COGNITIVE STUDIES | ÉTUDES COGNITIVES, 24
Warsaw 2024
Article No.: 3037
DOI: 10.11649/cs.3037
Citation: Altamimi, S. (2024). The coalition of the willing and pro-NATOism: Russia–Ukraine anti-war discourse. *Cognitive Studies | Études cognitives*, *2024*(24), Article 3037. https://doi.org/10.11649/cs.3037

Sadiq Altamimi
The University of Thi-Qar, Nasiriyah, Iraq
sadiq.a@utq.edu.iq

The Coalition of the Willing and Pro-NATOism: Russia–Ukraine Anti-war Discourse

Abstract

NATO ideology, or NATOism, has been part of American and European political agendas for decades. This ideology remapped the unipolar ruling system represented by the United States. However, NATOism not only prompts an identity of self-belonging and appreciation in pro-NATO states for a union of military and security cooperation, but also incites alarming panic and apprehension in anti-NATO countries by triggering an unconscious survival-of-the-fittest race. The world is now experiencing both of these conditions, discursively reformulated by political elites. The current study applies a multidisciplinary approach to the analysis of NATO discourse and its effect on creating unipolar coalitions. The methods of discourse analysis, corpus linguistics and cognitive linguistics were employed in the analysis of Joe Biden's speeches in order to uncover his role in constructing pro-NATO ideology within international relations, and the ways in which the Russia-Ukraine war has decontextualized the mental structure of NATO identity. The results revealed that certain discourse strategies were inextricably linked in constructing a coalition of the willing against Russian hostility.
Keywords: NATO; ideology; discourse analysis; corpus linguistics; conceptual metaphor; Biden; Russia–Ukraine war

1 Introduction

At the start of the Cold War in April 1949, the United States (US), Europe and Western allies formed the military alliance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The treaty started with twelve countries, but now it has more than thirty members, following the entry of Finland and Sweden. While the member states were set to defend each other in case of any third-party attacks, the alliance created a collective identity of common values and aims to which member states consolidated in order to develop a security foundation claimed to be anti-Russian (Hamilton & Spohr, 2019; Mattox & Rachwald, 2001). Since then, NATO ideology, or NATOism, has controlled the political stances and actions of rival powers. NATOism typically refers to the ideology and policies associated with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). NATOism encompasses the principles, strategies, and actions endorsed and pursued by member states of NATO, a political and military alliance established in 1949 to promote mutual defence and security cooperation among its member countries. The term NATOism can imply various connotations depending on context, including the military doctrine of the strategies and practices advocated or utilized by NATO member states collectively or individually, the political philosophy that describes the political beliefs prioritizing NATO's goals, and a foreign policy orientation that emphasizes cooperation between NATO allies on the basis of interest and support for NATO-led initiatives or interventions (Fox, 2015; Hamilton & Spohr, 2019).

NATOism has become a new religion (de Zayas, 2022) and "predominantly an alliance of Christian countries", as pointed out by the then NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer (2007). This ideology has been leading Western discourse for decades and has modified the Western media and its political stances (Tardy, 2021). Western political elites constantly adulate NATO and their political speeches are significant in reshaping not only political hegemony but also open warfare and areas of conflict (Fox, 2015), such as that of Russia and Ukraine. NATOism discourse tolls the European and American consciousness, rendering the treaty a safe bunker for NATO member states since the Cold War, which in turn impacts the identity and behaviour of the whole population (van Dijk, 2001). On the other hand, the alliance poses a pervasive threat to Russia, especially due to its ambitious expansion discourse, leading some non-NATO countries to compulsively join the nuclear race. NATO's embracing open-door discourse means inescapable involvement in possible conflicts (Hamilton & Spohr, 2019). This has consequently created social disintegration among conflicting parties and driven unprecedented investigation into NATOism discourse.

The current study analyses speeches delivered by those in power, namely the President of the USA Joseph Biden, in order to unveil his manipulative discourses to establish pro-NATO ideology, and his contribution to the creation of new unipolar systems. The manipulation this study investigates is a form of social power and discursive representation of knowledge and ideologies (van Dijk, 2006a), in which the rhetorical figure of metaphor is one strategy of manipulation, emphasizing "Our/their, positive/negative properties" (van Dijk, 2003, p. 8). This is limited to the analysis of metaphors in Biden's speeches delivered during the Russia–Ukraine war, particularly from February to December 2022. I applied an eclectic model of discourse analysis (DA) (Fairclough, 1993, 1996; van Dijk, 2001, 2002, 2006b). While Fairclough and van Dijk are prominent in the field of discourse analysis, they have different approaches. Fairclough emphasizes the relationship between language and power, arguing that discourse is not only a reflection of reality but constructs reality and power relations. In this regard, I draw upon Fairclough to analyse how discourse is used to reinforce power in a particular context, legitimizing certain ideologies. van Dijk, on the other hand, focuses on the cognitive processes underlying discourse production in social and cultural contexts. This helps to analyse the cognitive structures of schemas and how discourse impacts behaviour and social identity. I integrate insights from both approaches to offer an understanding of the discursive construction of NATOism, and how discourse is internalized, interpreted and processed with social and cultural contexts. I also applied corpus linguistics (CL) tools (Altamimi, 2023a; Baker & McGlashan, 2020; Baker et al., 2021; M. Cheng, 2022; W. Cheng, 2012; Lorenzo-Dus & Almaged, 2020; Partington, 2010) and cognitive models to decipher the configuration of power, discourse and ideology in the representation of NATOism through persuasive strategies of conceptual metaphors (J. Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987b, 1993; Lakoff & Johnson, 2003; Levinson, 1993). The textual analysis of the speeches takes into consideration the historical, political, and social context of NATO-related acts, without which the textual analysis alone is not sufficient.

2 Power, Ideology and Discourse Analysis

The problem with discussing NATOism is the abstract nature of the concept and our understanding of it in comparison with concurrent events with which we are familiar, such as the NATO operations to undermine the Serbian army in 1995, the military mission led by the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) to enforce peace in Afghanistan (2003–2014) and the installation of MIM-104 Patriot in Syria to protect Turkey in 2014 (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 2022). Furthermore, our understanding of social issues is restricted by our ideology, which can be shaped by political elites' discourse and the strategies they employ to force/drag our belief in what they manipulate linguistically (Martin, 2015; van Dijk, 2006a). As Wodak (2001b, p. 10) puts it, "language is considered as crucial in the reproduction of ideologies, which, in turn, is seen as central in establishing and sustaining social identities and inequalities". Additionally, supporters

and voters of Western political parties adhere to the guidelines set by Western political elites' discourse and planned governmental programs for any future activity (Chilton, 2004). Western political elites, typically including elected officials, party leaders, and influential figures within political parties, often set the tone and direction of political discourse. Their messaging and rhetoric can heavily influence supporters and voters (Fox, 2015). Therefore, the context of the security threats (Russian war) and political discourse on NATO remap power and social relations, and drafts pro-NATO ideologies (see for example Fairclough, 1985, 1995; Hart, 2010).

It is here where my research attempts to critique the interconnectedness among discursive, ideological and political engagement, and to make it visible. The critique I embrace in this work implies showing the hidden connection between political discourse ideology and socio-political change and "providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change" (Fairclough, 1993, p. 9), as in Putin's justification of war and Biden's rationale of NATO expansion. I investigate the ways ideology, power and identity are enacted in texts produced in socio–political contexts (van Dijk, 2001). The ways political power discursively reformulates ideologies in what Fairclough (1995, p. 24) calls "ideological-discursive formation" (IDF) pre-constructs ideological discourse by different forces of power.

Given that discourse is an instrument of power and control, my analysis goes beyond the description of the socio-political phenomena of NATOism, raising further questions about responsibility and interest (van Dijk, 1986). This requires me to retain a firmly dialectical view of the ways Western political elites have situated their cognition to influence pro-NATO member states at the expense of anti-NATO countries. The focus is on the conceptual knowledge of NATOism as a security measure. This is where, I claim, figures of speech, particularly metaphor, inevitably reformulate international relations by discursively exposing the privileges of certain ideologies over others and have the conceivable potential to uncover NATO ideology.

3 Image Schema and Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p. 5) refer to metaphor as the 'understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another'. This understanding can be cognitively structured by establishing links between concepts pertaining to different domains in what is called conceptual metaphor. In the example "life is a journey", the source domain from which we draw the metaphor (journey) is mapped to the target domain that we are trying to understand (life) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). There are prelinguistic structures of experience that motivate conceptual metaphor mappings called image schemas. Image schemas are mental representations connected to experience (Lakoff, 1987b). They function as "structures for organizing our experience and comprehension" (J. Johnson, 1987, p. 29). They are utilized in various metaphorical representations of social, political and cultural phenomena because of their dynamism across experiences and contexts (Hampe, 2005). In the example "NATO is crawling east", the image schemas/concepts of the source domain mode of locomotion, linguistically represented by the metaphor crawling east, maps onto and helps understand the target domain politics represented by the linguistic expression NATO. The mapping of the conceptual metaphor "a moving organism" typically has ontological correspondences that lie between the two, as stated by Lakoff (1993, p. 215) "Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way that is consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain." This means that consistently understanding concepts across domains on the basis of our experience is politically and socially influenced (M. Johnson, 2005), which is where metaphor becomes a tool for constructing meanings for ideological purposes by reinforcing socio–politically ingrained stereotypes and international relations (Bowdle & Gentner, 2005; Koller, 2004; Lakoff, 1993). Metaphors help us understand the schemas and the way they operate to drive ideological perceptions. Therefore, the analysis of political elites' use of metaphors can unveil the ideology of NATOism, which aims to persuade the public of the alliance.

Metaphor is persuasive when delivered by the right speaker, such as political elites, and people are likely to believe someone they politically advocate (see Flusberg et al., 2017; Sopory & Dillard,

2002). Metaphors access routes to persuasion, even when the audience is required to think deeply to understand the message (Sopory & Dillard, 2002). The persuasive merits of metaphors can take two routes, namely the central (rational) and the peripheral (emotional) routes (Citron & Goldberg, 2014; Thibodeau & Flusberg, 2022; Walton, 2004). The central route metaphor takes to persuade people shows how beliefs change according to rational thinking. This route convinces listeners of the logic behind the deliberation. For example, our belief towards the benefits of joining NATO can be metaphorically altered according to tangible evidence that the alliance can provide peace and security to allies:

(1) By joining *NATO, allies make a sacred commitment* to one another that an attack on one is an attack against all (Biden, May 19, 2022)

In this example, a religious metaphor is used to conceptualize the political organization of NATO. The metaphor *sacred commitment* of the source domain image schema 'religion' maps into the linguistic expression *NATO allies* of the target domain 'politics'. This mapping implies the conceptual metaphor of "military operation", which is logically consistent with available evidence, such as NATO installing the MIM-104 Patriot missile defence system in Syria to protect Turkey in 2014 and the US leading the enhanced Forward Presence (eFP) troops in Poland to respond to any Russian threats.

The influence of metaphor on the development of the argument is obvious in recent discussions of "strategic manoeuvring" as an attempt to rhetorically influence the outcome of a dispute (Walton, 2004, p. 4). Audiences are persuaded by the argument itself when it includes a logical appeal. The cognitive potential of logical reasoning is its aim at the mind of the audience and their thinking ability by carefully connecting propositions to supporting evidence. This kind of appeal is considered the most straightforward argument to apply as it is based on facts and reliable evidence (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004).

The other route metaphors take to persuade people is emotion (Citron & Goldberg, 2014; Thibodeau & Flusberg, 2022; Walton, 2004). This route shapes speakers' messages and listeners' reactions and beliefs without requiring them to think of the logic of the message. Instead, it emotionally influences their decision-making tactics. For example, to persuade people to change their attitudes and beliefs about NATO, Biden resorted to fear and threat metaphor:

(2) […] We are continuing to reinforce our cooperation in many strategic ways: on humanitarian and security assistance to Ukraine; on energy; on *fighting the threats* against our democracies. (Biden, 25 March 2022)

Personifying the threat with the word *fighting* causes Russians to feel intimidated by a greater risk of NATO countries building infrastructure near Russian borders and elsewhere. The metaphoric expression *fighting* of the source domain 'animate being' is mapped onto the target domain of 'threat' that cataphorically represents *NATO countries* infrastructures. From a cognitive perspective, emotional reasoning, as pointed out by Walton (2004), appeals to the audience's sense of identity by leading to more favourable attitudes among members of society to build up their social connection (see Spielberger, 2002). It is an attempt to gain their assent to the point being made, by making them feel good about accepting the proposition (of joining NATO). Therefore, successful persuasive metaphors consist of well-orchestrated appeals to emotions. It is plausible to suggest that many political debates may be decided on the basis of emotional metaphor.

Biden's speeches have been analysed by some scholars. For example, Amaireh (2023) provides a rhetorical analysis of how the President tries to persuade the audience, following the classical Aristotelian classification of rhetorical invention – logical, ethical, and emotional appeals. Amaireh finds that Biden was able to disseminate positive sentiments of hope and love among the audience (see also Nurkhamidah et al., 2021). Darong (2021), on the other hand, draws upon (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) systemic functional linguistics and focuses on the interpersonal function analysis of Biden's victory speech. He finds that the speech establishes a close relationship and

distance with the audience. However, Renaldo (2021) analyses the ideology manifested in Biden's inaugural speeches delivered on January 20, 2021. He focuses on lexical, existential, and factive presupposition as proposed by van Dijk (2006b), to find that Biden was able to create a sense of unity in favour of immigrants.

My study contributes to this field by applying a multidisciplinary approach of discourse analysis, corpus linguistics and cognitive linguistics to the analysis of how NATO discourse (Biden's' discourse) constructs a pro-NATO ideology within international relations in the context of the Russia–Ukraine war. This study applied an eclectic model of DA and a large purpose-built corpus to find out how power relations and ideology are manifested to metaphorically represent the casual relatedness and integration in the positive communicative valence of NATOism.

4 Data Aggregation and Preparation

The data of this study is a purpose-built corpus of 301 speeches (n=672.854 words) delivered during the Russia–Ukraine war by Joseph (Joe) Biden, the 46th and current president of the United States. My corpus was collected from online open sources. Biden's speeches are transcripts of all remarks delivered by the president at conferences, to the media, in meetings and statements published by the White House website under the Briefing Room section (https://www.whitehouse.gov; *Briefing room*, n.d.).

An issue I encountered in my data selection process was deciding on the date of the speeches. For the purpose of consistency and the aim of the study to uncover NATO ideology alongside the global issue of the Russia–Ukraine war, the selected speeches spanned from 24 February 2022, the start of the Russia–Ukraine war, until 25 December 2022, when enough time had passed for the US president to express his NATO-related worries, plans and actions to the public. It should be noted that the analysis was limited to the investigation of NATO-related metaphors in this period, and hence the results are bounded by this limitation.

The rationale behind the selection of presidential speeches as the data of my study is twofold. Firstly, political speeches are rhetorical means to persuade the audience (Fairclough, 1996). They can change perspectives, such as portraying any action as an "unfair advantage" or as "reverse discrimination" (van Dijk, 2002, p. 232). Also, a "detailed discourse analysis of such everyday political practices in that case not only contributes to our understanding of these (discursive) practices per se, but also of their relations with the social and political context and its detailed properties" (van Dijk, 1997, p. 41). Secondly, the President is a source of authority and can construct particular events, influence public opinions, change international relations, and pass regulations and policies (Fairclough, 1996). Therefore, the data under analysis are relevant for the analysis of NATO ideology construction.

5 Methodological Procedure

A multidisciplinary approach was drawn upon in this study, integrating CL tools and DA methods. This requires a back and forth journey between the two approaches in a corpus-assisted discourse analysis approach (Altamimi, 2023a; Baker & McGlashan, 2020; Baker et al., 2021; M. Cheng, 2022; W. Cheng, 2012; Partington, 2010). This approach falls within the mantle of DA for the qualitative examination of the conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003), and the quantitative selection and representation of data (Altamimi, 2023b; Baker, 2006; Baker & McGlashan, 2020). The analysis of conceptual metaphors encountered certain challenges because these metaphors are not limited to a restricted set of linguistic patterns, but rather to various forms and concepts. This required taking into consideration not only the textual/syntactic organization of linguistic forms in the corpus, but also the analysis of context that can provide a roadmap for the metaphor selection (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003).

I started with quantitative analysis using LancsBox; a new-generation software package for the analysis of language data and corpora developed at Lancaster University. In order to focus on examples only (in)directly referring to NATO, the query words "NATO, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, alliance, allies" were searched and their concordance lines were extracted for further corpus processing. This was followed by the analysis of word frequencies, collocations, and semantic relations. Key Word In Context (KWIC) analysis (Baker, 2006; Baker & McEnery, 2015) was also followed, where hyperlinks of each query word and collocate to their file view were extracted to find out whether each query word searched was explicitly/implicitly relevant to NATO in context. This helped avoid unjustifiable generalizations on how NATO query words and collocations are meaningful representatives of the general theme of the study (Baker & McGlashan, 2020). A qualitative analysis then followed, comprising the analysis of the discursive strategies of conceptual metaphor cognitively formulated in logical and emotional persuasion in the representation of NATOism.

6 Data Analysis and Discussion

The analysis of Biden's speeches delineated how the metaphorical representations of NATOism were cognitively motivated by logical and/or emotional image schemas based on contexts and licensed by the event structures. Both metaphorical routes took the lead in the discursive construction of NATOism and were inextricably linked. Biden activated very specific embodied schemas that mapped socio-political metaphors from one mental source domain to another target space. Biden provided different axiological values of pro-NATO representations, where his ideological mapping of NATO was represented in united and valent NATO versus failed and collapsed Russia.

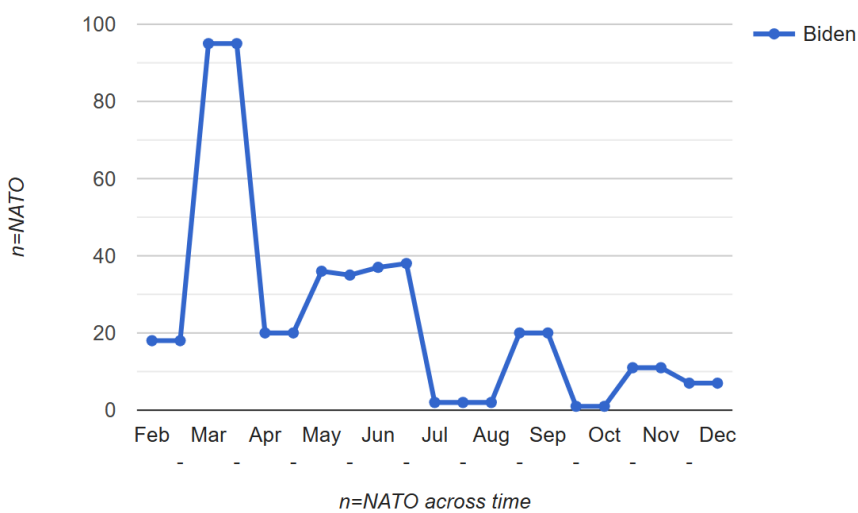


Figure 1. Biden's use of the term NATO across the selected time span. (Author's own creation)

In Figure 1, we see how the use of the term NATO by Biden (241) suddenly increased in February 2022 before it went back to normal or below normal usage by the end of the same year. This frequent use, as explained below, is not haphazard, especially in the context of reaffirming the US commitment to the alliance and emphasizing the importance of collective security cooperation among NATO member states.

6.1 The Collective Identity of an Integrated Unity

Since 1949, NATO's enduring purpose has been to safeguard the security of all member states by political and military means (https://www.nato.int). At the heart of this purpose is the creation of a spirit of collective defence among NATO members (Beeres et al., 2016). The cognitive mechanism underlying this representation was the rational logic of NATO unity that dominated Biden's speeches about the alliance as an organizational integrity among member states. The collocation analysis of the occurrence of NATO in Biden's speeches showed 87 occurrences where Biden referred to the unity of NATO, Europe and US (see Table 1):

Table 1. Collocates of NATO unity in Biden's speeches.

Collocates	Occurrence	Metaphor
ally*	29	11
united	19	19
join*	16	0
together	14	10
galvanized	5	5
indispensable	4	4
Total	**87**	**49**

The KWIC analysis of all the occurrences showed that in n=49 (56%) occurrences, Biden used link schema to metaphorically conceptualise functional linking and causal relatedness among member states, without which "we could neither be nor be human" (J. Johnson, 1987, p. 117). This physical, abstract, temporal and spatial linkage fits the ideological stance that redetermines the social identity (J. Johnson, 1987) of member states and the public as pro-NATO loyalists.

(3) We're going to provide more support for Ukraine, we're going to continue to stand together with our allies in Europe and send an unmistakable message that we will defend every inch of NATO territory – every single inch – with a *united*, *galvanized NATO*. (Biden, 11 March 2022)

Biden's metaphorical employment of *galvanized* has a twofold logical implicature. Firstly, Biden mapped an industrial metaphor to conceptualize NATO. The metaphor *galvanized* metal of the source domain 'industry' maps onto the linguistic expression *NATO* of the target domain 'politics'. So as metal is hard and can be protected from external effects by zinc galvanisation, Biden implies that the alliance should remain as strong and hard as metal and be protected from outside threats, including that of Russia. Secondly, since *galvanize* can mean 'to make somebody take action' ("galvanize", n.d.), Biden personifies NATO by mapping the concept of 'motivated actor' to imply that the alliance is a *galvanized* actor who should take immediate and sudden actions to *defend every inch of NATO territory*, including in the case of Russian aggression against neighbouring NATO member states.

(4) I've spent the bulk of my time holding *NATO together* since I got in place. (Biden, 15 October 2022)

The rational logic of unity was also formed by the use of the whole/part schema (J. Johnson, 1987) mapped onto Biden's metaphor of never to *split* the relationship between NATO, Europe, and the US.

(5) In my view, he [Putin] did what he did because he thought he could *split* NATO, *split* Europe, and *split* the United States. We are going to demonstrate to the whole world no one can split this country. (Biden, 2 March 2022)

Biden metaphorically displays the alliance as a physical entity comprised of other parts/entities (Lakoff, 1987a) that need to stay unsplit in order to win over Russian aggression. The pragmatic meanings behind this concrete denotation of the whole/part configuration are seen by Deane (1992) as a conjunction of adjacency, continuity, and stability which are reasonable and logical outcomes of an unsplit relationship. The combination of perceptual potential and situations of the perceptual environment cognitively prepares the ground for us to experience an interwoven complex of concrete and abstract linkages as a way to form NATO unity. The unity metaphor mapped in Biden's speeches is logical, in which NATO members "become connected by virtue of their relation within a functional unity" (J. Johnson, 1987, p. 118). This metaphor could be a discourse tactic to persuade pro-NATO audiences of how joining NATO is a reasonable way to achieve international security.

Further to his unification ideology, Biden uses the first person pronoun 'we' in most of his metaphoric representations of NATO. As in example 3 (*we are going… we will…*), the use of the first personal pronoun is to emphasize the collective nature/identity and the shared responsibility and power of the group, in this context NATO (Kuo, 2002). This rhetorical strategy rebuilds the in-group identity of NATO members represented by Biden and demonises 'others' (van Dijk, 2001), such as anti-NATO countries. The focus on social relation unity as a reproducer of NATO political destiny regenerates the collective identity and power relations underlying the rhetoric of "positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation" (Wodak, 2001a, p. 31). The collective identity of a united 'we' gives prominence to a nationalist discourse identity, as reported in the analysis of the argument examination of newspapers (see Mădroane, 2012). The 'collective identity' metaphor frequently controlled Biden's speeches, implying that the NATO members are closely linked to each other:

(6) We've never seen a time when Europe and NATO were more closely aligned. No — no breathing room between us. (Biden, 6 May 2022)

The metaphor *no breathing room between us* reinforces the internal structure of NATO unity, and relates to Biden's concerns about any cracks in US-NATO socio-political relations (Brewer & Stonecash, 2007). Biden metaphorically mapped the 'Gestalt' schema of NATO as a unified whole within our experience and cognition (J. Johnson, 1987), intentionally to disappoint Putin's metaphoric view that *NATO would crack*, as illustrated in example 6:

(7) I guarantee you Putin has been hoping and believing that *NATO would crack* and we would not make any sacrifice to help and deal with what he was doing. (Biden, 21 April 2022)

Backed up by situations of perceptual environment, the NATO unity metaphor has not only been discursive. The alliance legislated the 'Open Door' policy metaphor to allow in new member states (Hamilton & Spohr, 2019). This policy provides a sense and substance of cooperation (Kozaryn, 2000), not only among states, but also among organizations and people.

(8) *NATO's Open Door* has always been so important. It allows nations to choose for themselves to ask to be part of a group of nations that value freedom, democracy, and human dignity above all else. (Biden, 19 May 2022)

This *open door* metaphor implies that NATO is a room for any to enter, which will host as many states as it can with the goal to "help build a Europe that is whole and free and at peace for the first time in its history", as reported by Talbott (1998, p. 11). This open door ideology induces non-NATO states to join the alliance and the public to reidentify themselves as NATO loyalists (Hamilton & Spohr, 2019), not least to *value freedom, democracy, and human dignity.* The policy is supported by Poland and former Soviet republics, namely Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Georgia and, recently, Ukraine.

(9) And so today, it's an affirmation of those countries in Europe that share our values that we're willing and able to do what it takes to be part of the Alliance. *NATO's door remains open.* (Biden, 23 May 2022)

The metaphor of the open door policy is logical on the basis of expanding the alliance to face the Russian threat and, at the same time, to threaten Russia. The US has been acting to expand NATO, especially into former Soviet republics, which Russia strongly opposes. This expansion move, as has been reported by Tardy (2021), serves not only the enlargement of member states and military personnel, but also functions as a tool to overpower Europe's divisions and maintain the alliance undivided.

6.2 The Emotional Discharge of Valent NATO

The frame arrays found in Biden's discourse show a certain emotional charge metaphorically implied in the communicative valence of NATOism. Prior exposure to evoked metaphors prompted the President to talk about NATO with a positive valence, categorizing emotion alongside several dimensions, such as sympathy and pride (Russell & Barrett, 1999). Triggering pride can persuade new member states to join NATO and people's decision to reidentify themselves with NATO-related ideology and culture.

As part of the cognitive behaviour analysis, the corpus was examined for emotion and valence, since all emotions are valenced by evoking either positive or negative emotions (Ortony et al., 2022). In discourse, valence analysis commonly captures word sentiment associations which often arrange emotional classification features (Wilson et al., 2005), such as the finding of *cooperation*, *unity*, *peace* that normally signify valence as part of their positive meaning. Positive emotions distinctively guide public social behaviour and provide life-improving factors (Cohn et al., 2009), which is what Biden resorted to in order to persuade his audience and legitimize US measures towards anti-NATO actions. However, the simple classification of the words denoting emotions may not correlate with the general sentiment of the texts.

The KWIC analysis of NATO occurrences showed that the discursive formulation of NATO in Biden's speeches aroused positive valence (see for example Goetz et al., 2010; Stefanowitsch & Gries, 2006) due to the collocation of the term NATO with concepts that have the effect of sustaining social bonds, international security and cooperation, as in:

(10) Having two new NATO members in the High North will enhance the security of our Alliance and *deepen our security cooperation* across the board. (Biden, 19 May 2022)

(11) And through more than seven decades that followed, NATO has proved the indispensable Alliance, committed to a *Europe whole, free, and at peace.* (Biden, 9 August 2022)

NATO's metaphorical deepening of *security cooperation*, and commitment to a *Europe whole, free, and at peace* grounds the positive valuation of the alliance by arousing emotional reactions to NATO ideology.

The positively oriented emotional and ideological bias in Biden's speeches was analysed using the Wmatrix's USAS[1] system of semantic preference (Archer et al., 2002). While this analysis is semantic, the study of linguistic meaning is part of the study of human cognitive ability and a description of how people conceive the world they live in (see Palmer, 1981). USAS is a tagging system that semantically annotates the corpus based on Tom McArthur's Longman Lexicon of Contemporary English (McArthur, 1981). The annotation symbols correspond to a semantic taxonomy of 232 tags arranged in a hierarchy under 21 top levels (see Table 2):

[1] The Wmatrix's USAS in the UCREL semantic analysis system is a framework for semantically tagging texts, developed by Lancaster University (http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/; *UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS)*, n.d.).

Table 2. Top-level of semantic hierarchy (Archer et al., 2002).

A general and abstract terms	**B** the body and the individual	**C** arts and crafts	**E** emotion
F food and farming	**G** government and public	**H** architecture, housing and the home	**I** money and commerce in industry
K entertainment, sports and games	**L** life and living things	**M** movement, location, travel and transport	**N** numbers and measurement
O substances, materials, objects and equipment	**P** education	**Q** language and communication	**S** social actions, states and processes
T time	**W** world and enviroment	**X** psychological actions, states and processes	**Y** science and technology
Z names and grammar			

As illustrated in Table 2, one of the semantic hierarchies is emotion (E) subcategorized into E1 General, E2 Liking, E3 Calm/Violent/Angry, E4 Happy/sad, E5 Fear/bravery/shock and E6 Worry, concern, confident, with +/– indicating positive/negative emotion respectively. The analysis of the semantic tags in Biden's speeches revealed that positive valence was more frequent (see Table 3):

Table 3. Semantic tagging (preferences) in Biden's corpus.

Semtag	Frequency	Relative Frequency
E2+	1226	0.47
E4.1+	785	0.30
E3−	632	0.24
E6−	170	0.07
E4.2+	151	0.06
E3+	148	0.06
E4.1−	138	0.05
E6+	120	0.05
E5+	113	0.04
E5−	71	0.03
E2−	47	0.02
Total positive +	**2532**	1.**84**
Total negative −	**1065**	0.**41**

As illustrated in Table 3, USAS analysis showed that there were n=3597 semantic preferences in Biden's corpus of which n=2532 (70%) were positive semantic preferences. The grouping of positive/negative emotional semantic preferences collocated with NATO revealed that Biden used a set of positive emotional collocations, more than his use of negatives, which is a solid indication of a positive ideological polarity. The extraction of concordance lines of tagged symbols and KWIC analysis revealed that among the terms with positive emotion/valence were *united*, *galvanized*, *energised*, *strong* and *resolute* NATO.

(12) Because what makes NATO *strong* isn't just our enormous military capacity, but our commitment to each other, to its values. (Biden, 19 May 2022)

(13) In fact, he's [Putin] now facing a more *energized*, resolute NATO and the West than he ever, ever imagined. (Biden, 10 March 2022)

While positive emotions have been reported to occur frequently in everyday life (see Goetz et al., 2010), the positively oriented selection of NATO-related acts and policies represents an active means for advancing social-cognitive communication valence. The finding of this tendency necessitates careful research on the recognition capabilities of emotion, since this bias toward positive emotions leads to implementation in socio-emotional intervention methods (see also Russell & Barrett, 1999). Also, this finding supports Chilton's (1996) argument that international security is often given a positive value.

Biden's insistence on the social value of positiveness discourse, as in the case of his praise of NATO expansion and international social relations, psychologically triggers the emotional scope of pride (see Shariff et al., 2010), since "pride is experienced and displayed by individuals who have accomplished some social value task" (Keltner et al., 2006, p. 121).

(14) Today I'm *proud* to welcome and offer the strong support in the United States for the *applications of two great democracies* [Sweden and Finland]. They meet every NATO requirement. (Biden, 19 May 2022)

This praise may reinforce the ideology Biden is adopting, that joining NATO can be a source of international pride. This pride may empower the audience's emotional response and persuasiveness in ways that, while not necessarily metaphorical (as in *applications of two great democracies*) impact their identity as pro-NATO advocates (Lawson, 2012) and influence predictors of people's behaviours (Hendriks et al., 2014). The positive communicative valence of NATOism explained above could be another discourse strategy Biden has employed to persuade audiences of integrated/close NATO relationships.

6.3 Russian Failure: Unwilling Community Member

Biden assigned the metaphor 'fail' as an inherent characteristic of the Russian Federation and a policy-oriented label designating a decontextualized and institutionally incompetent regime (see also Nay, 2013). There were 84 occurrences of fail(ure) in Biden's corpus, of which n=21 (17%) collocated with Russia/Putin. The term 'fail' is commonly used to convey a sense of helplessness and loss, when applied to engine failure in mechanics or an inability to succeed in any given field. In the sphere of international security, however, the term 'fail' metaphorically implies an unauthoritative administration (Di John, 2010; Rotberg, 2003).

Biden represents Russia as incapable of protecting its citizens and being part of the international community, hence logically threatening international security. Assigning *fail* to Russia implies corrupted, illegal and inadequate state mechanisms, similar to findings reported by Di John (2010) in his analysis of the possible causes and consequences of failed states with specific reference to Sub-Saharan Africa. Also, in the modern world system, a 'failed state' is one that is unable to perform two fundamental functions; it cannot project authority over its territory and peoples, and it cannot protect its national boundaries (Barma, 2024).

(15) Russia has already *failed* in its initial war aims. Russia wanted to take Ukraine's capital city of Kyiv and topple its democracy and elected government Today, Kyiv still stands, and that government still presides. (Biden, 6 April 2022)

In his remarks that Russia *failed in its initial war aims*, Biden states that the federation has no authority to dismantle Ukraine's democracy and elected government, since *Kyiv still stands, and that government still presides*. However, the reality is that Russia has increased its authority by offering Russian citizenship to more people from Ukraine, and expanded its boundaries by annexing parts of Ukraine (Crimea, Donetsk and Luhansk). This discrepancy prompts the question of whether Biden assigned the term 'fail' to Russia to imply that the Russian government is unauthoritative.

To answer this question, there is a need to understand what the metaphor *fail* means in policy and political discourse, as 'failed state' has a different implicature within international

relations (Call, 2008). Firstly, the metaphor 'failed state' implied that the state is "incapable of sustaining itself as a member of the international community" (Helman & Ratner, 1992, p. 3). This can be applied to Russia when it has been (1) indefinitely suspended from the G8 following the annexation of Crimea and (2) expelled from the Council of Europe on March 15, 2022, after 26 years of membership. Secondly, the metaphor 'failed state' implies a state that is, according to Rotberg (2003), dangerous, deeply conflicted, tense, and contested by warring factions. Consider the following threat from Putin:

(16) Today's Russia remains one of the most powerful *nuclear states* […] there should be no doubt for anyone that any potential aggressor will face defeat and ominous consequences. (Putin, 12 April 2011)

It is apparent that, since the annexation of Crimea, the threat of Russia using nuclear weapons has increased, Russia now exerts a stronger regional influence in the area, and it has aroused another cold war with the US and Europe. This means that what Biden implied in his 'failed state' remarks is the representation of Russia as unwilling and dangerous.

6.4 The Collapsed Russian Economy: The 'Paying the Price' Metaphor

Biden metaphorically represented Russia as a machine with a 'paying the price' mechanism. There were 53 occurrences of *pay the price*, of which n=22 (41.5%) occurrences metaphorically implied a rational logic that Russia will *pay the price* for what it is doing to Ukraine.

(17) That is our goal: make Putin *pay the price*, weaken his position while *strengthening the hand of the Ukrainians on the battlefield*. (Biden, 16 March 2022)

Biden's metaphor of Russia as a money machine which must *pay the price* and his statement that military support will be given to Ukraine in *strengthening the hand of the Ukrainians on the battlefield* implies a warning that Russia will logically lose due to economic sanctions and be punished for what it has done to Ukraine. The payment schema makes NATO's response to the Russian aggression reasonable and manageable by metaphorically applying human/machine characteristics to the Russian economy. The logic of the metaphor *pay the price* conceptualizes the Russian invasion of Ukraine as if it is ownable, allowing the audience to conclude that Russia has to pay for what is owned.

(18) You know, throughout our history, we have learned that when dictators do not *pay the price* for their aggression, they cause more chaos and engage in more aggression. (Biden, 1 March 2022)

Biden warns that if Putin does not adhere to the logical metaphor *pay the price*, he could *cause more chaos and engage in more aggression*. This cognitive mapping of a failing Russian economy reassures NATO loyalists of the stable economy they have under the NATO umbrella, and requires non-NATO countries to think twice before confronting the NATO alliance. As we see in Figure 2, the estimated impact of the Russia–Ukraine war is huge, triggering trade restrictions and inflation in the global economy.

Moreover, the metaphor *pay the price* does not only contain a financial component; by paying the price one can also understand the arrest warrant for Putin issued by the International Criminal Court on 17 March 2023. This arrest warrant followed an investigation of war crimes against humanity, alleging responsibility for the war crime of unlawful deportation of children during the Russia–Ukraine war.

The reduction of the Russia–Ukraine war to a financial settlement is what Lakoff (1987a, p. 68) calls an "idealized cognitive model" that reconceptualises the maximum information with a minimum cost. This economic quantification of war is "necessary for even attempting to deal rationally with our experiences" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 26). This means that the 'war'

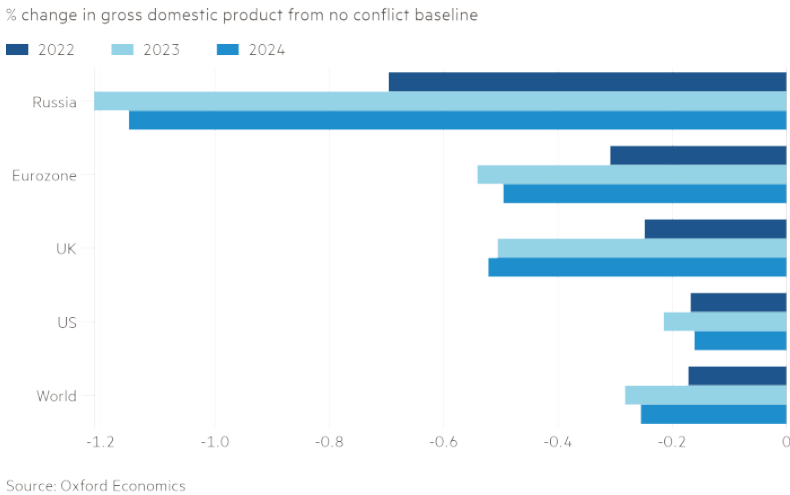


Figure 2. Impact of Russia–Ukraine war on the global economy. (Source: Oxford Economics, published by the Financial Times (© FT))

metaphor not only provides NATO and US with a specific way of thinking about war, but it allows them to act against it.

(19) Folks, let's make sure we're never again forced to *pay the price* of a menacing dictator [Putin] halfway around the world. (Biden, 22 June 2022)

Practically, NATO has mobilised its military forces and supported Ukraine to *never again be forced to pay the price* for the Russian aggression. The economic war is a quasi-conventional aggressiveness, but it also justifies the US's economic sanctions and threat to Russia to pay the price.

In the same vein, 2022 was a bad year for the Russian economy. Russia's gross domestic product (GDP) dropped by 2.1%, and continued to shrink in 2023 (see Figure 3).

Figure 3 illustrates the inflation trend in Russia from 2018 to 2022, incorporating three forecasts provided by the World Bank, OECD, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Notably, there is a significant surge in inflation in 2022, with all three institutions projecting a rate nearing 14%. In 2023, the OECD anticipates a 6.8% inflation rate, the World Bank estimates 5.9%, and the IMF forecasts 5%.

7 Conclusion

The current study aimed to uncover Biden's role in constructing pro-NATO ideology and how the Russia–Ukraine war discourse remapped NATO identity within international relations. This study achieved its aims by delineating how the metaphorical representations of NATOism were cognitively motivated by logical and/or emotional image schemas based on contexts and licensed by the event structures. Logic and emotion were inextricably linked (Mlodinow, 2022), where heart and head took the lead in the discursive construction of NATOism. The analysis showed that Biden provided axiological values of NATO representations and activated very specific embodied schemas that mapped socio-political and economic metaphors from one mental source domain to another target space. This representation helped create unipolar coalitions between the US and European Union, playing a significant role in shaping perceptions and dynamics within the alliance (see also Amaireh, 2023). I found that his metaphoric discourse categories systematically and naturally

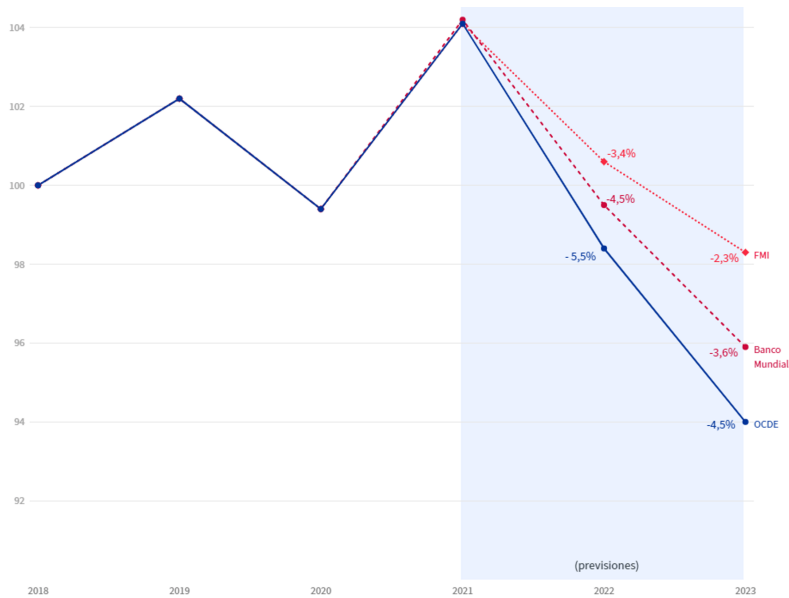


Figure 3. Russia's inflation developments 2018–2023 (source: World Bank (April 2023), OECD (March 2023)).

linked to physical experiences which were a united and valent NATO versus a failed and collapsed Russia.

Biden's ideology of NATOism was conceptualised through a logical linking schema (J. Johnson, 1987) among NATO member states to metaphorically represent the casual relatedness and integration. The frame arrays found in Biden's discourse showed a certain emotional charge metaphorically implied in the positive communicative valence of NATOism (Darong, 2021; Ortony et al., 2022). Also, Biden's triggering of pride could impact neutral states' intentions of joining NATO and could influence people's decision to reidentify themselves with the alliance (Russell & Barrett, 1999). Biden's underlying emotional resonance indirectly portrays NATO in a positive orientation, conveying a favourable or supportive view of NATO and its principles. What is notable in Biden's logical ideology representation of NATOism is the alliance's authority and the international community's willingness, with which Russia failed to comply (Di John, 2010). This makes the NATO response to the collapsed Russian economic system manageable by penalizing the aggressors to force them to 'pay the price'. Studying NATO ideology in discourse offers a rich avenue for research, encompassing discourse analysis, political science, international relations and communication studies. How NATO's ideology is constructed, contested, or reinforced through discourse can shape public perceptions and policy decisions.

References

Altamimi, S. (2023a). Apocalyptic representation of COVID-19: A corpus-assisted discourse analysis of the World Health Organization's discourse practices. *Discourse and Interaction*, *16*(1), 25–46. https://doi.org/10.5817/DI2023-1-25

Altamimi, S. (2023b). Navigating the financial frontier: A serendipitous journey between corpus linguistics and discourse analysis of economy in parliamentary speeches. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, *10*, Article 747. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-02267-9

Amaireh, H. (2023). Biden's rhetoric: A corpus-based study of the political speeches of the American President Joe Biden. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, *13*(3), 728–735. https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.1303.22

Archer, D., Wilson, A., & Rayson, P. (2002, October). Introduction to the USAS category system. *Benedict project report*. UCREL, Lancaster University. Retrieved December 11, 2022, from https://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/usas%20guide.pdf

Baker, P. (2006). *Using corpora in discourse analysis*. Continuum. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350933996

Baker, P., & McEnery, T. (Eds.). (2015). *Corpora and discourse studies: Integrating discourse and corpora*. Palgrave.

Baker, P., & McGlashan, M. (2020). Critical discourse analysis. In S. Adolphs & D. Knight (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of English language and digital humanities* (pp. 220–241). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003031758-13

Baker, P., Vessey, R., & McEnery, T. (2021). *The language of violent Jihad*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108363365

Barma, N. H. (2024). failed state. In *Encyclopedia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/topic/failed-state

Beeres, R., Bakx, G., de Waard, E., & Rietjens, S. (Eds.). (2016). *NL ARMS Netherlands Annual Review of Military Studies 2016: Organizing for Safety and Security in Military Organizations*. Springer; T.M.C. Asser Press. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6265-135-7

Bowdle, B. F., & Gentner, D. (2005). The career of metaphor. *Psychological Review*, *112*(1), 193–216. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.112.1.193

Brewer, M. D., & Stonecash, J. M. (2007). *Split: Class and cultural divides in American politics*. CQ Press. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483330532

Briefing room. (n.d.). The White House. https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/

Call, C. T. (2008). The fallacy of the "failed state". *Third World Quarterly*, *29*(8), 1491–1507. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436590802544207

Cheng, M. (2022). Theoretical framework for ecological discourse analysis: A summary of *New developments of ecological discourse analysis*. *Journal of World Languages*, *8*(1), 188–226. https://doi.org/10.1515/jwl-2021-0030

Cheng, W. (2012). *Exploring corpus linguistics: Language in action*. Routledge.

Chilton, P. (1996). *Security metaphors: Cold War discourse from containment to common house*. Peter Lang.

Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing political discourse: Theory and practice*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203561218

Citron, F. M. M., & Goldberg, A. E. (2014). Metaphorical sentences are more emotionally engaging than their literal counterparts. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, *26*(11), 2585–2595. https://doi.org/10.1162/jocn_a_00654

Cohn, M. A., Fredrickson, B. L., Brown, S. L., Mikels, J. A., & Conway, A. M. (2009). Happiness unpacked: Positive emotions increase life satisfaction by building resilience. *Emotion*, *9*(3), 361–368. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015952

Darong, H. C. (2021). Interpersonal function of Joe Biden's victory speech (systemic functional linguistics view). *Journal of Education Research and Evaluation*, *5*(1), 57–66. https://doi.org/10.23887/jere.v5i1.31420

Deane, P. D. (1992). *Grammar in mind and brain: Explorations in cognitive syntax*. Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110886535

de Hoop Scheffer, J. (2007). *Defence of security and shared values*. NATO OTAN. https://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2007/s070301a-e.html

de Zayas, A. (2022, January 24). NATO as religion. *CounterPunch*. https://www.counterpunch.org/2022/01/24/nato-as-religion

Di John, J. (2010). The concept, causes and consequences of failed states: A critical review of the literature and agenda for research with specific reference to Sub-Saharan Africa. *The European Journal of Development Research*, *22*, 10–30. https://doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2009.44

Fairclough, N. (1985). Critical and descriptive goals in discourse analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *9*(6), 739–763. https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(85)90002-5

Fairclough, N. (1993). *Discourse and social change*. Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1996). *Language and power*. Longman.

Flusberg, S. J., Matlock, T., & Thibodeau, P. H. (2017). Metaphors for the war (or race) against climate change. *Environmental Communication*, *11*(6), 769–783. https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2017.1289111

Fox, C. (2015). Political authority, practical identity, and binding citizens. *International Journal of Philosophical Studies*, *23*(2), 168–186. https://doi.org/10.1080/09672559.2015.1020827

galvanize (n.d.). In *Oxford advanced learner's dictionary*. https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/galvanize?q=galvanize

Goetz, J. L., Keltner, D., & Simon-Thomas, E. (2010). Compassion: An evolutionary analysis and empirical review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *136*(3), 351–374. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018807

Halliday, M., & Matthiessen, C. (2014). *An introduction to functional grammar* (4th ed.). Hodder Arnold.

Hamilton, D. S., & Spohr, K. (Eds.). (2019). *Open door: NATO and Euro-Atlantic security after the Cold War*. Johns Hopkins University.

Hampe, B. (2005). Image schemas in Cognitive Linguistics: Introduction. In B. Hampe & J. E. Grady (Eds.), *From perception to meaning: Image schemas in cognitive linguistics* (pp. 1–14). Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197532.0.1

Hart, C. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis and cognitive science: New perspectives on immigration discourse*. Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230299009

Helman, G. B., & Ratner, S. R. (1992). Saving failed states. *Foreign Policy*, *89*(Winter), 3–20. https://doi.org/10.2307/1149070

Hendriks, H., van den Putte, B., & de Bruijn, G.-J. (2014). Changing the conversation: The influence of emotions on conversational valence and alcohol consumption. *Prevention Science*, *15*, 684–693. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-013-0418-2

Johnson, J. (1987). *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason*. University of Chicago Press.

Johnson, M. (2005). The philosophical significance of image schemas. In B. Hampe & J. E. Grady (Eds.), *From perception to meaning: Image schemas in cognitive linguistics* (pp. 15–34). Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197532.1.15

Keltner, D., Haidt, J., & Shiota, M. N. (2006). Social functionalism and the evolution of emotions. In M. Schaller, J. A. Simpson, & D. T. Kenrick (Eds.), *Evolution and social psychology* (pp. 115–142). Psychosocial Press.

Koller, V. (2004). Businesswomen and war metaphors: "Possessive, jealous and pugnacious"? *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *8*(1), 3–22. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2004.00249.x

Kozaryn, L. D. (2000, April 6). *SHAPE considers troop needs for Kosovo Force*. U. S. Department of Defense. Retrieved February 21, 2023, from http://archive.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=45087

Kuo, S. (2002). From solidarity to antagonism: The uses of the second-person singular pronoun in Chinese political discourse. *Text*, *22*(1), 29–55. https://doi.org/10.1515/text.2002.004

Lakoff, G. (1987a). Cognitive models and prototype theory. In U. Neisser (Ed.), *Concepts and conceptual development: Ecological and intellectual factors in categorization* (pp. 63–100). Cambridge University Press.

Lakoff, G. (1987b). *Women, fire and dangerous things: What categories reveal about thought*. University of Chicago. https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226471013.001.0001

Lakoff, G. (1993). The contemporary theory of metaphor. In G. Lakoff, *Metaphor and thought* (A. Ortony, Ed.; 2nd ed., pp. 202–251). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139173865.013

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (2003). *Metaphors we live by* (2nd ed.). The University of Chicago Press.

Lawson, S. (2012). Putting the "war" in cyberwar: Metaphor, analogy, and cybersecurity discourse in the United States. *First Monday*, *17*(7), 49–73. https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v17i7.3848

Levinson, S. (1993). *Pragmatics*. Cambridge University Press.

Lorenzo-Dus, N., & Almaged, S. (2020). Poverty and social exclusion in Britain: A corpus-assisted discourse study of Labour and Conservative Party leaders' speeches, 1900–2014. In E. Gómez-Jiménez & M. Toolan (Eds.), *The discursive construction of economic inequality: CADS approaches to the British media* (pp. 13–32). Bloomsbury Academic. http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350111318.0010

Mădroane, I. D. (2012). Roma, Romanian, European: A media framed battle over identity. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines*, *5*(2), 102–119.

Martin, J. (2015). Situating speech: A rhetorical approach to political strategy. *Political Studies*, *63*(1), 25–42. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12039

Mattox, G., & Rachwald, A. (2001). Introduction: European security and the enlargement of NATO. In L. Rienner (Ed.), *Enlarging NATO: The national debates* (pp. 1–12). Lynne Rienner Publishers.

McArthur, T. (1981). *Longman lexicon of contemporary English*. Longman.

Mlodinow, L. (2022). *Emotional: how feelings shape our thinking*. Pantheon.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization. (2022). *Operations and missions: Past and present*. North Atlantic Treaty Organization. https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_52060.htm

Nurkhamidah, N., Fahira, R. Z., & Ningtyas, A. R. (2021). Rhetorical analysis of Joe Biden's inauguration address. *Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Language Teaching*, *7*(2), 73–82. https://doi.org/10.32505/jl3t.v7i2.3371

Ortony, A., Clore, G. L., & Collins, A. (2022). *The cognitive structure of emotions* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108934053

Palmer, F. R. (1981). *Semantics*. Cambridge University Press.

Partington, A. (2010). Modern Diachronic Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (MD-CADS) on UK newspapers: An overview of the project. *Corpora*, *5*(2), 83–108. https://doi.org/10.3366/cor.2010.0101

Renaldo, Z. A. (2021). Presupposition and ideology: A critical discourse analysis of Joe Biden's inaugural speech. *PROJECT (Professional Journal of English Education)*, *4*(3), 497–503. https://doi.org/10.22460/project.v4i3.p497-503

Rotberg, R. I. (2003). Failed states, collapsed states, weak states: Causes and indicators. In R. I. Rotberg (Ed.), *State failure and state weakness in a time of terror* (pp. 1–25). World Peace Foundation; Brookings Institution Press.

Russell, J. A., & Barrett, L. F. (1999). Core affect, prototypical emotional episodes, and other things called *emotion*: Dissecting the elephant. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *76*(5), 805–819. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.76.5.805

Shariff, A. F., Norenzayan, A., & Henrich, J. (2010). The birth of High Gods: How cultural evolution of supernatural policing influenced the emergent of complex, cooperative human societies, paving the way for civilization. In M. Schaller, A. Norenzayan, S. J. Heine, T. Yamagishi, & T. Kameda (Eds.), *Evolution, culture, and the human mind* (pp. 119–136). Psychology Press.

Sopory, P., & Dillard, J. P. (2002). The persuasive effects of metaphor: A meta-analysis. *Human Communication Research*, *28*(3), 382–419. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2958.2002.tb00813.x

Spielberger, C. (Ed.). (2002). *Encyclopedia of applied psychology*. PUP.

Stefanowitsch, A., & Gries, S. T. (Eds.). (2006). *Corpus-based approaches to metaphor and metonymy*. Mouton de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110199895

Talbott, S. (1998). Opening doors and building bridges in the new Europe. *U.S. Department of State Dispatch; Washington*, *9*(1), 9–13.

Tardy, T. (2021). The risks of NATO's maladaptation. *European Security*, *30*(1), 24–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/09662839.2020.1799786

Thibodeau, P. H., & Flusberg, S. J. (2022). Metaphor and elaboration in context. In H. L. Colston, T. Matlock, & G. J. Steen (Eds.), *Dynamism in metaphor and beyond* (pp. 223–240). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

UCREL Semantic Analysis System (USAS). (n.d.). http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/

van Dijk, T. A. (1986). News schemata. In S. Greenbaum & C. R. Cooper (Eds.), *Studying writing: Linguistic approaches* (pp. 155–186). Sage.

van Dijk, T. A. (1997). What is Political Discourse Analysis? Key-note address Congress Political Linguistics. Antwerp, 7–9 December 1995. In J. Blommaert & C. Bulcaen (Eds.), *Political linguistics* (pp. 11–52). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/bjl.11.03dij

van Dijk, T. A. (2001). Critical discourse analysis. In D. Tannen, H. E. Hamilton, & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *Handbook of discourse analysis* (pp. 352–371). Wiley Blackwell.

van Dijk, T. A. (2002). Political discourse and political cognition. In P. Chilton & C. Schäffner (Eds.), *Politics as text and talk: Analytical approaches to political discourse* (pp. 204–237). John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.4.11dij

van Dijk, T. A. (2003). *Ideología y discurso*. Ariel.

van Dijk, T. A. (2006a). Discourse and manipulation. *Discourse & Society*, *17*(3), 359–383. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926506060250

van Dijk, T. A. (2006b). Ideology and discourse analysis. *Journal of Political Ideology*, *11*(2), 115–140. https://doi.org/10.1080/13569310600687908

van Eemeren, F. H., & Grootendorst, R. (2004). *A systematic theory of argumentation*. Cambridge University Press.

Walton, D. (2004). *Informal logic*. Cambridge University Press.

Wilson, T., Wiebe, J., & Hoffmann, P. (2005). Recognizing contextual polarity in phrase-level sentiment analysis. In *Proceedings of the International Conference on Human Language Technology and Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing (HLT=EMNLP-05), Vancouver, Canada* (pp. 347–354). Association for Computational Linguistics. https://doi.org/10.3115/1220575.1220619

Wodak, R. (2001a). The discourse-historical analysis of the rhetoric of racism and anti-Semitism. In M. Reisigl & R. Wodak (Eds.), *Discourse and discrimination: Rhetorics of racism and anti-Semitism* (pp. 31–90). Routledge.

Wodak, R. (2001b). What CDA is about: A summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 1–13). Sage. https://doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020.n1

The publication was financed at the author's expense.

The author declares that he has no competing interests.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0), which permits redistribution, commercial and non-commercial, provided that the article is properly cited.

© The Author 2024

Publisher: Institute of Slavic Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland

Publishing history: Received 2023-07-26; Accepted 2024-08-08; Published 2024-12-22.