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| Abstract | 本稿では認知意味論における概念メタファーと概念メトミニーの「現実」を形成する作用に注目し、様々な政治的抽象概念によって構築される認知モデルとしての<戦争>を明かして行く。方法としては、2003年のイラク戦争を報道する英文記事からメタファーやメトニミー表現を抽出・分類し、更に日本語の記事における表現との比較研究を行った。 |
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# Systems of War :
# A Cognitive Semantic Approach to Media Text Analysis
## （メディア・テクストにおける戦争の認知モデルの探求）

慶 應 義 塾 大 学

総合政策学部4年　井 本 由 紀

「教員推薦による学生論文」推薦のことば

　本研究は、認知意味論の枠組みに立ち、メタファーとメトニミーに焦点を絞ったテクスト分析により、「戦争」の認知モデルがいかに形成されるのかを解明しようとしたものである。より具体的に言えば、「戦争」という社会的現実を言語的に表現する過程において使われるメタファーやメトニミーが、人々の内面における「戦争」という現実の捉え方、理解の仕方を反映するものであるという前提に基づき、メディア・テクストを分析対象として研究したものである。この研究の底流にある基本的な問題意識は、言語が異なるならば「戦争」の概念化の方法、あるいはそれによって形成される認知モデルも異なりうるのか、あるいは、言語の相違にも関わらずに何らかの共通性が見られるのか、というものであり、この問題を解明すべく、テクスト分析、翻訳分析を行ったものである。

　具体的には、2003 年のイラク戦争を報道する英文記事および日本語の記事からメタファーやメトニミー表現を抽出・分類することで、日英語における「戦争」の認知モデルの比較検討を行い、さらに英語のテクストが日本語に翻訳された場合、メタファー、メトニミーの使用がどのように変容するのかを検討することによって、言語間における「戦争」の概念化の違いを解明しようとしている。本研究の分析を通じて、「国家」を「人間」として捉え、「政治の場」を「劇」として捉え、さらに「戦争」を「ゲーム」として認識するメタファーなどが複雑に絡み合いながら、メディア・テクストが「戦争」の認知モデルを形成していること、さらに、日英語における微妙な相違にも関わらず、身体性および経験的基盤を共有しているが故の共通性が見られることが明らかにされている。

　本研究は、George Lakoff などにより提唱されている認知意味論をテクスト分析に応用しようとした意欲的な研究であり、分析の手法もきわめて堅実である。筆者自身も認めているよう

に、今回の研究から十分な結果と結論を導き出すには至っていないとはいえ、有意義な研究への可能性を開いたものとして、高く評価できる。

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# Systems of War

A Cognitive Semantic Approach to Media Text Analysis

「メディア・テクストにおける＜戦争＞の認知モデルの探求」

慶應義塾大学

総合政策学部４年

井本　由紀

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## Introduction

The international media continually informs us of a world that is yet far from attaining peace. For those living within a peaceful state however, "war" is not an experienced reality, but merely a *conceptualized* one; it is only through such media as television, newspapers and magazines that we come to realize war as reality, and this reality is to a large extent, built upon language.

Visual images make strong impressions and "media wars" such as the Gulf War of the 1990s have proven how television media can manipulate the minds of the public, informing them of the realities of war but at the same time, hiding others. In textual media such as newspapers, the mechanism of showing and hiding reality is more subtle, yet equally profound. Its influence is due to the inherent and pervasive power of language to categorize, structure and create reality—of what may be called the "cognitive" nature of language.

In this paper, I will consider how we conceptualize war as a reality through cognitive processes of language[1]. The objective is to show how journalistic texts contain cognitive systems that influence or form our understanding of the discourse of war. My main method of investigation will be a metaphor and metonymy analysis of media text, and my approach will be based on the various theories proposed in the field of cognitive linguistics. Metaphors and metonymies are core topics in cognitive linguistics and the most dynamic in their possible application to other disciplines—I will attempt to broadly lay out different examples of metaphor and metonymy systems that reside within the journalistic discourse of war. In the process, it is hoped that what rests as an unconscious process of cognition will be brought to the fore—that the metaphorical nature of metaphor will be revived. Thus readers may become more critical observers of texts and of social and political reality.

In chapters 1 and 2, I will present theoretical ideas on the conceptual system of language as will be of relevance in its application to media discourse analysis. From the theoretical framework, I will propose a method of metaphor analysis.

In chapter 3, will be an investigation and analysis of the fundamental metaphor and metonymy systems found in journalistic texts relating to the Iraq War of 2003. I will attempt to present the results obtained in an organized manner, while

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[1] The word "cognitive" to refers to the experiential view of language (the view taken by cognitive linguists), rather than the logical view of language as in the original sense of the word. (See Ungerer and Schmidt 1996:xi)

simultaneously considering their implications for the way we perceive reality.

    Chapters 4 and 5 will introduce a comparative perspective, and examples of metaphor and metonymy in Japanese articles will be presented. Through close observation at the linguistic level made possible through translation analysis, I will consider the extent of the linguistic relativity or universality of metaphors and metonymies that create our reality of war.

## PART I

**1.What is metaphor?**

**1.1 The cognitive turn**

Metaphor has traditionally been seen as a somewhat "deviant" and primarily ornamental type of speech that is distinctive from literal language, and used as a literary or rhetorical device by poets or eloquent speakers. Of the various forms of figurative language, it has continually been one of the most widely studied, because of its abundance and its power as a literary device.

The earliest studies of metaphor can be seen in the works of Aristotle, who believed them to be implicit comparisons based on the principles of analogy (Ortony 1979:3). For example, a figurative expression such as "Juliet is the sun" would be a typical metaphor, where certain attributes of "Juliet" are recognized to be similar to certain attributes of the "sun" so that they are compared.

The **comparative view** of metaphor has more recently been studied by Richards (e.g. 1936) and Black (1962), who developed the **interaction theory**, suggesting that metaphors occur "through the interaction of metaphorical expressions and the contexts in which they are used" (Ungerer and Schmid 1996:116). Of particular interest in the works of Black, is his claim that metaphors can generate new meanings and new similarities through the comparative interaction. The idea leads to the discussion of metaphors in the cognitive context; of metaphors as being fundamental to human thought.

The cognitive turn of metaphor in linguistics takes off with the revolutionary *Metaphors We Live By* co-authored by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The main argument made here is that metaphors are not mere linguistic expressions but a way of "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (1980:5). Metaphors are rife in our everyday lives and are one of the fundamental cognitive systems by which we live.

**1.2 How metaphors work—the conceptual mapping of domains**

      The process of metaphor can be explained as the *conceptual mapping* of domains: two conceptual domains interact, with concepts of the source domain being mapped onto its corresponding counterpart in the target domain. In this sense, metaphor as a phenomenon involves both conceptual mappings and individual linguistic expressions, and these concepts need to be kept distinct (Lakoff 1993:209).

      I will talk of metaphor at these two levels; namely, the level of **metaphorical linguistic expressions** which are the surface manifestations in our everyday discourse; and **conceptual metaphors** that motivate these expressions[2].

      Consider the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY[3] for example. Here the concept of MONEY (the source domain) is mapped onto the abstract concept of TIME (the target domain), resulting in such metaphorical linguistic expressions as follows:

- You're *wasting* my time
- This gadget will *save* you hours
- How do you *spend* your time these days? (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:7)

The concept of TIME and MONEY are similar in that they both rely on the typical modern capitalist value that the more one has of it, the better. The difference is that while MONEY can be seen and touched and is systematically transacted in everyday societal life, TIME remains to be a more abstract concept. Thus, through metaphorical mapping, the abstract notion of TIME is understood in terms of MONEY, with sub-concepts that structure the domain of MONEY such as "waste", "spend", "buy", "give", "save", and "lose", being mapped onto the corresponding sub-concept in the domain of TIME.

      The example shows how metaphors can structure the way we think about reality, and how we may *create* reality, by acting upon the newly generated meanings.

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[2] The term "metaphor" used alone will henceforth refer to the conceptual mappings, rather than the linguistic expressions.
[3] Following the style of Lakoff and Johnson, conceptual metaphors will be shown in capitulation.

## 1.3 The penetration level of metaphors

The notion of how metaphors are embedded within a text is critical for analyzing their effect on our conceptualization.

Within the traditional paradigm, metaphors that were conventionalized as idioms or lexicalized items were referred to as "dead" metaphors (Ungerer and Schmid 1996: 117). However, the view of linguists such as Lakoff and Turner is that metaphors which are "the most alive and most deeply entrenched, efficient, and powerful are those that are so automatic as to be unconscious and effortless" (Lakoff and Turner 1989:129).

Therefore instead of differentiating metaphors as being either "dead" or "alive", it is more reasonable to consider the embeddedness of metaphor as a continuum with various levels of **metaphorical penetration** (Chilton 1989: 60-1). According to Chilton's explanation, at the fundamental level are metaphor systems that are an indispensable part of our semantic system. The "dead metaphors" which are likely to be more culture-specific come above at the second level, and further up just beneath the surface are the least stable "created" metaphors, "highly useful for anyone seeking to plant a particular picture of reality in people's minds" (Chilton 1989: 61).

## 1.4 Metaphor as a tool for ideological research

It has now become clear that conceptual metaphors can manipulate our thoughts and can implant certain ideologies in our minds. Furthermore, we may come to act upon those implanted beliefs to create a social reality. This characteristic of metaphor has led to its use as an analytical tool for ideological research and political discourse analysis[4].

Prior research on the metaphor of war from the cognitive viewpoint pertains largely to George Lakoff, in particular his 1991 paper titled "Metaphor and War: The Metaphor System Used to Justify War in the Gulf". This paper, originally presented at the Alumni House of the University of California, Berkley on the dawn of the Gulf War, has a strong message of criticism against the U.S. foreign policy that "created" a war through manipulative use of metaphor in its political rhetoric. The systems of metaphor proposed are insightful and noteworthy, but from the nature of its genre, it lacks the support of actual linguistic evidence and is coloured by Lakoff's political stance.

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[4] Within the "conceptual metaphor paradigm", the ideological function of metaphor is increasingly being recognized and studied. (Wolf & Polzenhagen 2003: 248)

Other cognitive linguistic approaches to the war rhetoric have followed, such as Schäffner (1995) presenting the cognitive role of the "balance" metaphor during the Cold War; Chilton and Lakoff's paper (1995) explaining the metaphors found in foreign policy discourse, and Rohrer (1995) investigating the metaphors in the public papers of President Bush in the 1991 Gulf War.

In all such studies however, the focus has been on the metaphors that are able to be manipulated by the "experts" and the media, not having reached the deeper penetration level. This paper will concentrate more on revealing the fundamental metaphors rather than the "expert" models that are known to shape the discourse and the accompanying ideology of war. Thus the linguistic samples will be obtained not from political speeches and statements or propaganda, but journalistic texts. Even in seemingly neutral texts that report on the "facts" of the situation concerning war, metaphor analysis reveals that conceptual metaphor and metonymy systems are deeply entrenched in the language.

## 2. The Scenario
## 2.1 Clarification of terms

I have thus far explained our central key term of *metaphor*. To see how metaphor operates in discourse however, it needs to be recognized that metaphors are not an isolated phenomenon, but a part of a dynamic and interrelated conceptual process.

The basic units which **structural metaphors and metonymies** work with are **cognitive models**. Metaphors are structure mappings from source cognitive models to target models while metonymies[5] are referential mappings within a single cognitive model[6] (Ungerer and Schmid 1996:120).

According to Ungerer and Schmid (1996:47), a cognitive model is "the stored cognitive imaginations that belong to a certain field". They are formed of **cognitive categories** such as people, places, objects, and events which are usually structured in a coherent, interrelated manner. Different **concepts** fit into these constitutive cognitive categories at various degrees. Frames, image schemas, ICMs, stories, scripts, scenarios: these terms which are often used interchangeably, refer to types of cognitive models with a spatial or sequential structure. These models are said to be highly *schematic*; within the stored cognitive framework are "slots" which can be filled in by context or

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[5] More discussion of metonymies will be left for the next chapter.
[6] Lakoff and Johnson, among others refer to these as "source domains" and "target domains".

additional knowledge (D'Andrade 1995:123).

## 2.2. War as a scenario

Below are some hints to discern how we may be conceptualizing war in terms of "scenarios":

[1] <u>A worst-case scenario</u> looms over the siege of Baghdad

*Asahi Shimbun* 3.31.03

[2] Saddam's capture may open <u>a new chapter</u> in the reconstruction of the country.

*Asahi Shimbun* 12.10.03

[3] 米紙は昨年末から、こうした<u>開戦や戦後のシナリオ</u>を盛んに報じた。

*朝日* 3.21.03

I suggest that the cognitive model of war can be effectively described in terms of various imagined **scenarios (or sub-scenarios)**. I will consider scenarios to be the sub-models of a collective discourse of war that can be mapped metaphorically.

[4] <u>The Godfather</u> is dead. But what will be his legacy? <u>Is there a good Iraqi national family that can and wants to live together, or will there just be more little godfathers competing with one another?</u> From my own visits, I think <u>the good family scenario</u> for Iraq is very possible, if we can provide security — but only Iraqis can tell us for sure by how they behave. *New York Times* 12.18.03

In this excerpt, "scenarios" of the family are presented to convey the possible political forms that Iraq may take. There are scenarios of <the good family> where different ethnic and religious groups live peacefully together under one democratic government, and there are scenarios of the bad family, i.e. <the mafia>, where power rests in the hands of an autocratic ruler (the Godfather).

[5] How well Iraqis absorb that kind of freedom will determine whether the capture of Saddam is <u>the high point of this drama</u> — and it's <u>all downhill from here</u> — or just a necessary <u>first chapter</u> in the most revolutionary democracy-building project ever undertaken in the Arab world. *New York Times* 12.18.03

More evidence of scenarios are found in the example above where the words

"drama" and "first chapter" reveal the nature of the war in Iraq to be a set sequence of events.

Lakoff (1987:285) defines scenarios as cognitive models with "an initial state, a sequence of events, and a final state" and also typically consisting of "people, things, properties, relations and propositions". Incorporating Lakoff's definition and that of Turner's (see Turner 1996: 10), I define scenarios (and sub-scenarios) to involve **actors, objects,** and **events,** and that these categories interact within a temporal sequence to form small stories. Below is a diagram to illustrate a sub-scenario of war:

[6] The Iraqi ship of state has broken up on these rocks many times before.

*New York Times* 12.18.03

Cognitive model (source)  $\Longrightarrow$  Cognitive model (target)

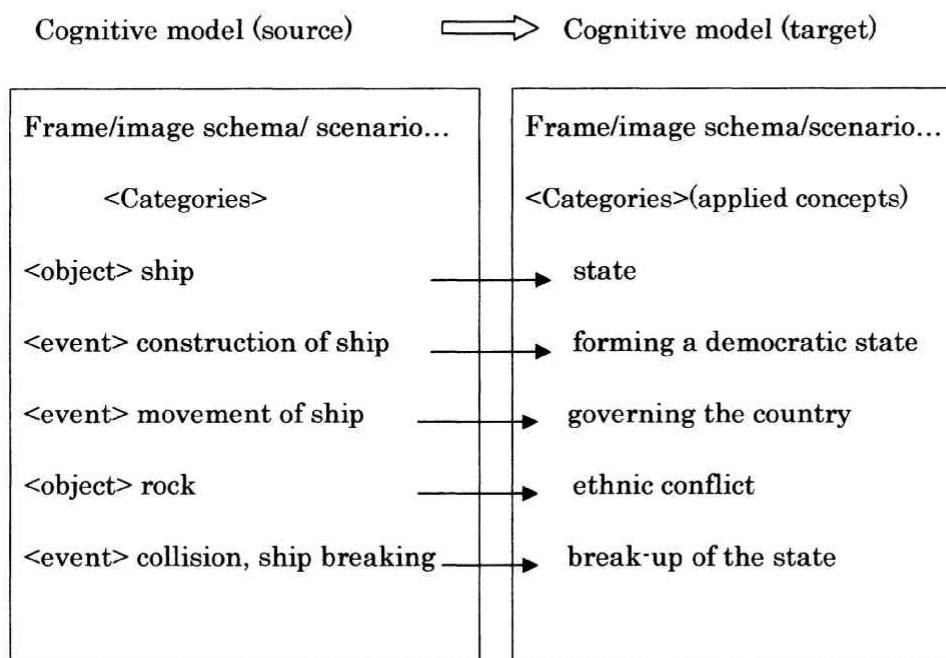| Frame/image schema/ scenario... | Frame/image schema/scenario... |
|---|---|
| <Categories> | <Categories>(applied concepts) |
| <object> ship $\longrightarrow$ | state |
| <event> construction of ship $\longrightarrow$ | forming a democratic state |
| <event> movement of ship $\longrightarrow$ | governing the country |
| <object> rock $\longrightarrow$ | ethnic conflict |
| <event> collision, ship breaking $\longrightarrow$ | break-up of the state |

Diagram1.   Conceptual metaphor mapping of the <ship> scenario.

Furthermore, relying on the propositions in Lakoff (1991) on scenarios of the Gulf War[7], I propose that the concept of scenario itself can also be metaphorically mapped to envisage a whole-embracing concept of war, as represented in Diagram 2.
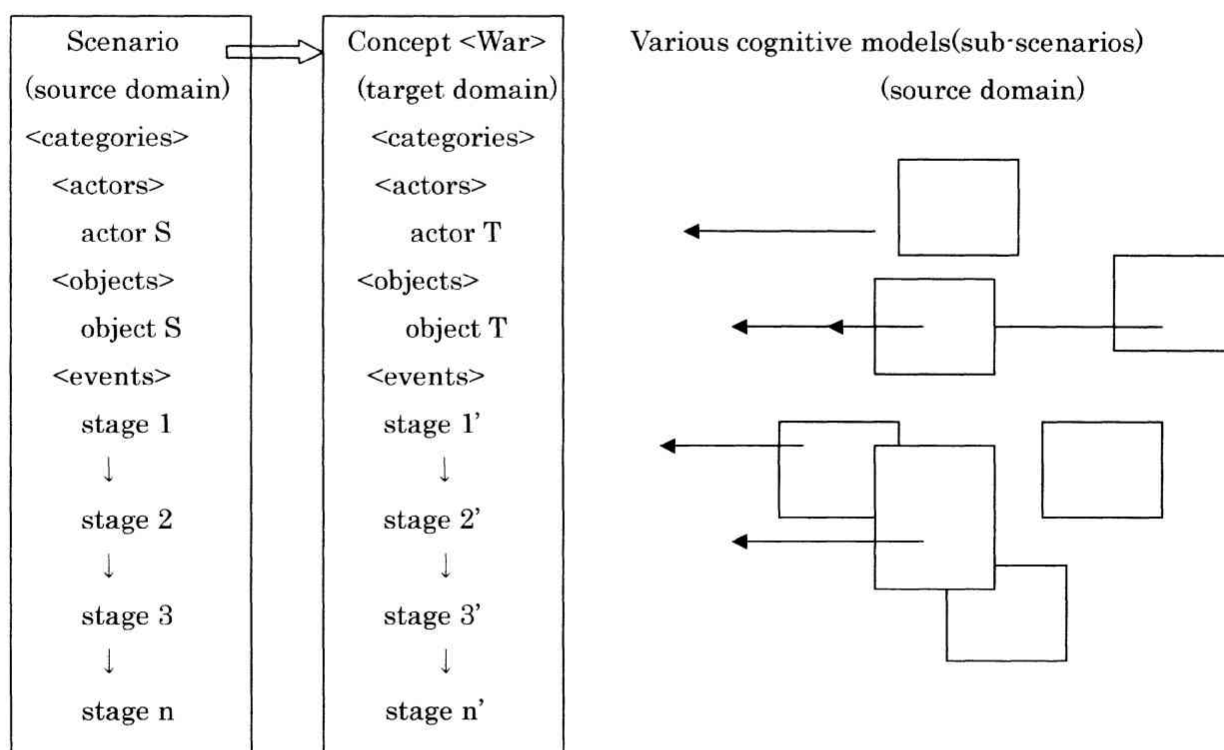
| Scenario (source domain) | Concept <War> (target domain) | Various cognitive models(sub-scenarios) (source domain) |
|---|---|---|
| <categories> | <categories> | |
| <actors> | <actors> | |
| actor S | actor T | |
| <objects> | <objects> | |
| object S | object T | |
| <events> | <events> | |
| stage 1 | stage 1' | |
| ↓ | ↓ | |
| stage 2 | stage 2' | |
| ↓ | ↓ | |
| stage 3 | stage 3' | |
| ↓ | ↓ | |
| stage n | stage n' | |

Diagram 2.   Conceptual metaphor of WAR AS A SCENARIO and its sub-mappings.[8]

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[7] One of Lakoff's claims is that the Gulf War was justified through "fairy-tale" scenarios, in which there is a villain, a victim, and a hero. In these stories, the villain commits a crime, and the hero balances the moral books by fighting and defeating him. The Gulf War was justified by using two different scenarios: the "self-defense scenario" (Iraq is the villain, the US is the threatened victim as well as the hero) and the "rescue scenario" (the victim is Kuwait, the crime is kidnap and rape, and the hero is the US).

> The most natural way to justify a war on moral grounds is to fit this fairy tale structure to a given situation. This is done by metaphorical definition, that is, by answering the questions: Who is the victim? Who is the villain? Who is the hero? What is the crime? What counts as victory? Each set of answers provides a different filled-out scenario. (Lakoff 1991:4)

[8] D'Andrade explains the hierarchical structure of "schemas" which I believe to be applicative to the <war> scenario model.

> An important aspect of the organization of schemas is that simpler schemas can be embedded within more complex schemas. Or, to put it another way, schemas can be hierarchically structured. The *writing* schema contains within it a number of sub-schemas; the schema for a writing implement, a writing surface, a language, and an entity that is trying to communicate. Further, each of these sub-schemas is composed of sub-sub schemas; there are schemas for *pens, paper, English, authors,* etc. (D'Andrade 1995: 124)

We acquire knowledge on situations of war through various sources of media. The knowledge we gain on war in this way are *fragments* of scenarios, from which are formed a **gestalt** scenario model of <war>[9].

The cognitive model of war that is pieced together through media text has innumerable kinds of metaphors and metonymies at work; some which have been consciously "created", others which are deep at the penetration level of our everyday social discourse. For the text analysis that follows, I will organize the main metaphor and metonymy systems found, by placing them into their relevant categories in the scenario of <war>.

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[9] Fillmore's discussion below is highly illustrative for our case, and also captures the process of *gestalt*.

> It seems to me that what is needed in discourse analysis is a way of discussing the development, on the part of the interpreter, of an image or scene or picture of the world as that gets built up and filled out between the beginning and the end of text-interpretation experience. One way of talking about it is this: the first part of a text creates or activates a kind of schematic or outline scene, with many positions left blank, so to speak; later parts of the text fill in the blanks (or some of them, anyway), introduce new scenes, combine scenes through links of history or causation or reasoning, and so on. In other words, a person, in interpreting a text, *mentally creates a partially specified world; as he continues with the text, the details of this world get filled in;* and in the process, expectations get up which later on are fulfilled or thwarted, and so on. What is important is that *the ultimate nature of this text-internal world will often depend on aspects of scenes that are never identified explicitly in the text.*

(Italics mine) (Fillmore, Charles. 1975. 'An Alternative to Checklist Theories in Meaning'.*Proceedings of the 1ˢᵗ Annual Meeting of the Berkely Linguistics Society* 1:123-131 in D'Andrade 1995: 123))

## PART II

### 3. Finding concepts within the war scenario
### Text Analysis I

**Method**

The articles for analysis were selected from various newspapers and news magazines (mainly *the New York Times*, the *Guardian, Newsweek* and *Asahi Shimbun*) written in English. All are concerned with political and military conflict, primarily of the United States' attack on Iraq that began on March 20, 2003.

I extracted linguistic metaphorical expressions at their various levels of penetration and grouped them according to their underlying metaphorical systems (i.e. their categorical models).

These groupings were then placed accordingly into my proposed framework of the war scenario. Given below are the typical examples found for each conceptual metaphor and my observations that have followed from them.

### 3.1. Actors of the war scenario

> • concept applied to the <actor>category: STATE or NATION
> • metaphor: personification

Since war is an exercise of violence between states, it naturally follows that the major concept in the cognitive model of war be the abstract, imagined unit of the state or its closely related concept of the nation.

Benedict Anderson(1983) presents the concept of nation as an *imagined community*—"imagined" because the citizens of the nation will never know most of the fellow-members of their community, but will still hold "a firm image of a communion held by a deep sense of fraternity". Anderson writes; "ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many people, not so much to kill, as willingly die for such limited imaginings" (1983:7).

The concept of nation which was disseminated through newspapers and other forms of print media, is concretized through the NATION AS PERSON and STATE AS

PERSON metaphor[10].

This metaphor has been used in politics since the time of Plato, whose analogy of the body politic perhaps lies at the base of this fundamental metaphor (Rohrer 1995). In the modern age, it has aided the solidification of the concept of the nation-state and continues to dominate the discourse of foreign policy, as well as the folk concept through which citizens identify and refer to the nation or its governing state.

As can be seen from the examples presented below, the STATE AS PERSON metaphor brings a wide variety of entailments to form a complex system of metaphors. This metaphor has been investigated by Lakoff (1991, 1995) and Rohrer (1995), but their past studies have not made references to specific examples from media text. Scrutiny of linguistic metaphorical expressions that appear in journalistic text reveals that this fundamental metaphor is deeply embedded and has become part of our conceptual reality.

### 3.1.1. Parts of the Body

States have bodies and can stand 'shoulder to shoulder'; as a person, it can grow, mature, decline, be healthy, be developed or underdeveloped (Chilton and Lakoff 1995:39). Otto Santa Ana concluded from his discourse analysis of U.S. anti-minority policies that; "in public discourse, Latinos are *never the arms or heart of the US*, they are portrayed as burdens or diseases of the NATION AS BODY, or as foreigners that invade the NATION AS HOUSE." (italics mine. in Rene, Dirven & Pütz, 2003:205)

[7] Britain and as much of the Continent as possible will <u>stand 'shoulder to shoulder'</u> with the Americans    *Newsweek* 10.4.01

[8] Leadership "<u>decapitation</u>" has a seductive logic: it exploits America's air power advantage, can be executed in a short time and minimizes combat losses. *NYT* 3.21.03

The head of the body accords to the "head of state" so that the "decapitation" strategy is realized.  This entailed metaphor which literally means to kill a body by removing its head, implies efficiency, and hides the fact that killing of the "head" alone

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[10]  The terms "nation" and "state" denote different concepts, but within the research on metaphors of war, they have been used interchangeably. Lakoff (1991, 1995) uses the term STATE while Rohrer (1995) uses NATION.

without causing harm to other parts, is not realistically possible.

### 3.1.2 Personality and friendship.

As persons, states enter into relationships with other states (friends, enemies, neighbours, clients), and are also seen as having personalities (trustworthy, deceitful, aggressive, cooperative, etc) which are expected to be reflected in their policy (Chilton and Lakoff 1995:39).

[9] a moderate, tolerant Arab-Muslim country ideally suited to act as a bridge between East and West (of Morocco) *Arabies Trends* 4.1.03

[10] Edgy Arab nations weathered the first day of the American war against Iraq with scattered protests. *NYT* 3.20.03

[11] The Moroccan authorities are eager to impress Washington with their usefulness in the hunt for Al-Qaeda. *Arabies Trends* 4.1.03

[12] As the United States stirs new levels of resentment in the Muslim world, it sorely needs the fidelity and friendship of Turkey, the only predominantly Muslim member of NATO and a relatively stable democracy in a volatile region. *NYT* 3.3103

The expressions above show that relationships are often about interests and well-being. Smaller countries want to "impress" the U.S., and the U.S. seeks "fidelity and friendship". Such ways of understanding complex relations in international politics through personal relationships where there are distinct "strong leaders" or "bullies" or "friends", is a natural and taken-for-granted process.

Seeing an entire nation as having one personality has its obvious dangers, and below is an example of how a conceptual metaphor has been acted upon to create a reality.

[13] And demonstrators lashed out at the United States as a bully exploiting Arab weakness. *NYT* 3.20.03

Now that the main actor of the scenario has been identified, before looking at its

further entailments, let us turn to the question of how this person-state is *referred* to.

## 3.2 How the person-state is referred to
### 3.2.1. Examples of metonymy

Metonymy, like metaphor, has become recognized as a conceptual process with structured conceptual systems that motivate their linguistic expressions. The process of metonymy consists in mentally accessing one concept (the **target**) via another concept (the **vehicle**) that is within the same cognitive model (Radden and Kövesces 1996:17). Langacker (1993: 30) calls the vehicle as being a "**reference point**" for accessing the target.

For our present purposes, the focus on metonymy is to investigate how concepts within the complex cognitive model of <state> are being accessed and understood. The conceptual process involved can be considered to be the working of metaphor and metonymy in combination as the examples below indicate.

[14] Washington pretended, at least, to keep its distance   *Newsweek* 10.03

[15] Paris and Berlin, especially, seem more troubled by the prospect of America's unbridled military power than Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.  *Newsweek* 2.3.03

[16] Downing Street and the Elysee hope they can rebuild Anglo-French relations around their joint view that the UN must eventually have a central role in the reconstruction of Iraq.   *Guardian* 4.1.03

When considering the meaning of example [14] in the context of international politics, it is easily and naturally discernible that "Washington" is a rephrasing of a term such as "the members of the US government".   How has this referential connection been made?

"Washington" is followed by the verb "pretended" which suggests a metaphor of **personification** at work.   In context, we understand that animacy has been granted not to the city, but to the government (=state) as the major actor in the scenarios of international politics. In other words, metonymy is understood within the grounds of the STATE AS PERSON metaphor. Hence "Washington" refers to its contiguous concept of <the American government> which it accommodates, and the underlying conceptual

metonymy can be termed: CAPITAL CITY FOR STATE, or more generally, PLACE FOR INSTITUTION[11]. The same metonymy can be seen in example [15] and in example [16], street names rather than cities are used to stand for the state-institution.
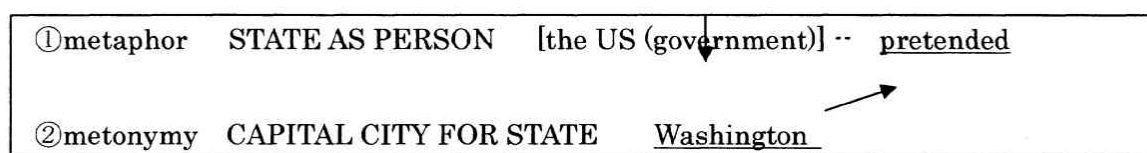
```
①metaphor    STATE AS PERSON     [the US (government)] -- pretended

②metonymy    CAPITAL CITY FOR STATE      Washington
```

Diagram 3. Metaphor and metonymy working in combination

### 3.2.2. Some open questions

There are certain questions concerning the working of metonymy in combination with the STATE-AS-PERSON metaphor.

Consider the example below;

[17] The Americans continue to insist that no deal has been struck on Islamabad's obsession—its struggle with India over Kashmir. But neither is Washington interested in entertaining India's complaints against its neighbor at the moment. New Delhi could be forgiven for thinking the new cold war is freezing India out. *Newsweek* 10.8.01

"The Americans", "Washington", "Islamabad", "India", and "New Delhi" all denote institutions at the same abstraction level of <state>. What motivates the occurrence of metonymy? In which situations do they occur and in which do they not? What are their effects on our conceptual understanding? These are some of the questions I hope to consider in Part III of this paper.

### 3.3 The objects in the scenario

Activities, events, emotions and other experiences are often understood in terms of objects and substances so that we may identify them, refer to them, quantify them, and reason about them; this is a realization of the **ontological metaphor**, one of

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[11] This metonymy has been identified in Lakoff and Johnson (1980:39) and Ungerer and Schmid (1996:116).

our most basic metaphors that we live by (Lakoff 1980: 25).

The objects of the war scenario are the "targets" onto which the public are led to pay their attention or project their emotions. These are abstract concepts that have been concretized through the ontological metaphor. The two major ontologized concepts found in the articles were <relationships> and <governmental power>.

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· concepts applied to the <object> category: relationships

                                            regime/government

· main metaphors:    ontological metaphor

                   RELATIONSHIPS AS BUILDINGS

                   GOVERNMENTAL POWER AS BUILDINGS

---

### 3.3.1 Relationships as buildings

The ontological metaphor can be specified to a certain structured entity, in this case to the metaphor of RELATIONSHIPS AS BUILDINGS.

[18] (Headline) War in the Gulf: Blair acts to reassure Europe on US plans: Diplomacy: PM wants to fix fences before June meetings. *Guardian* 4.1.03

[19] Tony Blair has started the daunting task of rebuilding damaged relations with France, Germany and Russia by briefing European leaders on the outcome of his talks with President Bush in Camp David. *Guardian* 4.1.03

[20] As part of the fence-building operation, Mr. Blair briefed the French president, Jacques Chirac, by phone on Saturday and German chancellor, Gerhard Schroeder. He also spoke to Vladmir Putin, the Russian president. *Guardian* 4.1.03

[21] Britain is trying to put a fire wall round the dispute with the French and the Germans over Iraq. *Guardian* 4.1.03

[22] The trust has been eroded not simply by Washington's behaviour, heavy-handed though it has been. The other major powers have also been unilateral and incoherent. Consider France, which, in its discomfort with American power, has shattered the EU's foreign policy process, weakened NATO, hurt its relations with

its Central European allies and permanently set back its relations with Britain—all to avoid endorsing military action against Saddam Hussein. *Newsweek* 3.31.03

[23] This is not simply a debate over how to rebuild Iraq but rather how to <u>rebuild international trust between Washington and some of its key allies.</u> *Newsweek* 3.31.03

We see that relationships, trust or policy processes can be "damaged", "rebuilt", "hurt", "shattered" or "eroded" by states as actors. While example [21] may still seem to be a salient case of metaphor, to "fix fences" is an idiomatic phrase, and "building" or "rebuilding" relationships and trust is a wholly conventionalized one. The way we conceive of abstract actions are revealed in such expressions, yet ontological metaphors are so deeply embedded in our every day language that they are hardly ever noticed as being metaphorical, and without them, no rationalizing about war would be possible.

### 3.3.2 Iraqi regime as a building

Regime, government and power are accorded entities through the ontological metaphor. The metaphor of the IRAQI REGIME AS A BUILDING has been an indispensable one for post-war multilateral negotiations where the central topic is the "construction" of a democratic state from the ruins after the "collapse" of the former regime.

[24] The image of the exhausted dictator offering no resistance surely crushed the ghost that had lingered in the minds of Iraqis since <u>the collapse of his regime.</u> *Asahi* 12.18.03

[25] Mr. Blair is trying to reassure his European counterparts that he is impressing on the US the need for a multilateral approach, and especially a role for the UN in any <u>postwar reconstruction</u>. *Guardian*4.1.03

[26] <u>Toppling</u> Saddam Hussein. *Newsweek* 10.5.01

In [26], "Saddam Hussein" is a metonymical expression that stands for the Iraqi regime, and "toppling" is evidence for the REGIME AS BUILDING metaphor. Ontological metaphors serve to provide "targets" of destruction, and in this case, the target is given

precision through metonymy. The metonymy leads us to be conscious of only a part (the "evil" part) of the target, and the metaphorical concept of "toppling" the regime hides the fact that destruction of a regime is likely to involve violence and death.

[27] Most Arab officials have blamed Saddam Hussein for <u>creating the opening</u> that allowed American military power into the region. *NYT* 3.20.03

This is an example of the **container metaphor** which is an elaboration of the ontological metaphor. It is based on another of our basic conceptual processes which is to impose boundaries on our surroundings, so that they have an inside and an outside (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:29). We realize that defining a territory, which is a key concept on which military actions are exercised, is fundamentally a metaphorical process.

## 3.4 The setting and events of the war scenario

The states as actors carry out their actions in a certain setting; the setting of international politics. The main setting of the war scenario that can be extracted from journalistic texts is not that of a battlefield or of air raids, but of the *imagined* space of international politics.[12]

| | |
|---|---|
| Concepts applied to the <setting>: | space, stage |
| <events>: | game/gambling, battle, play |
| Main metaphors: | spatial metaphor |
| | INTERNATIONAL POLTICS AS A STAGE |
| | FOREIGN POLICY/ WAR AS A (GAMBLING) GAME |

## 3.4.1 The space of international politics

In the examples below, the state is placed in a spatial setting; its "position" is the source concept that describes its political situation relative to that of other states and the "steps" it will take are the political decisions it will make.

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[12] In everyday thought, we routinely project spatial stories onto nonspatial stories of social, political, and mental events. When people agree to act as allies, for example, we say they are *aligned,* they *pull together,* they vote *as a bloc,* they *support* eachother, they *stand* together. When they conspire to defeat someone, we say they are *arrayed against* him. In these cases, we project spatial stories of force onto nonspatial stories of social, political, and mental alliance. (Turner 1996:50)

[28] Turkey now finds itself in a pivotal position: at odds with Europe, in disfavor with the United States and in desperate need of mending fences. *NYT* 3.31.03

[29] Turkey seems to be frozen in a confusing place, uncertain of its next steps. *NYT* 3.31.03

### 3.4.2 The stage of politics

A common form of mapping a non-spatial event to a spatial event, is the metaphor that maps the concept of <stage> onto the situational setting.

[30] The French know they have only one stage to play on, the Security Council, and if they fall into line behind the Americans, they lose their influence as leader of the countries opposed to U.S. pre-emption policy. *NYT* 2.13.03

[31] Poland has deftly exploited its role in Iraq to claim a place on the world stage. It was the only country in Europe, barring Britain, to commit combat troops to the war. *Guardian* 5.22.03

[32] The Commission said yesterday that it expects the UN to take "centre stage" in the rebuilding of post-war Iraq, arguing that it has, "a unique capacity and experience" to rebuild civil society in nations ravaged by war. *Independent* 4.2.03

THE PLACE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AS A STAGE is a structural metaphor that entails the negotiations and situations of politics to be a play, and the states involved to be the actors or players with some having the lead roles at the "centre stage". A prominent sub-scenario (an <event> category in the later stages) of the <Iraq war>model was the "play" about the reconstruction of Iraq; competition for the lead role arose between the U.S. and the U.N., while the other states crafted for their most appealing role.

Consider again what is hidden behind such a metaphor; the nation of Iraq is not listed among the cast. Iraq is not an actor, but an *object* of the scenario; and objects have no voice to assert their interests.

### 3.4.3 WAR AS A GAME

Wars and games are used as metaphors for one another. Games are typically competitive and oppositional with rational strategies; understanding games in terms of war brings out these qualities. To understand war in terms of a game, where there are teams and players, winners and losers, and rounds and scores to win, is effective in describing the mechanics of war in a clear and simple manner, and equally effective in *reducing* the concept of war to a harmless activity.

[33] The Franco-German axis regards Mr.Blair as reverting to type by choosing Britain's relationship with Washington ahead of <u>its role as a leading European player</u>. *Guardian* 4. 1.03

[34] <u>The score-settling</u> has begun. Oh, I don't mean between the Shiites, Sunnis, Kurds and Turkmen. The war is going well and these problems have not surfaced—yet. No, it is the great nations of the Western world that are <u>taking potshots</u> at one another, this time over the postwar arrangements in Iraq. <u>The stakes are high</u> *Newsweek* 3.31.03

[35] Leadership "decapitation" has a seductive logic: it exploits America's air power advantage, can be executed in a short time and minimizes combat losses. <u>As costly</u> as this may be in terms of casualties, <u>it has less risk</u> than merely bombing and waiting for the enemy to lash back. *NYT* 3.21.03

[36] Canada has <u>most to lose</u> from the chill in relations with the Great Neighbour. *Financial Times* 12.12.03

The examples given show states as being involved in games, and furthermore, [35] and [36] in particular show that they are motivated by the WEALTH IS WELL-BEING metaphor, where increase in well-being are "gains" and decreases in well-being are "costs". This metaphor has the effect of making qualitative effects quantitative, its influence is evident from the fact that one of the fundamental theories in International Relations, is the "game theory", otherwise called "the theory of rational choice" (Chilton & Lakoff 1992:45). [33] is an example of FOREIGN POLICY AS GAMBLING where to achieve certain gains, there are "stakes" that one may "lose".

Such ideas of "costs" and "gains" are metaphors often used by the "expert"

strategists who, according to Lakoff (1991:2), manipulate the "Clausewitz metaphor[13]" which sees war as a matter of cost-benefit analysis.

### 3.4.4 "Wars" within the war

The ARGUMENT AS WAR metaphor can be classified as an <event> within the scenario of war. The examples below contain linguistic expressions for the ARGUMENT AS WAR metaphor, which is a structural metaphor particularly dominant and pervasive in Western cultures (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 77-86).

[37] The <u>battle within Europe prompted by the war raged on</u> today as President Jacques Chirac of France vowed to oppose a British idea for a Security Council resolution that would give the United States and Britain the right to govern Iraq. *NYT* 3.22.03

[38] On the second and final day of a meeting that brought together the 15 leaders of the European Union, <u>Britain continued its verbal attack against France</u>, and Germany announced that it would meet separately with France and Belgium—the countries most opposed to the war—to discuss how to strengthen Europe's military capability. *NYT* 3.22.03

[39] Britain, which has committed 45,000 troops to the Iraqi campaign, continued <u>to hurl accusations</u> that France sabotaged an effort to win international approval at the United Nations for the war. *NYT* 3.22.03

[40] The British foreign secretary, Jack Straw, <u>refused to back off his verbal assault on France,</u> which drew an angry protest from his French counterpart, Dominique de Villepin. *NYT* 3.22.03

It is interesting to note that expressions associated with war such as "assault", "hurl", "rage on" do not so often appear to describe the *real* violence of war in Iraq, but can be found describing the *metaphorical* war of the argument.

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[13] American military policy during the Vietnam War was based on the theories of Karl von Clausewitz. His views on war are most commonly presented in terms of political cost-benefit analysis. (Lakoff 1991)

**3.5 Implications**

It is evident that the various metaphors that I have presented are closely linked to each other, with generic metaphors such as ontological and spatial metaphors at their base, the STATE AS PERSON metaphor as the actor, and various structural metaphors as the events involving states. Most of the expressions given as examples are conventional metaphors and thus the findings may seem as nothing new. However, the deeper the penetration level of metaphors and metonymies in our cognitive processes, the more influence they are likely to have on creating, and hiding reality.

Metaphors and metonymies are helpful in enabling us to understand what is happening in world politics, how the states are negotiating, and what the next scenario in the war will be. In fact, it will be impossible to understand the political realities of war without metaphor. However, metaphors are often devices used for simplification, for covering realities, and for implanting ideologies[14].

The STATE AS PERSON metaphor hides the fact that the "state" in reality, is not a united body representing the views of all the citizens of the country and that the state typically contains groups with different interests and goals.

The WAR AS A GAME highlights the logic and rationality of war, and hides the real violence and deaths involved. The REGIME AS BUILDINGS has similar implications of making destruction seem a bloodless activity, and construction as a matter of states playing their roles on the STAGE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS, where the main actors are the powerful nations of the world and not the people of the fallen regime.

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[14] *Political and economic ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms. Like all other metaphors, political and economic metaphors can hide aspects of reality. But in the area of politics and economics, metaphors matter more, because they constrain our lives. A metaphor in a political or economic system, by virtue of what it hides, can lead to human degradation.* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980 :236)

PART III

In the previous section, the cognitive model of war was presented through metaphor and metonymy analysis of journalistic texts in English. Some were ideological, and manipulated by the "experts", while many were conventional and deeply embedded in the language and its culture.

The question now arises of whether these systems of metaphor and metonymy are universally found across languages, or whether metaphors relating to war differ according to the language of the text. This section attempts to tackle this question through comparison of the cognitive model of war found in English articles, with the cognitive model extracted from Japanese texts.

## 4. Japanese examples: Text Analysis II
## Method and results

The material used are articles from the *Asahi Shimbun* （朝日新聞） written in Japanese and published in Japan, that mainly concern the Iraqi war that began in March 2003. The main metaphors (metonymies were not analyzed for this instance) found were extracted and grouped together, to see whether a scenario that corresponds to that obtained in Analysis I could be found. Given below the extracted sentences are my tentative translations.

From the amount of material available, it was not possible to make a systematic comparison with those metaphors found in English texts. However, the fundamental metaphors of STATE AS PERSON (for the <actor> category), ontological metaphors (for the <object> category), and spatial metaphors (for the <setting> category) were confirmed.

Furthermore, at the level of individual metaphorical expressions, observations could be made on the degrees of conformity of the metaphors in each context.

## 4.1 STATE AS PERSON

As in the English texts, the STATE-AS-PERSON could be identified as the main actor of the <war> scenario in Japanese newspaper texts.

[41] 死刑廃止で足並みをそろえている欧州諸国との「溝」がさらに深くなる可能性もある 3.23.03

(There is the possibility that the "groove" with the European countries that have <u>lined their steps</u> (fallen into step) with (the issue of) capital punishment will be deepened.)

[42] <u>フセイン政権の手先</u>が村内に潜んでいるのを人々は恐れていた。 3.23.03

(People were afraid of <u>the limb of the Hussein regime</u> to be lurking in the village.)

[43] 欧州の<u>悩み</u>は、いくら欧州から米国へ<u>エールを送って</u>も、テロへの脅威感や紛争解決法で欧米は本来異なるという「欧州異質論」が米国で台頭していることだ。3.22.03

(<u>The distress for Europe</u> was that however much Europe <u>sent yells</u> to the U.S., the "European otherness" theory that regards Europe and the US to be fundamentally different in the threatened feelings against terrorism and ways of conflict resolution was rising in the US.)

[44] 石油権利をめぐる<u>米欧の応酬</u>はますます激しくなるだろう。そこには当然、アラブ世界も<u>厳しい視線を投げかける</u>。4.10.03

(<u>The retorts between the United States and Europe</u> for the claim to oil will become even more bitter. The Arab world will no doubt <u>throw a severe eye</u> there.)

[45] <u>祝勝気分に沸く米国</u>と違い、<u>欧州の目は懐疑的だ</u> 12.21.03

(In contrast to the United States <u>surging in a triumphant mood</u>, <u>the eyes of Europe are skeptical.</u>)

[46] フランスのように<u>「ノン」と言う</u>覚悟は政府にない。 3.23.03

(The government is not ready to <u>say "non"</u> as France did.)

[47] 米国が戦争に<u>踏み切る</u>場合 3.23.03

(If the US <u>decides</u> (step-and-break) for war)

[48] 米欧分裂で日本と<u>「蜜月」</u> 3.23.03

(<u>"honeymoon"</u> with Japan as a result of the US-Europe split.)

For examples [42], [45], [46] and [48][15], the metaphorical expressions could be literally translated to correspond to an expression of a similar level of conventionality in English. The general impression is that Japanese metaphors seem to be rich in expressions that relate to body parts (examples [41], [42], [44] and [45])

## 4.2 Ontological metaphors

Expressions of the RELATIONSHIP AS BUILDING metaphor which was the prominent type of ontological metaphor in the English text were not as clearly identifiable in this instance. However, relationships, alliances and oppositions were given entities through usage of a variety of verbs;

[49] ジャーナリズム大国アメリカの威信が揺さぶられている。3.23.03

(The prestige of the great nation of journalism, America, is being shaken.)

[50] そもそも、イラク戦争で米国を支持しなければ揺らいでしまうほど、日米関係は脆弱なものなのか。 3.22.03

(In all, is the Japan-US relationship so weak that without supporting the US in the Iraq war, it will shake?)

Applying the verb "shake" to an abstract concept such as relationships is a fully conventionalized example of metaphor in Japanese. In English, however, the expression is less so. Recalling the analysis in chapter 4, relationships were more susceptible to be "shattered", "damaged" or "eroded" (verbs with a higher level of transitivity in that a more permanent change is incurred) than to be "shaken".

[51] イラクに「衝撃と恐怖」を植え付ける徹底した空爆 3.23.03

(An extensive bombing to plant "shock and terror" in Iraq.)

[51] is an example of a consciously created ontological metaphor that was widely

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[15] The "honeymoon" metaphor could be found in an English text to convey a similar meaning to the Japanese expression:

> Improving relations will not be easy for Canada's new leader. Any thought of a honeymoon for US-Canadian relations was shattered this week by the US decision to cut Canada out of any contracts in Iraq. *Financial Times* 12.12.03

From the metaphorical expression of "honeymoon", a structural metaphor can be deducted where "marriage" is mapped onto the concept of a newly confirmed alliance or relationship, with possible entailments of "separation", "adultery" or "divorce".

disseminated through the American media in the early days of the war. The globalization of media means that such created metaphors are instantly transferred into journalistic texts of other languages.  Note the use of quotation marks, which often works to retain the prominence of a metaphorical expression. The writer may place quotation marks either to make the reader aware of its double meaning, or because it is still felt to be too novel a metaphor to be let loose into the conventional language code.

[52] 相互不信を抱える欧米同盟関係は安定を欠いたまま<u>漂流を続けている</u>。 12.21.03
(The relationship of the Euro-American alliance that holds distrust for eachother, is continuing to <u>drift</u> while still <u>lacking stability.</u>)

[53] <u>険しい</u>欧米対立は、<u>雪解けの時期</u>を迎えたかに見える　12.21.03
(The <u>steep</u> opposition between Europe and the US seems to have reached its <u>period of thaw.</u>)

[54] 戦争への「絶対的な拒否」を掲げたアラブ諸国の仲介外交が<u>暗礁に乗り上げている</u>。3.15.03
(The mediating policy of the Arab nations that had displayed the "absolute veto" on the war, is <u>running upon a rock.</u> )

The above three metaphors, though idiomatic, are relatively shallow in their penetration level in that they still retain their literal images. [54] depicts a similar image to example [6].  The metaphor of "thaw" is idiomatic both in Japanese and English, but the "drifting" of relationships in example [52] seems to be less conventionalized a concept in English.

## 4.3 Spatial metaphors

The spatial metaphor for world politics was identified in the Japanese text; examples [55] and [56] being typical examples.

[55] 日米同盟は北大西洋条約機構（ＮＡＴＯ）のように、<u>各国の立場が対等ではない</u>。3.23
(As in NATO, for the Japan-US alliance, the position (<u>standing-place</u>) <u>of each country is not at equal level.</u> )

[56] 米英が<u>孤立し</u>、日本は<u>窮地に陥った</u>。

(The US and Great Britain having become <u>isolated</u>, Japan has <u>fallen into a tight corner</u>) 3.23.03

[57] 米国対イラクではなく、国際社会対イラクの<u>構図</u>にする  3.23.03

(make a <u>composition</u>, not of the US vs. Iraq, but of the international community vs. Iraq)

[58] 二重三重の<u>対立構図</u>の中、苦悩するのが「<u>米欧の架け橋</u>」を自任するブレア首相だ。
4.8.03

(<u>In the double, triple-layered opposing composition</u>, Prime Minister Blair who pretends to being the <u>"bridge between the US and Europe"</u>, will suffer. )

In [57] and [58], the <space> of international relations is reduced to a "composition" or "layout" creating a simplified image of world politics. The "bridge" metaphor, here manipulated by Tony Blair, maps the nature of the "bridge" to the political role and position of the Britain.[16]

**4.4 The <stage> metaphor**

The PLACE OF POLITICS AS A STAGE metaphor was equally pervasive in the Japanese text, suggesting some of the common values and perspectives held across the two languages. Again, various factors may be involved such as the globally shared nature of international political discourse, including the influence of translation, as well as the cultural motivation—the fact that plays and acting of roles were traditionally rooted in both the Japanese and Anglo-American cultures.

[59] 委員会はメールだけでなく、政府の内部文書も次々に公表し、<u>政権の舞台裏</u>が浮き彫りになりつつある。8.19.03

(The committee has disclosed internal papers of the government as well as e-mails, and <u>the back-stage of the administration</u> is gradually being carved in relief.)

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[16] This may be regarded as an example of Black's definition of metaphor as being interactive—we not only gain new insight on the political intensions of the British prime minister, but also, we add new meaning to our concept of bridge, or at least, through the process of "highlighting", we are made aware of certain aspects of the concept of <bridge>.

[60] 米国は国連を「重要な役割を担う」としつつも脇役にとどめる姿勢を見せている。4.10.03

(The US, while asserting that the UN should "take on an important role", is showing the stance of limiting it to a supporting part.)

[61] 9日の英仏相会議は、イラク情勢での見解の一致を強調、対立が解消したかのような演出を見せた。4.10.03

(The Anglo-French diplomatic meeting on the 9th emphasized their consensus on the Iraqi situation and showed a stage direction as if the conflict had been resolved.)

## 4.5 Implications

The question now arises of whether these systems of metaphor and metonymy are universally found across languages, or whether metaphors relating to war differ according to the language of the text.

From the limited evidence given, one can only speculate on the differences of metaphor systems according to language and culture. However, we clearly note the similarities and I suggest that the cognitive model of war that is constructed from journalistic text is shared in both English and Japanese at the fundamental level. The *way* in which we conceptualize abstract notions—through personification, spatial and ontological mappings of events— is mutual, because understanding in terms of scenarios are based on universal motivations. This is what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1987) among others, claim to be the "experiential" or "bodily" basis of metaphor.

For a further contemplation of this question of commonality however, one needs to consider the *translatability* of metaphors. I have mentioned that one possible reason for the universality of metaphors is that international wars such as the Iraq war are reported worldwide, the statements of governments being translated and transmitted around the globe almost instantaneously. It is therefore likely that some of the metaphors, especially the less conventionalized metaphors identified in this chapter were "imported". However, even imported metaphors are likely to have been adjusted to follow the particular tendencies of each language

Now that the common nature of metaphors has been confirmed, I will attempt to gain insight into the language-specific aspects of metaphor through analysis of

English-Japanese translations.


## 5. Translation Analysis: Text Analysis III

## Method

The third analysis looks more closely at how metaphor and metonymy may have linguistic, cultural or ideological tendencies through comparing English articles with their Japanese translations. The material used are articles from the American news magazine, *Newsweek* (Asian Pacific edition), and their Japanese translated versions in *Newsweek Japan*.

The examples were searched within two time spans:

1) from articles concerning the American attacks on Afghanistan after the September 11 terrorist attacks in 2001.

2) from articles concerning the rising political tensions leading to the U.S. attacks on Iraq in March 2003.

For the Japanese sentences presented, a literal English translation is given below.


## 5.1 Results for metonymy

Let us begin this section by returning to the questions posed in Chapter 3.2 that arose from the example below.

[62] The Americans continue to insist that no deal has been struck on Islamabad's obsession—its struggle with India over Kashmir. But neither is Washington interested in entertaining India's complaints against its neighbor at the moment. New Delhi could be forgiven for thinking the new cold war is freezing India out. 10.8.01

パキスタンの最大の関心事であるカシミール地方の帰属をめぐるインドとの紛争に関して、アメリカはいかなる取引もしていないと主張する。とはいえ、インド側の主張に耳を貸すつもりもなさそうだ。新しい冷戦構造のなかで締め出しを食らったと、インドが感じたとしても無理はないかもしれない。

(America continues to insist that no deal has been struck on Pakistan's greatest concern—its dispute with India over the region of Kashmir. However, [____] does not seem to intend to lend an ear to the protest of India's side. It may be inevitable for India to feel that in the new cold war system [    ] were shut out.)

From observing the appearance of metonymies in the English text against the Japanese translation, some hypotheses can be proposed.

Firstly, it seems apparent that metonymies working with the STATE AS PERSON metaphor appear more frequently in the English text. One cause that can be suggested is the motivation to avoid repetition of names. Where the Japanese text omits the subject, the English text finds an alternative name.

However, there may be other reasons, which concern our conceptualization of war; in particular, the cognitive effect of *highlighting*.

### 5.1.1 THE PEOPLE OF ONE NATION AS REPRESENTING THE COUNTRY'S DECISION-MAKERS OR MILITARY FORCES

Consider the metonymical expressions underlined below:

[63] Many people don't want the Americans to attack, but they want the Taliban to go. 10.1.01

多くの人は、アメリカの攻撃を望んでいない、ただ、タリバンの失墜は望んでいる。

(Many people don't wish for America's attack, but they wish for the Taliban's fall.)

[64] There's still ample room for the French to find a compromise with the Americans and the British. 2.3.03

それでもフランスには、まだ妥協点を探るだけの余地がある。

(Nonetheless for France, there is still ample room to find a compromise.)

[65] Washington has been delighted by the way the Europeans have been lining up so far. 2.3.03

アメリカ政府は、ヨーロッパ諸国が示した支援の姿勢に満足している

(The American government, is satisfied by the supportive attitude the European countries have shown.)

[66] JFK was reluctant to launch pre-emptive air strikes, fearing the world would cast him as an aggressor like the Japanese at Pearl Harbor. 2.3.03

ジョン・F・ケネディ大統領は空軍による先制をためらった。真珠湾攻撃をした日本のような侵略者とみなされることを恐れたのだ。

(President John F. Kennedy hesitated on pre-emptive strikes by the air force. [    ] feared being cast as an aggressor like Japan that attacked Pearl Harbor.)

A pattern can clearly be seen; in English, the metonymy which may be described as THE PEOPLE OF ONE NATION (OR GROUP OF NATIONS) AS THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION-MAKERS OR MILITARY FORCES can be seen. For each case of such metonymy however, the Japanese translation replaces the metonymical expression by the category name of the state.

This type of metonymy seems to incur the strengthening of the STATE AS PERSON metaphor, causing it to reach an even deeper penetration level.

[67] Many Security Council members—especially some Europeans, Russia and China—say they think Bush really wanted to go to war all along 2.3.03

安保理の理事国、とくにヨーロッパの一部とロシアと中国は、ブッシュは査察の結果がどうであれ最初から戦争する気だったと考えている。

(Member countries of the Security Council, especially a part of Europe and Russia and China, think that Bush had intended to wage war from the beginning, regardless of the outcome of the inspections.)

Again, "some Europeans" is replaced by the more general "a part of Europe" in Japanese. In this context however, "some Europeans" most likely refers to actual individual people, that is, the delegates of each European country. This would in turn make "Russia" and "China" the metonymical expressions where the name of the country refers to the delegates of the respective states. The categorical level from which the actors of a scenario are focused upon is variable and not often noticed.

## 5.1.2　THE CAPITAL FOR THE GOVERNMENT

The metonymy CAPITAL FOR GOVERNMENT has already been confirmed in Text Analysis I. Comparison of these metonymical expressions with the Japanese translation reveals some systematic differences.

[68] Washington pretended, at least, to keep its distance 10.1.01

アメリカも表向きには反タリバン勢力と距離をおいている

(America too, on the surface, is keeping its distance from anti-Taliban forces)

[69] There is nothing that Washington itself would like more.　10.1.01

アメリカの希望も、まったく同じだ。

(America's wish is exactly alike)

It is possible in Japanese to refer to the American government as "Washington", but the translated texts show the preference of replacing the metonymies to the more general term "America[17]". We may reason however, that this difference is due to the relative locality of Washington from the American viewpoint. The examples below account the contrary;

[70] The only problem is that <u>many world capitals</u>—and members of the U.N. Security Council—are deeply uneasy with American offense. 2.3.03
問題は、安保理理事国をはじめとした<u>多くの国々</u>が、アメリカの好戦性を懸念していることだ。
(The problem is that members of the Security Council to begin with and <u>many countries</u>, are uneasy with America's militancy.)

[71] <u>Paris and Berlin</u>, especially, seem more troubled by the prospect of America's unbridled military power than Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. 2.3.03
<u>フランスとドイツ</u>は、イラクの大量壊兵器よりもアメリカの圧倒的な軍事力が解き放たれることを憂慮しているようだ。
(<u>France and Germany,</u> seem to be more troubled of America's unbridled military power being let loose than Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.)

[72] Administration officials tell NEWSWEEK their strategy is to give one last chance, not to <u>Baghdad</u>, but to the United Nations. 3.2.03
ブッシュ政権高官が本誌に語ったところでは、アメリカ政府は現段階で、<u>イラク</u>にではなく国連に最後のチャンスを与えている。
(According to what officials of the Bush administration told our magazine, the American government at the present stage is giving the U.N., and not <u>Iraq</u>, the last chance.)

Although the STATE AS PERSON has become an entrenched metaphor in Japanese, it seems that there is still tendency of reluctance to refer to an "actor" by the name of a capital city.

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[17] Note that "America" is also a metonymy expressed as WHOLE FOR PART; only part of America, i.e. the United States is being referred to.(Radden and Kövesces 1996:30)

## 5.1.3 CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED

Comparison with the Japanese translation alerts us of the effect of the CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED metonymy.

[73] A strike on <u>Saddam Hussein</u> 10.15.01

<u>イラク</u>への攻撃

(An attack on Iraq)

[74] The goal is not to massacre <u>Saddam's</u> Army. <u>Saddam's soldiers</u> will be told, in essence: we need you for the new Iraq; don't die for the old one. America will need a professional Army to keep order and help rebuild the country <u>after Saddam falls</u>. 4.7.03

アメリカには<u>イラク</u>を皆殺しにする意図はない。戦後イラクの秩序維持と国家再建のために、<u>イラク人兵士</u>の力は必要だ。

(America does not intend to massacre <u>Iraq</u>. For the keeping of order and reconstruction of post-war Iraq, the help of <u>Iraqi soldiers</u> is needed.)

The effect of the CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED metonymy to highlight the controller, in this case, Saddam Hussein is confirmed for the English sentences. Each reference to Saddam Hussein in the above examples has been replaced by the more general concept of Iraq in the Japanese translation. It is likely to be the conscious act of the translator to neutralize the text from an American viewpoint.

It should also be noted that to "massacre Saddam's army" and to "massacre Iraq" may convey significantly different meanings. In the context of war, such small shifts of the reference-point according to the preference of the language can lead to serious gaps in nuance, and we are thus alerted of the manipulative consequences that conceptual metonymy may bring.

## 5.2 Results for metaphor

## 5.2.1 WAR AS A PLAY metaphor

The WAR AS A PLAY metaphor was once more identified, though the two examples below show that the actors are not necessarily states;

[75] Arab and Pakistani volunteers for the Taliban are <u>playing a key role</u>   10.08.01
タリバンでは、アラブ人やパキスタン人の支援者も<u>重要な役割</u>を果たしている
(In the Taliban, Arab and Pakistani supporters are also playing <u>an important role</u>.)

[76] several Afghan warlords <u>want to play a part</u> in toppling the Taliban 10.08.01
アフガニスタンではいくつもの武力勢力がタリバン転覆に<u>一役買いたい</u>と願っている
(In Afghanistan, many of the military powers are <u>wanting to buy a part</u> in toppling the Taliban.)

The metaphorical expressions of "key role" and "part" have been literally translated to convey a similar metaphor in the Japanese text. However, the examples below show the variety of ways in which the metaphorical expressions are translated. The metaphors of these sentences are lowered to a more *generalized* level of spatial metaphors through translation:

[77] <u>At center stage</u> of the country's new war. 10.1.01
アメリカの新たな戦いの<u>中心</u>
(At <u>the center</u> of America's new war)

[78] The issue of terrorism has forced that <u>role reversal</u>. 10.15.01
印パ問題の<u>地位の再逆転</u>を招いたのがテロ問題だった
(It was the issue of terrorism that caused the <u>reversal in the positions</u> of the Indo-Pakistani problem)

[79] is an example of how the source concept <stooge> has been replaced by the concept of <fingers> as a more coherent image for the Japanese text. While the English source concept lies within a larger cognitive model of <play>, the Japanese source concept is part of the <body> model in the STATE AS PERSON metaphor. Note that being a part of the body implies a higher degree of subordination than to play a role.

[79] None wants to <u>play the role of American stooge</u>   10.08.01

彼らは<u>アメリカの手先</u>になることは望んでいない

(They do not wish to be <u>the fingers (limbs) of America)</u>.

## 5.2.2 WAR AS A GAME metaphor

Games are mostly cultural in nature, and thus the created meanings when they are mapped as metaphor are likely to differ according to the culture in which the text is communicated. Also, the various types of game inferred are likely to highlight particular characteristics of the game and its corresponding target concept.

[80] There had to be <u>a first base</u>   10.08.01

<u>一塁</u>に出ることが先決だというわけだ

(The first thing to do is to go to <u>first base)</u>

[81] Saddam's <u>wild card</u> is his chemical-biological arsenal.

フセインの<u>切り札</u>は、生物・化学兵器だ。

(Chemical-biological arsenal is Hussein's <u>trump card.)</u>

[80] is an example of metaphor where the image and the meaning reach a fair equivalence in both languages. The translation in example [81]also puts forth a similar image, although strictly speaking, a "wild card" and a "trump card" have different functions within the game[18].

[82] America's new cold war against terrorism has <u>upended the chessboard</u> in South Asia, and <u>the pieces seem to be falling into similar positions.</u> 10.08.01

南アジアの<u>勢力図</u>は、テロに対する「新しい冷戦」のなかで、再び「古い冷戦」の構造に逆戻りしようとしているかに見える。

(The power chart of South Asia, in the "New Cold War" against terrorism, seems to be once again reverting to the "Old Cold War" structure.)

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[18] The "wild card（万能札）" is a card that has no value of its own and takes the value of any card that the player chooses, while the "trump card（切り札）" is a card that has a higher value than the rest, and is usually used as the ultimate tactic.
The difference in meaning that this entails, is whether Saddam Hussein uses the chemical weapons as unrestrainedly as the almighty wildcard, or whether he uses it as the last most powerful resort of the trump card.

[83] Amid <u>the jockeying over war in Iraq and who among the Europeans will support</u> <u>it,</u> Talleyrand's brand of cynicism is transparently coming to the fore.   4.9.03

<u>イラク攻撃に対する賛否で揺れるヨーロッパ</u>では、タレーラン流の皮肉が幅を利かせ ている。

(In Europe, shaking on the matter of who will support the attack on Iraq, Talleyrand's brand of cynicism is proving to be influential.)

Example [82] is a salient metaphor of vivid description. The Japanese translation replaces the image of a chessboard to the less culturally connotative concept of a chart. Similarly in example [83] the translation omits the cognitive source model of <game> ; in this case a horse race, and we note the use of the metaphorical expression "shake（揺 れる）" that was observed in examples [49] and [50].

[84] With war looking increasingly likely, <u>the game for Europeans is how to snag a</u> <u>bigger share of these spoils.</u> Is it best to back the United States now, as Britain, Spain, and Italy are doing? That didn't pay off in 1991. Or is it better to step back and <u>see what Uncle Sam offers under the table?</u> 4.9.03

ヨーロッパの関心は、早くも戦利品の分け前に集中している。イギリスやスペイン、 イタリアのように、今からアメリカを支持したほうが得なのか。91 年には、そうした 努力は報われなかった。では今のところは距離をおき、<u>アメリカが裏からアメを差し</u> <u>出すのを待つべきか</u>。

(The <u>concerns of Europe is already being concentrated on the share of the spoils</u>... So is it better to keep some distance for now, and <u>wait for America to offer candies</u> <u>from the back?</u>)

The above example is another case where the concept of <game> is eliminated in the translation. The latter underlined section also applies a different metaphorical concept; the English metaphorical expression is culture specific, as is the Japanese expression which it is replaced by.

### 5.2.3   Ontological metaphors

In example [85] below, authority is given an entity, in this case, as a cloth or regal garment symbolizing the power of the regime. The translated metaphorical expression corresponds to the original text in terms of its image, meaning, and

penetration level. In the examples that follow however, different tendencies of metaphor according to language could be seen within the general ontological mapping.

[85] The militia's authority was <u>fraying at the edges</u> 10.15.01
タリバン政権の権威は<u>ほころびかけている</u>。
(The authority of the Taliban regime is fraying.)

[86] The United States hoped to exploit <u>fissures within the Taliban</u>, and to <u>cripple the movement</u> before the shooting even got started. 10.08.01
アメリカとしては、<u>タリバン内部の亀裂</u>を広げ、できるだけ早い時期に<u>同政権を転覆させたい</u>ところだ。
(America wants to expand the fissures within the Taliban and topple the regime at an early time as possible.)

The Taliban is given a concrete entity in both cases, and the first underlined phrase is translated literally. In the second underlined phrase however, "cripple" which is applied to animate beings that can move, is replaced by "topple" which in Japanese collocates with the subject "ship".

[87] <u>Topple the Taliban</u> through diplomatic pressure 10.8.01
外交圧力で<u>タリバン政権を打倒する</u>
(Topple the Taliban regime through diplomatic pressure.)

[88] Indian authorities say they're willing not to upset <u>the carefully crafted coalition that Washington is building</u>. 10.8.01
インド政府は、米政府が<u>苦労して築き上げようとしているタリバン包囲網</u>を台なしにする気はないという。
(The Indian government, says they have no intension of upsetting the Taliban-besieging- network that the US government is trying to build with toil.)

[89] Somewhere deep in his network of tunnels and bunkers, Saddam "is convinced he can win," says a top U.S. official. Not by defeating superior American forces on the battlefield, but merely by surviving <u>while Islamic rage builds from Cairo to Islamabad</u>.4.9.03
ある米政府高官は、地下に潜伏したサダム・フセインは「勝利を確信している」と言う。戦場で米軍を打ち破ることは無理でも、<u>イスラム教徒の怒りが世界に広がるなか</u>

で生き延びれば勝ちなのだ。

(...Even if it is not possible to defeat the American forces on the battlefield, if [   ]
survive while the rage of Islam spreads around the world, it is victory.)

[87], [88] and [89] contain metaphors with the concept <building> as their source model
with differing target concepts of <regime>, < coalition> and <rage>, respectively. They
are given in order of the translated expression's conformity to the original metaphorical
expression. Note the considerable change of meaning in example [89] where in the
English text, the setting of the sub-scenario is limited to the space between Cairo and
Islamabad, while in the Japanese translation, the rage "spreads around the world".

### 5.2.4 Different scenarios

For this last section of metaphor analysis, I will attempt to see how different
scenarios for war may occur according to language.

[90] Pakistani officials continue to push to leave the Taliban in power, or at least
some other equally malleable regime. 10.8.01
依然としてタリバン（あるいは同様にパキスタン寄りの勢力）に政権を握らせたい意
向だ。
(Still, the intension is to let the Taliban (or some force that is equally close to
Pakistan) grasp the power.)

In this example, the English text places Pakistani officials as the actor and
"regimes" such as the Taliban as the *objects* that are malleable and can be *left in* power.
The Japanese text by contrast, gives *animacy* to the regimes; the Taliban is able to
*grasp* the power. This brings forth an interesting issue; the possibility that the concepts
we apply to the categories of actors and objects within the scenarios of war, may change
according to the language even when describing the same situation.

For our overall framework of war, we have defined the <state> to be the actor of
the scenario. But are the ways of classifying actors universal across the languages? Or
is it possible that different languages may have preferences on where and how to place
the actors of a scenario, or the angle from which to focus their lens?

A similar phenomenon to example [91] can be observed below;

[91] Washington moved troops into the region last week

米軍がついにアフガニスタンへの攻撃に踏み切る

(The US army finally launches to attack Afghanistan)

In the English sentence, Washington, which stands for the military officials, is the actor. In the Japanese translation, the original actor is no longer present and it is replaced by the "troops". What was the object in the English sentence has become the actor, and the point from which the scenario is being viewed has clearly shifted.

For both [90] and [91], the actors in the English scenario are the decision-making government officials and from an objective viewpoint, they are able to control the forces concerned. In the Japanese scenario, the perspective has been lowered.

Compare the English and Japanese sentences below;

[92] Members of the Bush administration talk as if the war in Iraq <u>will open the way</u> to peace and harmony in the Middle East; <u>help revitalize </u>the world economy with cheaper oil, and <u>strike a blow against terrorism.</u> 2.3.03

ブッシュ政権の高官たちの話しぶりでは、イラクとの戦争に踏み切れば、中東によう
やく平和と調和が<u>もたされ</u>、石油経済の<u>活性化が促され</u>、<u>テロリストに強力な一撃が</u>
<u>加えられる</u>かのように聞こえる。

(According to the talk of the officials of the Bush administration, if [   ] decide to launch a war with Iraq, peace and harmony will <u>be brought</u> to the Middle East, revitalization will <u>be prompted</u> on the oil economy, a powerful strike will <u>be added</u> to the terrorists.)

In the English sentence for example [92], "peace and harmony" is placed in a spatial setting and the abstract notion of "terrorism" is given an entity as an object to strike against. In the Japanese translation, terrorism is changed to "terrorists"; its objectival nature derived from metaphorical mapping is weakened as actual people are put in its place. In both cases, the sentence presents a sub-scenario, or what Turner calls a "small spatial story";

We see a small spatial story in which an actor other than ourselves behaves in certain ways, and we project features of animacy and agency onto it from stories in which we are the actor....
We detect self-movement by an object when we recognize an image schema of movement

not caused by external forces. We detect *animacy* when this image schema is a complex of a number of movements. We detect *caused motion* when we recognize a complex dynamic image schema in which the motion of one object causes the motion of another object. We detect *animate agency* when we recognize an image schema of animacy combined with an image schema of caused motion, as when a baby reaches out (animacy) and picks up a rattle (caused motion). The causal object in an image schema of animate agency is usually recognized as an *actor*. (Turner 1996:20-1)

Turner's description of how we recognize the actors of a scenario seem convincing. But example [92] seems to indicate that this fundamental metaphorical process of personification seems to have different degrees of penetration according to language. In the English sentence, the actor is <war>; the transitive verbs such as "striking a blow against terrorism" indicate self-movement and caused motion. In the Japanese sentence however, the sequence of events are not caused by a specified actor but are passive occurrences[19].

Hence we observe that conceptualization of sub-scenarios is influenced by factors at the level of grammar; of word order, transitivity, and placing of subjects. At the deepest levels of language, the orientation of each language may be influencing our perception of social realities such as war; of who the actors and objects of the war scenario will be.

## 5.2 Implications

Translation analysis has revealed both a common basis of conceptual metaphor and metonymy, and a variation in the images and scenarios conceptualized between English and Japanese.

Concerning metonymies, systematic differences were found on the way the STATE AS PERSON is referred to. The fact that metonymies occurred frequently in English texts, and that these were translated at the basic level of reference (such as "France", "America") are likely to be motivated by both political and linguistic factors.

Concerning the translation of metaphors, some corresponded in image, meaning and penetration level, but for many culturally-based metaphors, different images were

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[19] Hinds (1986) asserts that Japanese is a "situation focus" language while English is s "person focus" language. If we consider that animacy has been accorded to the concept <war> in the English sentence of (74), the results seem to support Hinds' assertion. Reference to Ikegami (1981, 1995) and Anzai (2000) among others should also lead to constructive thoughts on the issue.

used to convey a similar meaning. This implies that the conceptualization of war may differ according to language.

We have also begun to see that English and Japanese texts can designate different actors and objects for a sub-scenario that describes the same situation. This suggests that grammatical differences can lead to differences in the point of view or sequence of action from which a metaphorical image is depicted. A further consideration of this issue through other examples may lead to significant findings on the issue of animacy and scenario in different languages.

Conclusion

In this paper, I began with the issue of metaphors as having the power to create our reality of war. The manipulative nature of metaphor is often asserted, but the application of the cognitive linguistic theories to actual "living" texts is still at its initial stages. I thus set out to consider the applicability of the fundamental assertions made by cognitive linguistics to the issue of social and political reality.

The framework proposed for analysis utilized the cognitive model of "scenario" onto or within which various forms of metaphorical and metonymical mappings take place. I suggested that through the process of filling in the pre-assigned "slots" or categories of the scenario, a coherent cognitive model of war would be elucidated.

However, I cannot claim that any coherent cognitive model of war was profiled through my investigation. On the contrary, I consider what has been carried out to be just the opening to a project which I propose, of approaching media text and analyzing them from a cognitive semantic perspective. In effect, the scenario framework served to be an effective guiding tool for organizing the metaphors and metonymies found within the discourse of war. And in the process of text analysis, some issues arose which may be worthy of consideration for future studies.

An issue that needs to be raised is the interaction between the **socio-political and cultural factors** and the **cognitive factors** that motivate metaphors and metonymies in a journalistic text. Prior research of conceptual metaphors in the discourse of war has solely been concerned with the ideological aspects, while my analysis rested more on the cognitive and linguistic implications. I have been able to confirm that fundamental cognitive motivations are influencing the way we perceive the political reality of war. The next step is to more systematically consider how the conceptualization may differ according to **orientations** of a language, and then, according to the other socio-political factors.

To attain fuller knowledge of a cognitive model of war or any other political concept, the integration of the various factors needs to be recognized. It may be helpful to think of models as having a prototypical core that is universally shared due to the physical grounding of our most basic experiences as human beings, with its periphery defined by the socio-political backgrounds and interests.

Wars have increasingly become a matter of political and ideological conflict, and, at least for the modern world, its concept has increasingly become complexly set within the imagined realm. Yet, the act of fighting in its essence can be said to be an instinctive and inevitable trait of human beings and vestige of our animal nature. It is

the human's metaphorical ability that has impelled wars to reach the scales they have reached today, and thus I feel the necessity for a discourse analysis of war to reveal the hidden, unconscious influences of metaphor on creating reality.

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## 要旨
### 「メディア・テクストにおける＜戦争＞の認知モデルの探求」

◆序

　本稿は、戦争や国際政治に関する抽象概念が「言語」を通してどのように「現実」として認知されているのか、という問題から出発する。メディア・テクストの分析を通して戦争の「現実」を形成していく認知的プロセスを考察することを目的とし、様々な政治的抽象概念によって構築される認知モデルとしての＜戦争＞を明かすため、そのモデルの形成過程に欠かすことのできない概念メタファーと概念メトニミーをメディア・テクストから抽出した。更にメタファーとメトニミーの日英語比較を行うことによって、＜戦争＞という認知モデルの言語による普遍性と相対性を検討した。

◆フレームワークの提示

　認知言語学における概念メタファーの研究は、近年政治・科学・教育などの分野への応用が期待されている。戦争に関する概念メタファーの研究としては Lakoff（1992）などが挙げられるが、これまでの戦争メタファーの研究ではイデオロギー装置として意識的に操作されるメタファーにもっぱら焦点が当てられてきている。本稿では言語に深く内面化された基本的なメタファーを中心に据えて、認知意味論における諸理論を参照しつつテクスト分析を行った。

　調査の主な手法は、概念メタファーの分析であり、副次的にメトニミーに言及する。分析を行う際のフレームワークとして、「シナリオ」の構造を備える戦争の認知モデルを提案する。シナリオには＜動作主＞、＜対象＞、時間的経過の中で展開される諸＜出来事＞がカテゴリーとして規定されており、各カテゴリーにおけるメタファーの働き掛けを調べることによって、戦争の認知モデルが浮かび上がるはずである、と考えた。この「シナリオ」を分析の筋道として、イラク戦争を報道する記事からメタファーとメトニミーを抽出し、それらの分類・分析を行った。抽出された主要なメタファーは以下の通りである。

◆テクスト分析 I

　＜動作主＞カテゴリーに当てはまる基本的概念は「国家」である。我々にとって最も身近な「人間」という概念を通して国家が認識されていること、つまり擬人法の作用がテクストに深く内面化されていることが確認された。国家は身体を有し、性格を備え、人間関係を築く。国家が＜動作主＞として起こしうる様々な＜出来事＞や＜状況＞が伴う。例えば、政治や外交的手段という抽象的な行為は「空間」における位置づけや移動と捉えられ

る。「空間」を「舞台」として特定化し、政治の場を「劇」として捉えるメタファーも観察され、また、国家を主体とした＜出来事＞に関しては、政治・外交を「ゲーム」として捉えるメタファーや、国家間の議論を「戦争」として捉えるメタファーが確認された。関係や信頼という抽象的概念は「物体」として、更には「構築物」として認識される。権力や勢力の概念の具現化も同様である。

◆テクスト分析 II

　英語のテクストにおけるメタファー・メトニミーが整理されたところで、日本語を比較対象としてここで取り入れる。まずは日本語の記事から、英文記事において行った調査と同様の手順でメタファーを抽出した結果、擬人法・物体のメタファー・空間のメタファーという基本的メタファーが確認された。そこで、言語間にどのような認知的差異が存在するのかを検討すべく翻訳分析を行った。

◆テクスト分析 III（翻訳分析）

　翻訳分析を通して顕著に現れた言語ごとの志向性の第一点は、メトニミーの頻出度である。英文では国家全体を首都で指す、代表的な指導者の名で指す、などからの国家の呼称の多様性が目立つが、大半の場合は日本語訳では基本レベルの国名に置き換えられている。
　またメタファーの比較調査からは、文化的背景が要因となって文から想起されるイメージの差が生じることと、同時に、イメージと意味のほぼ等価的な転移も可能であるということが確認された。より詳細なレベルにおいての比較分析からは、シナリオのカテゴリーとしての＜動作主＞の設定、つまり抽象概念を生物として捉えることへの言語ごとの志向性が、シナリオの描き方、延いては戦争の「現実」を規定するということを検討した。

◆結

　我々は「読む」行為から意味を紡ぎ出し、概念の写像を行い、認知モデルを構築していくことによって社会的現実を認識する。慣用化されたメタファーをテクストから掘り起こしていく過程で、人間の身体的な経験に動機付けられている基本的な概念メタファーの、言語を超えた共通性が確認された。よって我々が認識する「戦争」という社会的現実には、言語構造による個別的な差異や社会的・政治的要因による色付けを備えながらも、その中枢に人間の基盤となる身体性ゆえの共通性があるといえよう。本稿で行った分析からは、充分な結果と結論を導くことができたとは言いがたい。しかし、認知意味論の応用に向けての分析法の土台作りとして、この研究を位置づけることができるであろう。メタファーや認知モデルを利用した言説分析の手法の更なる探求を今後の課題とする。