's wealth.

DIGNITY IS A VALUABLE (IMMATERIAL) OBJECT THAT CAN'T BE NEGOCIATED.

(15) No negociaré con nadie la dignidad de la Patria. (D1.13)

I will not negotiate the <u>homeland's dignity</u>

FREEDOM IS A VALUABLE (IMMATERIAL) OBJECT THAT WILL NOT BE STOLEN.

(16) Y para aquellos que se nos quieren robar conceptos sublimes como el de "libertad", que entiendan bien: no puede haber libertad sin justicia. (D3.3)[8]

And for the ones who want <u>to steal</u> sublime concepts as <u>"freedom"</u>, understand well that there is not freedom without justice.

In examples 15 and 16, the right-wing political parties made decisions based on their group's interests. All dark underground agreements are linked to the dark hidden decisions made by neoliberalism. As neoliberalism is the base of capitalism, it is understood that everything can be bought and sold, even dignity. When dignity becomes part of a mercantilist system, people who are under oppression, lose their rights. Finally, stealing is conceptualized as an internal concept that describes neoliberal actions to control people's freedom. It is understood that neoliberalism tries to control people's thoughts and beliefs.

NEOLIBERALSIM IS A LIVING ENTITY /MONSTER THAT DESTROYS.

(17) Sistema perverso que ha destruido nuestra democracia, nuestra economía y nuestra sociedad. (D1.4)

<u>A perverse system</u> that has <u>destroyed</u> our democracy, our economy and our society.

NEOLIBERALISM IS A LIVING ENTITY/ A TYRANT THAT ATTACKS WORKERS.

(18) No cabe duda que una de las principales víctimas de la larga y triste noche neoliberal fue la clase trabajadora. (D2.12)

No doubt that the <u>main victims</u> of the <u>long and sad neoliberal night</u> were the working class

CAPITALISM IS A LIVING ENTITY THAT CONTROLS AND DOMINATES.

(19) El capital con más derecho que los seres humanos. (D3.6)

The <u>capital</u> with more <u>rights</u> than the human beings.

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[8] Discourse 3, phrase 3.

Examples 17, 18 and 19 refer to the neoliberal system as a dark tyrant, monster and a perverse system that has caused the country inequality. Neoliberalism is a destructive living entity, an evil system which main objective is to increase capital without respecting human beings and rights. Workers are described as the main victims of neoliberalism during that right-wing period.

CORRUPTION IS A LIVING BEING/WILD ANIMAL THAT GOBBLES UP.

(20) Otras por las garras de la corrupción y las voracidades políticas. (D1.8)

Other times due to the <u>claws </u>of corruption and political <u>voracities.</u>

NEOLIBERALISM IS A LIVING BEING/WILD ANIMAL THAT IS HIDDEN.

(21) Cual lobos disfrazados de corderos (D2.7)

Like <u>wolves</u> disguised as <u>lambs</u>.

NEOLIBERALISM IS A LIVING BEING/PREDATOR THAT GOBBLES UP.

(22) Pero no olvidemos, no dejemos que la amnesia colectiva les sirva a los depredadores de siempre (D2.8)

But, let's not forget, not let collective amnesia serve the eternal <u>predators.</u>

CAPITALISM IS A LIVING BEING/WILD ANIMAL THAT GOBBLES AND DESTROYS AS A MACHINE.

(23) los seres humanos, que jamás volverán a ser víctimas de la maquinaria neoliberal y del capitalismo salvaje. (D2.21)

The human beings who will never be <u>victims</u> again of the neoliberal mechanism and <u>wild capitalism.</u>

NEOLIBERALISM IS A LIVING BEING/WILD ANIMAL THAT GRABS AND ENSLAVES.

(24) El nefasto populismo no hubiera hincado sus garras en nuestra gente. El neoliberalismo, el neocolonialismo, los atentados a los derechos humanos, hubieran tenido más voces de denuncia. (D3.4)

The disastrous populism wouldn't have introduced its <u>claws </u>in our people. The neoliberalism, the neocolonialism, the human rights <u>attacks,</u> would have had more denunciation voices.

In examples 20 to 24 neoliberalism is conceptualized as a wild hidden animal, a predator that grabs what it needs. It devours left-wing followers. People are victims of this right-wing system. Most of the neoliberalism injustices haven't been known or reported. Neoliberalism is described as a synonym for corruption in the text. These conceptualizations are related with *the great chain of being* where Lakoff and Turner (1989) describe a hierarchical order for human upper levels, animals and plants at the lower ones, which means that neoliberalism is conceptualized as something inferior. Wild animals that must be eradicated because of their danger.

CORRUPTION IS A LIVING BEING/BAD WEEDS THAT IS DEEP INSIDE SOCIETY.

(25) La lucha contra la corrupción, mal enraizado en nuestra sociedad, (D1.16)

The fight against <u>corruption</u>, deeply <u>rooted</u> in our society.

NEOLIBERALISM IS A LIVING BEING/A PLANT ROOTED IN SOCIETY.

(26) También está enraizado en el modelo perverso y egoísta que engendró el neoliberalismo, (D2.10)

It (corruption) is <u>rooted</u> on the perverse and <u>selfish neoliberal</u> system.

In examples 25 and 26, neoliberalism is represented as destructive. It is associated with bad weeds that are deep inside the system. Bad weeds correspond to plants which are at a lower level than animals according to Lakoff and Turners' description (1989). These kinds of plants are bad and transmit the idea they should be eliminated because they cause damage. That's why, it is said that neoliberalism must be taken out as bad weeds to end up with poverty and corruption. Neoliberalism is also described as a monstrosity that created that evil model that embodies corruption.

CORRUPTION IS AN ILLNESS THAT HARMS.

(27) Eliminen, con su ejemplo y su consagración ciudadana, este nefasto mal, la corrupción. (D1.18)

To eliminate with their example and their citizen's dedication, this <u>nefarious evil corruption</u>.

NEOLIBERALISM IS A TUMOR/ILLNESS.

(28) Sino a extirpar para siempre las causas estructurales que hacen posible la pobreza; (D2.18)

It (the campaign) is focused on <u>removing</u> the structural causes that make poverty possible.

In examples 27 and 28, neoliberalism is conceptualized as something evil and associated with a deeply corrupt system. It is an illness which is related to damage. An illness that must be eradicated as a tumor of a body to stop poverty. The image of corruption and poverty described cause negative thoughts and rejection in the audience.

INSTITUTIONS ARE COLLAPSING BUILDINGS.

(29) La institucionalidad política del Ecuador ha colapsado, algunas veces por su diseño anacrónico y caduco, (D1.7)

The political institutions of Ecuador have collapsed, sometimes due to anachronistic and short-lived design.

As neoliberalism represents a conservative way of making decisions and things, it is described as an anachronistic design. These actions and decisions have caused the political and economical crisis in the country. The neoliberal system has collapsed and become to its end like a collapsing building.

4.1.2. Image Schemas

In this section, it is explained all the metaphors that correspond to image schemas based on the following definition. Sharifian's (2014) definitions, who considers image schemas as recurring cognitive structures which establish patterns of understanding and reasoning, often related to our bodies and experience. As consequence, these schemas are classified according to mental images (physical embodied or social experience), light-dark, up-down, container and embodied and perception.

NEOLIBERALISM IS DARKNESS THAT PUTS THE COUNTRY DOWN.

(1) A ese nivel ha llegado América Latina en la oscura y triste noche neoliberal. (D.1.20)

This level has reached Latin America in the dark and sad neoliberal night.

NEOLIBERALISM IS DARKNESS THAT DESTROYS THE COUNTRY.

(2) la hora más oscura es la más próxima a la aurora, y el nefasto ciclo neoliberal ha sido definitivamente superado por los pueblos de nuestra América. (D1.23)

The darkest time is the closest to the dawn, and the disastrous neoliberal cycle has been definitely overcome by the people of our America.

Examples 1 and 2 describe neoliberalism as something evil, dark, and sad. All negative consequences during the neoliberal period are linked to the crisis that caused serious problems to the political, social and economical Ecuadorian society. This description fits within the concept of time because the night is over and the dawn is coming which means the ending of a period and the starting of a new one. As consequence, neoliberalism is the night which is over.

NEOLIBERALISM IS A CONTAINER THAT DESTROYS THE COUNTRY.

(3) Felicitar a un ministro de Economía por la excelente política económica, cuando destruye empleo, es como felicitar a un chef por haber quemado la comida pero haber pagado en demasía a los proveedores. (D.1.21)

To congratulate a finance minister for the excellent <u>economic policy,</u> when it <u>destroys jobs.</u> It's like congratulating a chef for having <u>burned the food</u> and having paid too much to the suppliers.

NEOLIBERALISM IS INSIDE A CONTAINER IN THE COUNTRY.

(4) Secretismo "técnico"; que nadie, durante décadas, hubiera sido capaz de destapar esta olla de grillos. (D2.15)

<u>Technical secrecy</u> which nobody in decades could have been able to <u>uncover the secrets.</u>

Examples 3 and 4 show that neoliberalism had a well structured system that contained all the secret decisions made.   Decisions that have affected seriously the political and economical situation in the country. Secrets that have been well covered for decades and that have been difficult to bring them to light. This description fits with Pandora's box and the dangers that comes up when opening it.

NEOLIBERALISM IS EMBODIED IN THE COUNTRY AS A TUMOR.

(5) Sino a extirpar para siempre las causas estructurales que hacen posible la pobreza; (D2.19)

It (the campaign) is focused on <u>removing</u> the structural causes that make poverty possible.

NEOLIBERAL POLITICIANS ARE EMBODIED IN GARABAGE.

(6) el pueblo ecuatoriano ya condenó a sus autores y actores al basurero de la historia. (D.1.19)

The Ecuadorians already <u>condemned</u> the actors and authors to the garbage dump of history.

Examples 5 and 6 describe the neoliberal system as deeply corrupt. It is conceptualized as a tumor that must be removed to stop poverty. The image of a tumor and corruption described in this context, cause negative thoughts, like rejection in the audience. Furthermore, neoliberalism is presented as garbage which is thrown to the dump. It is a symbolic way of judging neoliberals and condemning them for their crimes. As consequence, the idea is that just the fair ones have the power to judge the unfair ones, in this case the socialists.

FIRED IS PERCEIVED AS A TOOL

(7) Atentos: antes de que me lleven a la SIP, a la CIDH, llamen a Torquemada para quemarme en la hoguera (D3.5)

Stay alert, before I am taken to the SIP, or to the CIDH, call to Torquemada <u>to burn</u> me at the <u>bonfire</u>

Fire is conceptualized as a tool used to punish and to purify people from a sin. The sin is to be against the neoliberal system in this context. Neoliberalism is understood as a torturing and frightening system.

4.1.3. Event Schemas

In this case, metaphors are placed according to Lakoff (2006) who states that event schemas include various aspects like states, changes, processes, actions, causes, purposes, and means, which are characterized cognitively via metaphor in terms of space, motion, and force. As result, these metaphors are classified based on their conceptualization of war and bombs.

THE PAST GOVERNMENT WAS IN CHAOS/WAR, THE FUTURE IS ORDER.

(1) Cuando nuestro país estaba devastado por la guerra y el caos, (D1.1)

When our homeland was <u>devastated by war and chaos.</u>

CREDITS ARE BOMBS THAT DESTROY THE COUNTRY.

(2) Ya no se necesitan bombarderos ni portaviones, bastan los créditos (D1.25)

They do not need <u>bombers or aircraft carriers</u> anymore. It is enough with the <u>credits</u>.

NEOLIBERAL ECONOMY IS A BOMB.

(3) Porque con este <u>bombardeo</u> de esto que hacen llamar ciencia pero está más cercano a la religión que a la ciencia, nos han convencido que el fin último de la economía es controlar la inflación, (D1.28)

Because with this <u>bombardment</u> of what they call <u>science</u>, but it is really closer <u>to religion</u> than to science, they have convinced us that the ultimate goal of the economy is to control inflation.

Neoliberalism represents conflict, antagonism, contention, hostility, destruction, war. The economy managed by neoliberalism is described as bad pseudo science/religion which is represented as a bomb. Under this neoliberal system people were convinced to support inappropriate decisions as in religion.

4.2. The metaphorical conceptualization of Socialism.

The metaphors that conceptualize socialism are also presented in three groups: propositional schema, image schema, and event schema, analyzed for neoliberalism.

4.2.1. Propositional schemas.

These schemas help to conceptualize socialism in terms of supernatural forces, natural forces, forces, object, and living entities, in this study. It is shown in the examples that follows specific ideas focused on the president's political and cultural ideology.

HOPE (SOCIALISM) IS A NATURAL FORCE/FIRE THAT EXPANDS HOPE.

(1) Esta esperanza de unos cuantos se expandió cual fuego en pajonal, y se convirtió en la esperanza y decisión de todos y todas los ecuatorianos y ecuatorianas (D1.5)

The <u>hope</u> of a few expanded like <u>fire in</u> straw, and became the hope and decision of all Ecuadorians.

REVOLUTION (SOCIALISM) IS A NATURAL FORCE/FIRE THAT EXPANDS HOPE.

(2) Cien años después, el machete montonero del General Eloy Alfaro Delgado, recorrió por los montes y los valles con su revolución radical, sembrando llamaradas de justicia, (D3.10)

A hundred years later, Eloy Alfaro's overbearing machete travelled on the mountains and valleys with his radical revolution; <u>planting flare-ups of justice.</u>

In examples 1 and 2, socialism is described as a symbol of revolution, hope and justice. Hope that helps to become free from the neoliberalism. Hope is compared with fire. It expands easily where there is dried material like straw. Fire takes a positive conceptualization in this context because it is seen as a positive contagion of desire for a change.

SOCIALISM IS A FORCE THAT PUSHES/MOVES NEOLIBERALISM

(3) Por eso, la obra visionaria de Alfaro no pudo menos que chocar con los intereses del capital bajo su forma conservadora y santurrona, (D2.4)

That's why Alfaro's visionary work couldn't do more than confronting   the capital on its <u>conservative and sanctimonious way</u>.

In example 3, socialism is represented as the force that fights against neoliberalism. It is a left-wing system that will not be part of disguised selfish intentions. On the other hand, neoliberalism is seen as a force that ties and controls. These phrases refer to historical facts when there was slavery and labor exploitation which are related to labor exploitation under different circumstances nowadays.

THE NATION IS A IS A (VALUABLE) OBJECT THAT MUST BE SHARED.

(4) La patria ya es de todos. (D1.6)

The homeland already <u>belongs</u> to everybody.

(5) Una Patria amiga, repartida entre todos (D1.31)

A friendly homeland <u>distributed</u> between all.

DIGNITY IS AVALUABLE OBJECT/FOOD THAT FEEDS SOCIETY.

(6) De dignidad también viven los pueblos (D2.16)

<u>Dignity feed</u> the peoples.

SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS   OBJECTS/MEAT THAT HAVE MATERIALIZED AND BECOME REAL.

(7) Las acciones sociales, culturales, económicas y políticas tan enunciadas y ofrecidas en palabras se hagan ya carne y realidad. (D1.30)

The social, cultural, economic and political actions that have been announced and offered in words become <u>flesh and reality</u>.

HOPE (SOCIALISM) IS AN (IMMATERIAL) VALUABLE OBJECT THAT CANNOT BE STOLEN.

(8) Gracias a Dios pudieron robarnos todo, menos la esperanza. (D2.1)

Thanks God, they could <u>steal everything</u>, but not <u>our hope</u>.

SOVEREIGNITY IS AN OBJECT/BODY THAT CAN BE MUTILATED.

(9) Tuvimos la satisfacción de anunciar a los ecuatorianos que de este modo habíamos recuperado la soberanía territorial que en un momento de entreguismo fue mutilada a favor de otro gobierno (D2.17)

We had the satisfaction of telling the Ecuadorians in this way we had recovered the territorial sovereignty that had been mutilated in favor of appeasement by another government.

Examples 4 to 9 conceptualize dignity as a precious thing that feeds society in a symbolic way. One of the socialist principles is described as being fair and share the homeland. Besides, socialists' promises are described as something real that can be seen and touched, meaning making real what being said or promised by the left-wing group. Hope is also conceptualized as the strength that continues fighting against the right-wing.

THE HOMELAND IS A LIVING ENTITY/PLANT THAT HAS SURVIVED TO NEOLIBERALISM.

(10) Estamos de fiesta porque la Patria está renaciendo del caos mercantilista (D2.2)

We are on party because the homeland has reborn from the mercantilist chaos.

THE HOMELAND IS A LIVING ENTITY/A HEROTHAT HAS BEEN RECUED FROM NEOLIBERALISM.

(11) Ha sido arrebatada del baratillo privatizador (D2.3)

It (the homeland) has been snatched from the privatizer street market.

THE HOMELAND IS A LIVING ENTITY/A HERO THAT HAS DEFENDED POOR ONES FROM NEOLIBERALISM.

(12) Por eso, toda la Patria profunda ha empezado a sacudirse, a desenmascarar la discriminación, la exclusión y la violencia solapada y cotidiana contra los pobres. (D2.9)

Because of this, the homeland has started to shake, to unmask the discrimination, the exclusion and the daily underhanded violence against the poor ones.

In examples 10 to 12, socialism takes the name of homeland, a living entity that is described as a hero that has revealed, opened, uncovered, defended and rescued the poor ones. It has reborn with its actions and liberated the homeland from neoliberalism.

4.2.2. Image Schema

Following the same system, these schemas are classified according to mental images (physically embodied), such as light-darkness, good–bad, and up-down schemas.

DEMCRACY IS LIGHT, NEOLIBERALISM IS DARK.

(1) Las resistencias de algunas fuerzas políticas tradicionales han dado paso a un consenso de aceptación a nuestro proyecto, sin que haya mediado para ello ningún acuerdo oscuro o subterráneo como los agoreros del desastre de siempre ya están pregonando. (D1.12)

The resistance of some traditional political forces has given way to a consensus for acceptance of our project, without mediating for this <u>dark and underground agreement</u> that the pessimists responsible for the disaster are already proclaiming.

SOCIALISM IS LIGHT, NEOLIBERALISM IS DARK.

(2) Pero la hora más oscura de la noche, también es la más cercana a la aurora, y ha despertado el Nuevo Ecuador. (D3.11)

But the <u>darkest moment</u> in the night is the closest to the <u>dawn</u> too, and the new Ecuador has woken up.

KNOWLEDGE/UNDERSTANDING IS LIGHT, IGNORANCE IS DARK.

(3) De Alfaro, reivindicamos la consigna de un país liberado de las ataduras eclesiásticas, de la ignorancia y el oscurantismo (D2.5)

From Alfaro, we claim the slogan of a country <u>free of ecclesiastic ties</u>, <u>of ignorance</u> and <u>darkness.</u>

In examples 1 to 3, socialism is described as the light that has illuminated people towards the path of knowledge. Religion is conceptualized as a neoliberal tool to control the country because it keeps people ignorant and oppressed. Further, neoliberalism is represented as the darkness and ignorance while socialism is knowledge and light as the day is as well as the future.

SICIALISM IS GOOD, HUMANIZED WHILE NEOLIBERALISM IS BAD, DESHUMANIZED.

(4) Con respecto al trabajo humano – punto fundamental que debe caracterizar las nuevas políticas económicas, que debe diferenciar al socialismo del siglo veintiuno de esa larga y triste noche neoliberal, (D1.26)

With regard to the human work, the fundamental point that must characterize the new economic policies is that it should differentiate itself from the socialism of the XXI century, from that long dark and sad neoliberal night.

SOCIALISM IS GOOD/HONEST/PASSIONATE. NEOLIBERALISM IS BAD.

(5) Seguimos buscando los mejores hombres y mujeres que con manos limpias, mentes lúcidas y corazones ardientes por la Patria, dirijan las diferentes instituciones del Estado. (D1.17)

We keep on looking for the best men and women that with clean hands, fine minds and blazing hearts for the homeland who will manage the different institutions of the state.

SOCIALISM IS GOOD, NEOLIBERALISM IS BAD

(6) Somos gente de manos limpias y ética profunda. (D2.11)

We are people with clean hands and profound ethic.

BEING AWAKE IS GOOD. BEING ASLEEP IS BAD.

(7) Hace dos siglos despertó el pueblo que doblaba la espalda hasta la esclavitud, sembrando los surcos para que comieran otros. (D3.9)

Two centuries ago, the nation woke up, the one who bended the back until the slavery, planting the furrows for others to eat.

In examples 4, 5, 6 and 7, socialism is conceptualized as something good that will overcome all these problems and save the country. Socialism focuses on the human beings while neoliberalism focuses on capital. This is one of the characteristics that makes of neoliberalism a des-humanized system. The mission of socialism is to free people from an oppressive system that exploited them as slaves were exploited in the past. Moreover, socialism is conceptualized as honesty, clean, pure, ethic, engaged with lots of positive values. Parts of the body like, hand, heart, and mind are used to represent honesty, love and intelligence where socialism is the container or body. In this field, Goddard (2003) as cited in MacArthur

(2012:3) claims "the head, the heart, the liver, the ear, and the stomach are some of the body parts and organs associated with 'thinking' or 'feeling' in different languages but although BODY PARTS FOR THOUGHT /FEELING might be common pattern, the type and value of the thoughts or emotions associated with each body part is often different across languages." Metaphors are based on a cultural context where hands, heart and mind are given a positive definition. However, it is important to mention that, giving the value of positive or negative to these body parts will depend on the context that these words are used as well as the cultural background of the audience.

SOCIALISM IS UP/HOPE. NEOLIBERALISM IS DOWN/DESPAIR.

(8) Existe en ese laberinto de culpabilidad (carcel) una suerte de ciego rumor del que emergen dolor, soledad y desamparo (D1.29)

There is, in this <u>maze of guilt (jail)</u>, a luck of blind rumor from which it emerges pain, loneliness and abandonment.

In example 8, some people who are in jail are victims of the neoliberal system. These people have committed crimes because of the crisis and necessity. As consequence, socialism gives them force to keep on fighting injustice as well as hope to stop loneliness and abandonment. All the negative consequences are assigned to the neoliberalism system.

4.2.3. Event Schemas

These metaphors are classified based on their conceptualization of fight / fighter, battle, bomb, shield, sword and war.

SOCIALISM FIGHTS AGAINST NEOLIBERALISM TO BE FREE.

(1) Como herederos de las luchas sociales de liberación frente a todas las formas de dominación y colonialismo;(D2.22)

As heirs to the <u>fight</u> for social <u>liberation</u> in all forms of colonial domination.

In example 1, socialism is responsible for people's wellness under its protective system of 'nurturant parent'. It will defend equality and justice, even fight against any kind of domination or exploitation.

SOCIALISM IS A BATTLE THAT LIBERATES PEOPLE FROM POVERTY AND INJUSTICE.

(2) pero quedó pendiente, nuestra segunda y definitiva independencia: la independencia de la pobreza, de la desigualdad, de la injusticia. (D3.1)

But it was pending our second and definitely <u>independence:</u> The independence from the poverty, from the inequity, from the injustice.

    Example 2 refers to socialism as a battle. It conceptualizes independence as a simbolic battle that continues through time trying to free people from every social, economic and political problem. As consequence, socialism is the hero, the fighter and the solution to become completely free.

SOCIALIS/HOPE IS WAR THAT FIGHTS FOR DREAMS.

(3) A detener al golpismo, a conquistar los sueños, a combatir por la esperanza. (D3.8)

To stop the coup, to <u>conquer dreams</u>, to <u>fight</u> for the <u>hope</u>

(5) Pero ya hemos logrado lo principal: derrotar la desesperanza.(D3.12)

But we have mainly <u>defeated hopelessness</u>

HOMELAND IS A WAR/SHIELD THAT PROTECS SOCIALISM FROM NEOLIBERALISM.

(4) Por ello la Patria Grande, ya no es sólo un ideal de nuestros libertadores, es una necesidad de supervivencia, un escudo contra la explotación, contra el neocolonialismo. (D3.7)

That's why the big nation is not only an ideal of our liberators, It is a need to survive, a <u>shield</u> against the exploitation <u>against the neoliberalism</u>.

SOCIALISM IS WAR/SWORD FIGHTING AND RESISTING AGAING INJUSTICE/NEOLIBERALISM.

(5) La espada libertaria de Simón Bolívar, quien pensaba en siglos y miraba en continente, permanece desenvainada hasta que la pobreza, la desigualdad y la exclusión sean borradas de la Patria Grande para siempre. (D3.2)

Simon Bolivar's <u>freedom sword,</u> who thought in centuries and looked in continent, <u>keeps</u> unsheathe until poverty, inequality and exclusion become erased from the big nation for ever.

    In examples 3, 4 and 5, socialism makes a call for working together to become stronger and be able to protect themselves from the right-wing system with a symbolic togetherness shield and sword. Socialism tries to sell the idea of the leader who has the mission to fight and free slaves from a neoliberal system. Socialism is described as the hope that will liberate

and protect the country from exploitation. Besides, it is made a clear connection between neocolonialism and neoliberalism in order to link negative concepts brought from the past to the present. Furthermore, socialism as the fighter and defender of the social classes will liberate people from slavery and poverty. On the other hand, neoliberalism is conflict, antagonism, contention, hostility, destruction, and war. As socialism is the future, justice and freedom, it is represented as the only option to liberate the country from neoliberalism. Socialism has given people back hope. The light of socialism will win the battle against the dark neoliberalism.

4.3 Results.

In the present study, the 65 metaphors found are classified into three categories. All of these metaphors are related to the target domain NEOLIBERALISM AND SOCIALISM. This quantitative classification shows the percentages or weight each category has in each discourse as follows:

Table 1. Classification of metaphors based on propositional, image and event schemas.

Discourse	Number of words	Propositional Schemas	Image Schemas	Event Schemas	Total metaphors per discourse
1.- 15/01/2009	6.162	20 64,51%	8 25,80%	3 9.67%	31 47.69%
2.- 10/08/2013	7.366	17 77,27%	4 18.18%	1 4.54%	22 33.84%
3.- 24/05/2015	11.590	4 33,33%	3 25%	5 41,66	12 18.46%
Total metaphors per schema	25.118	40 61,53%	16 24,61%	9 13,84%	65 100%

Figure 1. Classification of metaphors based on propositional, image and event schemas.
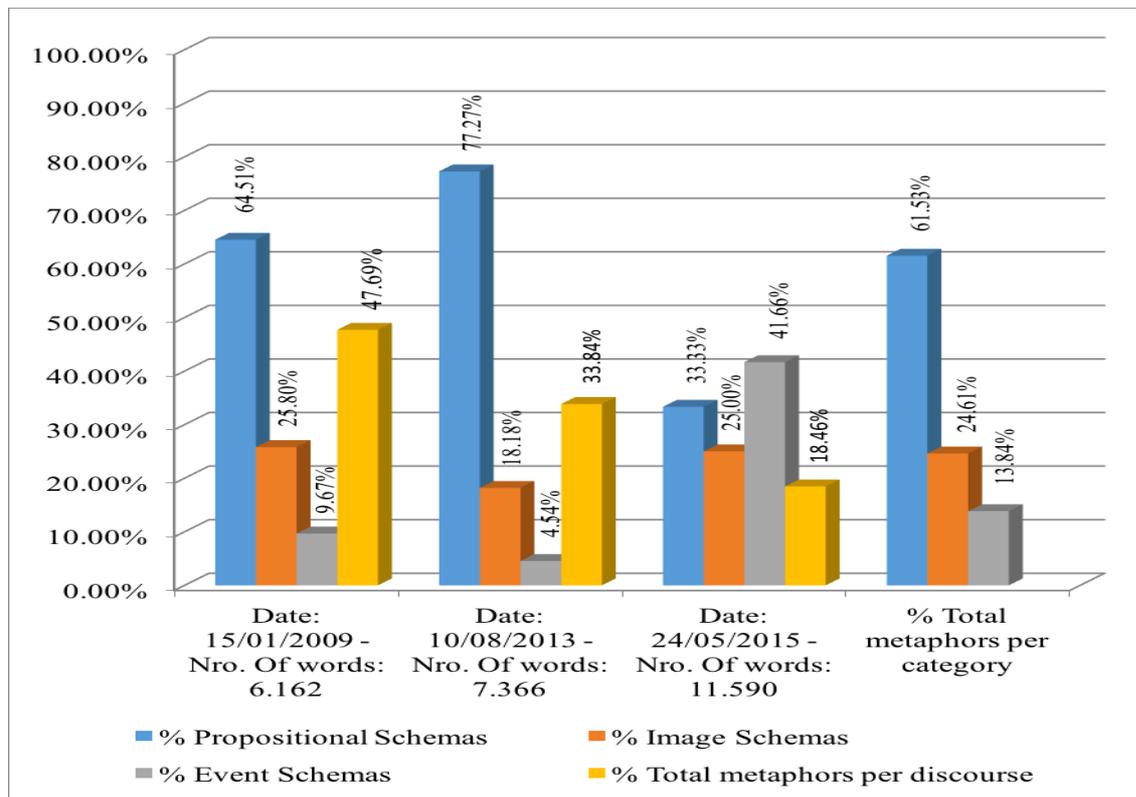
In the three discourses, it can be observed that the use of metaphors related to propositional schemas represent the 61,53%; image schemas 24,61% and event schemas represent 13,84% from a total of 65 metaphors. This means that most of the president's discourses are based on a wide variety of *propositional schemas* or 'concepts and experiences' (Sharifian, 2014) which describe neoliberalism as the worst: force, being, entity, animal and object while describing socialism with polar opposite concepts.

This classification of schemas is followed, in the second place, by *image schemas*, metaphors that represent cognitive structures that establish patterns of understanding and reasoning (Sherifian, 2014). These mental representations are focused on describing neoliberalism as dark, bad and down. The president invokes imagery to provide his audience with a vivid mental experience related to what people see, hear or experience (Lakoff, 1987) in order to ingrain negative emotions toward his political enemies, right-wing groups. Meanwhile, Correa describes his own political views, socialism, using positive language, light, an upward direction (e.g. implying heaven) and good. He uses this language to reinforce the idea that he will rescue the country from poverty, oppression and inequity.

Finally, in the third place, we find *event schemas,* where the president borrows some concepts from source domains to target domains in order to make his discourses more understandable, focusing on neoliberalism as the aggressor, war and destruction, whereas socialism is depicted as the defender, a fighter, a shield and a sword.

In general, the president reduces the use of metaphors related to socialism and neoliberalism from the first discourse to the third discourse as follows: in the first discourse, Correa uses 31 metaphors of the 65 that represent 47.69%. In the second one, 22 metaphors that mean 33.84%, and in the last discourse 12 metaphors that mean 18.46%. It happens because he moves from a very deep 'otherization' concept in his first discourse towards a report about how he has cleaned up the country from corruption in the second discourse, to end up with a plan to continue with his revolutionary socialist system in the last discourse. However, he keeps the idea of attacking neoliberalism and enhancing socialism. Furthermore, the president changes his discourse tone from a very formal combative way into an informal aggressive way in the last discourse.

In tables 2, 3 and 4, tables and graphs based on schemas and their corresponding categories are presented.

Table 2. Metaphors based on *propositional schemas.*

Categories	D.1 15/01/2009	D.2 10/08/2013	D.3 24/05/2015	Total metaphors per category.	Total metaphors per category. %
Supernatural force	2	2	0	4	9.75%
Natural force	3	1	1	5	12.19%
Force	0	1	0	1	2.43%
Object	10	4	1	15	36.58%
Living entity	1	4	1	6	14.63%
Living being	2	4	1	7	17.07%
Illness	1	1	0	2	4.87%
Buildings	1	0	0	1	2.43%
Total metaphors per discourse	20 48.78%	17 41,46%	4 9.75%	41	100%

Figure 2. Metaphors based on *propositional schemas*
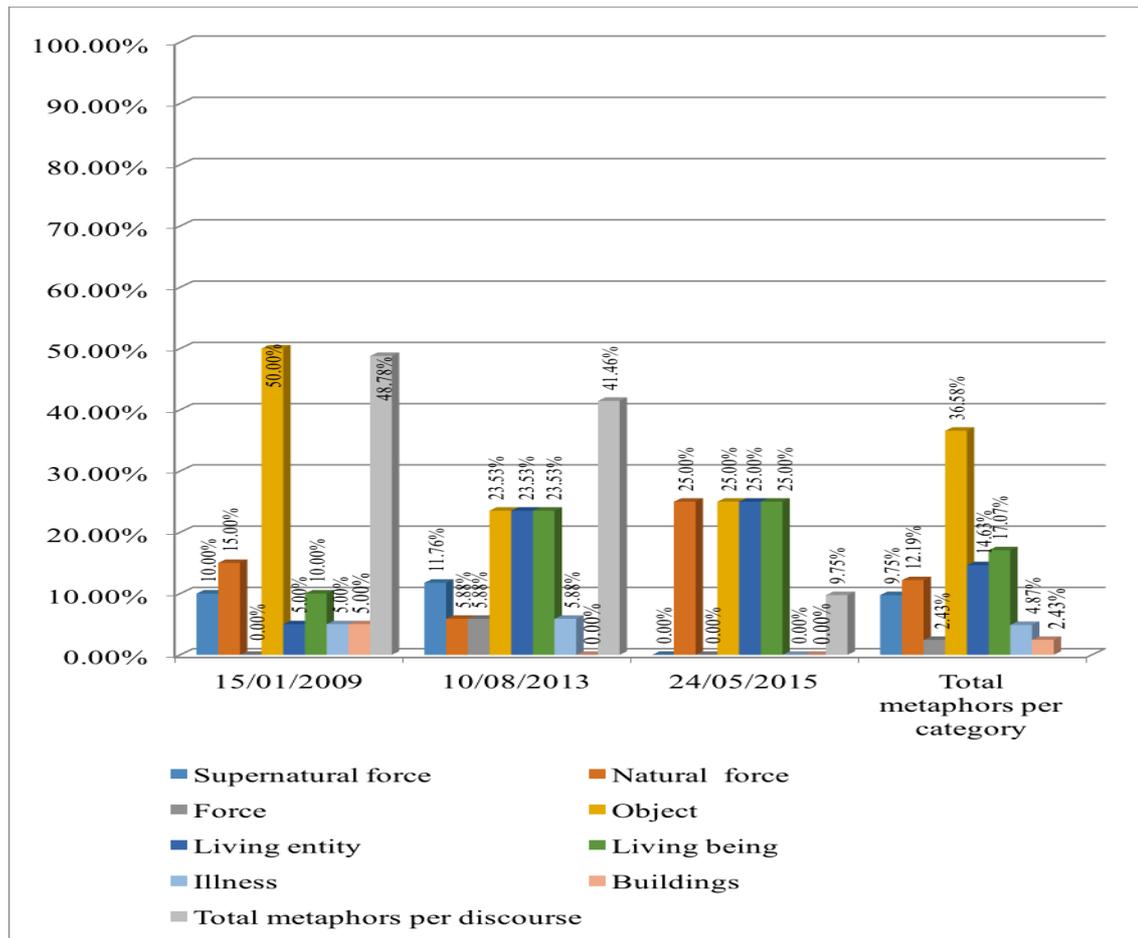
The *propositional schemas* table shows that from the total of 41 metaphors classified from the three discourses, 20 (48.78%) are part of the first discourse, 17 (41,46%) correspond to the second discourse, and 4 (9,75%) belong to the third discourse. As it can be seen most of the metaphors are used in the first discourse as part of a persuasive strategy.

In reference to each category, neoliberalism is conceptualized as as a supernatural force. This force holds the country kidnapped, imprisoned, and asphyxiated: A natural force that put the country under water, in a dark cycle and has destroyed it. An object that is manipulated, divided into pieces as a pirates' booty. A living entity that represents a tyrant that destroys democracy to dominate and control. A living being described as a wild animal and a predator that gobbles up and bad weeds that is deeply rooted in the country. And an illness that is a tumor that harms and must be removed, and a building that is collapsing due to corruption.

On the other hand, socialism is described as a natural force that spreads like fire, where fire represents hope for people. A force that pushes neoliberalism. An object that is shared between all the citizens, a homeland that cannot be stolen. A promise that becomes real and a mutilated body by neoliberalism. And a living entity that reborn as a plant and the hero that will save the country from neoliberalism.

It is important to mention that the most frequent conceptualization used to define socialism and neoliberalism was 'object' with 15 (36.58%). It is followed by the living being conceptualization with 7 (17.07%). The other categories keep almost the same percentage of frequency which is lower than the ones mentioned.

Table 3. Metaphors based on *image schemas.*

Categories	D.1 15/01/2007	D.2 10/08/2009	D.3 24/05/2013	Total metaphors per category	Total metaphors per category. %
Light-dark	3	1	1	5	33.33%
Good-bad	2	1	1	4	26.66%
Up-down	1	0	0	1	6.66%
Container	1	1	0	2	13.33%
Embodied	1	1	0	2	13.33%
Perception	0	0	1	1	6.66%
Total metaphors per discourse	8 53.33%	4 26.66%	3 20%	15	100%

Figure 3. Metaphors based on *image schemas.*
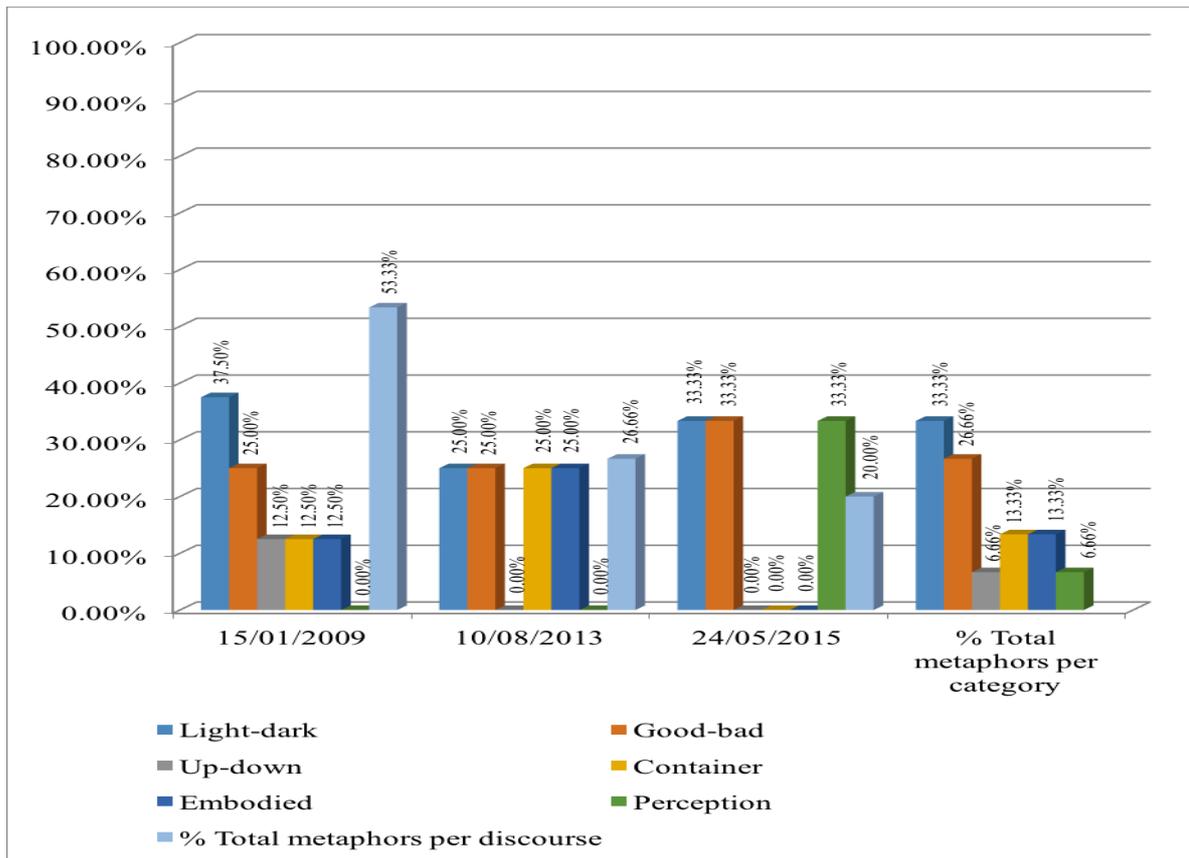
The image schema table and figure show that of the 15 metaphors found in the three discourses, 8 (53,33%) are in the first discourse, 4 (26,66%) are in the second discourse, and 3 (20%) are in the last discourse. As it can be seen, more metaphors are used in the first discourse than in the second and third one. In the same way, there are 5 (33.33%) metaphors related to light –dark and 4 (26.66%) related to good-bad. This means that Correa's discourses focus more on these two areas in order to appeal to the religious and historical background of Ecuadorians. Being more specific, metaphors based on image schemas describe neoliberalism as bad, dark, nefarious, despaired and evil. Neoliberalism is represented as a container that destroys the country, embodies poverty and is a tool used to dominate people. In short, neoliberalism is represented as the enemy. Socialism is conceptualized as the hero that rescues the country from exploitation and slavery. This hero is represented by positive language such as upward movement, the light, hope, goodness and honesty.

Table 4. Metaphors based on *event schemas.*

Categories	D.1 15/01/2007	D.2 10/08/2009	D.3 24/05/2013	Total metaphors per category.	Total metaphors per category. %
war	2	0	2	4	44.44%
Bomb	1	0	0	1	11.11%
Fight	0	1	2	3	33.33%
Battle	0	0	1	1	11.11%
Total metaphors per discourse	3 33.33%	1 11.11%	5 55.55%	9	100%

Figure 4. Metaphors based on *event schemas.*
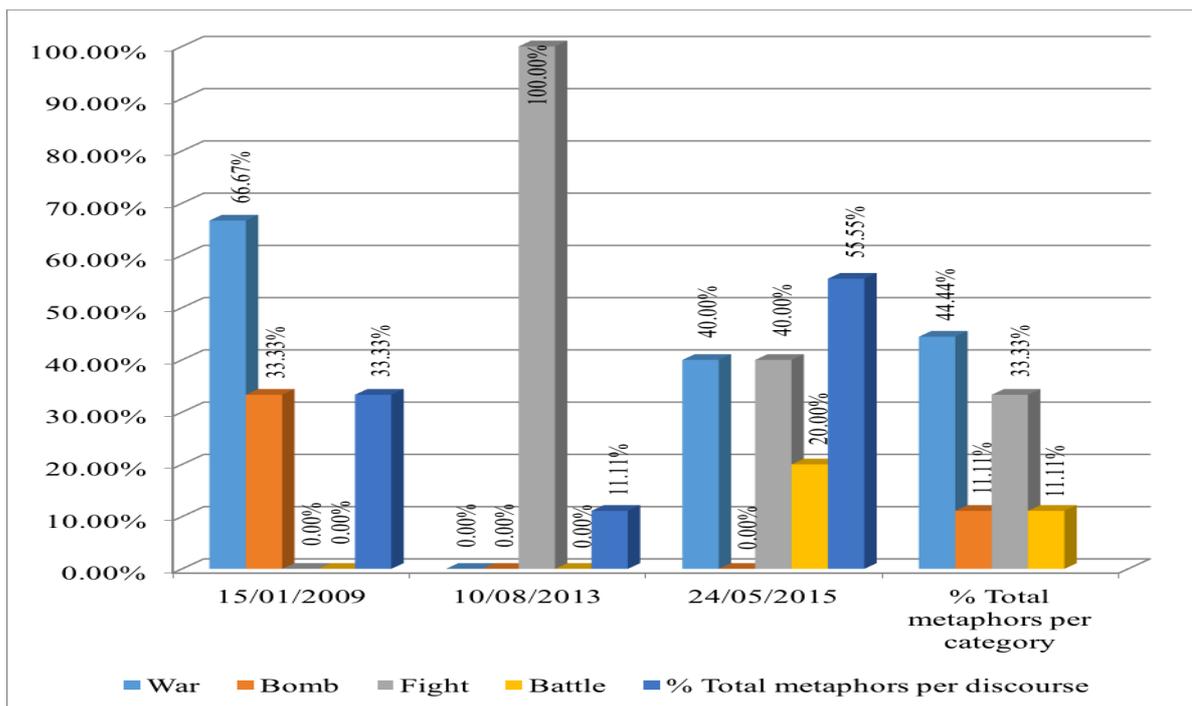
'Based on the event schemas table and figure, it can be seen that Correa uses 9 metaphors where 3 (33.33%) belong to the first discourse, 1 (11,11%) corresponds to the second discourse, and 5 (55,55%) belong to the third discourse. The most conceptualized schema were metaphors related to 'war' with 4 (44.44%), followed by 'fight' with 3 (33.33%) metaphors. These results show that Correa has moved from an offensive discourse into a defensive discourse because of the categorizations used when describing socialism and neoliberalism. In detail, neoliberalism is represented as war and chaos: a war that does not use aircrafts, but oppresses and destroys the country through debts, just as bombs do. Socialism is conceptualized as a warrior with a sword and shield that fights for freedom and dreams.

To sum up, the analysis of these discourses demonstrates that Rafael Correa strongly supported his left-wing position. He created a civic feeling to try to unite the most diverse groups like the ones described by Lakoff (2004:4) "The socioeconomic progressives, the identity politics progressives, environmentalists, Civil liberties progressives, spiritual progressives, antiauthoritarians". In general, all the people who were dominated by the oppressive right-wing groups are part of this left-wing family. At the same time, Correa sets a clear division between both groups. One group, his own, is the victim, and the other is the oppressor. The idea of the 'we' against the 'others', who have caused all the problems in the country, is very well set in his discourses. This process is clearly explained by Romero-Trillo and Cheshire (2014:43) "This sense of belonging is created through a process of differentiation characterized by identity formulation, in which "self and other" becomes "us and them". It is a strategy of division that occurs when each group is assigned positive or negative values. In this case the president, through the use of conceptual metaphors, describes socialism as the victim and neoliberalism as a predator. Correa has given a positive and a negative value to two different political positions.

Zizek (2009:107) describes a similar 'otherization' process applied in Venezuela saying "Chavez is not including the excluded in a pre-existing liberal-democratic framework; he is, on the contrary, taking the "excluded" dwellers of favelas as his base and then reorganizing political space and political forms of organization so that the latter will "fit" the excluded...". In fact, Correa in his discourse mentions that "he would reach his objectives under the shadow of Alfaro and Bolivar" which is similar to The Bolivarian political system

adopted by Chavez. In this line, Correa focuses in his discourses on every excluded group, for example, people who were in jail, the working class, victims of the holiday banks, and so on. This is one of the reasons his discourses contain touching metaphors to persuade his audience.

Another important detail about Correa's discourses is the fact that his positions represent the 'nurturant parent', who provides all the necessary to the family. He contrasts himself against the 'strict father', who provides everything for his children as long as they produce. Though, it is immoral to receive things without working. As a consequence, neoliberalism is described as an exploitation system where wealth is the most important while socialism considers the human beings as the most important part of society. As shown above, the main idea along these discourses was to demonstrate through examples, arguments, historical, cultural and ideological facts, all the evil caused by the neoliberals from the president's point of view.

V. **CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH**

5.1. Conclusions

This study aimed to identify and analyze the conceptualization of neoliberalism and socialism used by Rafael Correa in his political presidential discourses. This study reveals the great variety of metaphors classified into *propositional, image, and event schemas*. The metaphors identified helped to support the responses to the research questions.

In reference to these questions: the first one aimed at analyzing how Rafael Correa conceptualizes neoliberalism and socialism in his speeches. These conceptualizations were in general negative toward neoliberalism and positive toward socialism as follows: Neoliberalism is described as the cause of all the country's disgrace in his discourses. Likewise, he focuses his discourses on the 'otherization' concept, which is considered very dangerous, since it causes confrontation. Correa found an enemy, idea that helps to persuade his audience, politically and ideologically. As result, the division line was established between socialists and neoliberals in his discourses. This division was very well supported through the use of metaphors which were adjusted to the Ecuadorian context, culture and ideology through the use of examples based on the audience's experiences.

In reference to the second question, if there were more propositional, image or event schemas in Correa's discourses. The general results show that the discourses presented more propositional schemas metaphors; 31(47.69%) of 65. Most of the conceptualizations used in his discourses are represented as super natural forces, natural forces, forces, objects, living entities, living beings, illness and buildings. This is followed by image schemas with 22 (33,84%) metaphors which are more descriptive and help the audience to picture, imagine and understand in an easier way the content of a speech. The ones which are part of this group are: light-dark, good-bad, up-down, container, embodied, perception. Finally, the least common metaphorical group that Correa uses is the event schemas section with 12 (18.46%) metaphors. These schemas are mainly focused on war, bombs, and battles.

Finally, regarding the last research question, how the president's ideological, cultural perspective and experience influence the source and target domains chosen. Correa describes his political model as a 21st Century Socialism since his government is Bolivariano (socialist-communist) and Alfarista (liberal). It demonstrates that the president has taken some ideological tendencies to work on his 'Moderated Socialism theory'. Notably, the president tried to take the most applicable principles based on several ideas and experiences lived by the Ecuadorian society to persuade his audience. In addition, Correa highlights the human beings as the most important part in this political process. Indeed, Correa focuses on the use of historical facts, cultural perspectives, the nurturing parent and the authoritarian father principle; all of those details based on a strong religious principle. The source, target and domains are directly connected and influenced by the idea of socialism as the solution for all social, political and economical problems in the country. This is the main reason why most of the domains are describing a powerful negative entity that devours the country while socialism is the hero, the fighter, the light and solution to all the evil caused by the right-wing group.

To sum up, the president uses all his leadership skills and his academic knowledge to explain his government plans and his achievements during his presidential terms. One of his objectives was to unite the left-wing groups against the right-wings. He demonstrates this through the idea of: 'SOCIALISM IS GOOD, NEOLIBERALISM IS BAD'. In this case, a revolution or a deep change from the dark-neoliberalism towards the light-socialism is necessary from the president's position and ideology that was noted through the use of the conceptual metaphors and phrases included in his discourses.

5.2. Further research

Regarding further research, I intend to study Correa's position against the national press and international press. During the president's discourses, it can be noted that he moves from a passive attitude in his first presidential term into a more active and aggressive tone during his second presidential period and even worse in his third presidential period. As consequence, it is important to question if the president's behavior responds to the way he links the press with the right-wing position? or if the president is really attacked by the supposed lies reported by the press? Which is the truth behind these two conflicting powers. It could be analyzed through a comparative analysis of his discourses and the news, again by taking Conceptual Metaphor Theory as the basic theoretical framework.

Another interesting study to be started is the analysis of offensive and aggressive vocabulary the president uses during his Saturdays presidential reports (sabatinas). Does the president do it to keep his audience's attention? Is it a cultural behavior? Is it really offensive? Or are the expressions he uses simply contextualized jokes? This study would require principally a cultural and comparative analysis of the discourses given on Saturdays by the president.

In the next year's coming presidential elections, a discourse analysis of the presidential candidates for Ecuador would yield interesting results. In this case the primary candidate that is running for the next elections is the president's party against a right-wing candidate. Will the left-wing candidates follow the same 'nurturing parent' style in the discourses? There are many studies that result interesting to do, especially about one of the most controversial presidents in Latin America, Rafael Correa.

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VII. ANNEXES

DISCOURSE I (D1)

January 15th, 2007

N = Neoliberalism

S = Socialism.

Nro.	Linguistic Metaphor	Translation	Analysis	Target	Source	Type	Mappings
D.1.1 N	Cuando nuestro país estaba devastado por la guerra y el caos.	When our homeland was devastated by war and chaos	war and chaos is destruction	past government	war/chaos conflict, antagonism, contention, hostility, destruction	Event Schemas: war	THE PAST GOVERNMENT WAS IN CHAOS/WAR, THE FUTURE IS ORDER.
D.1.2 N	El gran Benjamín Carrión expresaba la necesidad de volver a tener Patria. (D.1.2)	The great Benjamin Carrion expressed the need to take back the homeland	the nation is a valuable object	the nation	(valuable) Object.	Propositional Schema: object	THE NATION IS A VALUABLE OBJECT THAT MUST BE RECUPERATED (FROM NEOLIBERALISM).
D.1.3 N	Esta frase fue la inspiración de un puñado de ciudadanos que decidimos liberarnos de	This phrase was the inspiration to a handful of citizens that decided to liberate from the groups that	kidnappers are a powerful force that dominates people	kidnappers	powerful force	Propositional Schema: Supernatural force	NEOLIBERALISM IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE THAT HAS KIDNAPPED THE COUNTRY

	los grupos que han <u>mantenido secuestrada</u> a la Patria.	have <u>kept kidnapped</u> the nation					
D.1.4 N	Sistema perverso que ha destruido nuestra democracia, nuestra economía y nuestra sociedad.	<u>A perverse system</u> that has <u>destroyed</u> our democracy, our economy and our society	the system is an evil living entity that destroys	an evil system	living entity, monster	Propositional Schemas: monster.	NEOLIBERALSIM IS A LIVING ENTITY /MONSTER THAT DESTROYS.
D.1.5 S	La esperanza de unos cuantos se expandió cuál fuego en pajonal, y se convirtió en esperanza y decision de todos y todas los ecuatorianos y ecuatorianas.	The <u>hope</u> of a few expanded like <u>fire in</u> straw, and became the hope and decision of all Ecuadorians.	hope is fire	hope	force/fire	Propositional Schemas: natural force	HOPE (SOCIALISM) IS A NATURAL FORCE/FIRE THAT EXPANDS.
D.1.6 S	La patria yá es de todos.	The homeland already <u>belongs</u> to everybody.	nation is a (valuable) object	nation	immaterial object	Propositional Schema: object	THE NATION IS A IS A (VALUABLE) OBJECT THAT MUST BE SHARED.
D.1.7 N	La institucionalidad política del Ecuador a colapsado, algunas veces por su diseño anacrónico y caduco.	The <u>political institutions</u> of Ecuador have <u>collapsed</u>, sometimes due to anachronistic and short-lived design.	institutions are buildings that are collapsing	institutions	collapsing buildings	Propositional Schemas: buildings	INSTITUTIONS ARE (COLLAPSING) BUILDINGS.

D.1.8 N	Otras por las garras de la corrupción y las voracidades políticas.	Other times due to the <u>claws</u> of corruption and political <u>voracities</u>	corruption (neoliberalism) is a destructive wild animal,	corruption	wild animal	Propositional Schema: living being	CORRUPTION IS A LIVING BEING/WILD ANIMAL THAT GOBBLES UP.
D.1.9 N	Las reformas anheladas no pueden limitarse a maquillajes.	The longed reforms can't be limited to <u>a makeup</u>	political reforms are imperfections covered with make up.	political reforms	make up	Propositional Schema: physical object	THE POLITICAL REFORMS ARE OBJECTS/MAKE UP THAT HAVE HIDDEN IMPERFECTIONS.
D.1.10 N	Una vez superado el dogma neoliberal y las democracias de plastilina que sometieron personas, vidas y sociedades a las entelequias del mercado.	Once we overcame the neoliberal dogma and <u>the clay democracy</u> which submitted people, lives and societies to the pipe dream of the market.	democracy is clay	democracy	clay	Propositional Schemas: natural force	DEMOCRACY IS AN OBJECT THAT CAN BE MANIPULATED AS CLAY.
D.1.11 N	Asamblea Nacional Constituyente de plenos poderes que busque superar el bloqueo político, económico y social en el que el país se encuentra sumergido.	National Constituent Assembly of full powers that will overcome the political, economic, and <u>social block</u> in which the country is <u>submerged.</u>	the country is submerged.	country	water / natural force	Propositional Schemas: natural force	NEOLIBERALISM IS A NATURAL FORCE THAT HAS PUT THE COUNTRY UNDER WATER.
D.1.12 S	Las resistencias de algunas fuerzas políticas tradicionales han dado paso a un consenso de	The resistance of some traditional political forces has given way to a <u>consensus for acceptance</u> of	new government is transparent (not dark, underground)	new government	transparent	Image schema: light/dark	DEMOCRACY IS LIGHT, NEOLIBERALISM IS DARK.

	aceptación a nuestro proyecto, sin que haya mediado para ello ningún acuerdo oscuro o subterráneo como los agoreros del desastre de siempre ya están pregonando.	our project, without mediating for this any <u>dark or underground agreement</u> that the pessimists responsible for the <u>disaster</u> are already proclaiming.					
D.1.13 N	No negociaré con nadie la dignidad de la Patria.	I will not negotiate the <u>homeland's dignity.</u>	homeland is dignity	homeland	dignity	Propositional Schema: Valuable (immaterial) object.	DIGNITY IS A VALUABLE (IMMATERIAL) OBJECT.
D.1.14 N	La Patria ya no está en venta.	The <u>homeland</u> is not on sale any more	the nation is a valuable object.	Nation	Valuable object	Propositional Schemas: Valuable object	THE HOMELAND IS A VALUABLE OBJECT THAT CAN NOT BE SOLD.
D.1.15 N	El oprobio del pasado histórico, con la venta de la bandera o pactos que canjeaban votos por prebendas, ha terminado.	The shame of the historical past, with the <u>flags sold</u> or agreements <u>traded votes</u> for political sinecures have finished.	the country/homeland is a flag	country	flag	Propositional Schemas: Object/flag Metonymy: flag=country. (It uses the same	THE HOMELAND IS AN OBJECT/A FLAG THAT CANNOT BE SOLD OR EXCHANGED.

							cognitive process as the others)	
D.1.16 N	La lucha contra la corrupción, mal enraizado en nuestra sociedad.	The fight against corruption, deeply rooted in our society.	corruption is evil rooted in society	corruption	Bad weeds	Propositional Schemas: Living being, plant.		CORRUPTION IS A LIVING BEING/BAD WEEDS THAT IS DEEP INSIDE SOCIETY.
D.1.17 S	Seguimos buscando los mejores hombres y mujeres que con manos limpias, mentes lúcidas y corazones ardientes por la Patria, dirijan las diferentes instituciones del Estado.	We keep on looking for the best men and women that with clean hands, fine minds and blazing hearts for the homeland who will manage the different institutions of the state. It is defined in superior religious position with its protector	homeland defenders/worker s are body parts (mind, hand, heart) representing values.	Homeland defenders / workers	Positive values (honesty, ethic, engagement)	Image Schemas: good/bad Metonymy: body parts are positive values.		SOCIALISM IS GOOD/HONEST/PASSIONATE, NEOLIBERALISM IS/BAD..
D.1.18 N	Eliminen, con su ejemplo y su consagración ciudadana, este nefasto mal, la corrupción.	To eliminate with their example and their citizen's dedication, this nefarious evil corruption	corruption is a nefarious evil illness which must be eliminated	corruption	(harmful) illness	Propositional Schema: illness		CORRUPTION IS AN ILLNESS THAT HARMS.

D.1.19 N	El pueblo ecuatoriano ya condenó a sus autores y actores al basurero de la historia.	The Ecuadorians already condemned the actors and authors to the garbage dump of history.	neoliberalism condemned to garbage	neoliberalism	Garbage / down	Image schemas: (force, up-down and container) 'through into the garbage of history'	NEOLIBERAL POLITICIANS ARE EMBODIED IN GARABAGE
D.1.20 N	A ese nivel ha llegado América Latina en la oscura y triste noche neoliberal.	This level has reached Latin America in the dark and sad neoliberal night.	neoliberal system is night/darkness	Neoliberal system	Darkness, night	Image Schemas: light/dark	NEOLIBERALISM IS DARKNESS THAT PUTS THE COUNTRY DOWN.
D.1.21 N	Felicitar a un ministro de Economía por la excelente política económica, cuando destruye empleo, es como felicitar a un chef por haber quemado la comida pero haber pagado en demasía a los proveedores.	To congratulate a finance minister for the excellent economic policy, when it destroys jobs. It's like congratulating a chef for having burned the food and having paid too much to the suppliers	(the finance minister) is a chef/politics is cooking,	finance minister / politics The finance minister destroyed jobs as the chef burned the food.	chef / cooking	Image Schemas: embodied	NEOLIBERALISM IS A CONTAINER THAT DESTROYS THE COUNTRY.

D.1.22 N	La hora más oscura es la más próxima a la aurora, y el nefasto ciclo neoliberal ha sido definitivamente superado por los pueblos de nuestra América.	The darkest time is the closest to the dawn, and the disastrous neoliberal cycle has been definitely overcome by the people of our America.	neoliberal system is destructive / dark/nefarious circle	Neoliberal system	darkness	Propositional Schema: Natural force, cycle.	NEOLIBERALISM IS A NATURAL FORCE, A DARK NEFARIOUS CYCLE.
D.1.23 N	La hora más oscura es la más próxima a la aurora, y el nefasto ciclo neoliberal ha sido definitivamente superado por los pueblos de nuestra América.	The darkest time is the closest to the dawn, and the disastrous neoliberal cycle has been definitely overcome by the people of our America.	neoliberalism is destructive darkness	neoliberalism	Darkness destruction	Image Schemas: Light-dark	NEOLIBERALISM IS DARKNESS THAT DESTROYS THE COUNTRY.
D.1.24 N	Liberar al país de los atavismos y poderosos intereses nacionales e internacionales que lo dominan.	To free the country from the atavism and powerful national and international interest that dominates it.	country is an imprisoned object/entity	country	imprisoned, kidnapped.	Propositional Schema: Supernatural force	NEOLIBERALISM IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE THAT HAS KEPT IMPRISONED THE COUNTRY.
D.1.25 N	Ya no se necesitan bombarderos ni portaviones, bastan los créditos.	They do not need bombers or aircraft carriers anymore. It is enough with the credits.	credits are bombs	international credits/loans	bombs	Event Schemas: war	CREDITS ARE BOMBS THAT DESTROY THE COUNTRY.

D.1.26 S	Con respecto al trabajo humano, punto fundamental que debe caracterizar las nuevas políticas económicas, que debe diferenciar al socialismo del siglo veintiuno de esa larga y triste noche neoliberal.	With regard to the human work, the fundamental point that must characterize the new economic policies is that it should differentiate itself from the socialism of the XXI century, from that long dark and sad neoliberal night.	socialism is good / neoliberalism is bad	socialism	good humanized	Image Schemas: good/bad	SOCIALISM IS GOOD, HUMANIZED WHILE NEOLIBERALISM IS BAD DESHUMANIZED.
D.1.27 N	En Noviembre 26 del 2006, se firmó también por parte del pueblo ecuatoriano la partida de defunción de la explotación laboral en el Ecuador.	On November 26th, 2006, Ecuadorians signed the death certification of labor exploitation in Ecuador	labor exploitation is a death certificate	labor exploitation	death certificate	Propositional Schema: object	LABOR EXPLOTATION (NEOLIBERALISM) IS AN OBJECT THAT REPRESENTS DEATH.

D.1.28 N	Porque con este bombardeo de esto que hacen llamar ciencia pero está más cercano a la religión que a la ciencia, nos han convencido que el fin último de la economía es controlar la inflación.	Because with this bombardment of what they call science, but it is really closer to religion than to science, they have convinced us that the ultimate goal of the economy is to control inflation.	economy is a bomb	Macro - economy	War / bomb	Event Schemas: bomb	NEOLIBERAL ECONOMY IS A BOMB.
D.1.29 S	Existe en ese laberinto de culpabilidad una suerte de ciego rumor del que emergen dolor, soledad y desamparo.	There is, in this maze of guilt, a luck of blind rumor from which it emerges pain, loneliness and abandonment.	jail is a painful lonely place	hope	up	Image Schema: up/down	SOCIALISM IS UP/HOPE. NEOLIBERALISM IS DOWN/DISPAIR.
D.1.30 S	Las acciones sociales, culturales, económicas y políticas tan enunciadas y ofrecidas en palabras se hagan ya carne y realidad.	The social, cultural, economic and political actions that have been announced and offered in words become flesh and reality.	events are meat	events words	meat promises	Propositional Schema: object	SOCIALIST ACHIEVEMENTS OBJECTS/MEAT THAT HAVE MATERIALIZED AND BECOME REAL.
D.1.31 S	Una Patria amiga, repartida entre todos.	A friendly homeland distributed between all	the nation is good / an object that should be shared.	Nation	Object	Propositional Schema: object	THE NATION IS A IS A (VALUABLE) OBJECT THAT MUST BE SHARED.

DISCOURSE II (D2)

August 10th, 2009.

N = Neoliberalism

S = Socialism

Nro.	Linguistic Metaphor	Translation	Analysis	Target	Source	Type	Mappings
D.2.1 S	Gracias a Dios pudieron robarnos todo, menos la esperanza.	*Thanks God, they could steal everything, but not our hope*.	supernatural force that takes everything	hope	immaterial object	Propositional Schemas: Immaterial object	HOPE (SOCIALISM) IS AN (IMMATERIAL) VALUABLE OBJECT THAT CANNOT BE STOLEN.
D.2.2 S	Estamos de fiesta porque la Patria está renaciendo del caos mercantilista.	*We are on party because the homeland has reborn from the mercantilist chaos*.	homeland is a survivor, reborn, renew.	homeland	Living entity	Propositional Schema: Living entity	THE HOMELAND IS A LIVING ENTITY/PLANT THAT HAS SURVIVED TO NEOLIBERALISM.
D.2.3 S	Ha sido arrebatada del baratillo privatizador (D2.3)	*It (the homeland) has been snatched from the privatizer street market*.	a rescued living entity	socialism (hero)	Living entity	Propositional Schemas: living entity personification	SOCIALISM IS A PERSON/A HERO THAT HAS RESCUED HOMELAND FROM NEOLIBERALISM.

D.2.4 S	Por eso, la obra visionaria de Alfaro no pudo menos que chocar con los intereses del capital bajo su forma conservadora y santurrona.	*That's why Alfaro's visionary work couldn't do more than confronting the capital on its <u>conservative and sanctimonious way</u>.*	fight against hypocrisy	socialism	force	Propositional schemas: force	SOCIALISM IS A FORCE THAT PUSHES/MOVES NEOLIBERALISM
D.2.5 S	De Alfaro, reivindicamos la consigna de un país liberado de las ataduras eclesiásticas, de la ignorancia y el oscurantismo	*From Alfaro, we claim the slogan of a country <u>free of ecclesiastic ties</u>, <u>of ignorance and darkness</u>.*	religion (neoliberalism) keeps people ignorant/ opressed / dark	neoliberalism	light / darkness	Image schemas: light / darkness	LIGHT IS KNOWLEDGE / UNDERSTANDING. DARKNESS IS IGNORANCE.
D.2.6 N	Contra todas las formas de exclusión, contra los poderes fácticos que han capturado y asfixiado al Estado.	*Against all the <u>factual powers</u> which <u>have captured and asphyxiated</u> the state.*	neoliberalism is oppression	domination power	oppression	Propositional Schema: Supernatural force	NEOLIBERALISM IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE THAT HAS APREHENDED AND ASPHYXIATED THE COUNTRY.
D.2.7 N	cual lobos disfrazados de corderos	*Like <u>wolves</u> disguised as <u>lambs</u>.*	neoliberalism is disguised as something good	neoliberalism	wild animal	Propositional Schema: Living being	NEOLIBERALISM IS A LIVING BEING/WILD ANIMAL THAT IS

						Metonymy: It follows the same cognitive process.	HIDDEN.
D.2.8 N	Pero no olvidemos, no dejemos que la amnesia colectiva les sirva a los depredadores de siempre	*But, let's not forget, not let collective amnesia serve the eternal <u>predators</u>.*	neoliberalism is a predator/a wild animal.	neoliberalism	wild animal	Propositional Schema: Living being	NEOLIBERALISM IS A LIVING BEING/PREDATOR THAT GOBBLES UP.
D.2.9 S	Por eso, toda la Patria profunda ha empezado a sacudirse, a desenmascarar la discriminación, la exclusión y la violencia solapada y cotidiana contra los pobres.	*Because of this, the homeland has started to <u>shake, to unmask</u> the discrimination, the exclusion and the daily underhanded violence against the poor ones.*	homeland (socialism) is stopping oppression.	homeland	hero	Propositional Schema: Living entity	THE HOMELAND (SOCIALISM) IS A LIVING ENTITY/A HERO THAT HAS DEFENDED POOR ONES FROM NEOLIBERALISM.
D.2.10 N	También está enraizado en el modelo perverso y egoísta que engendró el neoliberalismo.	*It (corruption) is <u>rooted</u> on the perverse and <u>selfish neoliberal</u> system.*	neoliberalism is corruption/bad weeds	neoliberalism (corruption)	bad weeds	Propositional schema: living being/plant	NEOLIBERALISM IS A PLANTS/BAD WEEDS ROOTED IN SOCIETY.
D.2.11 S	Somos gente de manos limpias y ética profunda.	*We are people with <u>clean hands</u> and profound ethic.*	socialism is honesty. It is represented with parts of the body.	socialism	clean hands	Image schemas: good/bad	SOCIALISM IS GOOD. NEOLIBERALISM IS BAD.

D.2.12 N	No cabe duda que una de las principales víctimas de la larga y triste noche neoliberal fue la clase trabajadora.	*No doubt that the <u>main victims</u> of the <u>long and sad neoliberal night</u> were the working class*	workers are victims	neoliberalism	tyrant	Propositional schema: living entity	NEOLIBERALISM IS A LIVING ENTITY/ A TYRANT THAT ATTACKS WORK.
D.2.13 N	El camino recorrido es inmenso, ya que realmente encontramos un estado deliberadamente despedazado y repartido cual botín entre piratas.	*The journey is long because we found a state deliberately mangled and <u>distributed as a booty</u> between pirates*	homeland is a booty	homeland	object	Propositional schema: valuable object	THE NATION IS A VALUABLE OBJECT THAT WAS DIVIDED IN PIECES.
D.2.14 N	Pese a ello, con capacidad y creatividad supimos enfrentar el huracán, y hoy podemos decir que lo peor ya ha pasado.	*Despite <u>this, (crisis)</u> with capacity and creativity we knew how to face <u>the hurricane</u>, and now we can say the worst is over.*	neoliberalism is destruction	neoliberalism	hurricane	Propositional schema: natural force	NEOLIBERALISM IS A NATURAL FORCE, A HURRICANE/CRISIS THAT HAS DESTROYED THE NATION.

D.2.15 N	Secretismo "técnico"; que nadie, durante décadas, hubiera sido capaz de destapar esta olla de grillos.	_Technical secrecy which nobody in decades could have been able to <u>uncover the secrets.</u>_	secrets are unveiled corruption	neoliberalism lie hidden covered	container	Image schemas: container	NEOLIBERALISM IS INSIDE A CONTAINER IN THE COUNTRY.
D.2.16 S	De dignidad también viven los pueblos.	_<u>Dignity feed</u> the peoples._	dignity feeds people	dignity self-esteem	object	Propositional schema: valuable object	DIGNITY IS A VALUABLE OBJECT/FOOD THAT FEEDS SOCIETY.
D.2.17 S	Tuvimos la satisfacción de anunciar a los ecuatorianos que de este modo habíamos recuperado la soberanía territorial que en un momento de entreguismo fue mutilada a favor de otro gobierno.	_We had the satisfaction of telling the Ecuadorians in this way we had recovered the territorial <u>sovereignty</u> that had been <u>mutilated</u> in favor of appeasement by another government._	sovereign was mutilated	sovereignty mutilated cut taken away eliminated	territory / object	Propositional schema: (immaterial) object	SOVEREIGNTY IS AN OBJECT/BODY THAT CAN BE MUTILATED.
D.2.18 N	Sino a extirpar para siempre las causas estructurales que hacen posible la pobreza.	_It (the campaign) is focused on <u>removing</u> the structural causes that make poverty possible_	corruption is a tumor that must be eradicated.	neoliberalism eliminate	tumor / illness	Propositional schema: illness	NEOLIBERALISM IS A TUMOR / AN ILLNESS

D.2.19 N	Sino a extirpar para siempre las causas estructurales que hacen posible la pobreza.	*It (the campaign) is focused on <u>removing</u> the structural causes that make poverty possible*	corruption is inside	neoliberalism deploy embodied	tumor	Image schema: embodied	NEOLIBERALISM IS EMBODIED IN THE COUNTRY AS A TUMOR
D.2.20 N	La nuestra es la Revolución de los oprimidos. De aquellos que fueron silenciados y entristecidos por élites perversas.	*This is the revolution of the oppressed ones. The ones who were <u>silenced</u> and sadden by the <u>perverse</u> elite.*	a perverse system that kills.	neoliberalism	supernatural force evil cruel draconian force	Propositional schema: supernatural force	NEOLIBERALISM IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE THAT KILLS.
D.2.21 N	Los seres humanos, que jamás volverán a ser víctimas de la maquinaria neoliberal y del capitalismo salvaje.	*The human beings who will never be <u>victims</u> again of the neoliberal mechanism and <u>wild</u> capitalism.*	a wild animal that destroys	capitalism	wild animal	Propositional schema: living being	CAPITALISM IS A LIVING BEING/WILD ANIMAL THAT GOBBLES AND DESTROYS AS A MACHINE.
D.2.22 S	Como herederos de las luchas sociales de liberación frente a todas las formas de dominación y colonialismo.	*As heirs to the <u>fight</u> for social <u>liberation</u> in all forms of colonial domination*	heirs (socialism) fights against domination	heirs (socialism)	war/fight	Event schemas: fights	SOCIALISM FIGHTS AGAINST NEOLIBERALISM TO BE FREE.

DISCOURSE III (D3)

May 24th, 2013

N = Neoliberalism

S = Socialism

Nro.	Linguistic Metaphor	Translation	Analysis	Target	Source	Type	Mappings
D.3.1 S	Pero quedó pendiente, nuestra segunda y definitiva independencia: la independencia de la pobreza, de la desigualdad, de la injusticia.	*But it was pending our second and definitely independence: The independence from the poverty, from the inequity, from the injustice.*	freedom is war	socialism freedom	battle war	Event schema: battle	SOCIALISM IS A BATTLE THAT BREAKS FREE PEOPLE FROM POVERTY AND INJUSTICE
D.3.2 S	La espada libertaria de Simón Bolívar, quien pensaba en siglos y miraba en continente, permanece desenvainada hasta que la pobreza, la desigualdad y la exclusión sean borradas de la Patria Grande para siempre.	*Simon Bolivar's freedom sword, who thought in centuries and looked in continent, keeps unsheathe until poverty, inequality and exclusion become erased from the big nation for ever.*	a sword (socialism) is fighting	socialism	sword fight	Event schema: fight	SOCIALISM IS WAR/A SWORD FIGHTING AND RESISTING AGAINST INJUSTICE / NEOLIBERALISM.

D.3.3 N	Y para aquellos que se nos quieren robar conceptos sublimes como el de "libertad", que entiendan bien: no puede haber libertad sin justicia.	*And for the ones who want to steal sublime concepts as "freedom", understand well that there is not freedom without justice.*	steal is an internal concept	freedom	immaterial object	Propositional schema: (immaterial) object	FREEDOM IS A VALUABLE (IMMATERIAL) OBJECT THAT WILL NOT BE STOLEN.
D.3.4 N	El nefasto populismo no hubiera hincado sus garras en nuestra gente. El neoliberalismo, el neocolonialismo, los atentados a los derechos humanos, hubieran tenido más voces de denuncia.	*The disastrous populism wouldn't have introduced its claws in our people. The neoliberalism, the neocolonialism, the human rights attacks, would have had more denunciation voices.*	a force that gets in and grabs what it needs.	neoliberalism power mastery	wild animal	Propositional schema: living being/wild animal	NEOLIBERALISM IS A LIVING BEING/WILD ANIMAL THAT GRABS AND ENSLAVES.
D.3.5 N	Atentos: antes de que me lleven a la SIP, a la CIDH, llamen a Torquemada para quemarme en la hoguera.	*Stay alert, before I am taken to the SIP, or to the CIDH, call to Torquemada to burn me at the bonfire*	fire punishes disobedience	fire	perception	Image Schemas: perception	FIRED IS PERCEIVED AS A TOOL.
D.3.6 N	El capital con más derecho que los seres humanos.	*The capital with more rights than the human beings*	capital controls people	capitalism power domination	living entity	Propositional schema: living entity	CAPITALISM IS A LIVING ENTITY THAT CONTROLS AND DOMINATES.
D.3.7 S	Por ello la Patria Grande, ya no es sólo un ideal de nuestros libertadores, es una	*That's why the big nation is not only an ideal of our liberators, It is a need to*	togetherness is protection	togetherness	shield / war	Event Schemas: war	TOGETHERNESS IS A SHIELD/WAR THAT PROTECTS SOCIALISM

	necesidad de supervivencia, un escudo contra la explotación, contra el neocolonialismo.	*survive, a <u>shield</u> against the exploitation <u>against the neoliberalism</u>.*					FROM NEOLIBERALISM.
D.3.8 S	A detener al golpismo, a conquistar los sueños, a combatir por la esperanza.	*To stop the coup, to <u>conquer dreams</u>, to <u>fight</u> for the <u>hope</u>.*	hope fights for dreams	hope	war	Event Schemas: war	SOCIALISM/HOPE IS WAR THAT FIGHTS FOR DREAMS.
D.3.9 S	Hace dos siglos despertó el pueblo que doblaba la espalda <u>hasta la esclavitud</u>, sembrando los surcos para que comieran otros.	*Two centuries ago, the nation <u>woke up,</u> the one who bended the back until the <u>slavery,</u> planting the furrows for others to eat.*	freedom is to be awake. Slavery is to be asleep.	being awake being asleep	good bad	Image schemas: good/bad	BEING AWAKE IS GOOD. BEING ASLEEP IS BAD. FREEDOM IS A MISSION TO WAKE UP PEOPLE FROM SLAVERY.
D.3.10 S	Cien años después, el machete montonero del General Eloy Alfaro Delgado, recorrió por los montes y los valles con su revolución radical, sembrando llamaradas de justicia, (D3.10)	*A hundred years later, Eloy Alfaro's overbearing machete travelled on the mountains and valleys with his radical revolution; <u>planting flare-ups of justice.</u>*	revolution is fire	revolution hope	fire / natural force	Propositional schemas: natural force	REVOLUTION (SOCIALISM) IS A NATURAL FORCE/FIRE THAT EXPANDS HOPE.

D.3.11 S	Pero la hora más oscura de la noche, también es la más cercana a la aurora, y ha despertado el Nuevo Ecuador.	*But the <u>darkest moment</u> in the night is the closest to the <u>dawn</u> too, and the new Ecuador has woken up.*	the night is over, the dawn is coming.	socialism neoliberalism	light dark	image schemas: light / dark	SOCIALISM IS LIGHT, NEOLIBERALISM IS DARK.
D.3.12 S	Pero ya hemos logrado lo principal: derrotar la desesperanza.	*But we have mainly <u>defeated hopelessness</u>*	hope (socialism) fights for dreams	hero	fight	Event schema: fight	SOCIALISM IS FIGHT/WAR THAT FIGHTS FOR DREAMS.